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GREAT SATYAGRAHA

ZINDABAD!

NEW WAGE

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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The Indian working people salute the one lakh Communist Party members and supporters who will take part in the Great Satyagraha beginning on August 24. By this nationwide action, the biggest all-India movement of its kind ever organised since Independence, the Communist Party seeks to give organised expression to the people's wrath against "the three major vital sectors of the present crisis—that is, the holders of food, finance and state power, the unholy trinity that is responsible for people's misery".

the same reasons as the Right reactionaries. These gentlemen argue that the satyagraha is not "revolutionary" because it does not call for a change of government.

The Communist Party has made it clear that it will not be sidetracked by any airy or

By Romesh Chandra

THE central secretariat of the Party has explained the aims and objects of the satyagraha once again in its circular of August 17, which appears on page seven of this issue.

condemn the pro-hoarder policies of the government.

The Right reactionary parties in the country have declared their total opposition to the Communist Party's satyagraha: they do so precisely because the satyagraha will sharply indicate and draw the people's attention to the hoarders and speculators at the same time as it will

The Right reactionary parties seek to protect and defend the money-grabbing monopolists, hoarders and profiteers, who feed on people's hunger: that is why they oppose the satyagraha under the Red Flag.

There are equally, at the other end of the political spectrum, the self-advised "revolutionaries" of the Left, who oppose the satyagraha, in point of fact, for exactly

unreal slogans, however, "militant" they might sound. The campaign launched by the Communist Party, of

ON TO ACTION UNDER THE RED FLAG

which the Great Satyagraha is a vital stage, aims at compelling the government to change its policies. The present stage of the struggle does not and cannot envisage "capture of power" or "change of government".

The Great Satyagraha is not an action for an indefi-

nite period. It is a stage in our campaign and will be for a definite and short period, preferably for three days only.

The Communist Party is determined to make the satyagraha a memorable milestone in the struggle of the Indian toiling people, by ensuring its

biggest all-India action of its kind.

The Communist Party seeks the cooperation of all democratic forces in the campaign against price rise and for a solution of the food crisis. The satyagraha, though led and organised by the Communist Party, will help to-

Central Secretariat Members To Take Part In Satyagraha

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India met on August 19 to review the preparations for the great satyagraha which is being organised by the Party all over the country from August 24 to 28, when one lakh Party members and supporters will offer themselves for arrest.

THE Central Secretariat decided that five members of the Secretariat, including Comrade S. A. Dange, should offer satyagraha. Comrade Dange will offer satyagraha in Bombay; Comrade Z. A. Ahmad in U.P.; Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair in Kerala; and Comrades Yogindra Sharma

and Romesh Chandra in Delhi.

The Secretariat has decided that the following three members of the Secretariat who had enrolled themselves as satyagrahis should not offer satyagraha: Comrades P. C. Joshi, G. Adhikari and C. Rajeshwar Rao.

ON SEPT. 7 PROPOSAL

S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India, issued the following statement to the press on August 20:

ENQUIRIES have come to us whether the date for the BHARAT BANDH is finally fixed for September 7. Some trade unions also seem to be under that impression.

Comrades should note that the date September 7 was suggested as a tentative proposal for all parties

and trade unions to consider.

Three important organisations, that is the Samyukta Socialist Party, and the EMS and HMP controlled by it, have now announced that they would call for an all-India hartal on September 25.

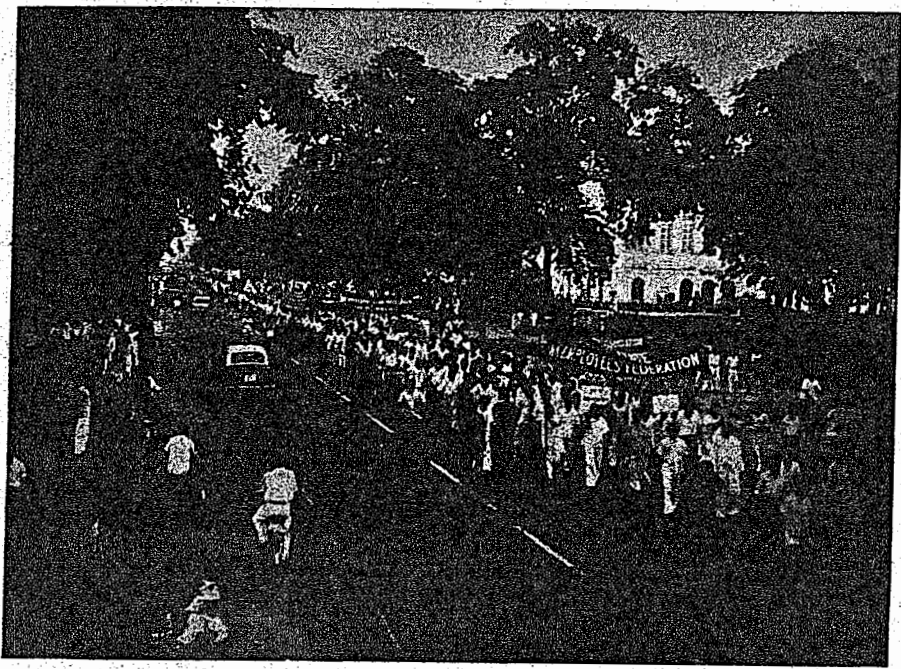
This means that they do not think a general strike to be feasible.

In view of all the Bandh series and the sacrifices that the workers have made in carrying them out, all in last three weeks' time, many people feel that one more strike as soon as in September is not possible nor advisable.

Moreover, an all-India strike to be really successful so as to cover all the major industries like iron and steel, mining, plantations, engineering, railways and transport will require herculean preparations.

Hence it must be carefully planned and prepared. Why not make the proposed hartal a small rehearsal of the great BHARAT BANDH? Such and other questions have been raised.

We cannot discuss them all here unless we have had the benefit of consultations with all our allies and friends. But one thing is clear: we are not calling the BHARAT BANDH on September 7 because it is not a unitedly agreed date. We will decide our next step after the all-India satyagraha.



The huge demonstration in Delhi on August 12 organised by Trade Unions (Photo: R. Parashar)

SAHAY MINISTRY INDICTED

Debate on No-Confidence Motion

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: The two-day debate on the no-confidence motion in the Bihar Assembly on August 7 and 8 turned out to be a powerful indictment of the Sahay Ministry for its acts of omission and commission. Though the period of its existence has been short, the list of charges made against the present government was long indeed.

THE opposition mounted a severe attack against the government for accentuating the food crisis and leading people to starvation, for its pro-hoarder and profiteer policy on the food front, for retarding the progress of Bihar, for violating the Constitution, for demoralising the administration by introducing casteism and groupism among public servants, for abusing power to gain narrow group interests and for bestowing undue favours to sons, friends and relatives of the Ministers.

The scathing attack on the Ministry was climaxed by the demand of Communist leader Sunil Mukherjee for the appointment of a commission on the lines of the Das Commission to enquire into the charges against Chief Minister K. B. Sahay.

The no-confidence motion, though lost in the Vidhan Sabha due to the "brute majority" of the ruling party, has dealt a deadly blow on the government. Charges levelled against the Ministry were so specific and serious that it has not only been thoroughly exposed but put on defensive. The Ministry has in fact suffered a political and moral defeat.

Never before a no-confidence motion against the Ministry had evoked such widespread interest among the people; never before the impact of the debate felt so deeply in political circles here. It has undoubtedly created a chain reaction which would influence the political developments in the state.

Subsequent events inside the ruling party itself is an indication that the no-confidence motion had hit the target. Chief Minister Sahay, who survived the opposition censure, is now facing a censure from his own party men.

A charge sheet, containing the same charges levelled by the opposition, has been submitted by over 60 Congress legislators to the Chief Minister who has been asked to quit. This has put the Ministry in a tight corner.

Though the no-confidence was moved against the Council of Ministers, the leader of opposition, K. N. Singh had singled out Chief Minister Sahay for his criticism. He called Sahay 'Kairon of Bihar' and listed a number of instances in which the Chief Minister had abused his power to bestow undue favours on his sons and friends.

The Swatantra leader accused Sahay of nominating one of his sons to the Regional Transport Authority and giving a Rs. 10 lakh contract to another son. While one son was alleged to have purchased "six trucks cash down," another son was accused of carrying away stores worth Rs. 70,000 belonging to another person.

Sahay, who denied the allegation against his sons, admitted that one of his sons was nominated to the Regional Transport Authority. But he does not see "anything wrong in this." Similarly he does not find any harm in his sons doing business.

The most powerful attack against the government came from Sunil Mukherjee, leader of the CPI group in the Assembly. His

responsibility for creating the food crisis, provoking unrest among the people and paralysing the economic life of the state.

The leader of the CPI group charged: "This government has failed to do justice to 2,00,000 non-gazetted employees, 86,000 teachers and industrial workers. Everywhere people are dissatisfied and the government has totally failed to do justice to any section of the people." Hence, Mukherjee declared, "this government has no justification to stay."

While dealing with the acute

Agricultural Workers' Struggle

By JAGANNATH SARKAR

During the last few months a massive struggle of the agricultural labourers has been developing in the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Gaya in Bihar. The movement has spread to about a thousand villages, involving about one lakh agricultural workers.

THE thanas of Ariari, Sikandra, Halas and Jamji (in Monghyr district), Wabsalgunj and Pakri-barwar (in Gaya district), Shah-kund, Sultanganj, Shadibhuganj, Sanhala and Rajaus (in Bhagalpur district) are affected by the movement.

This movement has initiated a very significant phase in the struggle against the feudal survivals in the countryside of Bihar.

These parts of Bihar were the storm centres of the big 'Bakast' struggles in the 'thirties, which spread over large parts of the state and put an end to various forms of feudal oppression.

It is in the fitness of things that Karyanand Sharma, one of the stalwarts of the big peasant struggles of the 'thirties, is directly leading and organising this struggle of the agricultural labourers.

The Kisan Sabha that was born out of the 'Bakast' struggles of the 'thirties was found to be inadequate for carrying forward the struggle against the remnants of feudalism. It was necessary to organise the Khet Mazdoor-Sabha alongside the Kisan Sabha.

Stormy struggles of the agricultural labourers have been going on in various villages for a long time. But the significance of the present struggle is that it is developing in an organised and coordinated fashion. It is continuously spreading over a wider area and growing in its sweep.

This mass movement of the agricultural labourers was initiated by a commission of enquiry set up by the Khet Mazdoor Sabha. The commission visited a number of villages and gathered valuable information and data concerning the conditions of the agricultural labourers.

It created a stir among the agricultural labourers in two or three thanas of Monghyr and Gaya and since then the movement has been growing.

During May and June there have been numerous meetings, rallies, demonstrations and conferences of the agricultural labourers in these areas. And these served as the preparations for the present phase of mass struggle.

In Monghyr district alone about 2,000 petitions have been placed by agricultural labourers from 79 villages demanding implementation of the Minimum Wages Act. The officials of the Labour Department, however, have taken the statements from only about 250

food crisis in the state the Communist leader held the government responsible for "murdering the people in league with a handful of blackmarketeers." He deprecated the efforts on the part of the government to suppress the hungry people by force.

Mukherjee said that industrial progress of the state had been retarded. Though Sahay had promised to put Bihar on the industrial map of India, actually it is being wiped out of the map, he said.

While dealing with the labour policy of the government Mukherjee said that it was entirely anti-labour and pro-employer. He specially cited the instances of Dalmianagar and Barauni where the workers have been denied their legitimate demands due to this policy.

In Dalmianagar an arbitration award has not been implemented and the government has not taken

any step to force the employer to implement the same.

In Barauni the management of the public sector oil refinery is persistently violating all labour legislations. This has been the main reason for unrest among the workers.

Mukherjee also criticised the attitude of the government in recognising the representative unions. The government was trying to throttle free and healthy trade union movement. He pointed out that representative unions in Jamshedpur and Hatia were not recognised.

Though the Chief Minister has given a written reply to all the charges levelled by the opposition, it has failed to convince the people. Their reaction might be summed up in one sentence said by Communist MLA, Ramavtar Singh: "Though the no-confidence motion would be lost, you have lost the confidence of the people."

four kathas homestead land or grant of such land by the government.

Apart from the token strike of agricultural labourers of South Monghyr on July 22, there have been strikes in several villages in Bhagalpur and Gaya districts.

In a number of villages the workers have received wage arrears as a result of settlement under the pressure of strikes, but in a majority of villages the minimum wages are not being paid upto now. Hence more strikes are bound to take place in this month.

Together with this struggle for implementation of the minimum wages the Khet Mazdoor Sabha has given the slogan of repudiation of the 'Kamiat' debts.

Such debt slavery is impermissible under the law of the land, but the fact that 80 per cent of agricultural labourers of this big area are still victims of illegal, feudal practices clearly shows the need of united mass action of the agricultural labourers in order to end this vestige of serfdom.

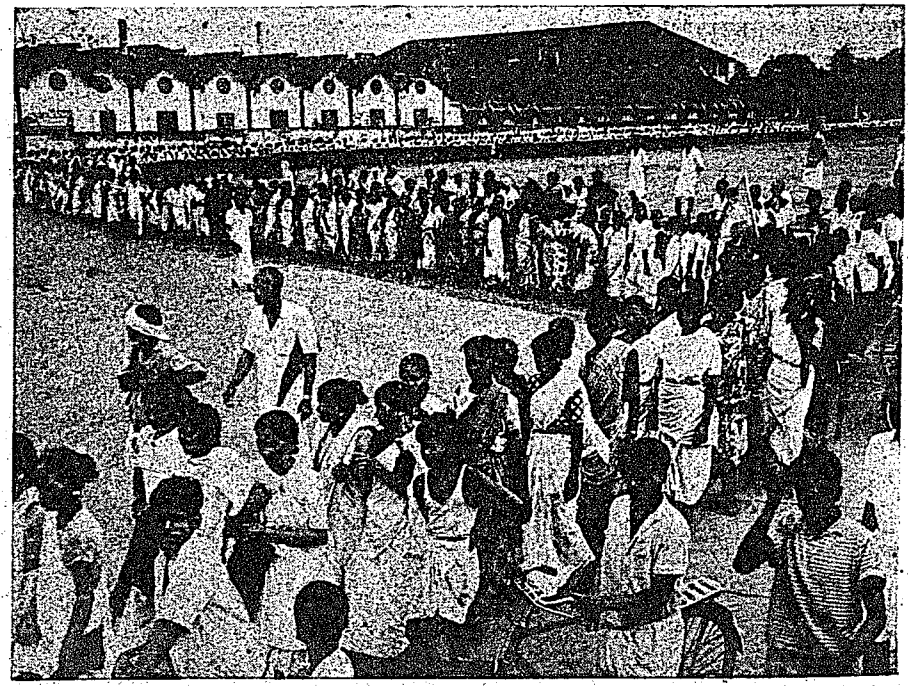
The Khet Mazdoor Sabha is fully aware that the struggle against the 'Kamiat' would force the question of right over homestead land with great urgency, because the moment 'Kamiat' is repudiated the 'Kamiat' masters would try to throw out the labourers from their homestead land.

This developing struggle of the agricultural labourers in Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Gaya districts is bound to deliver a big blow on the vestiges of feudalism in the rural areas.

The 'jagir' land is instrumental in facilitating feudal exploitation of agricultural labourers in another way also. The labourers are forced to take grain loan from the masters during the lean months and this is realised at usurious rate of rent at harvest time. And it is the product of the 'jagir' land that enables the masters to realise the loan with interest.

Their fourth demand is formal 'occupancy right over

Workers of Calicut demonstrating on July 31, Kerala Bandh Day



10,000 SATYAGRAHIS

Andhra Prepares For Big Action

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The Andhra state executive committee of the Communist Party of India concluded its deliberations on August 13 after a detailed discussion of the food situation in Andhra and the all-India satyagraha call. It has decided to put some 10,000 satyagrahis into action as part of the all-India satyagraha action, despite the fact that peasants will be busy with the sowing season at that time.

IN the vast rural areas while action will be organised to get the hoarders to disgorge their stocks at the village and mill level, attention will be focussed on the taluq headquarters in a determined effort to compel the government to act quickly and decisively.

The biggest actions will naturally take place in the cities and towns. The Hyderabad City Committee of the Party has drawn up a plan for the movement and begun the enrolment of satyagrahis.

On the 24th the wholesale market will be picketed by a batch of satyagrahis led by Makhdoom Mohiuddin; on the 25th, the banks and stock exchanges will be picketed by satyagrahis led by Raj Bahadur Gour and on

the 26th the Secretariat will be picketed by a batch led by K. L. Mahendra. The 27th will see a massive demonstration and rally to round off the campaign.

In the meantime, the SSP and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha leaders are meeting the CPI leaders to attempt to work out a coordinated campaign, with the possible participation of other parties. Issues such as the nationalisation of banks and of the wholesale trade in foodgrains will be among the subjects discussed. A proposal has been mooted to have a Hyderabad Bandh during the days of Satyagraha.

The state executive committee also discussed the question of the reckless manner in which the big wholesalers are exporting rice outside the state lured by the high profits to be gained in Bombay, Madras and Kerala. It is estimated that some 10 lakh tons have already been exported, creating the very serious danger of making Andhra a deficit state.

The state government has put some formal restrictions on such rice movements by lorries. This, of course, is being openly flouted by the profit sharks who boast of "using rupees to make rice mobile", and who are gaily using railway wagons in a fully "legal" manner. The state executive committee of the CPI has called for restriction on transport of rice outside the state by rail as well.

In the midst of this grave situation a bombshell has been flung by the newly elected President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress, Thinma Reddy. He is known for his thoroughly reactionary views, especially on the question of land reform, and is regarded as a chela of Acharya Ranga.

He has now come out with the extraordinary public statement that the difference in foodgrains price paid by the consumer and that received by the producer is due to "transport charges and central and state taxes". The hoarder and the miller and the wholesale trader just are not in the picture at all.

He went on to say that he doubted "whether state trading would bring down prices. It might create more problems because of the absence of proper machinery or a responsible procuring agency. We are trying to take away the responsibility of a large number of people (normal trade channels) throughout the country. We should be very cautious in doing so—more cautious than a man walking on quicksands."

He added for good measure "if every citizen realises his responsibility and behave well, the Bhubaneswar resolution is as good as implemented!"

Such is the man handpicked by Sanjeeva Reddy to be his front man in the top echelon of the state Congress organisation. Grave allegations have been made against him in the press for various types of malpractices while he was heading the Khadi Board in the state. It can be easily understood from this how "serious" the Andhra Congress leadership is in tackling the problem of soaring food prices and what 'socialism' means to it.

Together with concentration on the problem of building a powerful mass movement to compel policy changes with regard to food and prices, the CPI has made some notable advances in the recent period against the splitters.

In a statement to the press on August 14, N. Giri Prasad MLA has explained how the Tenali conference of the splitters had made it impossible for any person desiring the unity and progress of the CPI to remain neutral any more. The split has been publicly confirmed and formalised.

Giri Prasad was the secretary of the Khammam district council of the CPI until the splitters utilised their temporary majority to remove him as he insisted on maintaining Party discipline.

For some time after the walkout by the 32 in the National Council in April, he remained neutral in the belief that he could help restore the unity of the CPI. The splitters' activities and methods have convinced him that this was no longer possible.

With the decision of Giri Prasad and his colleagues to remain in the CPI, there has been a big change in the membership in Khammam district in favour of the national council. So also, the majority of Party members in Bapatla taluq have decided to remain in the CPI along with their leader P. Srinamulu.

The splitters are at the moment in a somewhat demoralised state since their great "days" of demonstrations have flopped badly. The Release Detenus Day on the 2nd, the Muzaffar Ahmad Day on the 5th and the Anti-Price-Rise Day on the 16th have been completely formal affairs with the most meagre of mass participation.

At the same time the strikes, satyagraha and powerful demonstrations organised by the leaders of the CPI in the state has exploded the lie that the CPI is "collaborating with the Congress" and that it is "anti-struggle". The common man, including those Party members temporarily confused by the splitters, has seen in practice who it is that really has the will and the capacity to lead their movement for a better life.



Bhowani Sen addressing Party members at CUI Hall on August 9 (Photo: Manu Ghosh)

OPPOSITION ASSAILS W. BENGAL GOVT

From AJAY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: The opposition parties in West Bengal Assembly charged the government with total failure on the food front and rampant corruption during the two-day debate on the no-confidence motion against the West Bengal government.

THEY charged that the pro-hoarder policy of the government has heaped untold hardship and miseries on the people and forced them to starvation. The rampant corruption has led to the enrichment of hoarders, black-marketeers and anti-social elements at the expense of the people and has subverted the democratic fabric of the society.

Through the debate covered familiar grounds, yet it was a powerful indictment of the West Bengal government and its policies. Some specific charges were also brought against certain ministers and high officials and the reply to these did not convince anybody. But with the brute majority in the House the government survived the no-confidence. The voting on the motion was 74 to 149.

While P. C. Sen's government could thus survive the no-confidence motion in the Assembly because of the ruling party's majority there, the situation outside in the state is not one to evoke much confidence for the government. The people's movement for food and fair prices has gathered further momentum, rallying ever bigger sections against the state government's pro-hoarder policy and failure to protect the people.

The preparations for the all India satyagraha is being stepped up through food conventions in various towns and villages of the state and the different mohallas of Calcutta industrial area. Also different sections of the working population are coming out with demands for bringing down the prices, raising wages and other measures for relieving

some of their intolerable condition. The bank employees' all-India action at the call of AIBEA was supplemented in the Calcutta region by the State Bank employees who held demonstrations for two days on identical demands. The Reserve Bank employees also held separate demonstration on August 10 demanding non-extension of the Desai Award on Reserve Bank employees and ending forced extra work by class LL staff, along with other demands as placed by the AIBEA.

The College and University Teachers' Association organised a silent procession of its members to the Raj Bhawan demanding better teaching and research facilities and more emoluments for them. The students of Calcutta under the leadership of BPSF staged a big march to the Assembly on August 10 to voice their demand on educational facilities, availability of textbooks, admission to colleges, reduction of tuition fees etc.

The Central Government employees held a mammoth rally on August 12 at the Maidan where a number of big processions from different offices converged. The rally which took place in the face of Home Minister's threat of disciplinary action was indicative of the mood of the employees. Rather, the unwarranted provocative statement made the employees more determined.

The meeting adopted resolutions demanding bringing down prices, increase in D.A. and minimum wage, correction of cost of living index, setting up of a board of arbitration to settle all disputes.

AT the call of the Calcutta District Council of the Communist Party, a protest demonstration marched from the Maidan to the Consulate General of USA in Calcutta on August 10. The procession was stopped at a great distance from the Consulate building and a deputation consisting of Bhowani Sen, secretary of the state council, Somnath Lahiri-MLA, Dr. A.M.O. Ghani MLA, Md. Elias MP and Ajay Das Gupta, secretary, Calcutta district council handed over to Consulate officials a memorandum which while protesting against the unwarranted and predatory intervention by USA in Vietnam, demanded immediate withdrawal of all US armed forces from Vietnam and entire South East Asia.

On August 7 a similar demonstration was held at the call of Seven Left Parties front.

WORLD PEACE MEET IN DELHI

International Preparatory Committee Formed

NEW DELHI: With the formation of an International Preparatory Committee and a Working Committee for it, preparations for the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation, to be held in New Delhi from November 14 to 18, has entered a new stage.

THE committees were formed at an international preparatory meeting held in New Delhi on August 17 and 18. V. K. Krishna Menon, chairman of the International Relations Committee of the Indian Preparatory Committee, presided over the meeting.

Apart from the members of the Indian Preparatory Committee, the meeting was attended by Abdel Rahman Bouchama of Algeria, Alfredo Varela of Argentina, J. E. Heffernan of Australia, Jiri Stepanovsky of Czechoslovakia, N. D. Babachar of Senegal, S. Zaki of United Arab Republic, Eugeni Oudalov of Soviet Union, V. Obradovic of Yugoslavia, Yves Chollere of the World Peace Council and Rosa Pantalon of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

The decision to convene the World Conference was taken last December in New Delhi by the Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace, which was inaugurated by the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The Continuing Committee for the Seminar decided to form an Indian Preparatory Committee for the World Conference.

This Committee includes a large number of Members of Parliament and the state legislatures, scientists, men of culture, trade unionists, teachers, lawyers and leaders of the women's, youth and student movement.

Among the chairmen of the various committees set up by the Indian Preparatory Committee are: V. K. Krishna Menon, M.P. (Chairman, International Relations Committee); K. D. Malaviya, M.P. (Chairman, National Coordination Committee); Aruna Asaf Ali (Chairman, Reception Committee); Diwan Chaman Lal, M.P. (Chairman, Executive Committee); Dr. Tara Chand, M.P. (Chairman, Cultural Committee); G. M. Srinivasan, M.P. (Chairman, Writers' Committee); Mir Mushtaq Ahmad (Chairman, Trade Unionists' Committee).

The convenors of the Indian Preparatory Committee are Dr. Anup Singh, M.P., Mahesh Dutta Mishra, M.P., Romesh Chandra, Chitta Biswas and S. Gopal Shastri. The Indian Preparatory Committee took the initiative to convene the international preparatory meeting in New Delhi. It has received a large number of messages of support for the World Conference from all parts of the world.

Among the important international organisations, which have extended their support to the World Conference are the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity

concrete steps towards a treaty for general disarmament, which must include the prohibition of all nuclear weapons and the destruction of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons).

3 Liquidation of Colonialism (including the link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for national liberation and independence; solidarity with all peoples fighting for their independence; new forms of colonialism; racialism and apartheid).

4 International Co-operation (including economic cooperation—the problems of developing countries—world trade without restrictions on the basis of equality and mutual advantage; scientific, technological and cultural cooperation; support to the initiative for the observance of the International Cooperation Year 1965).

5 Action, Cooperation and Unity of the peace forces.

The meeting approved the proposal of the Indian Preparatory Committee to constitute an International Preparatory Committee, consisting of representatives of all organisations invited to attend the Conference and which agree with its purposes.

The meeting decided to constitute a Working Committee of the International Preparatory Committee which would assemble in New Delhi about three weeks before the Conference begins.

The actual business of the Conference will start with the opening plenary session on November 15. The plenary session will continue on the next day also. On November 17 there will be commission meetings and sectional meetings of cultural workers, lawyers, trade unionists etc.

The concluding plenary session will be held on November 18. In the evening there will be a mass rally rounding off the Conference. The organisers are also arranging for cultural performances during the Conference.

Addressing a press conference in New Delhi on August 18, the foreign participants in the international preparatory meeting asserted that the Conference will be the continuation of the late Nehru's work for international understanding, peace, coexistence and friendship.

The Working Committee will consist of representatives, apart from India, from the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, Algeria, South Africa, Ghana, U.A.R., Afghanistan, Japan, Ceylon, Argentina, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, Australia, France Italy, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Yugoslavia, World Council of Peace and Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation.

According to the tentative programme for the International Conference drawn up by the preparatory meeting, there will be a special session to pay homage to the memory of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on November 14.

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All-India Muslim Consultative Convention WORKING TOWARDS MUSLIM SEPARATISM

By ZIAUL HAQ

THE first thing to note about the "Consultative" Committee as well as the Convention that has given birth to it is that here for the first time those that have been considered nationalist and others regarded as communist organisations and leaders among Muslims have been brought together on one platform. From eminent Congress leaders like Dr. Syed Mahmud who was once a member of the Congress Working Committee to leading figures of the Jamaat-e-Islami—such as the "broad front" of Muslims established by this Convention. It has brought together leaders of Jamaat-ul-Ulema and of the Muslim League on the same platform for the first time.

The Congress Muslims and the Jamaat-ul-Ulema leaders have always been regarded as nationalist Muslims while the Jamaat-e-Islami and the Muslim League have always been avowedly communal organisations.

What has happened that the nationalists among Muslims have forgotten their nationalism and joined hands with the self-proclaimed communists against them?

Far from having any qualms about so openly going back on their own past and what they have stood for all these decades, they proclaimed unity with communists as an objective and later as an achievement of the Convention. Dr. Mahmud declared in the very opening sentences of his presidential address:

"Praise to God Almighty who gave a practical shape to our long-cherished dream of being together, that there are at this meeting, people belonging to different shades of opinion—Jamaat-ul-Ulema and Jamaat-e-Islami, Muttahada Mohaz and Dini Talimi Council, Congress and League, Deobandis and Bareilvis, Hanafi and Ahle-Hadith and Sunni and Shia."

Further on as the learned Doctor exhorts the Millat to organise itself, he says:

"The pressing need of the hour is to create an atmosphere of unity among the Muslims. This is a basic need without which neither the individuals nor the society could prosper. You have to decide at this meeting that you would explore as much possibilities of unity and integration as you could. We are brothers in religion; we believe in one God and in one Prophet and regard

the Holy Quran as the fountain-spring of all righteousness and virtues. This unity of faith calls for a closer tie. If you found out the ways to unity, it would be an historical achievement.

"But if you fail, you will stand convicted in history. So far as the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims are concerned, I think, they would never forgive such persons or such parties as stand in their way to unity."

By and large the unity of this conception was achieved by the Convention.

For good or bad, this achievement signifies the end of "Nationalist Muslims" as a category. A lot of progressive-minded people in this country have always held that a "Nationalist Muslim" is a contradiction in terms, it signified the baneful mixing of religion and politics and such a being has never really existed. In any case, the latest Convention has finally laid him to rest.

The credit for this achievement must be given to the Jamaat-e-Islami. If after decades of its development in which the carving out of Pakistan as a separate state was but a milestone, Muslim separatism in this country has risen now to its pinnacle and perfection, it is thanks to this organisation.

Working quietly and systematically at the grass-roots in all spheres of life the Jamaat has burrowed deep especially in the years since independence. It is modelled on the lines of the Brotherhood in Egypt. Its main contribution to Indian political life over the years has been the perfection and propagation of the ideology of Muslim separatism.

It has simultaneously built up an organisation that is spread all over the country and is based on dedicated cadres with its tentacles going deep in towns and localities, colleges and universities.

It is the triumph of the Jamaat-e-Islami that nationalists the standing of Dr. Syed Mahmud and stalwarts of the Jamaat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind who stood all their lives against the Muslim League and the two-nation theory are today on the same platform as Mr. Mohammed Ismail, the President of the Muslim League and Maulana Abul Lais Nadwi, the Amir of the Jamaat-e-Islami.

daunt them in their consultations except the fear of incurring the displeasure of God.

The editorial goes on to declare very laudably that time should not be lost in repeating tales of horror regarding the recent communal carnage.

"What is needed now is some concrete proposal which can not only enhance the morale of the Muslim community and ensure an honourable existence for it in India but can turn it into a vital force devoted to the social, moral and spiritual well-being of the whole nation."

Nothing could be more patriotic, one would think, particularly when they talk as if they were prepared to allow Muslims to become part of "the whole nation".

But then comes the snag. It lies in the role that the Jamaat has assigned to Muslims in India. The Jamaat would like the Muslims, organised as a community, to save this country and the bulk of its population from the certain barbarism in which they are sinking.

The editorial very self-righteously and from a very high pedestal declares:

"They (the Muslims) have to prove that they are not revengeful at what has happened to Muslims in the recent riots. They are more concerned about the fate of this country where humanity can be so easily vanquished by bestiality. They are anxious to save not only themselves but the whole country."

This is no passing rhetoric. It is an article of the Jamaat-e-Islami's faith that it incultures day in and day out in its following. That Muslims—hypocritically conceded as part of "the nation" but really regarded as a community superior to all by virtue of their religion—have the mission to save not only themselves but also the majority of the people of this country who are "so easily vanquished by bestiality". The majority who are inherently inferior, again because of their religion, have to be saved from themselves irrespective of whether they want to be saved or not. That in all earnestness and seriousness is held by the Jamaat-e-Islami. That is its long term programme in India.

Crazy it might appear and disastrous it might for sure turn out to be—for the majority of the people of India, irrespective of the religion they follow, could never be expected to have themselves classified as inferior and bestial and then allow themselves to be saved by fanatics of a superior religious faith, whatever that might be—but that is what the Jamaat-e-Islami stands for and that is to what, Syed Mahmud and Co. have succumbed today.

It is exactly this complex of being the chosen people of God from which they suffer because they are nationalists or Jamaatis, that ultimately unites them all on a common platform of separatism.

"Thus this Conference is basically different from other conferences. Those who are attending it must realise that they are fulfilling a divine duty and whatever they decide must be in conformity with the Divine Will. Nothing should

be in conformity with the Divine Will. Nothing should

An All-India Muslim Consultative Convention was recently held in Lucknow. It has yielded a 21-man "Consultative" Committee charged with "devising ways and means of solving problems facing the community."

THE first thing to note about the "Consultative" Committee as well as the Convention that has given birth to it is that here for the first time those that have been considered nationalist and others regarded as communist organisations and leaders among Muslims have been brought together on one platform. From eminent Congress leaders like Dr. Syed Mahmud who was once a member of the Congress Working Committee to leading figures of the Jamaat-e-Islami—such as the "broad front" of Muslims established by this Convention. It has brought together leaders of Jamaat-ul-Ulema and of the Muslim League on the same platform for the first time.

The Congress Muslims and the Jamaat-ul-Ulema leaders have always been regarded as nationalist Muslims while the Jamaat-e-Islami and the Muslim League have always been avowedly communal organisations.

What has happened that the nationalists among Muslims have forgotten their nationalism and joined hands with the self-proclaimed communists against them?

Far from having any qualms about so openly going back on their own past and what they have stood for all these decades, they proclaimed unity with communists as an objective and later as an achievement of the Convention. Dr. Mahmud declared in the very opening sentences of his presidential address:

"Praise to God Almighty who gave a practical shape to our long-cherished dream of being together, that there are at this meeting, people belonging to different shades of opinion—Jamaat-ul-Ulema and Jamaat-e-Islami, Muttahada Mohaz and Dini Talimi Council, Congress and League, Deobandis and Bareilvis, Hanafi and Ahle-Hadith and Sunni and Shia."

Further on as the learned Doctor exhorts the Millat to organise itself, he says:

"The pressing need of the hour is to create an atmosphere of unity among the Muslims. This is a basic need without which neither the individuals nor the society could prosper. You have to decide at this meeting that you would explore as much possibilities of unity and integration as you could. We are brothers in religion; we believe in one God and in one Prophet and regard

the Holy Quran as the fountain-spring of all righteousness and virtues. This unity of faith calls for a closer tie. If you found out the ways to unity, it would be an historical achievement.

"But if you fail, you will stand convicted in history. So far as the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims are concerned, I think, they would never forgive such persons or such parties as stand in their way to unity."

By and large the unity of this conception was achieved by the Convention.

For good or bad, this achievement signifies the end of "Nationalist Muslims" as a category. A lot of progressive-minded people in this country have always held that a "Nationalist Muslim" is a contradiction in terms, it signified the baneful mixing of religion and politics and such a being has never really existed. In any case, the latest Convention has finally laid him to rest.

The credit for this achievement must be given to the Jamaat-e-Islami. If after decades of its development in which the carving out of Pakistan as a separate state was but a milestone, Muslim separatism in this country has risen now to its pinnacle and perfection, it is thanks to this organisation.

Working quietly and systematically at the grass-roots in all spheres of life the Jamaat has burrowed deep especially in the years since independence. It is modelled on the lines of the Brotherhood in Egypt. Its main contribution to Indian political life over the years has been the perfection and propagation of the ideology of Muslim separatism.

It has simultaneously built up an organisation that is spread all over the country and is based on dedicated cadres with its tentacles going deep in towns and localities, colleges and universities.

Disowned, Dishonoured... WHISPERING Gallery

DURACHAR has over-taken Sadachar. Disowned by the Congress High Command and disinherited by the government, Nanda is in a fix whether or not he should continue with his Sadachar Samiti.

INSIDER has not been enamoured of the Home Minister's modern *Dicant-Aam* but certainly is not opposed to it. It is a small effort in tackling a big problem but all the same it is an effort and has its own logic.

However, it is now clear from the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee that Nanda has been going it alone in this matter. Kamaraj has declared that the Congress has nothing to do with the Samiti. Shastri has refused to constitute a committee to supervise its working.

In fact, Shastri's aversion for it was transparent from his oblique remarks, at his press conference a fortnight ago, about demoralisation among officials.

He did not elaborate the cause of such a state of mind among bureaucrats but it is well known that most of the high officials have gone and complained to the P.M. against Nanda's Sadachar business.

I suspect that the Prime Minister's one-man "brains trust, L. K. Jha himself has been a critic. It is not known what advice he has tendered to Shastri in this matter.

But I have precedent to go by when it comes to judging Jha's outlook. Soon after Nanda took over as Home Minister the Special Branch got a bit active and grabbed four Central Government officers who were found to have links with a cable-laying firm which had already been under prosecution for swindling several state electricity boards.

When they were nabbed the Home Ministry regarded it as a feather in Nanda's white cap and gave due publicity to it. Normally such publicity is not given except at the prosecution stage or after the departmental action whichever the case may be.

In this case also no names were disclosed but their departments were revealed and the expensive gifts which the SPE had seized from their houses were listed.

On seeing it in print the top bureaucrats hit the ceiling. At a meeting summoned by Nanda they protested, one by one, at what they called premature publicity.

Commerce and Industry Secretary Ranganathan had stated that his department was paralysed after the publicity, that no officer was prepared to take decision lest he be implicated later on.

L. K. Jha, now the Secretary of the Prime Minister, was the most vital. He was then the Secretary of the Economic Division of the Finance Ministry.

"We are being treated like a criminal tribe," he made bold to say to Nanda.

This mutiny of the minions in the secretariat had its effect in this that no publicity has since been given to similar cases.

What I am driving at is that none needs to be surprised at the disavowal of the Sadachar Samiti by Shastri who is surrounded by the most case-hardened bureaucrats.

As for the Congress President, presumably it is determined by the hostility of Atulya Ghosh and others to the Sadachar movement.

In short, both the Congress and the government have frowned upon even the flea-bite of a Sadachar movement.

It's good news, if true, that the government has decided to fill some of the Afro-Asian diplomatic posts with men from public life in India. Too long have we put up with petty district magistrates of the days of the British Empire bringing disgrace to the country.

Many instances leap to my mind when I think of this sufferable tribe in our foreign service. Not long ago there was a man in Ghana who used to go about saying that he used to wash his hands with water if not with milk whenever he shook hands with an African, be he anybody, even President Nkrumah. He had to be withdrawn.

This is by no means an exhaustive list. But before I stop I must inform you about another ICS diplomat in an important Asian capital who does not permit his First Secretary to be a member of the same golf club of which he is a member!

Again, our man in Rome, when told to move to Burma,

asked the Foreign Ministry to go to hell. Instead of sacking the impudent fellow, he was posted to a station of his choice.

There was the case of an Indian diplomat who, while coming away from the capital of an East European country, replaced the silver set of our Embassy there by an EPNS set. All that the Foreign Ministry did was to bale him out of the foreign service and revert him to his parent state. After a spell there this ICS guy is back at the Centre as a full-fledged secretary of a ministry.

Then there was the case of a chap who, on return home, folded up the Embassy carpets in his personal baggage and landed in the dog-house for a while. But soon he was rehabilitated as a result of high-level wire-pulling.

Lately, one of our top diplomats who is presently occupying an equally top position in the External Affairs landed at Palam with unauthorised goods. The case was referred to the Vigilance Commission and somehow he has been cleared.

"Worldwide Phenomenon" ?

INFORMATION and Broadcasting Minister Indira Gandhi is extremely angry with "the habit of most Indians of presenting a de-

—INSIDER

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

JAN SANGH AND FOOD

THE meeting of the general council of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh held in Gwalior from August 11 will merit detailed treatment later.

At present, as I write, I have only with me, a PTI news despatch, giving the text of the draft resolution on food and the price situation.

The very first proposal in this draft is "shelving of the proposed nationalisation and monopolisation of foodgrains".

The reactionary Jan Sangh voices the slogans of the worst vested interests, when it opposes the democratic demand for state trading in foodgrains.

It is clear that there is nothing in common between the Jan Sangh's food "campaign" and the great movement launched by the Communist Party and other democratic parties and mass organisations.

Those who, like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, seek to slur over basic contradictions in approach between the Right-wing parties and the democratic movement, do a distinct disservice to the toilers' struggle.

No united struggle is possible between the Right parties of the food thieves, profiteers and hoarders and the people's movement, which places at the head of its demands state trading in foodgrains and nationalisation of banks.

These arguments absolve government's policies, also of their dangerous and disastrous results.

There is no ground whatsoever for this type of assertion. It is not possible to make black white. The sooner over-enthusiastic hymn-singers to the glories of Congress rule realise this, the better for them and the country.

Fact For The Apologists

The National Consumer Service, a "price intelligence survey", sponsored jointly by the Planning Commission and the Bharat Sewak Samaj, has published figures on price statistics for Delhi which should help the apologists for government policies to understand the truth a little better.

Here is what the latest report of the survey says:

"The prices of certain commodities have more than doubled since March last year."

"The price of mustard oil has registered a rise of up to 15 per cent during the month and more than 100 per cent since March last year."

"Various indigenous varieties of wheat, which were selling at 50 paise to 56 paise per kilo early last month are today available at 55 paise to 65 paise per kilo."

"The prices of common varieties of cloth have also gone up. A pair of dhoties, available for Rs. 10.98 early last month, is today selling at Rs. 12.50. The price of long cloth of various varieties has gone up by about 30 paise per yard."

"Even the price of red chillies, which had been declining during the first half of this year, has started rising. The rise during the month has been up to 15 paise per kilo." (THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, dated August 14)

But then some people only know the "global" prices and not those in the Delhi bazars.

—Romesh Chandra

U.P. HUNGER-STRIKE A BIG SUCCESS

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: Nearly six thousand people took part in the 24-hour mass hungerstrike on August 9 and 10 organised by the Uttar Pradesh state council of the Communist Party of India. Fifty people led by two members of the state secretariat of the Party took part in the hungerstrike in Lucknow.

THE action was spread over the whole state—from Dehra Dun and Naini Tal in the north to Jhansi, Jalaun and Banda in the south, from Bareilly, Budaura and Bijnor in the west to Gorakhpur, Azamgarh and Ghazipur in the east.

Apart from party functionaries and members, quite a number of friends and sympathisers of the food movement that the Party has launched took part in the hungerstrike action.

The hungerstrike was the first stage of the three-stage struggle which the UP council of the Party has planned to synchronise with the nationwide satyagraha from August 24 to 28.

The second stage is the UTTAR PRADESH BANDH—

general strike and hartal on August 18, a call for which has been given jointly by the Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party and the Republican Party.

Energetic and massive preparations are going on everywhere for the general strike, the first of its kind since Independence. Along with the CPI, both the SSP and the Republican Party are actively working to make it a success.

Trade union organisations affiliated to the AITUC, Hind Mazdoor Sabha and the UTUC are working hand in hand with the joint action committee which have been formed in all industrial centres to prepare for the general strike. The UP Kisan Sabha has also extended its support to it.

Powerful Samyukta Sa-

gharsh Samitis have been formed in Kanpur, Lucknow, Varanasi and Agra to supervise the preparations for the strike.

In Kanpur and other industrial centres, notices have been served on the managements by the unions informing them of the workers' decision to go on strike on August 18.

Students and office employees are expected to join the struggle. Markets are also likely to remain closed on the day.

Meanwhile, largescale enrolment of volunteers for the national satyagraha from August 24 to 28 is go-

ing on all over the state. This will be the third stage of the food struggle as far as Uttar Pradesh is concerned.

The state council of the Party meeting in Lucknow from August 1 to 4 has given a call for enrolling 20 thousand satyagrahis. It endorsed the decision of the state executive to raise a fund of Rs. 10 thousand for this struggle.

Satyagraha will be offered in all important places in the state including Lucknow. In the state capital, the satyagraha in front of the Council House will be led by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, leader of the Communist group in the Assembly.

Three more MLAs, Chandrajeet Yadav, Bikhalal and Raghuram will join the satyagraha contingent in the state capital. All the other Communist MLAs and both the MPs will participate in the satyagraha in their respective districts.

To conduct the struggle, the state council has constituted an action committee consisting of Z. A. Ahmad, Kalishankar Shukla, Jai Bahadur Singh, Sarjoo Pandey, S. S. Yusuf, Jharkhande Rai, Ramesh Sinha, Chandrajeet Yadav, Shanti Tyagi, Ashok Bose, Harish Tewari, Gur Prasad and Ram Asrey.

The committee is trying to persuade the SSP and the Republican Party also to join the satyagraha. In Agra, the action committee has already decided to launch satyagraha from August 17.

In Agra, the so-called left Communists are conspicuous by their opposition to this movement. Their contribution to the people's struggle for food has been a filthy-worded leaflet condemning the satyagraha and calling every member of the action committee an "anti-Communist".

Rajasthan Prepares For Satyagraha

From H. K. VYAS

JAIPUR: As the dates August 24 to 28 draw near, reports are coming in from all the districts of Rajasthan about energetic preparations for the nationwide satyagraha for people's food.

DISTRICT councils of the Communist Party are meeting and chalking out satyagraha plans. Target for enrolment of volunteers is being raised in almost every district.

The Alwar district council had set a target of sending 400 satyagrahis. The council has now met and raised it to 600. When it comes to the satyagraha, it is likely to go up more.

Again, the Ajmer district council raised its target from 100 volunteers to 250, after an initial round of enrolling volunteers.

District units in Bharatpur and Savai Madhopur have met on August 15 and 16 and fixed targets for enrolling volunteers.

Rallies are being held every day in different places. Nagpur saw a food rally on August 16; Bhiwarra on August 17. Dungarpur and Lunkaransar are having rallies on August 19; Udaipur on August 20.

Leaflets have already been distributed by the district units and enrolment of volunteers is going apace.

If present reports are any indication, the number of volunteers who will take part in the satyagraha in Rajasthan will be about 2,500. Originally, the state council had fixed a target of only 1,500 satyagrahis.

Even in Jaipur city, which is known as a Swatantra and Jan Sangh stronghold, the food movement is gaining momentum. The number of satyagrahis in the city is expected to be 250.

Sweep Of Movement

Jaipur has already witnessed the sweep of the movement which started with the hungerstrike from August 1 to 5 by five Communist workers led by M. A. Potkar. This was followed by another hunger strike by textile and roadways workers.

So much has been the people's enthusiasm over the food agita-

tion that a united movement has come up here. The local unit of the SSP also supported the movement and a joint statement was issued by the CPI and the SSP and some progressive independents.

The statement demanded fixation of price of wheat at Rs. 20 a maund for good quality, seizure of all stocks and sale at this price, state trading in foodgrains and nationalisation of banks.

The statement also declared that parties like Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party pursued a pro-hoarder and pro-monopoly policy and hence there could be no common ground between them and the food movement led by the joint front of Communist and Socialist parties.

The "left Communists" had shown an inclination to join the joint front earlier, but they demanded that this reference to the reactionary policies of the Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh should be deleted from the joint statement. Since this was found unacceptable, they kept away from the united food movement.

Now the Communist Party is trying to persuade the SSP to join the August 24 to 28 satyagraha movement also. Efforts are also being made to make the proposed all-India general strike a success.

ALL-INDIA SATYAGRAHA August 24 to 28

The following circular to all CPI units on the ALL-INDIA SATYAGRAHA was sent out by the Central Secretariat on August 17:

PREPARATIONS for all-India satyagraha are in full swing throughout the country. People are coming forward in ever increasing numbers to express their discontent and indignation against rising prices and food crisis. The whole country is resounding with popular meetings, demonstrations, hungerstrikes, hartals and 'bandhs'.

In these innumerable actions of the toiling people of India is being forged an all-India consciousness, solidarity and sanction to stop the monopolist loot and change the price and food policy of the government in favour of the people. There is no doubt that, given proper organisation and leadership, the all-India satyagraha will be successful and effective in giving proper expression, form and direction to this growing consciousness, solidarity and sanction.

The all-India satyagraha, being the first of its kind which the Party is organising directly under its banner, naturally gives rise to certain questions which need clarification. Since our first circular on the all-India satyagraha, Comrade Dange has written two articles in the NEW AGE explaining what this satyagraha is and how it should be organised.

Satyagraha : Against Whom & For What?

It is against hoarders, speculators and their financiers, the bankers, as well as against the government whose price and food policies breed and feed these enemies of people's food. Writing on the Delhi plan of satyagraha, Comrade Dange has pinpointed this aspect of the satyagraha:

"It will be a three-day action on the three major vital sectors of the present crisis—that is, the holders of food, finance and state power, the unholy trinity that is responsible for people's misery."

Extreme Right and Left in Indian politics have combined to criticise this satyagraha as helping the government. They want satyagraha to be confined exclusively against the government. According to them, satyagraha against hoarders and speculators is helping the government. By this criticism, they only cover up hoarders and speculators and help them to further tighten their grip over the government.

We want to smash up the hoarders' grip and change the pro-hoarder policy of the government in popular interests so that the prices are brought down and people are

ensured food and other articles of daily necessity at cheap prices within their easy reach.

In order to fight the hoarders, as well as the pro-hoarder policy of the government the satyagraha will be done against "the unholy trinity". It will be in the form of peaceful picketing. Elaborating this point, Comrade Dange has written:

"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 stock exchanges of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and 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 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 life-line of the common mass of people."

Picket grain mandis, picket big banks, picket stock exchanges, picket government offices—are our slogans. Various state and district committees should decide where, what and how many of these centres should be selected for picketing. This selection should be made on the basis of our mobilising capacity, number of satyagrahis, popular support, location of the centres, etc.

Question has been raised if the satyagrahis are to try to "capture", enter or occupy the wholesale grain shops or banks and governmental centres.

Present Aim

We have no such intentions. The present stage of struggle does not envisage "capture of power" or "overthrow of government" or "democratic expropriation" of monopoly property by mass action.

The struggle should not be allowed to be sidetracked by such phrases, which in today's conditions are unreal and in a way sound only "romantic."

The aim of the satyagraha struggle is to organise the consciousness of the people on correct political-economic lines, to put them into peaceful and democratic extra-parliamentary action and to organise the Party as the leadership of

CENTRAL SECRETARIAT'S CIRCULAR TO PARTY UNITS

the action, so that government and the monopolists are forced to change their policies.

Question has been raised whether in those places or states where strikes have taken place, as in Maharashtra, the satyagraha has any use and whether such places can be exempted.

It is true that strike or total "bandh" actions have taken place, in this very month, that the Party has played a prominent or leading role in all of them. Party members have had no respite for a long time.

Even then, the satyagraha should be pursued as it has its own value and role.

Moreover, there are many states and places where the "bandh" actions have not taken place; in fact, majority of states have had no "bandh" at all.

Satyagraha : How Long?

Question has been raised about the duration of satyagraha, whether it should be five days, three days, one day or indefinite.

It should not be indefinite. Indefinite satyagraha will be wrong from the practical point of view. It will be also wrong from the point of view of next stage of all-India action, viz. Bharat Bandh, which we have proposed to other trade union organisations and political parties. It should be of a definite and short period, depending on our strength and popular support, preferably for three days only. Some units would like to have it for one day only. If circumstances require, they could do it for one day only.

There is no such proposal. These are statewide and local actions to be simultaneously undertaken throughout the country.

Unite In Action

In order to forge unity in action, we have written to leaders of the SSP, RSP, Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad, PWP, etc. But we must bear in mind that the satyagraha is essentially an all-India action led by the Party and supported by masses and organisations on whom it has influence.

It is possible that, on local plane, the SSP and some others may extend their co-operation. Their cooperation should be sought. But we should not dilute the charac-

ter and demands of the satyagraha for getting their co-operation.

In no case we should seek alliance and cooperation with the Swatantra and Jan Sangh because though they are ready to expose the Congress, their approach and demands are, in the main, opposite to ours and are helpful to the extreme reactionaries and to the monopolists and hoarders themselves.

We should seek cooperation in various forms of all those elements, including Congressmen, who support our demands, which are:

- Reduce prices of all essential commodities;
- Fix prices remunerative to producers and reasonable to consumers;
- Confiscate stocks of the big hoarders;
- Open cheap foodgrain shops;
- De-hoard the stocks;
- Increase Dearness Allowances for factory workers and employees;
- Take over wholesale trade in foodgrains;
- Nationalise banks; abolish forward-trading and stock-exchange operations;
- Ensure minimum wages to agricultural labourers;
- Ban evictions;
- Bring cultivable wasteland under the plough;
- Implement land ceilings;
- Build 100 State Farms like Suratgarh and end American imports.

★

Forward to All-India Satyagraha on August 24!

All-India Satyagraha zindabad!

Communist Party zindabad!

Down with speculators and blackmarketeers!

Down with the pro-hoarder policy of the government!

Feed the people or quit the Gaddi!

Long live people's unity and action!

Onward to Bharat Bandh!

PUNJAB'S PROGRAMME

JULIANDUR: The secretariat of the Punjab state council of the Communist Party of India has, at its meeting on August 14, given final shape to the August 24 to 28 satyagraha programme.

Ten thousand volunteers will offer satyagraha on the five days in various parts of the state.

The first batch of satyagrahis in Julundur will be led by Avtar Singh Malhotra, secretary of the state council, in Patiala by Teja Singh Swatan-

tar MLC and in Chandigarh by Master Hari Singh MLC.

These batches, fifty in each, will start as jathas from Ferozepur, Mansa and Hoshiarpur respectively and address meetings and rallies on their way to the satyagraha centres.

The Julundur unit of the Party has decided that a batch of women will go on a 24-hour hungerstrike at Chowk Rainak Bazar on August 18.

The Communist MLAs in Punjab are observing a 48-hour fast from August 17 to 19 as part of the campaign for people's food.

general secretary of the GSTUC, said: "The serious manmade food crisis has left the people with no other alternative but to resent and lodge its strong protest against the anti-people's policy of the government."

The decision to call for GOA BANDH has had good response from the workers who have been quick to express their support for the general strike.

The managing committee of the Mazgaon Dock Workers' Union has promised its wholehearted support to the move. All the 400 workers at the Mazgaon dock will stay away from work on August 20.

Another union which has supported the strike move is the Oil Workers' Union. Both Burmah-SHELL and Esso workers will join the proposed one-day strike, according to the Union's general secretary, Gajanan Patil.

- Take over immediately the trading in wholesale food grains and other essential commodities.
 - Supply sufficient foodgrain quotas to the existing cooperative consumer societies and fair price shops and open more fair price shops in all villages.
 - Punish severely the hoarders and blackmarketeers under the Defence of India Rules.
 - Declare substantial interim relief in the form of dearness allowance pending the finalisation and compilation of the cost of living index for Goa.
- Releasing the resolution to the press, Gerald Pereira,

PANJIM: The executive committee of the Goa State Trade Union Council has called for GOA BANDH on August 20 to focus the government's attention on the grave food and price situation.

A RESOLUTION passed by the executive at its meeting on August 12 and 13 called on workers in port, docks and mines, governmental and commercial employees, retail shopkeepers, students, taxi drivers and other sections of the people to observe a 24-hour general strike and hartal on August 20.

The meeting was attended by representatives of all the eight affiliated unions of the GSTUC. George Vaz, general secretary of the Goa Mining-Labour Welfare Union presided.

The resolution passed by the meeting called on the government to take the following steps:

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Why Ideology Cannot Prevent A Split?

The CPI adheres to Marxism-Leninism, so do the splitters. How is it that this common ideology has not been sufficient to prevent a split? (R. D. KOTHARI, Bikaner)

Marxism-Leninism is both a method of looking at and analysing objective reality as well as a system of thought, a logical arrangement of conclusions arrived at through the analysis of reality with the help of the method.

In this respect there is no difference between the manner of operation of Marxist-Leninists and other scientists engaged in their work in the natural or social sciences.

Fundamental to the entire method and system of Marxism is the recognition of objective reality, that is of matter as a category independent of and, indeed, giving rise to cognition and knowledge. To put it in a popular way, matter or objective reality is the supreme master and teacher of all Marxists.

In order to understand objective reality, including social systems, Marxism is only a guide to research and action. Engels long ago warned us not to foist any ready-made schemes on reality, not to strait-jacket it.

It is inevitable that this study of objective reality will encounter varied and serious obstacles.

This is all the more so when we realise that objective reality is not some ready-made lump of clay waiting to be moulded. It is a process in a state of continuous change and development.

It is, therefore, equally inevitable that there will be sharp and serious differences between Marxists in the preliminary stages of examining some new aspect or new development of objective reality.

In this, the Marxists are not alone. Bitter and vital con-

versies rock the scientific world whenever any really important advance is being made in the field of knowledge.

All those who participate in these debates, whether among the Marxists or among the natural scientists, are themselves Marxists and scientists and the mere existence of even the most bitter of differences does not deprive any of the participants of this title.

Apart from the intractable and complex nature of objective reality, especially social reality, these differences have yet another source.

All scientists including Marxists are also citizens living in class-divided societies or societies only recently freed from class division, with hangovers of class society and subject to the pressure of the hostile classes which remain dominant in a huge portion of the world.

It is only natural, therefore, that anti-Marxist and anti-scientific ideas, moods and methods of thinking should penetrate both Marxist parties and gatherings of so-called "pure" scientists.

Consciously or unconsciously many Marxists and scientists allow these hostile influences to colour their outlook even as they try their best to apply the Marxist and scientific method to the problem being discussed.

As a result of what began as and in many respects may continue to be a scientific controversy takes on other dimensions, with all sorts of extraneous considerations. Differences harden and can even degenerate into prejudice or worse.

Thus, a mere adherence to Marxism-Leninism or to the

approach of science can neither prevent differences nor even divisions and splits. This is precisely what is happening in the world

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Communist movement, including the CPI.

At the very heart of the present fierce controversy is the analysis of the new epoch. Is it really new? Does imperialism still determine the main trend of world developments? Or is it the main imperialist forces, with the world socialist system increasingly becoming the decisive factor? Are there new possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism in the new epoch? What new forms is the collapse of colonialism assuming? These are among the new facets of developing objective reality that need careful and sustained analysis.

Similarly, in India the Communist Party has to grapple with questions like the class character of the new state; the main trend of the policies of the ruling class and its basic consequences; the level of consciousness of the vast mass of the people; the new possibilities of advance in the context of an independent India and a new balance of world class forces.

Now these debates and discussions have to go on simultaneously with action. The CPI cannot and has not adopted the attitude of making itself a mere debating society until unanimity is reached. Not only would this be an abdication of its responsibility to the people of India; this itself would be an anti-scientific attitude.

Arriving at some tentative conclusions, the CPI has to verify them in the crucible of class struggle and extensive mass movements. And for this kind of verification the CPI has to move as a united and well organised force. Practice alone, revolutionary action alone, can tell us whose judgment of objective reality was the correct one.

This is precisely what the splitters refused to agree to. Not only was the debate vitiated by their vulgar methods of name-calling and character assassination, but they were not prepared to wait, to loyally carry out the conclusions of the majority and after implementing them again judge who was right.

Thus, their very approach to the controversy in the CPI went counter to the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism.

In this they were only following in the footsteps of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. They, too, re-

fused to respond to the appeal of the Communist Party of Soviet Union and the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties of the world to abide by common conclusions and give time a chance to work. They stepped up their abuse and openly came out for splits.

A simple question should be answered both by the CPC and the splitters in India. Is this the method they propose to adopt when differences arise in their

each other and then calling "unity conferences." Even now the Trotskyite movement is hopelessly splintered.

This method of splitting is a reflection of their serious petty-bourgeois deviation, with all its frenzy, rushing to extremes, impatience and congenial hatred of organisation and discipline. It is combined with another petty-bourgeois disease—intolerance, demanding of blind loyalty from the ranks and deification of individuals to varying degrees at varying levels.

If they persist in their errors and prolong their basically anti-scientific attitude, the danger arises of their giving up Marxism-Leninism altogether. After all, this is also what happened to so many Trotskyites as it also happened to a good number of revisionists. But this is not inevitable.

There can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of those who have gone over to the splitters will continue to be Marxist-Leninists, learn from the experience of the sweeping mass movements now in progress and return to the CPI. This is the compulsion both of reality and of the science to which they owe their allegiance.

—MOHIT SEN

"pure revolutionary" parties? After all, they can neither deny that there are differences among them now nor that further differences are bound to arise in the future.

If they follow their present method the prospect is one of endless splits. Indeed, this is precisely what happened to the Trotskyite splitters, whose main job for decades has been abusing

US Shadow Over Southeast Asia

OPERATION BOA CONSTRICTOR: US Conspiracy in SE Asia by S. P. Amarasingham (Tribune Publications, Colombo 2) Pages 42, Price 75 cents.

FOREIGN AID AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SE ASIA by S. P. Amarasingham (Tribune Publications, Colombo 2) Pages 44, Price 75 cents.

THESE two booklets by the well-known editor of the Ceylon left-wing weekly, TRIBUNE, deals with a living threat to the free nations in Southeast Asia—political domination and economic exploitation by the United States.

countries who could offer aid with better terms made the capitalists revamp their aid policy. Still only the form of aid changed, the aim remained the same.



BOOK REVIEW

Having achieved their independence from colonial rule, these countries had embarked on the task of building their economic structure. They wanted not only political freedom but economic independence as well.

But soon they found out that without aid and help from the advanced countries they could not build at the pace at which they wanted to.

Both the socialist bloc and the capitalist countries were prepared to aid the less developed countries in SE Asia. But there was an essential difference in the aid from these two blocs.

The socialist countries were offering aid to the less developed countries so that the latter might build an independent economy, while the capitalist countries were offering aid with all sorts of strings.

The capitalists wanted the economies of the less developed countries to be subservient to theirs. There was military aid which aimed at direct political domination and there was economic aid which aimed at keeping the less developed countries permanent raw material suppliers.

However, the emergence of the socialist countries as genuine friends of the less developed

The two booklets by Amarasingham brings out clearly the dangers of the game which the United States is playing in SE Asia today. In every walk of life the shadow of US imperialism is cast long and thick.

American military aid has virtually subjugated the countries receiving it; economic aid seeks to strangle the economies of the countries receiving it; and then there are the USIS, the CIA, the Peace Corps and several other agencies, all working overtime to subvert the independent nations.

With facts and figures the author has clearly established the nefarious role of the US in SE Asia. His style is racy but the conclusions well drawn with ample supporting data despite the limited space.

The author has said in his introduction to the 'Boa Constrictor' that he has "gathered much material". The theme deserves more detailed treatment and it is to be hoped that Amarasingham would do it soon.

—P.V.P.

SPOTLIGHT

Guruji's Exhortations

ment never to come forward against them.

It is pressuring Lal Bahadur's weak and vacillating government on behalf of the hoarders and speculators whose interests it primarily represents. Golwalkar has personally met the Prime Minister.

Meanwhile RSS boys, themselves mostly scions of the "trading class", are being activated through their rallies. And Jan Sangh men are being galvanised into action to run with the hare and hunt with the hound.

Swatantra leader CR has also come out for the speculators in this food crisis. But his strategy, as befits his party, is even more concerned with bolstering the landlord's cause. "The land policies followed in recent times are at the root of the food situation", he has declared: (SWARAJYA, August 15)

He has reverted to the old Swatantra theme that the constitutional amendments regularising the steps against landlords are a crime. CR has already demanded that even the 1948 amendment of the Constitution, which enabled the takeover of feudal zamindars, should be rescinded. Bring back the zamindars! This is what really should be called fishing in troubled waters.

THE present food crisis has exposed the anti-social interests in an unprecedented measure. Hence the desperation of their advocates. Even a TIMES OF INDIA commentator (Nandan Kagal) has this to say on the pre-

sent situation which is without a parallel:

"The crisis today is not due to an overall food shortage in the country but is rather the result of hoarding on the part of a section of growers and traders." (chelas of Shri Guruji)

Further: "There has been a great deal of talk about a 'grower-trade axis'. It has been said that apart from hoarding foodgrains themselves, traders have been encouraging the hoarding of foodgrains by growers in the surplus states in a variety of ways. The rich peasant is no doubt in a position to hold back supplies from the market in anticipation of a further rise in prices; the capacity of this less affluent peasant to do this is necessarily more limited and it has been alleged that he has, nevertheless, been enabled to do so through the extension of credit by the trader. Further allegation is that black money is being used for such purposes." (August 5)

Here one can see all the miscreants. The speculators, hoarders, those who extend credit for hoarding, and the black money in operation. Government is another culprit inasmuch as it fails to effectively block the black operations.

One also sees clearly that the "scapegoats" are no "goats" at all, but veritably a pack of Siberian wolves. RSS and Jan Sangh are representatives of these wolves.

As for the government, it has to be arraigned not for restricting the operation of this pack, but in allowing them too much freedom to prey upon the people. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur did not refer even once to the hoarders and speculators in his Red Fort speech!

—GARUDA

CONGRESS CRISIS AND THE KAMARAJ PLAN

By K. U. WARIER

the crisis which enveloped the party and the government. It was equally necessary to satisfy its rank and file which had become increasingly critical of its policies in administration and blamed the leadership for the defeats in the byelections.

Thus the Kamaraj plan was the child of this crisis of the ruling party. The AICC meeting reconvened by 84 members which met on August 9-10, 1963 to discuss the byelection results also adopted the resolution on Kamaraj plan. It was first adopted by the Working Committee on August 9 and passed by the AICC the next day.

As Congress President Kamaraj writing in the AICC Economic Review has admitted, though the plan was named after him, it was the late Prime Minister Nehru who was largely responsible for its evolution. The AICC naturally authorised him to take decision as to who all among his colleagues and among the state Chief Ministers should quit office.

The decision of the Prime Minister on the resignations

was widely welcomed; particularly the exit of Morarji and S. K. Patil, two of the avowed representatives of the Right, from the Central Cabinet was the focus of attention. It was also the signal for an attack on the Kamaraj plan from the Right reaction inside and outside the Congress who felt that they had been let down and elbowed out in the process—a process which they had hoped would not harm them.

The open criticism of the Kamaraj plan voiced by S. K. Patil soon after his exit had clearly shown that the spirit of "service and sacrifice" did not naturally come to the losers under the plan. Any idea that the Kamaraj plan would induce Congressmen to give up group loyalties was belied when the ousted ministers began to grumble and look around for more group support to get back into power.

The course of developments since then in a number of states has only highlighted the dissension in the organisation centering on the idea of capturing power. To take a look at the current scene, the furious quarrels between ministerialists and dissidents, between the executive and organisational wings in states like UP, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Bihar and Kerala provide the commentary for the Kamaraj plan's performance.

The sudden illness of Jawaharlal Nehru in January last and subsequently his passing away in May put an end to the prospect of Kamaraj plan surviving for any long period. Attention was focussed on the battle for succession and the ultimate choice of Lal Bahadur Shastri for leadership, the return of S. K. Patil into the Central Cabinet and the emergence of "the syndicate" has drastically altered the situation and reformed the alignments at the Centre.

As for the other ministers axed under the plan, some have disappeared in the political wilderness of their states while others continue to nurse their grievance and plot. In any case, it is universally admitted that the ministers who went out under the plan have not contributed to strengthening and unifying the party.

The more vocal sections in the party which played a leading role in pushing to the fore the question of ideology for the Congress after the last year's crisis and which, despite the indifference of the leadership and attempts to curb, led the battle at Bhubaneswar for some kind of socialist assertion, for concrete measures like state trading, nationalisation, better distribution and controls are again the forces in the Congress which today find the situation most disconcerting and grave. But they are hampered as much by their own confusion and disunity as by the expert manoeuvres of the men at the top.

The AICC which meets before the Parliament session opens in September would be taking an unreal view of the situation if it does only consider some non-official resolutions which have been in the files for a long time and ignores the crisis issues before the country.

opposition parties. Particularly, the return of the Asoka Mehta group of the PSP and some Swatantra elements into the Congress is pointed out as a sign of Congress consolidation in this period.

However, the political and economic factors which underlay the crisis of 1963 and which brought into being the Kamaraj plan are not only very much in evidence but if at all more pronounced today. The government's failure on the food front, the rising prices, the hunger marches, hartals and strikes by workers and other sections of the people in various parts of the country have posed a bigger challenge than last year's for the government.

Corruption has become a vast topic in the Congress politics and administration in the states and dissidents of different hues and loyalties have not hesitated to use it for internecine quarrels. Lately a number of delegations had been on a pilgrimage to New Delhi to present charge sheets about their respective Chief Ministers to the Congress President.

Meanwhile, Home Minister Nanda's sponsoring of the Sadachar Samiti to fight corruption has evoked opposition from influential quarters, and the High Command itself has scrupulously avoided identifying the organisation with the move.

Focus On Policies

Against such a background, even the most optimistic of Congress circles in the capital do not believe that the present challenge before the party and the government can be met by organisational patch-up or by renewing promises to the people. The answer has to be sought elsewhere, in policies that have hit the people and in the avoidance of some of the better policies that were once advocated.

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(August 17)

MAHARASHTRA BANDH !

The Maharashtra Bandh of August 12, 1964, was an unprecedented event, not only in the history of the working-class in India, but even in national history. Thirty lakh workers in factories, offices, shops, municipal services, transport, eating houses—in fact all industries, trades, professions and services—were on strike and had ceased to function. The life of a whole state of 40 million people had come to a standstill for twenty-four hours.

The cohesion, consciousness, unity and will to act against the anti-social, profit-hunting monopoly bankers and traders and the Congress government which aided, abetted, and shielded them had burst forth in gigantic action on the day of August 12. The struggle of the democratic toiling masses against the rule of monopoly capital had taken a step forward. It was democracy in action which brought the whole machine that moves the daily life of society to a halt, in order to tell the government to change their anti-people policies or face still mightier actions.

AUGUST 12 was a warning bell of the future to come. When August 12 of Maharashtra Bandh will have matured into a Bharat Bandh some day, the battle of the toiling masses of India for democracy, living wage and socialism will have taken its greatest stride forward; then alone, firm foundations of working class unity, foundations of the alliance of the workers, peasants and middle-classes will have been laid. Maharashtra Bandh of August 12 provided a model for it.

Maharashtra Bandh was not a mere general strike. In recent years popular struggles led by the working class have gone beyond the strike. The bandh is not a general strike. But is a stoppage of every facet of economic and social activity. The bandh is a general strike and hartal combined in one united action.

In the old days of the anti-imperialist struggles, we have seen either hartals or spontaneous political strikes. But a total bandh, that is, all activities of all the toiling sections of the society being halted under the central directive of the leadership, had never been worked out in the old days. As such, the Bombay Bandh, Maharashtra Bandh and Bharat Bandh idea and slogan is a new phenomenon in the new struggle for the economic and political demands of the democratic masses of workers, peasants and middle-classes of India.

Of course, the leading force in this stride forward is the organised working class in the major industries joined in by the workers in key services such as transport. In Maharashtra, Bombay City played the leading role; and in the city, the major and biggest striking force were the textile workers, engineering workers, transport workers fol-

lowed by others. The single biggest organised section was the two lakhs of textile workers, the next biggest being the engineering and the services.

It was the distinctive feature of August 12 bandh that all sections of the working class, the production and distribution workers, as well as the services and shops joined in the general stoppage. Even the stock-exchange and the

wholesale markets could not work. Another distinctive feature of this great action was that all the major and minor towns and centres of production and trade came into simultaneous action. It was not, as if Bombay City went into a massive action, while others only limped behind. It was the whole Maharashtra Bandh, in the real sense of the term—so wide and deep was the action.

Every living centre of economic and political activity responded to the united call to fight the disastrous effects of this capitalist crisis on the life of the millions. Hence the success of the mighty All-Bandh.

This does not mean that there were no shortcomings.

There was the shortcoming that in Bombay city, a group of some nine trade unions, led by a former HMS and SSP leader, openly called upon their unions to oppose the strike. As a result one or two engineering factories could not join the bandh. Amongst them was the famous Premier Automobiles, for the cause of the workers of which, the workers of Bombay had called

ed a general strike in July 1958. But the game of these strike-breakers and disruptors failed in most of the places where they had conspired with the employers to defeat the bandh.

The big shortcoming in the total bandh was that we could not give a call for the railways, the government services, and the newspaper presses to join the stoppage. But the trains that pour a million people in the city every day ran almost empty that day.

The situation was not ripe politically and organisationally for calling out the railways and governmental services.

The hospitals, fire-brigades, food unloading were exempted from the bandh and hence they worked. Schools and col-

by
S. A. DANGE

leges joined in the general stream.

It is worth noting that in this general strike the working class acted as a class. No barriers of language, religion or caste came in the way of class solidarity.

The contingent of women workers, particularly in Bombay city, did not lag behind at all. In fact, several hundred working women drawn from several industries and housewives of the middle classes had given a fillip to the movement by their group hungerstrikes undertaken on the eve of August 12. The variegated young women workers in the prosperous foreign dominated pharmaceutical and chemical concerns did their full part in the bandh action.

A new stage in the movement, as signified by the Maharashtra Bandh, was that the main democratic political parties in Maharashtra, that is, the Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Peasants and Workers' Party, the Lalinshan Party as well as the main central trade union leaderships of the INTUC, HMS, the HMP, INTUC agreed to give the

common call on an agreed date. The main sections of the leadership also had prior consultations on the question of organising the bandh. All had moved into the position to "march separately, but strike together."

There were other political parties also which had a role to play, some in the positive way and some in the negative.

The Republican Party, which has a considerable following both in the working-class and a section of the peasantry agreed to support the strike, though without joining in any common deliberations. This attitude of theirs, though not strictly followed by all their leaders (some of whom were against the strike), helped a great deal in making the bandh a success.

Another party which requires mention is the Jan Sangh. The Jan Sangh has no following in the working-class though they have now a trade union wing of their own in the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS). The Socialist Party leaders (in the SSP) as usual talked with us as well as the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. The PSP leaders (in the SSP) would not talk with us nor with them, it is said. In any case, the Jan Sangh supported the call for the bandh.

The Jan Sangh has some following in the middle-class elements in Maharashtra. Hence their support served to remove a minor obstacle in the way of the bandh.

We put it in this negative way, because the slogans of the Jan Sangh are exactly against the interests of the working-class and the middle-classes, whom they claim to defend. They are opposed to nationalisation, opposed to state-trading and controls. They are votaries of complete freedom for private enterprise and thus become defenders of monopoly capital. But they use the crisis and support the bandh for two reasons. One is to oppose the Congress and secondly to satisfy their middle class following with demagogic support to the bandh. By their slogans they reveal their reactionary and opportunistic role. Hence, we refused to have any truck with them.

What was the role of the rank and file Congress workers, their lower and middle leadership and their INTUC? The rank and file in the

Congress and their INTUC fully sympathised with the bandh. As a result of the pressure of the masses, many of their known leaders attacked government policies and threatened to join the Bandh, and said so publicly. But the threat of disciplinary action from the top made them withdraw from actual participation.

The INTUC in Bombay led by Ambekar declared that it would remain neutral as the

grievances of the people were genuine and acute. But they would not ask their workers to join the strike.

This neutrality attitude of the Congress leadership, of the lower and middle sectors, neutralised the active opposition of their leading TU workers and pushed many of them in support of the bandh. This, too, played a helpful role, though their leader Ambekar denounced the strike after it was over and now threatens to fight the next bandh in an active heroic way! Well, we will see. The partial Congress neutrality this time at least shows that given correct tactics, we can shake them from their attitude of disunity and hostility into one of neutrality at the first stage and positive support as time goes on and the masses move. This also was a new feature in this bandh action.

UNITY ALL THROUGH

In view of all this, the general atmosphere was free from bickerings or bitter attacks against each other in the public meetings organised on their separate platforms by the various parties and TU centres, prior to the strike. Of course, there were some exceptions, but on the whole the spirit of unity prevailed not only in the ranks but in the leading cadres and leaders also. And it is because of this that the bandh was such a complete success all over the state.

The most outstanding thing that has attracted the attention of the whole country, including the ruling-class and the government is the absolutely peaceful character of

this massive action involving three million workers in a state and in a city where on some previous occasions general strikes were accompanied by bitter clashes with police and blacklegs and even led to barricade fighting. This time not a single man whether on the side of the workers or the police suffered even a scratch. What was the reason for this?

The peaceful nature of the Maharashtra Bandh on August 12 stands in sharp contrast with the violent clashes that took place in Ahmedabad a week earlier, on August 5 when Gujarat Bandh was put in action. What was the difference due to?

That there was a crisis of the capitalist economy and it was expressing itself in the rising prices was visible for a

tal clash with the mass movement.

This attitude was accepted and followed by the Maharashtra Congress Ministry. It is well known that in the Maharashtra Congress and the Ministry, the extreme rightwing reactionary monopolist influence is not in the dominant position. In fact, that reactionary monopolist wing of the Congress in Bombay City dominated by the stock-exchange, the whole sale grains market and the banks and factory owners, have kept the Bombay Congress Committee as a separate body and their special exclusive preserve led by S. K. Patil. There are quite some sharp and interesting contradictions of this na-

major part had gone through such experience that it would not be stamped into anarchistic violent actions just by a stray individual or a provocateur. At the same time, if the ruling-class provoked it by dictatorial anti-democratic measures, the same working-class knew how to fight.

There was, for example, the famous strike of November 21, 1955, in the Samyukta Maharashtra movement. The strike was called by all political parties and trade unions. It was peaceful and complete. But the demonstration that went to the Assembly was attacked by the police under the direction of Morarji Desai who was then the Chief Minister and there was quite a fight in which 15 people were killed.

to give the due dearness allowance to the workers and relief to the citizens was bound to fail to suppress the strike.

The failure made the police, the blacklegs, the owners, the government lose all balance and temper. The inevitable result was the clashes and the seven casualties.

If the Maharashtra government had copied the same line of thinking, it is doubtful if the bandh there would have been so peaceful as it was despite the people's desire to observe peace. But the Maharashtra government, even while drafting a large police force into the city, generally followed a policy of not provoking conflict and al-

lowing the people to voice their bandh protest in the organised peaceful manner for which all had planned.

Home Minister D. S. Desai made a statement to the press, only four hours after the bandh began, that "the situation throughout the state broadly continued to be peaceful" and that he congratulated "the people and the police" for maintaining peace.

Is this not a new feature in the situation? Does this not show the unity and action of the people set a

pletely disciplined, organised and peaceful. In the other, the working-class was forced to defend itself from the violence of its opponents.

What does it mean? The leadership and masses in both places were peaceful but in one, the employers, government and INTUC and Congress behaved in a correctly liberal way and in the other, in a most reactionary, provocative way.

Our opponents in Maharashtra and in Gujarat were the same Congress and the same national bourgeoisie with almost the same monopolists in them in both places.

And yet the ministries and Congress committees of the same class in the two states behaved quite differently.

The rabid reactionaries of Bombay Congress also later on attacked their own Congress ministry next day after the strike. They accused the Chief Minister and the Home Minister of having followed the "advice of the Communists", of having "abdicated" their power and surrendered to the Communists and the Socialists. Otherwise, why had they not imposed Section 144 on the city and in the state, why had they not arrested the ring leaders, why had they not posted police at the factory gates, and given protection to "the willing workers" to go in?

Such and a thousand questions were raised. The lead in this was taken by the arch-reactionary Shantilal Shah. But the manoeuvre of right reaction fail-

ed in its immediate objective. An analysis of the forces and factors that made the massive Maharashtra Bandh action so peaceful and disciplined will give many interesting conclusions, showing how correct is the line and tactics that the Communist Party is following in these struggles of the masses in

NEW FEATURES OF UNITY

ture in the national bourgeoisie of the Congress in Maharashtra.

The Naik Ministry, therefore, went as far as to say in their public statement that they were opposed to the bandh, but if the people insisted on it, then let it at least be peaceful.

The Ministry also took the step of consulting with the leaders of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and other parties in order to find out ways and means of keep-

But in the big general strike of July 25, 1958, and August 20, 1963, there were no clashes and no casualties as the government or those who did not agree with the strike, did not try to suppress it by their usual methods.

In Ahmedabad, on August 5 the INTUC actively opposed the strike and the united call of Gujarat Bandh. It put all its strike-breaking machinery into action, though a full ballot of the workers, among whom were INTUC members

When the people began their protest actions, the Congress leadership ignored them and failed to take any effective measures against the top rung of the bankers and hoarders. In June-July, they themselves became convinced that the crisis was deeper than they had imagined.

The Congress leadership tried to pacify the masses by empty talk and half-hearted measures. But when faced with mass actions, they decided not to make a show of force and take to their usual methods of suppression. They saw that such a course in the present crisis of food supplies would lead to a wave of violent clashes between the people and the government, which had found itself in isolation, not only from the general mass of people but even from its own following.

The governmental leadership, therefore, started speaking in a liberal way. "The masses have the democratic right to protest but they must do it peacefully. The government will not suppress peaceful protest but will not permit violent actions."

Though this was an unwarranted reflection on the masses, who were being goaded into starvation by governmental policies and hence had every incentive to be led into violent actions, but had not done so, it also gave an inkling of the government's isolation as well as readiness to lie low and not seek a front-

We told the government that if it did not take any provocative measures the people would be completely disciplined and the bandh would be absolutely peaceful. We had to tell the government of the traditions of the working class of Bombay City. It had a sense of revolutionary discipline and its

also, had voted for the strike. The millowners had lent all their machinery of corruption, blacklegging, and shelter of the INTUC strike-breakers. The government there, which is a complete tool of big business, especially its pro-Morarji wing, lent its forces to suppress the strike. Such behaviour in conditions of acute distress and refusal of the millowners and government

process of differentiation in the Congress ruling circles, whereby the most rabid reactionary get separated from the rest of them? And is this not helpful to the processes of struggle set in motion by the crisis?

Both the Maharashtra Bandh and Gujarat Bandh were fully successful. Both were led by the two big working-class cities. Yet in one, the whole action was com-

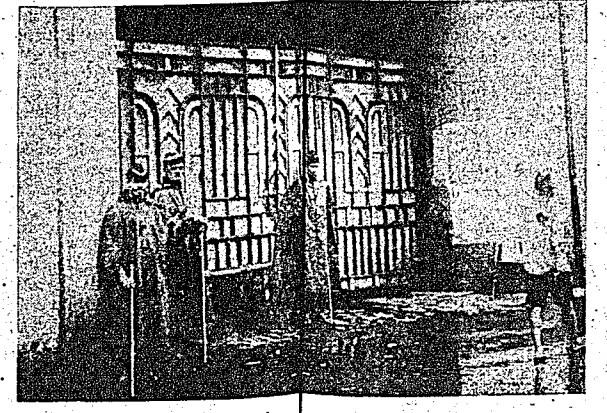
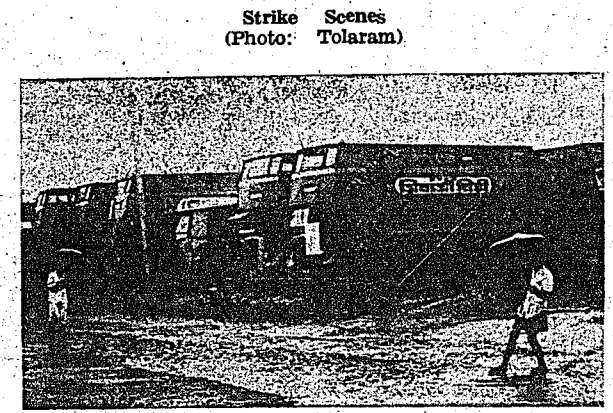
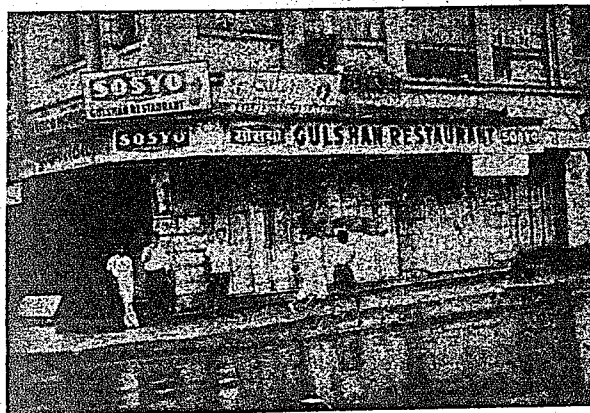
ed in its immediate objective.

An analysis of the forces and factors that made the massive Maharashtra Bandh action so peaceful and disciplined will give many interesting conclusions, showing how correct is the line and tactics that the Communist Party is following in these struggles of the masses in

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Meeting at Flora Fountain

(Photo: Sharad Pawar)



Strike Scenes (Photo: Tolaram)

Twenty Years Of Glorious Progress

The Rumanian people celebrate this year the 20th anniversary of their homeland's liberation from the fascist yoke.

TWENTY years ago, on August 23, 1944, the patriotic people's forces, led by the Communist Party of Rumania, overthrew the military-fascist dictatorship. The insurrection of August 1944 was a radical turning point in the life of the Rumanian people, marking the beginning of the people's revolution, a turning point towards freedom, full independence and social progress.

The events that took place twenty years ago had deep historical roots in the social ferment of the period prior to the war. The people's patriotic forces which, headed by the Communists, acted in August 1944, drew vigour and enthusiasm from the great revolutionary struggles and staunch battles against fascism, waged for many years by the broad people's masses under the leadership of the communists.

By setting up in September 1940 the military fascist dictatorship, the most reactionary circles of the Rumanian bourgeoisie and landlords, had betrayed the national interests, and dragged Rumania against the will of the people, into the anti-Soviet war unleashed by fascist Germany.

All patriotic forces of the country, and first of all the working class at head with the Communist Party of Rumania resolutely rose to fight against fascist dictatorship and Hitlerite war. Animated by ardent feelings of patriotism, the Communists carried on tireless, selfless activity with a spirit of sacrifice for mobilizing the masses to fight, rallying all patriotic forces of the country.

The activity carried on by the anti-fascist forces in Rumania headed by the Communists in preparing the armed insurrection was facilitated by the favourable external conditions by the fact that the fundamental force in the anti-Hitlerite coalition was the Soviet Union, the first Socialist state in the world.

The anti-fascist struggle of the masses found a powerful impulse in the evolution of the situation on the front. Making tremendous sacrifices, heroically facing the difficulties of the struggle for smashing fascism, the glorious Soviet Army gave devastating blows to the Hitlerite armies, smashing the Nazi war machine; its struggle

gave wings to the resistance movement of the peoples, hastened the hour of mankind's liberation from the danger of the Nazi yoke.

Of outstanding importance was the foundation of the United Workers' Front on May 1, 1944, upon agreement between the Communist Party of Rumania and the Social-Democratic Party. The achievement of the unity of action of the working class led to the fulfilment of its role as leader of the broad popular masses and was of essential importance for the union of all anti-Hitlerite forces.

It is the historic merit of the Communist Party of Rumania to have rallied around itself all patriotic anti-fascist forces of the country. Orientating itself correctly in the turmoil of the contradictory interests within the ranks of different sections of the ruling classes, using the existing contradictions between these, the Party realized a broad coalition of all the political groupings and circles which, for one reason or another, spoke in favour of Rumania's withdrawal from the Hitlerite war.

The king and the circles of the royal palace who saw in their participation in removing Antonescu their sole hope to escape the serious responsibility resting with them for having dragged Rumania into this war, were obliged to accept the plan of action established by the Communist Party of Rumania. This very fact meant a recognition of the decisive role played by the Communist Party of Rumania.

The leaders of the National Peasant and National Liberal parties who for years on end had turned down the proposals put forward by the Communist Party with regard to joint actions against the military fascist dictatorship, for fear of remaining outside developments and completely isolated, agreed in June 1944 to the establishment together with the Communist Party of Rumania and the Social-Democratic Party, of the National Democratic Bloc.

Intense activity was carried on for the military preparation of the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship. As early as the spring of 1944, the Commu-

nist Party of Rumania organized patriotic fighting units formed of Communists, members of the Young Communist League and of non-party working people, armed and trained for insurrectionary fights. The Party succeeded in winning over for the insurrection a number of patriotically minded generals and other high-ranking officers who participated in drawing up the concrete plans of the armed action in the Capital and in various regions of the country.

On the night of August 9-10 Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej escaped from the Tirgu Jiu camp; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Rumania entrusted Ion G. Maurer with the organization of the escape. Subsequently other responsible activists of the Party escaped from the camp.

The armed insurrection in Rumania started on August 23, 1944 with the arrest of the fascist government headed by Ion Antonescu.

Expressing the fighting will of the people, the Rumanian Army turned weapons against the Hitlerites; Rumania declared war on fascist Germany and joined the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

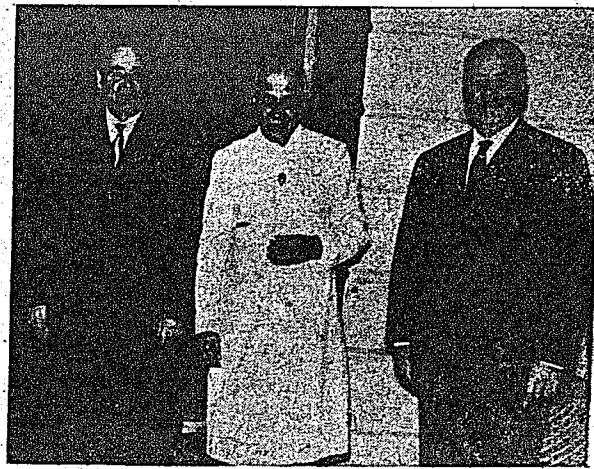
Shoulder to shoulder with the glorious Soviet Army, the Rumanian Army fought for the liberation of the country's entire territory and for smashing the Hitlerite armies in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, contributing to the final defeat of fascist Germany. Over 360,000 Rumanian soldiers fought in these battles. The Rumanian Army covered over 1,000 kilometres, caused the Hitlerite losses amounting to some 118,000 prisoners and a great number of killed and wounded, liberated over 3,800 localities including 53 towns.

Rumanian-Soviet Brotherhood

The Rumanian-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms was built up in the heat of war waged against fascism, and the friendship cemented between the Rumanian and Soviet peoples. The Rumanian people shall always honour the memory of the heroic Soviet and Rumanian soldiers who shed their blood in the common struggle for the liberation of Rumania.

Shaking off the fascist yoke, the people's masses started the revolutionary struggle for genuine democracy, for removing all oppression and exploitation, for fulfilling the aspirations for social emancipation.

In the period right after August 23, a period characterized by political struggles of an unprecedented scale in the history of Rumania, by big mass actions notwithstanding the attempts of reaction to keep its positions, to repress by all means the people's movement, the democratic forces have strengthened steadily and their influence in the country's life grew. In the heat of struggle for setting up a truly democratic regime, for carrying through the agrarian reform and the country's economic rehabilitation, the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry and other non-prole-



RPR President Gheorghiu-Dej (Left) and Premier Maurer with Jawaharlal Nehru during their New Delhi visit, October 1962

tarian sections of working folk has been strengthened and consolidated.

As an outcome of the struggle waged by the masses of working people in town and country, a democratic government was set up on March 6, 1945, in which the working class had the leading role.

The radical measures taken by the democratic government politically, economically and socially led to the abolition of the feudal vestiges in agriculture, to the weakening of the positions held by the bourgeoisie, to the democratization of the State apparatus and the consolidation of the people's democratic regime.

Beginning of Socialist Stage

The proclamation on December 30, 1947, of the Rumanian People's Republic marked the conclusion of the stage of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist stage of the people's revolution in Rumania.

Of great importance for the successful carrying through of socialist construction has been the achievement of the complete unity—both political and organizational—of the working class, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, through the unification of the Communist Party with the Social-Democratic Party and the foundation of the Rumanian Workers' Party in 1948.

Abiding by the universally valid general laws of the socialist revolution and taking into account the concrete historical conditions prevailing in Rumania, the Rumanian Workers' Party has carried on an intense creative activity, established the most adequate forms and methods of building up the new system.

On the 20th liberation anniversary socialist Rumania is a country in continuous progress, with a complex economy and flourishing culture, entirely put in the service to raise the welfare of the working population. In only 20 years the Rumanian people, led by the Party, have changed the face of the country.

In working out the programme of socialist construction, the Rumanian Workers' Party unswervingly guided itself by the Leninist indications according to which the only material base of socialism is the large-scale industry, and especially the heavy industry.

"Our Party"—Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, President of the RPR State Council, said—"has concentrated the main efforts of the people in the decisive direction for the victory of socialism: the setting up of the technico-material base of the new system by the socialist industrialization of the country, the steady development of the heavy industry with its pivot—the machine-building

industry, the equipping of all economic branches with modern technology, the introduction of automation, the continuous rise of labour productivity, the growing national income—the foundation for raising the living standard of the people."

The socialist economy of the Rumanian People's Republic has at present a steadily developing industrial basis. Between 1950 and 1962, 500 enterprises were re-tooled, modernized and developed and over 280 new factories, works and sections were built.

A consistent policy has been promoted for the harmonious development of all the regions of the country, of turning to superior use their natural resources.

The machine-building and the metal working industries have become the leading branches of the Rumanian economy, holding top place as far as the share of industrial output is concerned. While former Rumania had to import 95 per cent of the required machines and equipment, nowadays she covers some 70 per cent of the requirements of the national economy, in spite of the fact that these have risen considerably over the past. At present the machine-building industry turns out oilfield and chemical equipment, machine tools, electric motors and equipment, tractors, lorries, electric diesel locomotives, river and sea going vessels, etc. These hold an ever more important place in Rumania's exports.

Following the translation into life of the policy of socialist industrialisation the gross industrial output rose by 7.4 times in 1963 over 1938. The present share of industrial output to the formation of social product is of 57 per cent. In the first four years of the Six-Year Plan, between 1960 and 1963, some 15 per cent average annual rate of increase was recorded for the whole industry. Such development rates were inconceivable in pre-war Rumania.

An important role in the successes obtained by the Rumanian people in the steady development of the national economy is played by the close economic co-operation with the socialist countries, based on the principles of socialist internationalism, observance of sovereignty, reciprocal advantage and fraternal mutual assistance.

Now, after the completion of the collectivisation of agriculture already in 1962, the working peasants have joined the over 4,900 collective farms which cover an agricultural area of 9.1 million hectares. In the process of socialist transformation of agriculture the economic activity of the collective farms has consolidated year after year, commonly owned property has extended, grain and animal output has increased, and on this basis the incomes of collective farmers have steadily risen.

The correct application of the

*ON PAGE 19

During the IV congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, outside the hall I met a venerable old man with a long white beard like Tagore. He had a number of medals and badges, on his chest, his eyes sparkled and he was full of animation, enthusiasm and energy. When he heard that I was from India his face beamed with delight and he readily agreed to talk to me about the congress, about Poland's new achievement and her arduous struggle for freedom.

JAN Patek, born 1887, is an old veteran revolutionary who has been a worker and a fighter since 1902.

"I, was a delegate to the first congress of the party," he said, "now I came to see how things are going here. You tell our Indian friends what life was like in Poland before and what we are doing today. We fought for this, for freedom and for progress, but we did not even in our dreams think we would reach such heights. You are attending the congress so you know about the plan."

In his enthusiasm he wanted to tell me all about the future plans and about war and the Nazi occupation and even about the Poland under the Russian tsars before the October Revolution. He spoke fast, a mixture of Polish and Russian for my benefit.

It turned out that he had taken part in the revolution. Of 1905, he sat in shackles in a fortress in Warsaw for two and a half years, and later exiled to far-away Siberia by the tsarist authorities where he spent two years somewhere near Irkutsk.

"I was a political criminal as they called us then. Later I came back and worked as a railway worker, was in the army during the war, first world war you know, then in the revolution. We fought for freedom, for socialism and communism, under the tsars we fought. For this we struggled." And with a sweep of his hand he pointed at the young

people rushing here and there, at the new world surging all around, at Warsaw and the new Poland outside.

"Things are changing fast, very fast. And this new technique, it is wonderful!"

I asked about his life today. He said, "I considered himself a worker, visited his place of work, old friends and generally 'kept an eye on how things are going'. He lives in a house for veterans, he said. "I get 1,875 zlotys monthly as pension. Only half is spent on food etc. The rest is my pocket money. No we are not forgotten..."

It was nice to see this optimistic, happy old man, a patriot who had been through many revolutions, wars, prisons and exile, taking such an active interest in life, and rejoicing in the surging warmth of all that he had fought for.

It was good to see him so contented at his difficult life well spent, and to see that he was surrounded by respect, honour and care. Who else could tell his "Indian friends" so vividly of the progress People's Poland has achieved.

Hearing a rambling account of his life and the path his beloved country had travelled, somehow everything seemed to come in true perspective. The ups and downs and the zigz and zags of history, the mistakes, stumbling blocks and difficulties through which a people had passed and emerged wiser, victorious and

NEW POLAND—IV

By MASOOD ALI KHAN

From A Cruel Past To A Glorious Future

confident, and their achievement in the background of the cruel past, and from the mouth of this witness of the bygone years, took on a new dimension and a new significance.

Such facts as Poland's industrial production today being nine times that of 20 years ago, or ten times calculated on the basis of per head of the population; that the new plan for 1966-70 would mean a further rise of 45 to 47 per cent in gross industrial production, an increase of some 30 per cent in national income, increase of 27 per cent in the consumption fund, a growth of 14 to 15 per cent in agricultural output in 1966-70 compared to 1961-65...

Such facts and plans, remarkable in any context, acquired a new importance in the light of past history, mistakes of "the eight years without Gomulka" and the sacrifices that were needed to overcome the inheritance of backwardness and the devastation of war.

I heard that this year major British firms, upon learning of the commissioning of a new Polish transformer plant, annulled their order with West Germany and ordered a transformer of 150,000 kilovolt-amperes capacity in Poland. Actually Poland is now making transformers twice as powerful—Poland which used to import transformers from Switzerland and Austria and pay for them in gold.

This is just one example. The share of machinery and equipment in Poland's export was 33 per cent last year and is increasing rapidly. This is of great significance for the developing countries. While Poland's total foreign trade increased in 1956-1962 (taking 1955 as 100) to 176, the turnover with the countries of Asia alone reached in 1962 the index figure of 233.

MEETING WITH OSCAR LANGE

"It appears that we are partners who fit one another well", Prof. Oscar Lange, Vice-President of the Council of State remarked. (He is also chairman of the Polish-Indian Friendship Society.) "Cultural interest was very strong in India since the beginning of the 19th century. However only during the last few years relations of a practical nature evolved.

"The Polish people were deprived of their national independence for a period of over 120 years (from the end of the 18th century till 1918) and then underwent a cruel Nazi occupation and the second world war. So, on the basis of their own experience they feel understanding and sympathy for nations which have long fought for national independence.

"Secondly, being a socialist state Poland rejects imperialism, pursues a policy of supporting all aspirations and struggles for emancipation and from imperialist and colonial domination, for free development, economic, cultural and social progress of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America", Oscar Lange said.

The developing countries being still predominantly agricultural, the experience of Poland in this

field is of great interest to us, and I had very interesting talks on this subject with Prof. Lange, a leading authority on Polish economics, and with responsible people in the Ministry of Agriculture.

As I have mentioned before, the policy of collectivisation was abandoned after the catastrophic experience of the fifties. Today only one per cent of the cultivable land belongs to the collectives; 13 per cent to the state farms; and 86 per cent to the private cultivator. The share of the private sector in gross production is nearly 90 per cent of the total.

The upper limit of land holding now is eight hectares, and measures are being taken to prevent further fragmentation. There are about three and half million farms in the country. Wherever I went I heard one phrase repeated to me in different ways: "We do not stand for forced organisation of collective farms."

At the Ministry of Agriculture I was told: "A badly organised collective farm can be the opposite of a socialist farm, but a well organised private farm can be closely joined to and work with the socialist agriculture and socialist economy in general."

From this point of view of integration, it was told, Polish agriculture is to a considerable extent socialist. The private farmer is joined to the planned economy by a complex system of relationships and is tied to the socialist market. Eighty to 90 per cent of the produce of private farmers is delivered in a planned way to the socialist economy, the state and socialist sector being the buyer.

The prices are guaranteed and fixed by the state. All the means of production, goods etc. are supplied to the peasant by the state. Peasants produce and sell on the

basis of contracts, plan their crops according to the needs of the socialist economy and are free of price fluctuations. "Polish agriculture is a socialist agriculture if considered from this broad point of view", I was told.

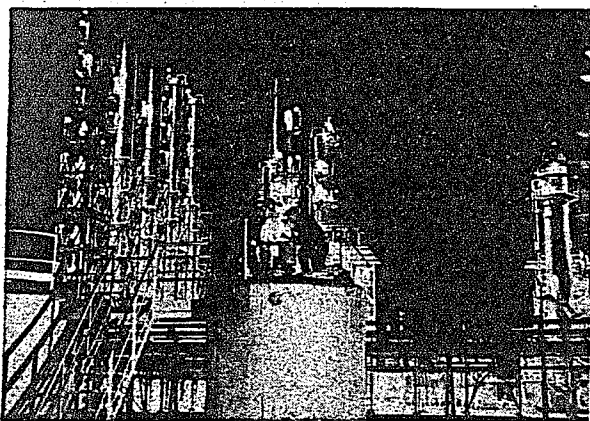
It was also pointed out that Poland is already an advanced industrialised country and collectivised agriculture is not required to siphon-off accumulation, investment resources for industry; that Polish policies are much nearer to what Engels wrote on European agriculture; that collectivisation in Poland was much less urgent "we already fell between two stools trying it prematurely".

Another thing is the population and employment aspect, I was told. A collective farm can work efficiently and profitably only if fully mechanised. Collectivisation would mean surplus population in agriculture at this stage. And industry, due to automation and developing techniques, cannot absorb so much labour power now as it used to earlier.

Another aspect is the following: the more developed agriculture becomes, land becomes less important, and the more dominating factors come to be investment, mechanisation, building structures, land amelioration etc.

Here the socialist economy plays an important part and gradually social ownership can be built up. Machines are sold to private farmers also, but they do not have resources to buy big machines, and if they buy them they will have to lie idle for too long as they do not have much land, and there is an upper limit on the land holdings. So that capitalist type of big farming of course, cannot develop. There exist state machine-tractor stations which hire out machines.

*ON PAGE 16



An Oil Refinery in Rumania



Oil Refinery at Plock

Food Struggle Decried

POPULAR AGITATION RATTLES TYCOONS

The capitalists are worried over the food scarcity in the country. Their worry is that if the scarcity continues and aggravates, the labour would be restive and prone to go in for agitations. Agitations and strikes affect production which in its turn cuts into their profits.

So we see all the capitalists demanding immediate solution to the food problem (they tend to disregard the high prices, for after all, high prices bring them larger profits). They accuse the government of bungling on the food front.

But, if the workers and the people move into mass action for food and against high prices, then the capitalists get scared. Not only because strikes and hartals directly hit their profits, but because capitalists are afraid of the people themselves.

No better illustration of this peculiar outlook of the capitalist class can be had than the reaction in their mouthpieces to the MAHARASHTRA BANDH and other proposed strike actions for people's food.

The monopoly press was all in sympathy for the people who have been suffering from scarcity of food; they were concerned at the hardships of the people. But agitation? Strike? These certainly do not help to tide over the food problem!

For example, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES said editorially on August 12, the MAHARASHTRA BANDH day: "Political parties seeking in the present price situation opportunities for furthering their fortunes are being both

such cooperation is only another facet of the social irresponsibility that is at present simplifying the complexities of the price spiral in crude agitational terms."

irresponsible and short-sighted."

It added: "Those who are misguided enough to fall in with plans for hartals and other futilities will discover soon enough the hypocrisy behind their leaders' sense of outrage at the government's failure to hold prices."

And the "leaders" were told to meet the "pertinent point" in Asoka Mehta's speech at the socialist workers' convention at Bhopal. The point was that the present crisis is due to "failure at a political level" to capitalise on the investments in agriculture in the last decade.

The Birla paper forgot that the failure was that of the government and the ruling party when it asked in all moral indignation:

"What has been the record of politicians, now busily hatching agitations, in providing local leadership and in fostering the institutional and organisational props for agricultural production?"

It accused the "leaders" of withholding cooperation to efforts at raising agricultural production (again forgetting the now universally accepted fact that it is the tardy progress of land reform measures which has been the curse in the agricultural field) and declared:

"The withholding of

demonstrate against the government's "manifest failure to solve the food crisis on an enduring basis is not in question," it said in an editorial titled "Bad Timing." Yet, Lal Bahadur Shastri's appeal to the opposition "not to stir up trouble over current difficulties perhaps deserved a more positive response."

The paper trotted out the old argument of agitation not filling the stomachs, too. It said: "People are getting a little tired of hearing that the food problem will be tackled on a 'war footing'. Statistics fill no empty stomachs. Nor, however, do demonstrations."

It could not refrain from making a dig at hartals either. Referring to the complete paralysis of normal life in Bombay on August 12, the editorial said: "Only a few eyes in Calcutta may be moist that the city's record of bringing life to a standstill

"In point of fact, even a peaceful one-day strike without the slightest violence or untoward incident would be undesirable, being a thoughtless stoppage of production which is the imperative need of the hour to counter the prevailing inflationary pressures."

It advised the organisers of the strike: "It is still not too late for the sponsors of Maharashtra Bandh to limit the occasion to a token stoppage of work for a few minutes at an appointed hour and the holding of public processions and rallies after working hours."

Also raising of such issues like implementation of the award of the Bonus Commission along with that of food "can only cloud issues and arouse passions that cannot do the country any good and might indeed cause great harm."

Nothing more is necessary, it seems, to make it clear what the monopoly press is anxious about: Only their and their masters' profits and nothing else!

How off track can the monopoly press be was clearly seen when THE TIMES OF INDIA called on the government to be "firm" in meeting the strike and said that "the responsibility for any action appropriate to the situation will rest squarely on the organisers of the bandh".

After the strike, it gave "credit" to all concerned for the peaceful nature of the strike, but could not help whimpering: "Admittedly nothing would have been lost and much, indeed, would have been gained if the demonstration, peaceful though it was, had not occurred."

—PARAKAL

the press

THE STATESMAN (August 13) went for sarcasm: "Wednesday's general strike in Maharashtra was generally successful; it succeeded, however briefly, in making acute shortages more acute."

Again, "mercifully the food-grains ships at Bombay port were exempted from the scope of the day's token strike; movement further restricted, gladdening the hearts mainly of those who never fail to take advantage of temporary scarcities."

The Left parties' right to

now faces competition from other parts of the country."

THE TIMES OF INDIA was philosophical in its language, but the content was the same. On the eve of the Maharashtra Bandh it said in an editorial titled "Wrong Move":

"If agitation and direct action could somehow increase the availability of food supplies in the country or help lower prices there might be some virtue in Maharashtra Bandh and the proposed Bharat Bandh that is also being canvassed by the leftist parties."

UNITED NATIONAL COMMITTEE SET UP TO PREPARE FOR WORLD YOUTH FORUM

NEW DELHI: The World Youth Forum, which is going to be held in Moscow from September 16 to 23, is receiving very good response from every part of the world.

In our country a National Preparatory Committee for the Forum has been set up, which includes, among others, representatives of the All-India Youth Congress and the All-India Youth Federation. Puran Singh Azad, president of the AIYC and Sarada Mitra, general secretary of the AIYF, have been elected as president and secretary respectively of the preparatory committee.

A statement issued on behalf of the committee on August 17 has indicated that just before the World Forum, National Forum would be organised in New Delhi on September 4 and 5.

The statement says: "The forthcoming World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation, for Peace in Moscow from September 16 to 23, will be an important event in the life of international youth

and students' movement.

On behalf of the Indian youth and students, we wholeheartedly welcome the Forum and believe that the World Forum will play a great role in unifying youth and students of the globe in their struggle for national independence, liberation and for world peace.

To ensure the participation of Indian youth and students in the World Forum and to popularise the ideas of the Forum in our country a Preparatory Committee has been formed with the representatives of All-India Youth Congress, All-India Youth Federation, Bharat Yuvak Samaj, Young Workers' Committee of the AITUC, All-India Students' Federation, National Council of University Students of India and National Union of University Students of India. Negotiations are going on with some other youth organisations who are most likely to join the committee.

In honour of the World

The Central Implementation and Evaluation Committee which is meeting in Delhi on August 29 will be confronted by a deadlock over the enforcement of sanctions under the Code of Discipline, reports IPA.

THE deadlock has arisen over the refusal of the Employers' Federation of India to amend its Association Rules in order to enforce sanctions against its erring members for infringement of the Code of Discipline.

At the 8th meeting of the Committee held on September 26, 1963 which considered the breach of the Code by the Lakurka colliery (an affiliate of EFI), it had been agreed that the employers' body would examine the question of amending its association rules to provide for imposition of sanctions against erring members.

The attitude of the EFI has created a piquant situation. As per tripartite agreements reached and decisions taken at the 16th session of the Standing Labour Committee, both employers' and workers' organisations were enjoined upon to impose the following sanctions against erring affiliates:

(a) to ask the unit to explain the infringement of the Code; (b) to give notice to the unit to set right the infringement within a specified period; (c) to warn, and in cases of a more serious nature to censure the unit concerned for its action constituting the infringement; (d) to impose on the unit any other penalties open to the organisation; and (e) to disaffiliate the unit from its membership in case of persistent violation of the Code."

The position taken by the EFI against the imposition of sanctions against its affiliates, even while it has been pressing for such actions by the trade union bodies has created a serious deadlock. The whole question will now have to be examined de novo. This may even lead to

MINISTERIAL STAFF DEMANDS INCREASE IN WAGES

CHANDIGARH: A large number of ministerial employees in Chandigarh demonstrated on August 9 demanding increase in their wages.

A public meeting held earlier deploring the state government's inaction against the hoarders and demanded early steps to start state-trading in foodgrains. A resolution passed at the meeting urged the government to confiscate hoarders' stocks, fix prices for various commodities, grant 25 per cent increase in wages and nationalise banks to prevent speculation.

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I & E Committee Meeting EMPLOYERS' BID TO SCUTTLE CODE

A radical reassessment of their attitude by the workers' organisations towards the Code itself.

Already, the trade unions have serious complaints that the Code and sanctions under it are only

CASHEW WORKERS' BIG GAIN

TRIVANDRUM: Eighty-five thousand workers engaged in the cashew industry in Kerala will receive 7.5 per cent of their total annual earnings of 1964 as bonus, according to an agreement arrived at the tripartite meeting held last week.

Over 25 lakh rupees will be disbursed among these workers during the coming months in instalments.

enforced on them while there are no effective deterrent steps to meet the defaulting employers.

The workers' mood is bound to harden also because, it is learnt, that an earlier proposal made in the Central I&E Committee for amending the Companies Act to provide for cancellation of registration of companies persistently delaying payment of dues to workers has been blocked by an advice of the Union Law Ministry. The Law Ministry considers cancellation of registration for such an offence impractical.

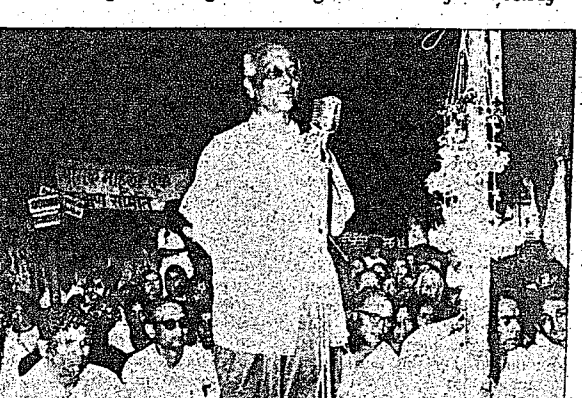
The I&E Committee, in its meeting on August 29, is also expected to discuss the complaints against the Bhilai Project management for infringement of the Code in its mines. A case study of industrial relations in the Hindustan Insecticides Ltd., Delhi, another public sector undertaking, will also come up before the Committee.

Other evaluation studies being presented to the Committee are understood to be on the collective agreements in petroleum industry and on the attitudes of employers and labour unions to voluntary arbitration.

They have already resorted to hunger-strikes, marches and demonstration in order to attract attention of the authorities to their burning problems. On August 8 and 9, about 150 working women went on a mass hungerstrike which was jointly organised by the Working Women's Committee

and several other women's organisations. Earlier on July 22 a big deputation of working women consisting of representatives of 20 women's organisations met the Chief Minister of Maharashtra and demanded immediate action for alleviating the difficulties.

S. A. Dange addressing the Working Women's rally in Bombay



BATA EMPLOYEES DEMONSTRATE

FARIDABAD: The workers of the Bata Shoe Company demonstrated in front of grain market at Faridabad on August 11 to protest against high prices of foodgrains. The demonstration was organised by the Bata Shoe Workers' Union.

Earlier, the workers of Bata Shoe Company paraded the streets of the township in a procession which started from the gates of the factory. The processionists demanded banning of hoarding and speculation in foodgrains. It was also demanded that banks be nationalised and advances from banks be stopped to the hoarders.

DEOKINANDAN SINGH ON HUNGER STRIKE

PATNA: Deokinandan Singh, general secretary of the Barauni Telshodhak Mazdoor Union is on hunger-strike since August 3 protesting against the attitude of the management.

The circumstances leading to the hungerstrike show that the management of this refinery had been taking a consistently anti-worker stand.

The projects workers have not been paid wages for their day of rest as per the Minimum Wages Act, since about last one year nor have they been paid full overtime rate for work on Sundays and holidays. A number of workers were retrenched but surprisingly, for the second phase of the construction, new workers are being employed. These illegal actions of the management are being continued

Meanwhile, the hungerstrike is on and the condition of Deokinandan Singh is fast deteriorating. Ratan Roy, general secretary of the Bihar State Committee of the AITUC, in a statement on August 9 has demanded immediate action by the government. He has warned that if government failed to deal with the situation effectively then the workers would have to take to strike action.

LETTERS

WORLD FOOD PRICES ARE COMING DOWN!

FOR talking sheer nonsense there is nobody in this country to beat the Congress Ministers. The latest addition to the Union Cabinet, Smt. Indira Gandhi, has however beaten even her senior colleagues hollow.

Addressing Congress legislators and workers in Lucknow, she is reported to have said that in Europe prices went up every six months. She claimed that she knew this because she was a frequent visitor to the European countries.

Apart from the ridiculous nature of the claim made by this "Information Minister" (prices rose every six months, mind you, not one month earlier or one month later!) what is the truth of the matter?

And yet our "Information Minister" claims that the rise in prices here is a reaction to the global rise in food prices! Was it ignorance or conscious falsification that made Smt. Indira Gandhi make the claim she did in Lucknow?

AFRICAN COMMUNIST

noted with pleasure the favourable review of the AFRICAN COMMUNIST in your issue of July 26.

Unfortunately, however, the review refers to me as the Editor of the journal. I am not the Editor but the London distribution agent.

As the journal of the South African Communist Party, the AFRICAN COMMUNIST Editorial Board consists entirely of South Africans. Unfortunately, due to fascist conditions prevailing in that country at the present time, they have to remain anonymous.

For the same reason the distribution is, temporarily, being handled from London.

HUNGARIAN CONSTITUTION RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

On August 20 this year the Hungarian People's Republic celebrates the 15th anniversary of the adoption of its first written Constitution. This is an important occasion for Hungary and on this day it can look back proudly over the past 15 years and be happy to see that the guiding principle of the Constitution, "man is the supreme value", has been faithfully implemented by the socialist state.

THE working people of Hungary—a country that has passed through so many vicissitudes—can now decide about their own fate, present and future. The Constitution declares in its preamble: "The armed forces of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from under the yoke of the German fascists, crushed the power of the great landowners hostile to the people, and opened the road of democratic progress to our working people."

The liberation of Hungary, and the free life made possible by it, enabled the Hungarian people to start the building of a socialist society and reach an enviable distance on the road of human progress, as a result of the Soviet Union's support and as a member of the great socialist camp.

What does this country offer to its liberated people in the Constitution as regards the rights and duties of the citizens? By virtue of the socialist nature of

Hungarian society, the bulk of the means of production is owned, as public property, by the state, by public institutions or by cooperative organisations. But what about the individuals?

The Hungarian Constitution lists the rights of the citizens as the rights to work, rest and recreation, social services and cultural facilities—all the cardinal rights of a free man—and guarantees personal freedom, freedom of opinion, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom of association.

Along with these rights and guarantees, are the duties of Hungarian citizens. It includes the duty to defend the property of the people, to increase the economic strength of the country, to raise the living standards and cultural level of the toiling people and to strengthen the people's democratic system. It

goes without saying that it is also the sacred duty of all citizens of the Republic to defend their country.

It is interesting to see how these rights, guarantees etc., have been fulfilled in Hungary.

Out of the 3.04 million male population of the country between the age-groups of 14-59, about 2.7 million are gainfully

The workers are generally entitled to two weeks' and in some places of work, 18 days, basic paid holidays which increase according to the number of years in work.

These holidays can be spent in about 500 holiday homes spread out in the country. The vacationers pay only 14-30 florints (1 florint : 0.20 paise)

Socialist World

employed. The rest are employed in non-gainful vocations as students, and about 38,500 people left employment because of disablement or other health reasons before reaching the pensionable age of 60.

Out of 2.92 million female population of the country, only 1.1 million are engaged in their own home-keeping. The real income of the population has been rising year by year and in 1963 it exceeded by 7 per cent the previous year's income.

The workers are required only to work eight hours though about 18.6 per cent of the working force already work shorter hours.

for boarding and lodging. The rest is subsidised by the state.

The national health insurance scheme now already covers more than 97 per cent of the entire population. Then there is the pension benefit available to all workers reaching the age of 55 (in the case of females) and 60 (in the case of males).

Education is free and compulsory up to the age of 16 which covers the primary and secondary schooling periods. Then there are the further schooling facilities, manual training and technical grade education. Arrangements also exist for adult education after work-period.

They are not comprehensible to the people and they do not stop even to look at them. But their sensational value is thus deflated by the freedom to exhibit them. Of course, encouragement is given to socialist art, but it is interpreted in a wide sense without narrow dogmatism and without any compulsion.

"We are not worried if somebody hangs a crazy picture at home, in a gallery or club. If people don't like it, they will not like it", I was told. "Art acceptable to the people must emerge in free competition."

The same situation obtains in literature, music, films etc. There is a clash of ideas in which the Party is neither indifferent nor neutral, it supports fighting progressive art with creative and noble aspirations, art which fights against the degradation of man and for his emancipation.

But administrative, repressive measures are not used, persuasion and discussion are the order of the day.

Recently there was the case of some thirty writers and intellectuals criticising cultural policies. They got their letter published abroad. Some 400 writers and cultural workers came out sharply against them, and criticism was voiced at the PUPP congress also. But the dissenters did not suffer in any way, there were no administrative measures used against them.

One is struck by the seething cultural activity and the love of beautiful things in Poland. Lovely objects of daily use, tasteful ceramics, furniture, textiles, posters and good industrial design. Aesthetic pleasure along with rising standard of living, has become a part of the daily life of the people of Poland.

(Concluded)

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN POLISH AGRICULTURE

*FROM PAGE 13

Much more emphasis is being placed on the development of state farms which are full-fledged socialist enterprises of large-scale mechanised agriculture. And though they have only 13 per cent of the land, they provide 30 per cent of the grain and 22 per cent of the meat deliveries to the state.

I was told the interesting fact that the peasant's psychology allows him to work for state farms much more readily, and he is ready to work on a big farm as industrial labour; but he is not yet willing to work in a collective farm.

Of course, while forceful socialist transformation is ruled out, it is fully realised that for the future development of agriculture, large-scale intensive cultivation and full mechanisation will be required. For this purpose the peasant has to be trained slowly in methods of socialist organisation and collective work, so that ultimately fully voluntary co-operative collective farms may be formed.

"If we could set up cooperative farms by law, nothing would be more simple than to submit a suitable bill to the Sejm. To change the forms of agriculture,

however, is a great and complex problem. Such problems are not solved by law. It is a problem of the social consciousness of the people, a problem of convincing the people not only by word, but by practical deeds". Gomulka said addressing a peasant meeting at Poznan in 1961.

And for this purpose full support is being given to the movement of the Agricultural Circles which are traditional and historical associations of peasants into which they have been united at different periods to defend themselves (even for patriotic reasons during war etc). They are a mixture of auxiliary cooperatives and local cultural and self-help societies.

These Agricultural Circles had begun to appear again spontaneously during the 1956 crisis. It is an example of the wisdom and creative thinking of Gomulka that the Circles have been made an instrument of agricultural progress.

The Agricultural Development Fund established by the state has given large powers and ample resources to the Agricultural Circles. They have become the social and professional organisations of the peasantry, and it is through them that the new policy in agriculture is being realised.

What the farmers give to the state in the form of compulsory deliveries is returned to them in the form of money through the medium of the Circles and the Fund. The whole balance goes to the peasants.

But the difference is that while they make deliveries to the state and hence to the Fund individually, they can use the Fund only collectively through the Circles.

Each village has its own Agricultural Development Fund according to its deliveries of agricultural produce. Where there is no Circle yet the fund accumulates and is given only to the Circle when it is formed. This acts as an impetus for the peasants to join in the Circle and use the money for development.

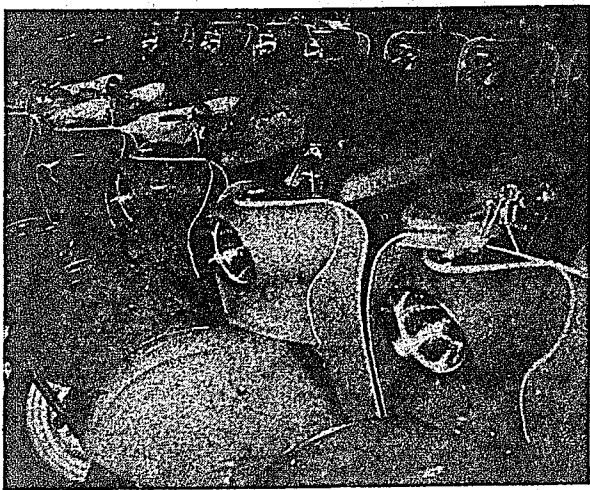
The Circles purchase machines, keep specialists, do land amelioration work. They have a managing board and a chairman, all elected. The Circle represents the interests of the peasants in dealings with the contracting factories, organisations and the authorities. Sixty per cent of the villages now have these Circles and they are being used as the basic instrument for bringing about structural changes in agriculture.

This is an example of the creative approach to problems one finds everywhere in Poland. New ways and methods are being searched for in all fields of socialist construction, and continuous discussion and debate go on.

I mentioned the fact that Western newspapers and books are also on sale ("Our socialist foundations are not shaken by their presence", I was told). There are reading rooms where Western papers can be read. I saw American, British, French, Italian bourgeois papers on sale.

There is full freedom for all kinds of experimentation, and even for crazy schools, and just crazes in art.

One finds abstract painting and not so abstract but not any less fantastic and weird "paintings" and forms produced of wire, tin, wood, cement and even using old rusty utensils and odd objects being exhibited in galleries, shop-windows and just on the streets.



Polish Scooters on Display

GAINS OF BANDH ACTIONS

*FROM CENTRE PAGES

defence of their common interests and in defence of the country's progress.

The great bandh series that we have been witnessing in this month and in this year has not come about just by chance nor is it a spontaneous outburst of a discontented mass of people, suddenly shaken by an equally sudden crisis of prices.

These series of general strikes and hartals are a culmination of a process that was initiated and set into motion in a planned manner by the Communist Party and the trade unions under its influence. The Party and the trade unions carefully analysed the situation that was developing in the country, the crisis that the policies of the government and the monopolists were bringing about, and decided to build up a properly planned mass movement to resist it.

Having taken its own decisions first, the Party and the trade unions approached other friendly parties and trade unions for joint common action. Step by step the masses in action moved the various progressive parties and mass organisations nearer to each other despite ideological differences.

Though united platforms, united meetings (with some good exceptions) did not come off due to the 'anti-Communist' prejudices of some people, yet common actions by synchronisation of dates, demands and areas have taken shape. The bandh series this

month showed the highest amount of united actions though not on joint or united platforms.

The great bandh actions in Kerala on July 31, in Gujarat on August 5, in Maharashtra on August 12, in Uttar Pradesh on August 18 have been in their real content nothing but united actions of all the working class and toiling middle classes. And in all this the Party and the trade unions have been in the forefront.

Canard of Illwishers

It is true that the illwishers of the Party, the splitters as well as some leaders of other parties, try to run down the role of the Party. Taking advantage of the fact that in many cases, for the sake of promoting unity we give precedence to other parties in proposing or deciding on common dates for action, our opponents, critics and rivals call us as tailing behind others and not giving lead to the movement.

Sometimes such criticism is made in order to provoke us into isolated unilateral actions on our own, without trying for unity. But the Party leadership has rightly refused to be provoked into sectarian, isolated actions which would lead our forces into a fiasco. At the same time, the Party has not hesitated when necessary to initiate its own actions also.

It is not possible to make a full review, just now, of how the Party has been building the mass actions and successfully securing gains for the

masses. But a little reminder of the past would not be out of place.

Next month, on September 13 we would be completing a year since the Party carried out the famous Great March to Delhi and Great Petition to Parliament. That movement was launched by a decision of the Party in May 1963. The successes it won in scrapping the CDS and halting the progress of Right reaction are known to all. Many who came to scoff remained to pray at the March. The critics and disruptors of the Party suffered a setback. The mass movement gathered momentum and morale.

Soon, the Party and the trade unions initiated the National Convention of the Toilers of India in Bombay on December 13, 1963. Prior to the convention the Party called its all-India trade union fraction and laid down the main lines of its ideological approach and methods of struggling on the problems confronting the working class.

National Protest Strike

The convention formulated the clear-cut line of a national protest strike and hartal if the government and employers failed to respond satisfactorily to the charter of demands.

The National Campaign Committee appointed by the convention met on February 3 in Hyderabad to review the situation. It adopted a programme of three-fold struggle. According to that programme, the first phase was

launched on February 20, when three-day hungerstrikes were resorted to in all the factory towns of India. Fifty thousand workers sat down for these hungerstrikes and lakhs moved in sympathy with them. Never had India seen such a hungerstrike and such mass mobilisation.

The second phase was the fifteen-minute demonstrations on March 7 at all the factory gates in India.

The third phase was going to be a mass satyagraha before Parliament in New Delhi on April 6.

Disruptors At Work

After completion of the two phases and just on the eve of the third, serious Hindu-Muslim riots, as a reflex of Pakistan's provocations, broke out in our country. To add to that the disruptors and splitters in the Party launched their offensive from within in order to paralyse the Party and the mass movement. The mass satyagraha of April 6 had to be abandoned by the National Campaign Committee.

But the masses had not ceased to make gains. The dearness allowance movement gathered strength, the index frauds were corrected and the big centres of Maharashtra and Gujarat made gains of several crores.

This had its effect on other sections of the working class. Even the government at the Centre and the states began to revise their most inadequate DA rates and make some concessions.

When the food prices began to mount the Party launched a wide satyagraha and protest movement in all the states. General strikes were again on the agenda. But an all-India general strike could not be called as that is well-nigh impossible in today's conditions without the full cooperation and unity of all the TU centres.

Hence the Party initiated statewide general strikes and hartals, that is the bandh.

The first of the series took place in Kerala on July 31.

The bandh idea is a creation of the working class of Bombay city, where the Party is a leading force. All the bandhs in Bombay have so far taken place on the basis of united actions. There was no bandh without the Party and our trade unions and no bandh without unity of the leading trade unions.

Party's Leading Role

And the present phase of bandhs, hopping from state to state, the vast movement of the millions in the whole country and the Party's leading role in it without denying the important role that others also play, is there for all to see.

As a result of our correct leadership and political line, have the masses gained? They have, both politically and economically. Has the Party gained? It has. Its organisation, its morale, its influence have grown higher than ever. Our enemies are afraid, our friends are pleased and our splitters are discomfited. The Party and the masses of the country are on the march to win further successes.

Onward To Victory

With confidence of victory we are going ahead. The march of the millions is peaceful and democratic but firm and determined. It does not require paddings of empty, romantic or violent and high-sounding slogans. And yet, each step is a step of the Revolution, which is to give the country and toiling people of India:

FREEDOM FROM MONOPOLY RULE
PROSPERITY AND PLAN FOR THE PEOPLE
DEMOCRACY AND LIVING WAGE
SOCIALISM AND PEACE

SIGNIFICANT SUCCESS OF BANK EMPLOYEES

BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: Bank employees have won significant concessions from the employers through an agreement signed in New Delhi between the All-India Bank Employees Association and the Indian Banks Association and Exchange Banks Association.

The agreement came after protracted negotiations between the ABEA and the bankers since August 13, which were initiated by the Chief Labour Commissioner.

Bank employees had adopted "work-to-rule" and "no-overtime" methods since July 20, to realise their demand for a raise in their salaries commensurate with the increase in the cost of living.

The main concessions secured by the bank employees are:

★ Immediate cash concession with effect from August 1 to the extent of two additional dearness allowance slabs over and above what is payable under the Desai Award. This additional DA will be counted for calculating overtime payment also.

★ Area IV will be abolished in all 'A' class banks with effect from September 1. More than 80 per cent of employees, working in

found that the employees stood unitedly, the government itself had to take initiative and ask the Chief Labour Commissioner to convene the tripartite meetings for arriving at a settlement.

Back To Normalcy

The central committee of the ABEA, which has been in session in New Delhi since August 13, met on August 18 and decided to accept the offer of the bankers and called off the agitation. It directed bank employees "to bring back normalcy as it existed prior to July 20."

However, the resolution pointed out that the agreement does not cover those banks which are not members of the two associations which took part in the negotiations. Efforts will continue to be made to arrive at a settlement in these banks also.

The central committee of the ABEA called on all bank employees to consolidate the gains of the struggle which is just over, to further close up their ranks and cement their unity for any future struggle that might have to be launched to realise expeditious redress of their grievances.

BANDH! BANDH!! BANDH!!!

July 31—Kerala
August 5—Gujarat
August 12—Maharashtra
August 18—Uttar Pradesh
August 20—Goa

Forward To
ALL-INDIA GENERAL STRIKE
AND HARTAL

WHY THIS FEAR TO FACE THE WORLD COMMUNIST ASSEMBLY?

Canadian Leader Assails CPC Bosses

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

Recently our Berlin Correspondent had the opportunity of meeting the National Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada, 71-year-old veteran revolutionary, Comrade Tim Buck.

Well aware of the political developments in India and the inner-party situation of CPI, Comrade Tim Buck congratulated Indian Communists for their heroic struggles and for the great mass movements launched by the Party, under extremely difficult conditions.

He regretted very much the split in the CPI, condemned the encouragement of the split from outside and was astonished to see that some leaders had broken away from the Party and met in a separate conference to form a rival "Communist Party."

Comrade Tim Buck agreed to the request of our correspondent to answer a few questions for NEW AGE. The following is the transcript of the conversation, approved by Comrade Tim Buck.

Q. The international Communist movement is passing through a difficult period now. Splits have occurred in a number of Communist Parties. In your long years of experience of work in the Comintern and in your connection with the Cominform, could you say if anything like this has ever happened in the past?

A. In the whole history of the Comintern there was no parallel with the situation that you refer to.

There were ideological struggles within parties of the Comintern and within the Cominform as a whole; sometimes they were very sharp.

Trotskyism Parallel Wrong

In their irresponsible attempt to divert Communist parties from our world historical viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism as our tested guide to action, Trotskyites set up organisations wherever they were able to in opposition to Communist parties. Lenin, in his lifetime, had demolished Trotsky's theoretical pretensions and the attempt to revive them (with some variations) after Lenin died was contradicted by the history-making achievements of the Soviet people and decisive world developments as well as by Marxist science. The flimsy combination of theories that Trotsky tried to counter-pose to Marxism-Leninism crumbled under the impact of reality.

The groups which called themselves "Trotskyists" did not express any genuinely coherent system of political principles or ideas derived from Marxism-Leninism, their main political stock-in-trade was, as it still is, unprincipled efforts to divert young people away from Communism by pseudo-leftist demagoguery and appeals to petty-bourgeois romanticism.

Along with the value that their unprincipled disruption has for the capitalist class, the main result of Trotskyite activities then, as now, was quick disillusionment of their converts, transforming enthusiastic young militants into cynics at an early age.

As the above shows, the Trotskyites were quite unscrupulous in their attempts to win converts. In this they "ran true to form". A policy which is elaborated for the purpose of rationalising systematic attempts to organise splits is itself

unscrupulous. Adoption of such a policy is itself acceptance of unscrupulous methods in sharp contradiction to the unqualified dedication to principle which was the supreme characteristic of Marx and Engels and Lenin.

Because of this some comrades are tempted to compare the present situation with the Trotskyite attempts to organise splinter groups against the Comintern. Such a comparison misses the essential difference between the two periods however and between the two situations and, therefore, is wrong.

This is the first time in the history of the international working class movement that a great party, leading a great state, has set out deliberately to split, and to destroy if possible, the overwhelming majority of the Communist parties of the world because they refuse to change their policies and abandon Marxism-Leninism at its behest. This is a monstrous crime against Marxism-Leninism, against proletarian internationalism, against the world socialist system, against the world Communist movement. Nothing like this happened during the history of the Comintern or at any time before.

Q. How far did the present ideological differences affect the Canadian party?

A. Early in the year 1960 the Central Committee of the Chinese party started to circulate in Canada extensive materials attacking the line set forth in the Moscow Declaration, adopted in 1957.

Their attack was also against the Programme of our Party. We reacted promptly, both because the line put forward by the Chinese leaders was wrong and because the circulation in Canada of an attack upon our Programme without even raising the question with the party leadership is completely contrary to the Leninist norm of relations between parties.

We have continued to oppose the line advocated by the Chinese leaders. Articles in our press, documents of our Party's leadership, and resolutions adopted by local, provincial and national organisations of the party including national conventions, express the consistent pressure of the members of the Canadian party for an international conference to deal with this issue collectively at the highest level.

The demand of the Chinese leaders that it be postponed for "four or five years" is an involuntary expression of their fear of the democratic collective judgment of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

Q. Every Marxist-Leninist would admit that a lot of changes have taken place in the world situation since the 1960 Conference: How does the Canadian Party assess these changes? What is the main danger to the international Communist movement today?

A. Yes, change is the inseparable accompaniment to life. Our task is, as Lenin pointed out, to "boldly foresee the future" and influence developments in the proper direction.

The main change during the post-war years, to which all others must be related, is the historic world change upon which the political line of the Moscow Declaration adopted in 1957 and the Statement of the 81 Parties of 1960 is based. This historic change, which characterises the period in which we live as "the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale", was signalled clearly first of all by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It continues to gather momentum every year.

The power and resources of the socialist world system are being developed in a balanced all-round way and at the pace which ensures that the socialist world system will outstrip the aggregate production and resources of all the remaining capitalist countries in a short time. The great Soviet people are now well along the path of their planned transition from socialism to the first stage of communist society.

Socialist assistance, exemplified in its highest form and its greatest magnitude in the help given by the Soviet Union to the peoples fighting to free themselves from colonial bondage and to newly independent nations in developing their economies, is increasing, along with the growing strength of socialism. The socialist world system exerts now a decisive influence on the course of world development.

It is in the conditions of this rapid many-sided change that capitalists in country after country are being impelled, increasingly, to seek trade and other forms of intercourse with the socialist world system. In spite of the extremes to which imperialist policies have been pushed in frantic efforts to prevent it, peaceful coexistence of states with differing political and economic systems is becoming a condition of survival for a growing area in capitalist society. Along with the growth of trade there is a striking growth of cultural exchange in a multitude of forms. This development mirrors and simultaneously accentuates the insoluble contradictions which beset capitalism.

In the struggle for and in the course of this development, which runs counter to the US atom maniacs' drive for nuclear war, the socialist world system is growing stronger, the magnetism of the idea of socialism is growing all over the world, while the decay of imperialism has become evident to all. The imperialists are striving desperately to shackle whole nations with the bonds of neo-imperialism but they can no longer conceal, even from the people of the imperialist metropolis, that the imperialism which ruled the world and enslaved two-thirds of mankind until twenty years ago is now a dying system.

The members of an established party, which has held congresses, expect its leadership to be able to defend its point of view and its policies in such a conference. A leadership which is afraid to do this is not likely to retain the confidence of the party's membership. This is the real reason why the Chinese leaders are opposing and trying to frustrate the demand of the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties that a world conference be held promptly—even this year if possible.

The foregoing are only the high

points of the great historic change which is, to use the words of Frederick Engels, "going on before our very eyes." It is the change to which all revolutionary action should be geared. It shows clearly that, if war is prevented and the communists of the world work together in firm unity to strengthen and extend the forces of democracy in all-sided struggle for the programme set forth in the 81 Parties' Statement, then the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism, on a world scale is assured.

It must be said that the numerous changes that are related to the gathering momentum of the great world historic advance which characterises this epoch include some with a negative character. A striking example of these is to be seen in the reversals of the position of Comrade Mao Tse-tung on important questions. Leading the Chinese delegation at the Conference which elaborated and adopted the Moscow Declaration in 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a number of prepared statements there on key questions. Some of those statements are contradicted now by the leadership of the Chinese party, in his name.

Setting Race Against Race

Taking Lenin's famous thesis on the necessity of grasping "the key link" to move the whole chain of events, Comrade Mao elaborated it in a treatise "On Contradictions." His excellent elaboration of Lenin's thesis was translated into all languages, circulated all over the world, and popularised as the creation of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. But, in the 25-point platform, that the leaders of the Chinese Party are trying now to foist on our world movement, this correct thesis is repudiated unceremoniously because it contradicts their argument.

At the Conference in 1957 Comrade Mao was still an internationalist, emphasised the importance of the dialectics of development in the application of Marxism-Leninism and placed strong emphasis on the historic and continuing key role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Today, the leadership of the Chinese Party, which he heads, wants our world movement to discard the scientific world historical viewpoint created by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and adopt instead a policy which divides the people of the world along the lines of race instead of along the lines of class. They proclaim that "Mao Tse-tung's great accomplishment has been to change Marxism-Leninism from a European to an Asian form... He has created a Chinese or Asian form of Marxism."

The way that the Chinese leaders place that, combined with their practical activities in the international field, amounts to setting race against race. On top of that, they set out deliberately to split, and to destroy if possible, any party which refuses to discard Marxism-Leninism and adopt their platform instead.

Just as all revolutionary activity needs to be geared to the great historic change which characterises our epoch, so effective action to strengthen the forces of this change includes unequivocal rejection of the change that has taken place in the attitude of the Chinese leaders to the world Communist movement.

You know the present situation in the Communist Party of India. Two big brother parties very near to our country (CPC and CP Indonesia) have been doing their best to break our Party. What could you say about one party trying to split another?

*ON FACING PAGE

A strange figure to join the supporters of Senator Barry Goldwater for President is a top-ranking Chinese government official. While he remains anonymous, it is reported that he is Marshal Chen Yi, Foreign Minister and Deputy Premier of the Chinese People's Republic.

In an amazingly frank interview on July 24 in Shanghai with Dr. Hugo Fortisch, editor of the Vienna newspaper, *Der Kurier*, he declared that if he were a US citizen he "would vote for Goldwater." His interview pushes to the extreme the present Chinese leaders' thesis of "the worse, the better."

The Chinese leader thus joined the Ku Klux Klan, the Christian Crusade, the Minutemen and other ultra-right groups in the US along with the pro-Nazi and pro-fascist groups abroad, in backing Goldwater's candidacy.

But, in his interview, the Chinese leader did not limit himself to backing Goldwater. He discouraged any notion that a struggle for civil rights could be of any use, declaring that for the Negro people "Goldwater would not be bad at all". His argument appeared to be that at least, with Goldwater in office, there would be no illusion that the Negro people could win their civil rights, now.

At the same time that the Chinese Foreign Minister was denouncing illusions about the present US administration, he spread illusions about Goldwater's belligerency, claiming that if the Arizona senator became President he would not risk a world war by attacking China.

Behind all this, however, was the theme that the socialist countries, the nonaligned nations and the peace-loving peoples of the capitalist world could not influence the course of history, including the prevention of war. The Chinese leader stressed the idea that the decision for war or peace rested solely in the

hands of American imperialism.

He indicated, however, that the present leaders of the Chinese People's Republic would welcome a fullscale war in Southeast Asia, and are not concerned about a worldwide war, or even any attempt to conquer China, citing the 180 years it took Britain to conquer India, he expressed contempt for atomic weapons as a major factor in war today.

Below are sections of the Chinese Foreign Minister's interview with the Vienna newspaper:

"If I were in America, I would vote for Goldwater. He would be good for the United States and he would be good for the world. He would, namely, push the internal situation in the United States to the extreme, he would speed up things, he would speed them up very much.

"He would not be like the others, like Kennedy, for example, or like Johnson now. They deceive the world with their inscrutable smiles and they trick the world into not paying attention to their deeds. This is much more dangerous than Mr. Goldwater."

"Just take a look at the race problem in the United States. Twenty million Negroes are struggling bitterly for their rights. Kennedy introduced a civil rights bill in Congress. Has this changed anything in the situation of the Negroes in the United States? Nothing, absolutely nothing; they are still struggling for their rights. Therefore Goldwater would not be

Chinese Leaders Support Goldwater

bad at all. He shows his true face.

"We, however, do not believe that even Mr. Goldwater would risk an attack against China. Not even he. There is quite a difference between what one says in an election campaign and what one does later when one has been elected President. (Incidentally, this is exactly what Goldwater supporters say now to make him acceptable to US people who feel worried about his nomination)

"Therefore, we do not believe that Mr. Goldwater would carry out what he is now prophesying, although our friend Khrushchov believes this and is afraid of it."

"They can achieve even less with atomic weapons. But even in such a case we would not be the ones to determine the scope of the war. Do not misunderstand me. The scope of such a war, too, would be determined by the Americans alone.

"If they want a small war, well, then a small war it will be. If they want a big war, then it will be a big war. It all depends on the Americans. We do not want any war whatsoever. But if it is forced upon us, then they will find us ready.

"The Americans threaten with atomic bombs, and my friend Khrushchov is also afraid of this. What do they want to achieve with atom bombs against China? They could destroy cities like Shanghai and Peking with atom bombs.

"But China? Do you know how big China is? Recently I was on a state visit in Pakistan. President Ayub Khan told me that the English needed 150 years to occupy the Indian subcontinent and then, finally, they pulled out. The Japanese tried with four million men to conquer China. They succeeded in occupying half of it, although, initially, they did not meet any resistance to speak of. And after eight years of war they were beaten and had to pull out. Do the Americans

believe they could occupy China?"

"Naturally, a war in Southeast Asia would not be so bad, after all. The situation there is like a cancerous growth. When it begins to grow it must be removed. It must be cut out. Thus, it would not be so bad after all if the situation were to be cleared up. Here you have our aggressive talk, as they say in Washington and of which our friend Khrushchov is always speaking."

RUMANIA

*FROM PAGE 12

principle of material incentive of the peasantry has played an important part in the development of socialist agriculture, in raising agricultural output. The extension of the contract and purchasing system, by which the peasantry sell their products at favourable prices, had positive results in the development of socialist agriculture and in raising agricultural output, in improving the supply to the population and raising the peasants' income.

Compared with 1934-38 the average grain output has risen by 1,700,000 tons in the 1956-60 period and by 2,600,000 tons in 1961.

The advance of the economy is accompanied by the growing material welfare of the people, the fundamental objective of the economic policy of the Party and State. In 1963 the national income of Rumania was 3.3 times bigger than in 1938. On this last basis it has become possible to raise the material and cultural standard of the people; real wages have more than doubled in the 1950-63 period.

Last June, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic have endorsed a new decision with regard to raising the wages of all categories of wage earners, reducing quotas of wage taxes and raising the wage ceilings in relation to which State allowances for children are granted; the application of these measures will lead to a further increase of incomes which, taken for a whole year, will represent 6,800 million lei.

The real incomes of the peasantry have increased correspondingly.

State expenditure for education, culture and health protection amounts this year to approximately 21,000 million lei, which means 1,100 lei per head of the population, compared with 665 lei in 1959.

The network of hospitals, polyclinics, maternity centres and other establishments of medical assistance has been considerably expanded; hundreds of thousands spend their holidays annually at health resorts. The fruits of the steps taken in the field of health protection as well as the increasingly improved living conditions of the working people are reflected in the drop in general and infant mortality rate, in the lengthening of the average life

expectancy from 42 years (pre-war) to 66 years at present.

Socialist democracy has developed and continues to develop steadily in the years of socialist construction, a fact expressed in the broad participation of the masses of working people in the solving of public affairs, in the elaboration and implementation of the State plans, in running economic and social-political life.

The Rumanian People's Republic consistently asserts itself as an active factor in international life, alongside of the forces campaigning for peace and social progress. Underlying its foreign policy are the close relations of fraternal friendship with the close socialist countries, relations based on full equality of rights, observance of sovereignty and of national interests, mutual advantage and comradely reciprocal assistance.

Using all possibilities at its disposal for expanding the technical and material base of socialism, the Rumanian People's Republic unabatedly acts for the steady strengthening of economic cooperation with the socialist States.

The Rumanian People's Republic consistently promotes a policy of developing relations of cooperation with the countries having different social-political systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Joining efforts with the other socialist countries, with all forces of peace and progress, Rumania unflinchingly campaigns for international détente, for the negotiated settlement of disputed issues between states, for thwarting the actions of the aggressive circles, for strengthening peace and friendship among nations.

Abiding by the policy of support for the cause of national independence and freedom, the Rumanian people and Government view with great sympathy and spirit of solidarity the selfless struggle waged by the oppressed peoples for shaking off the hard yoke of colonialism and express their full adherence to their righteous struggle.

Celebrating the 20th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist yoke, the Rumanian people, led by the Rumanian Workers' Party, proudly look back on the road covered in the socialist transformation of their country, in securing its prosperity, and unflinchingly proceed along the road opened up by August 23, putting all their creative forces and élan in the service of completing socialist construction.

Splitters Help Imperialism

*FROM FACING PAGE

I have followed developments in India through the press and through personal contacts to the full extent possible but I hesitate to claim that I "know" the situation. I know enough to realise that it is extremely complicated.

Every Communist must condemn, categorically, attempts by the leaders of any other party to split your membership. Such attempts to exploit the difficulties being experienced by the Indian Party must help the most reactionary interests in India. Thus they are helping the schemes of United States imperialism by weakening resistance to them, dividing the sole party which would fight, as a unit and without reservation, to rally all patriotic forces to keep India free; to prevent your country from falling under the domination of the United States, a great predatory imperialist power.

It is well-known that it is the leaders of the "two big brother parties" that you refer to who are striving to split your party, not the rank and file members of their parties.

The Chinese leaders have proclaimed the aims for which they are seeking to split our world movement but it is evident that, in addition to their 25-point platform of opposition to Marxism-Leninism, considera-

ble of state policy, are an important factor in their effort to disrupt the Communist movement in India. This alone is a challenge to all Indian Communists to unite and decide for themselves, as the Communists of India, what state policy they will fight for in your country.

To keep India independent the Communist Party itself must be independent and must guard jealously the sovereign right of the people of their country to be the sole arbiters of its destiny.

What is your reaction to the latest letter of the CPSU to the CPC dated June 15, 1964?

I have just read the text of the letter.

The letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, written on June 15 in reply to one from the Chinese Party written on May 7, is a very convincing document. The first, and I think the best, advice that I can give to everybody who reads our interview is to read the letter carefully himself.

To comment on the letter in detail would extend this exchange of opinions beyond the length of an interview but I must emphasise one feature of it which must impress everybody who is sincerely interested in the continued growth

UTTAR PRADESH BANDH!

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: Led by the organised working class of Kanpur, the people of Uttar Pradesh—its multi-million peasantry, its greatly harassed townspeople, its middle class employees and its students and youth—made the slogan of UTTAR PRADESH BANDH a thumping success on August 18.

ACCORDING to reports that have reached the state headquarters of the Party till the time of writing, complete strike and hartal took place in Kanpur, Lucknow, Allahabad, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Agra, Saharanpur, Rampur, Moradabad, Nanpara, Bulandshahr, Jhansi, Bijon, Budaun, Farrukhabad, Etawah and Mainpuri in western and central Uttar Pradesh.

As far as the eastern part of the state is concerned, life was completely paralysed in Varanasi, Ghazipur, Ballia, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Basti and Jaunpur.

Not only the cities, that is the district headquarters, but all the tehsil and other towns and townlets in these districts observed strike and hartal.

For instance, Mau, the biggest centre of weavers in UP, in Azamgarh district, from where Dr. Z. A. Ahmad has been returned to the state Assembly, lived upto its great tradition and defeated the attempts of Jan Sanghis and the splitters, and observed cent per cent strike.

The Uttar Pradesh Bandh slogan included a call to peasants and agricultural labourers not to touch their plough or trowel on August 18. From reports that have come, it appears that they responded to the call in a measure that has belied all hopes and expectations.

Over vast parts of the state no one went to the fields on the day.

As a matter of fact, not even the most optimistic among organisers of Uttar Pradesh Bandh had expected such a magnificent response to their call in a big and sprawling state as UP, with all its complicated, problems of unequal development in all respects.

The problem of bringing about Uttar Pradesh Bandh had been further complicated by the active and vicious opposition which the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party had organised.

The Jan Sangh had from the beginning opposed the call and the Swatantra Party, which had initially forced its way into joint consultations and put its signature on the first appeal, had taken to its heels even before the preparations had got into strike.

As the tempo of the strike and the hartal mounted and joint committees of the Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Republican Party and other democratic and progressive organisations and individuals began to spring up everywhere, these elements spread the slanderous canard that the August 18 strike and hartal were being organised to celebrate Chou En-lai's birthday!

Questions were asked about this slander almost at every place and at least at two places these agents of the hoarders had brought out

leaflets to malign the Communist Party and others working in the joint action committees on the basis of this filthy lie.

The splitters, confounded by the rapid and massive march of events, did not know what to do. At places, they opposed the call; at some others like Lucknow and Kanpur they made belated efforts to get into the joint committees; but in most places they just lay hibernating in their political wilderness.

However, all our worries and even apprehensions were ended as the reports of the successful consummation of weeks of hard and sustained work of determined bands of workers of the Communist Party and the SSP began to pour in from the morning itself.

By noon it became clear that this was the biggest action, the most organised and militant action of the people of Uttar Pradesh, against the local and all-India merchants of death and their collaborators and accomplices sitting in the seats of power.

On a rough estimate, one can say that about 50 lakhs of people, in one way or other, were associated with this grand and unprecedented action.

The action has been specially significant because, for the first time in recent history, the working class of the state has not only participated, but played a leading role in an action which was not merely economic, but also and essentially political involving basic policies.

It has been also significant because of the great front of united action between workers and peasants which has been formed during this action.

Equally significant it was because of the very broad democratic front of all sections of the townspeople, the workers, the middle class employees, the smaller shop-keepers, the teachers, the students and others that has been formed as a result of this action.

In this struggle the bank employees have played an important role at almost all places. Though not all banks were closed there was hardly any bank where any work was transacted.

It has been further significant because of the new leadership, young, unity-inspired leadership of the SSP and other parties and groups that has been thrown up during this struggle and joint work with the cadres of the CPI.

Special significance attaches to the part that Kanpur and its big working class has played in this action. There, despite all opposition of industrial houses, threats of authorities, criminal campaign of the Jan Sangh and some Congressmen, all the textile mills were closed, the solitary jute mill was closed, the big harness factory, the Cooper Allen Mills, was closed, all the engineering and iron works were closed, the oil mills were closed, schools, colleges and other establishments were closed, the shops and all markets were closed. In fact, this has been one of the most complete strikes and hartal that Kanpur has ever known.

Disciplined Action

The great action has been significant also because of its peaceful and disciplined character. The Communist Party had asked for "display of Communist discipline" during the action and Communist discipline it has displayed.

There have been about a hundred arrests, including those of Harbans Singh, secretary of the Kanpur district council of CPI, Shiv Sharma, president of the Kanpur Tannery Workers' Union, and Kripa Shankar, Party leader in Allahabad, but these have really nothing to do with what they did on August 18.

But for them and other workers and leaders, the provocations or-

ganised by the Jan Sangh, some Congressmen and, at places, by the authorities, might have led to serious breaches of peace. It is hoped that the authorities will see the folly of their action and release all the arrested.

Although some Congressmen opposed the call at various places, by and large they were sympathetic and in many places they rendered active support in various ways.

There was hardly any section of the people, including government employees and the police, which did not sympathise with the move to "tell the government that the people's patience has reached a breaking point now and they are in no mood to tolerate any further drift in the matter of tackling the price and food problems."

In most places, including Lucknow, policemen and other government employees came and quietly thanked the CPI workers for the "great work" they were doing.

To synchronise with this massive extra-parliamentary action, in the state Assembly also a motion was introduced by Communist and independent legislators led by Chandrajeev Yadav and Nek Ram Sharma to greet and congratulate the people of the state on their great and peaceful action.

Kalishankar Shukla, secretary of the state council of the Communist Party, has in a statement issued to press, congratulated the people and specially the working class on the success of their splendid action and expressed the hope that the democratic and progressive unity formed during this action will be continued.

It will still require time to assess the full import and effect of this action, but there is not the least doubt that it has cleared the decks and prepared the political climate for the Great Satyagraha from August 24 to 28 as also for the coming BHARAT BANDH.

NO PRUNING OF PLAN WITHOUT CONSULTING PARLIAMENT

Hiren Mukherjee Writes To P.M.

PROF. Hiren Mukherjee, Leader of the Communist group in the Lok Sabha has written to the Prime Minister expressing his serious concern over the latter's recent statement announcing what amounts to a pruning and alteration of the basic character of the Plan.

"I hesitate to add to your worries", says Prof. Mukherjee in his letter, "but it seems you have chosen to issue a statement regarding the Plan and its perspectives which make governmental confusion over things worse confounded."

Parliament will soon be in session, he says, "I feel strongly, and I am sure most others will agree, that if you did have to issue a statement about the Plan and announce something almost like pruning it and altering its basic character in a way, you should have waited for Parliament to assemble and invited discussion of whatever concrete necessities have cropped up.

"If on so-called pragmatic grounds you can announce, before discussion in Parliament, im-

portant changes in the priorities and perspectives and the basic bias of the Plan, it is, I am constrained to say, a most undesirable proceeding.

"There should be, as soon after Parliament meets as possible, discussion of matter, and I hope you will arrange it on your own, even without our having to ask for it."

Referring to some other questions agitating the people, Prof. Mukherjee says, "your government will also, of course, have to face strong criticism over its current egregious failure over food which has convulsed the country. The Finance Minister's Commonwealth performance will require to be thoroughly examined.

"On the Plan also, the country will insist on re-assurance and a clarification of whatever has been in your mind before you made your recent statements. You will indeed have to satisfy Parliament and the country on this issue, and I expect you will yourself welcome an opportunity to do so.

"Meanwhile, I wish to convey to you our misgivings over this issue and our desire that discussion be urgently held in Parliament on the matter."

Kerala Toilers Astir 15,000 Tappers On Strike

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM, August 18: Over 15,000 workers employed in the toddy tapping industry in Kerala have gone on strike demanding a uniform rate of 20 per cent of annual earnings as bonus.

ACCORDING to George Chad-ayammuri and C. K. Kesavan, leaders of the Kerala State Toddy Tappers' Federation (AITUC), the strike is a complete success and has been peaceful. Entire workers belonging to both AITUC and INTUC unions have struck work as one man.

The Federation had been for some time making representations to the toddy shop owners as well as to the state government for a satisfactory settlement of the bonus issue. The workers had demanded that the different rates of bonus should be made uniform and fixed at 20 per cent of the annual earnings and that the first instalment of the same should be disbursed two weeks prior to the Onam festival. A memorandum outlining these demands signed by ten thousand toddy tappers was also presented to the minister concerned.

But the refusal of the employers even to attend the Industrial Relations Committee meetings and to concede the just demands of the workers at the high level tripartite meeting convened by the minister

spoiled the chances of any settlement and has forced the workers to go on strike.

Since then, attempts to disrupt the unity of the workers by individual shopowners, now pressing for local settlements, have been rebuffed by the workers; the rural centres of Trichur, Ernakulam, Alleppey and Kottayam districts have borne witness to the tremendous enthusiasm and unity of the striking workers.

The spokesmen of the Toddy Tappers' Federation commenting on the strike expressed confidence that it will enable employers to see reason and come forward for a settlement.

Meanwhile, other sections of workers and middle class employees also in the state are becoming restive and demanding relief from the unbearable price increase, food scarcity and falling living standards. On August 16, non-gazetted officers' unions which have been agitating for interim wage increase, pay commission and uniform pay scales on a par with Central Government employees, staged

an impressive demonstration in the state capital.

Over five hundred delegates drawn from all the nine districts in the state marched through the streets of Trivandrum with a memorandum to be presented to the Chief Minister. As the Chief Minister expressed his inability to receive the memorandum on that day, the NGOs went in a procession again the next morning to his residence to present the memorandum.

The food agitation also has gained more sweep and momentum in the state. Meetings and demonstrations in the villages and towns and picketing of collectorates have been taking place to force the government to concede the demand of the people for adequate supply of rice at fair price during this Onam festival season.

Leaders of the opposition parties have sought to impress upon the Chief Minister the urgent need to secure stocks of rice from Madras and Andhra to feed the people during this season and also to go in for state trading in foodgrains as the only permanent remedy for the situation.

Preparations for next week's all-India Satyagraha are also in full swing. Communist Party units throughout the state have already begun enrolling volunteers to participate in this national action.