

Biggest All-India Satyagraha Since Independence

80,000 Satyagrahis : 25,000 Arrested

The Great Satyagraha of August 24 to 28, 1964 has been in every way a success. It has achieved in full measure all the aims with which it was organised.

THE central secretariat of the Communist Party of India sends its warm greetings and congratulations to all members and supporters of the Party who took part in this mighty mass demonstration of the will of India's toiling people.

Complete figures are still to be received from all states. But from those available till today at the central office of our Party, it is clear that—

★ **EIGHTY THOUSAND** Party members and sympathisers actually broke the law and offered themselves for arrest by picketing food wholesalers, banks and government offices;

★ And of these **TWENTYFIVE THOUSAND** were arrested by the police.

At least another 50,000 Party members had signed the Party's satyagraha pledge and volunteered to offer themselves for arrest. There would have been still many more thousands of volunteers were it not that the dates of the satyagraha clashed with the sowing season when no peasant can miss even a day's work on the fields.

The Party committees at different levels did not permit all Party members to offer satyagraha, and they exempted some who were working in factories or in professions, who stood in danger of losing their jobs. The Party also exempted comrades who were necessary to continue the minimum organisational work of the Party.

The satyagraha has been one of the most significant nationwide mass movements since independence. There have been in the past largescale satyagraha movements on specific issues, confined to certain states. The Satyagraha was the biggest all-India Satyagraha covering all states in the country which has ever been organised since independence. The fact that it was organised solely under the banner and leadership of the Communist Party gives it added significance.

The Great Satyagraha brought home sharply to the consciousness of the vast masses of our country the responsibility of the "unholy trinity"—the hoarders of food, finance and state power—for the present crisis and the people's misery. The very fact that the Satyagraha was organised before the warehouses of the food wholesale traders, before the banks and stock-exchanges and before the government offices, enabled the millions who watched the demonstrations to understand the real causes of the present crisis better than anything else could have done.

It is not an accident that today the national slogans first popularised on a mass scale by the Communist Party through the Great

Petition and the Great March last year and now given a still greater impetus through the Satyagraha are now being shouted by hundreds of thousands in every part of the country, many among them being those who adhere to other parties or to no party at all.

It is not an accident that today, alongside the Satyagraha and as a result of the mass movement, many Congress committees and leaders and a large section of the masses under Congress influence have begun to accept the key slogans of the Satyagraha—of state trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks and export-import trade.

The Satyagraha has created enthusiasm, hope and confidence in the working people in every corner of the country. Following as it did, in the wake of the historic Bandh actions in several states, the satyagraha marks a milestone of decisive significance in the struggle against high prices and for people's food. It has prepared millions for the actions which are yet to come—millions from among not only the most advanced and organised sections, but even from among the unorganised sections.

The Great Satyagraha has helped to strengthen and unify our Party and prepare it for the coming struggles in the service of the toilers and in fulfilment of national democratic tasks.

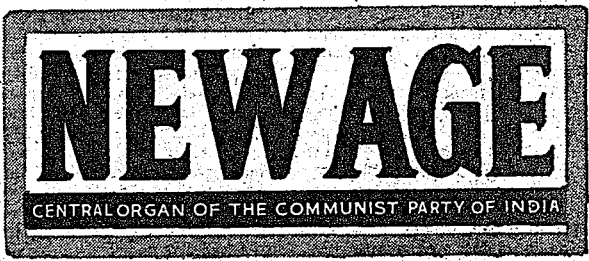
The Satyagraha has not only enhanced the prestige among the masses of the Communist Party and popularised, as nothing else could, its policies. The Satyagraha, along with the state-wide Bandhs in which the Communist Party of India had played a very important role, has created the atmosphere for the broad unity of democratic forces for a change in the government's food policies, for further resolute action against the hoarder enemies of the people.

The Communist Party takes this opportunity to thank all the countless millions who helped to make the Great Satyagraha such a success. The Party salutes the satyagrahis and the masses who rallied behind them for their exemplary discipline and devotion in the face, at several places, of provocation by the police and by vested interests and Right reactionary elements and parties.

The Communist Party severely condemns the police authorities in certain states like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh for lathi-charging completely peaceful satyagraha demonstrations. It further condemns the totally reprehensible use of the DIB and other authoritarian powers to arrest satyagrahis and detain them without trial.

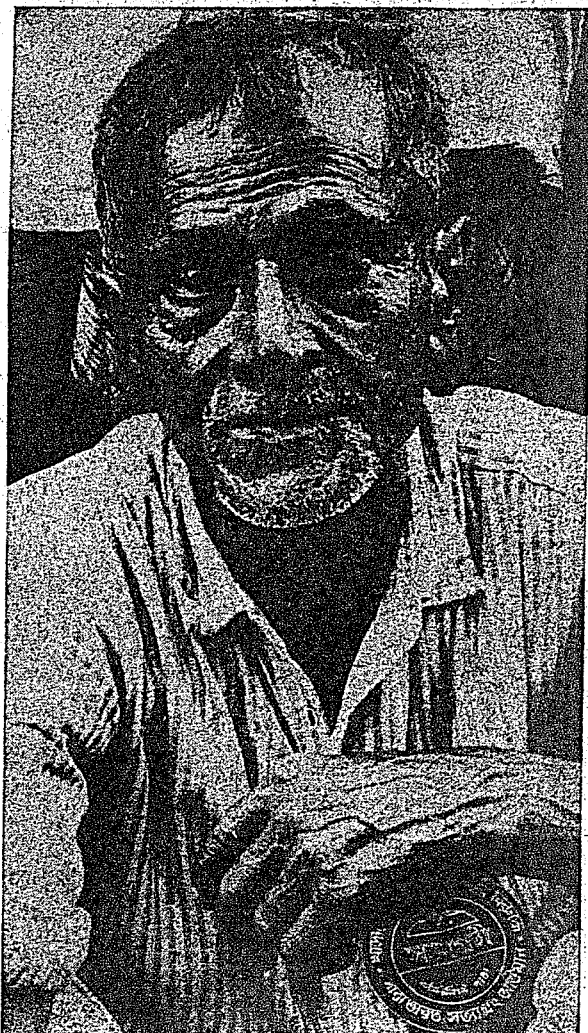
The Great Satyagraha has inflicted a severe blow at the unholy trinity responsible for the present crisis. But the battle is by no means over. It has to be continued and intensified.

The broadest democratic unity must be forged to carry forward the struggle for a change in the bankrupt pro-hoarder policies of the government. The Communist Party appeals to all democrats, irrespective of party affiliations, to join hands to carry forward the movement to save the people from the food crisis.



Vol. XII No. 36 New Delhi, September 6, 1964 25 Paise

Advaita Maiti who came all the way from Tamuk Thana in Midnapur district to offer satyagraha in Calcutta



STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT OF THE CPI

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Govt. Castigated For Lathi-Charges

Debate in Assembly Not Allowed

LUCKNOW: Scenes of fraternisation in a common cause were witnessed in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly on August 27 when Communist legislators, Chandrajeet Yadav and Raghuram Ram sought to move an adjournment motion on the unprovoked lathi-charge by the Police in Lucknow and other places on peaceful Communist satyagrahis demonstrating against the disastrous food policy of the government.

THE adjournment motion had arisen because, in the course of the first three days of the Great Satyagraha, reports had reached the state capital from Fyzabad, Ghazipur, Kanpur and Kannauj of wanton lathi-charges on the satyagrahis.

In Faizabad the police had lathi-charged the peaceful demonstrators and even the public, which was stoutly supporting the satyagrahis, several times in the course of a day. Nearly two dozen satyagrahis had been injured in the lathi-charge.

The resentment caused by this brutal behaviour among the public of the city was so great that a huge all-parties public meeting was held to denounce the lathi-charge. Even the Bar Association of the city was moved to pass a condemnatory resolution.

In Ghazipur, where a big

police lock-up. They had also misbehaved and used their lathis against the satyagrahis in Kanpur.

In Kanpur city the people, the thousands who had gathered to render support to S. S. Yusuf's batch of satyagrahis, booed and shouted down an insolent police inspector. Later, due to irresistible public pressure, his higher officials were compelled to withdraw him from the scene altogether.

Similarly, in Kannauj the police lathi-charged the satyagrahis and inflicted injuries on about a dozen of them.

And, in Lucknow itself, perhaps not contended with the lathi-charge they had made on the satyagrahis on the first day in front of the Council House, the police were brandishing their lathis again on the satyagrahis before the district supply office at the very moment when the Communist legislators and other members of the opposition were earnestly pleading with the Speaker to admit the adjournment motion.

Except for the men of the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party, the spokesmen of all other opposition parties supported the appeal.

Ugra Sen, deputy leader of the SSP group, while supporting the adjournment motion, said that the police lathi-charge on "peaceful satyagrahis was unprecedented in the state after the achievement of freedom." He added, "this exposed the real character of the Congress regime."

Nek Ram Sharma, deputy leader of the Independent group, Lakshpat Ram Sharma, an Independent MLA, and a spokesman of the Republican Party also supported the motion.

After the refusal of the Speaker to allow a debate on the motion, Ram Sunder Pande, leader of the SSP, said that "the government had given a categorical assurance in the house in the past that peaceful demonstrators would not be lathi-charged. The government has broken its pledge and therefore, this was no matter falling under the jurisdiction of merely the local administrations."

Dr. Z. A. Ahmed made it clear that what was being protested against was "not the arrest of satyagrahis, but the violent, and anti-people behaviour of the police."

On the persistent refusal of the Speaker to admit the motion, the entire opposition consisting of the SSP, CPI, Republican Party and the Independents, walked out of the house one by one. Only the Jan Sanghites and the Swatantra men remained seated.

Meanwhile the reports (not all complete) from 27 of the 43 or 44 districts where the Party has a unit, show that a total of 15,000 satyagrahis had offered

satyagraha during the five days from August 24 to 28.

Of these 3,212 were arrested and sent to jails. Another 1,100 satyagrahis were arrested and released, either at the same place or at some far off and forlorn place. For instance, hundreds of satyagrahis arrested in Muzaffarnagar were taken to the hills of Rishikesh and Lakshman Jhula and abandoned there to fend for themselves.

The highest number of satyagrahis—679 were arrested in Ghazipur. Azamgarh contributed the second largest 488. 255 were arrested in Muzaffarnagar, 243— including eight women and two infants—in Faizabad, 192—including two women—in Ballia, 170 in Jhansi and so on.

In Lucknow despite all efforts of the satyagrahis to get arrested only 52 were picked up and in Kanpur, where hundreds had rallied to the Party's call most enthusiastically only 36 were arrested.

Twenty-two were arrested in Tehri Gathwal and 175 in Varanasi, 26 were arrested in Dehra Dun, 30 in Nainital, 75 in Farrukhabad, 40 in Jaunpur, 64 in Moradabad, 27 in Mathura and 88 in Gorakhpur.

This number may go up when full reports are received.

Satyagraha In Saurashtra

AHMEDABAD: There was satyagraha in several places of Saurashtra region of Gujarat in response to the call of the Communist Party of India for the nationwide satyagraha from August 26 to 28.

A batch of eight satyagrahis under the leadership of Batuk Varma courted arrest at Palitana on August 26.

Another batch of four satyagrahis led by Dayalji Chatterani courted arrest at Rajkot on the same day. They were arrested while taking out a torchlight procession after a public meeting.

At Junagadh, a batch of four satyagrahis led by P. D. Gandhi was arrested on August 27. They were on their way to picket the collectorate, but the police took them into custody before they reached there.

A batch of nine satyagrahis courted arrest at Rajkot on the same day, that is, August

27. At Surendranagar also a batch of five satyagrahis courted arrest under the leadership of Jusab Kasam.

On August 28, eleven satyagrahis courted arrest at Bhavnagar, climaxing the satyagraha movement in Saurashtra region. They were led by Pravin Shridharani and Niruben Patel.

It may be recalled that most of the Communist leaders and workers in the Gujarat area and especially in Ahmedabad are in jail since the successful Gujarat Bandh organised on August 5.

As such the satyagraha could not be organised in the state on a big scale.

MOSCOW: The people of Soviet Union have watched with sincere admiration, sympathy and solidarity the great mass actions and satyagraha launched at the initiative of the Communist Party of India to protest against the rising food prices, against the artificial scarcity created by hoarders and monopolists and the ineffective measures taken by the government.

PEOPLE here have been shocked to learn that the Indian government arrested Communists on such a big scale, while the real culprits, the organisers of famine, go scot-free. Public opinion here has been shocked that so soon after Nehru's death the Indian government, while professing to follow the Nehru path, launched mass arrests of the Indian Communists who represent the true interests of the people, that while professing socialism, full freedom has been given to the worst capitalist elements who organise mass misery and rob the people by withholding their food. PRAVDA called the mass campaign launched by the CPI a new test of strength of organisation, cohesion of the Communist Party of India.

Summing up the result of the mass satyagraha campaign, PRAVDA said on August 31: "The Indian Communists showed exceptional staunchness and discipline during the preparation and carrying out of the campaign. In many states, groups of most popular leaders took part in hunger-strikes. The Communists led the people into struggle keeping rigid order and did not give any cause for provocation. But it was on them that the full force of harsh and completely unjustified repressive measures was unleashed. The campaign has showed that the people see in the Communist Party of India the spokesman of their interests. They support its policies and actions."

The PRAVDA comment, signed by I. Alexandrov, mentioned the fact that shoulder to shoulder with Communists, tens of socialists, members of the ruling party, patriots of diverse political views took part in mass demonstrations. For five days, PRAVDA declared, the streets of Indian cities were in ferment. In Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kanpur—in all big industrial centres, demonstrations and meetings of thousands took place. The campaign surpassed all expectations, PRAVDA said.

For many months, the press noted the worsening situation and progressive representatives in Parliament drew the attention of the authorities to the real causes. The government promised more than once to take over the grain trade in its own hands. However,

nothing was done due to the monopolists and speculators, PRAVDA declared.

In spite of the fact that satyagraha was conducted in a peaceful and organised manner, the authorities carried out mass arrests of the participants. More than 11,000 Communists were thrown into jails. "There is nothing surprising in the fact that this action of the authorities aroused a feeling of anxiety amongst all progressive forces in India and her friends all over the world," PRAVDA declared.

This comment in PRAVDA was headlined "PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE." Earlier on August 28 a comment by the same commentator published under a three-column headline "ANTI DEMOCRATIC ACTIONS" caused quite a stir in the diplomatic circles here.

The comment appeared on the same day as India's Defence Minister Chavan arrived in Moscow. President Radhakrishnan was quoted as saying that the hoarders and speculators were the worst enemies of society and the most decisive action had to

Soviet Press Criticises India Govt's Attitude

Expresses Support To Popular Movement

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

be taken against them however highly placed and influential they might be.

But PRAVDA said the police authorities had directed all their endeavours against the working people. The paper pointed out that reactionary circles, the Swatantra and RSS and even US Ambassador Bowles had taken the organisers of hunger under their protection and blamed the peasants for the situation.

PRAVDA quoted NEW AGE as saying that the food situation had become so acute that on its solution depended not only the prevention of hunger and famine, but also the much wider question of the general progressive development of the country.

PRAVDA emphasised that the participants of the satyagraha coming out against the enemies of the nation who

hindered the realisation of the national tasks formulated by Nehru took recourse to peaceful action.

The actions of the Indian working people are directed in defence of the nation and the Indian Communists are in the first ranks of this struggle, PRAVDA said.

"Their determination and self-sacrifice in the struggle for the basic interests of the people arouse sincere sympathies of the Soviet people. Soviet public opinion considers the arrests of the participants of the campaign of civil disobedience as actions anti-democratic in character," PRAVDA declared.

PRAVDA, IZVESTIA and the radio reported the mass demonstrations in India for a

number of days and expressed alarm at the arrests. The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions also sent a message of solidarity to the AITUC and wished the working people of India success in their just struggle and demanded the release of those arrested.

It has been noted by observers here that the tone of the Soviet press had never before been so critical of Indian policies as now regarding the bungling on the food front. But this does not in any way mean a change in the policy of friendship, cooperation and good relations that the Soviet Union has consistently followed towards India. The warm reception accorded to India's Defence Minister Chavan is another indication of this friendly policy.

BIHAR PRESENTS A GOOD RECORD

PATNA: The five-day Great Satyagraha organised by the Communist Party of India for people's food evoked tremendous response in Bihar and thousands of people participated in it despite the brutal police repression in several places.

ACCORDING to available reports, more than ten thousand volunteers offered satyagraha in 32 towns. The largest number of satyagrahis were in Darbhanga district (3500 satyagrahis), followed by Monghyr (2500 satyagrahis).

Figures for other districts are: Patna 109, Gaya 450, Shahabad 1250, Muzaffarpur 1375, Saran 580, Champaran 75, Bhagalpur 950, Saharsa 95, Santhal Pargana 30, Hazaribagh 212, Dhanbad 300 and Singhbhum 198.

Among the satyagrahis, there were a number of women in Madhubani, Darbhanga, Jamui, Monghyr, Muzaffarpur and other places.

Not all those who offered satyagraha were arrested. In many

places the authorities adopted the nasty method of arresting the leaders and driving away others by lathi-charges and other repressive measures.

In all about 2000 satyagrahis were arrested. In Patna, all the 109 satyagrahis were arrested. Other figures of arrests were Gaya 188, Shahabad 14, Muzaffarpur 247, Saran 131, Champaran 17, Darbhanga 882, Monghyr 74, Saharsa 11, Hazaribagh 212 and Dhanbad 15.

No arrests were made in Singhbhum and Santhal Parganas districts, while only three satyagrahis were arrested in Bhagalpur.

About 1500 satyagrahis including some women are still in jail.

The response of the people to the Great Satyagraha movement is not to be judged by the number of satyagrahis alone; of course, that number is high. Huge crowds gathered at satyagraha centres and greeted the Communist volunteers. In many places, the crowds were as big as ten thousand.

The government sought to suppress this massive protest of the people by brutal lathi-charges, use of DIR and other repressive methods. Many Communist leaders, including Mani Ram Singh and Ramaballav Jalan, member of the Bihar University Syndicate, were detained under the DIR.

Police lathi-charges took place against the peaceful satyagrahis at Jehanabad, Arrah, Sitamarhi, Gopalganj, Darbhanga, Madhubani, Begusarai, Monghyr, Jamui, Bhagalpur and Bettiah.

More than 500 people were injured as a result of these lathi-charges. Even women and people on hungerstrike were not spared from lathi blows. The police even resorted to a lathi-charge inside the Jehanabad jail against the satyagrahis.

But the police repression did not help to keep down the number of people participating in the satyagraha if that had been the intention of the government. It only helped to rouse the resentment and anger of the people more against the pro-hoarder policies of the government and sent hundreds more into action.

With the phase of the Great Satyagraha action over, the people are looking forward to the next stage of the struggle for cheap food and against high prices.

Meanwhile, the Bihar state council of the CPI has congratulated the people for the enthusiastic response they gave to the

Simla Satyagraha

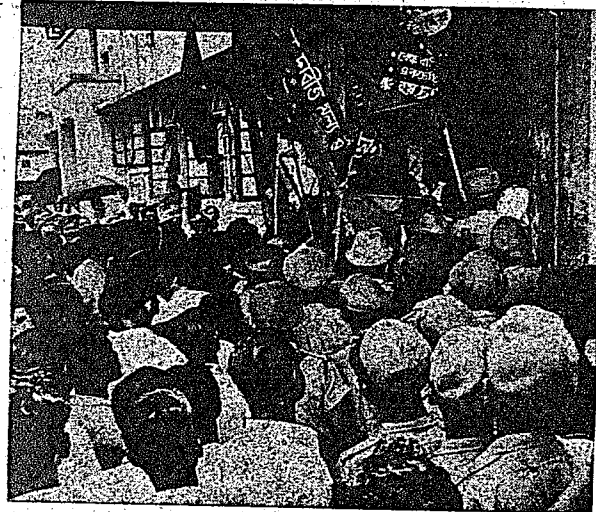
SIMLA: Himachal Pradesh also contributed its share to the nationwide Great Satyagraha from August 24 to 28 called by the Communist Party of India.

Fifty-three people offered satyagraha at Simla on August 26 demanding cheap food and strong action against hoarders and profiteers.

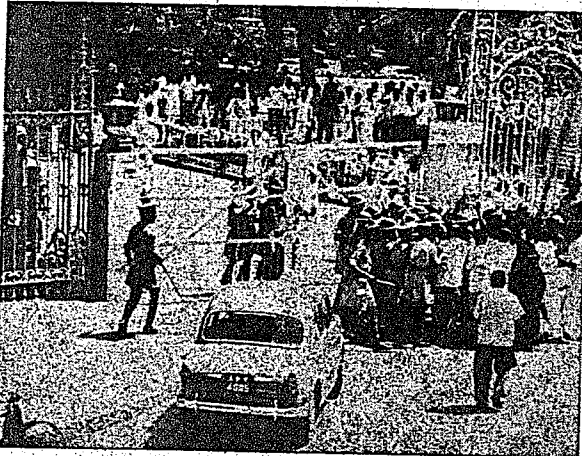
But, the police obviously in an attempt to keep down the number of arrests, took into custody only five persons.

Party's call for satyagraha. It welcomed the SSP's decision to organise a similar satyagraha but stated that it would have been far more effective if it had timed the satyagraha simultaneously with the CPI programme.

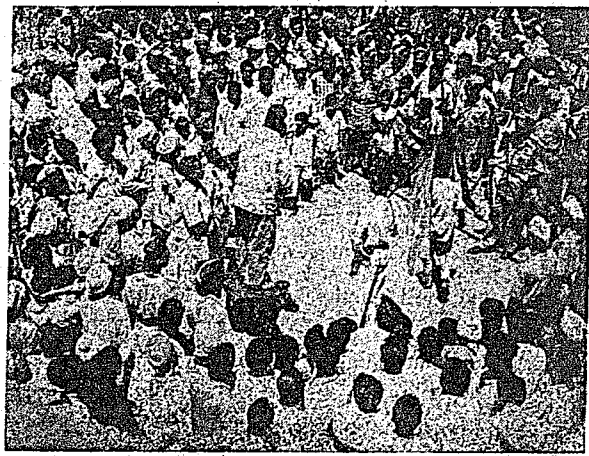
The council also demanded a judicial enquiry into the lathi-charges inside the Jehanabad jail and the Madhubani and Darbhanga courts.



Above: Police lathi-charge satyagrahis at Ganhati, Below: Hyderabad Secretariat gate scene on August 26; Right: Police manhandling satyagrahis at Lucknow on August 27.



Satyagrahis after arrest at Amritsar



Satyagraha scene at Amritsar

World Communist Meeting Must be Held

Editorial

THE LEADERSHIP of the Communist Party of China has made public its refusal to participate in the meeting proposed to be held in December this year of representatives of the 26 Communist Parties which constituted the Drafting Commission for the 1960 meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. This refusal is accompanied by nauseating slander and abuse against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Marxist-Leninist Parties who have taken the initiative to start preparations for another meeting of representatives of Communist Parties from all over the world.

Few, if any, will be particularly surprised at the stand taken by the Chinese leaders on this question. It has been clear for a considerable period now, that the Chinese hierarchy is determined to do all in its power to prevent another international meeting from taking place.

The question before the international Communist movement is this: Has the Chinese leadership the divine right to dictate to the vast majority of Communist Parties and impose its veto on proposals accepted by them?

The answer is clear enough: No Party, however big it might be, can claim the right to obstruct and block the efforts of the vast majority of Communist Parties to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement.

The Communist Parties of the world have made known their respective views on the proposal to hold another international meeting. The overwhelming majority have urged that the meeting should take place as early as possible. It was in the light of these opinions, openly expressed through public statements and in mutual consultations, that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressed a letter to all fraternal Parties, proposing that preparations should begin immediately for an international meeting, which may take place in the middle of 1965.

The CPSU had been entrusted by the 1957 meeting with the "function of calling meetings of the Communist and Workers Parties, after consultations with fraternal Parties". And it is by virtue of this directive that the CPSU has now made its proposal to convene in December a meeting of the Drafting Commission (with the same composition as that of the Drafting Commission for the 1960 international meeting).

The urgency for an early world gathering of representatives of Communist Parties is underlined by the recent international developments. It is imperative to consult together so that joint measures may be taken for uniting in action all the anti-imperialist forces, for intensifying the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, against the intrigues of the imperialists, colonialists and reactionaries.

It would be a betrayal of the anti-imperialist peoples of the whole world to accept the Chinese diktat and postpone or delay the preparations for the international meeting any further. Those who oppose the calling of the meeting, in fact, deny the necessity for strengthening the united front against imperialism. Not to hold the meeting would do immense damage to the cause of socialism itself.

Apart from the fact that the new problems and changes that have arisen since 1960 demand a new meeting, the disruption and split, which have been brought about as a result of the Chinese leadership's activities, also make it essential that the meeting is delayed no longer.

The Communist Party of India has all along insisted on the early convening of an international meeting. It has made its views on this question known again and again, since December 1962, when it first made the proposal for the calling of such a meeting. At its last meeting in June this year the National Council of the CPI suggested that the Drafting Commission be composed of the same Parties as constituted the Commission for the 1960 meeting.

Thus the Communist Party of India fully supports the proposals made by the CPSU in its recent letter to the Communist Parties of the world, for the immediate starting of preparations for the international meeting.

The international meeting must be held, as planned together by the overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' Parties.

FRIENDS AND FOES

Once again, it is testing time. In a flash, the Indian people can see who are their friends and who their enemies.

ON the one hand, we have the clearcut and forthright declaration, openly made on August 31 by Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Malinovsky, that the Soviet Union is ready to give India the assistance asked for by the Chavan mission "to the maximum extent we can", without any political strings.

On the other, we have the presence in the Indian Ocean of US nuclear-armed warships, exchanging courtesies with the Pakistan Navy and thus brazenly threatening our Motherland. US and British authorities are busy investigating Indian Ocean islands, where they propose to establish their naval bases under one cloak or the other.

Defence Minister Chavan has been received with the greatest friendship and courtesy during his shopping tour in the Soviet Union. In the highest quarters in New Delhi, it is being noted that the entire approach of the Soviet government to the problem of India's defence needs is in total contrast to the approach of the US and British governments.

Who has forgotten the blackmail and pressures exerted on the Indian government when it urged the imperialist powers to supply it with supersonic planes and missiles? Who has forgotten the rude refusal of the imperialist powers to meet India's request for these most vital defence necessities? And nobody was left in any doubt as to the reason for the refusal—namely, that India was

unwilling to bow under imperialist pressure and give up its policy of nonalignment.

The coming days will assuredly see a further expansion of Soviet assistance for India's economic and military needs in all fields. The characteristic of

that it will not agree to remove its posts in the demilitarised zone in Ladakh, as was suggested by Sirimavo Bandaranaike, on behalf of the Colombo Powers.

One of the last acts of Prime Minister Nehru was to indicate his willingness to make a further gesture towards meeting Chinese

Comment

Soviet friendship is that it is genuine and totally without political considerations. India wishes to remain non-aligned. The Soviet government fully respects this wish and will do all in its power to assist India in preserving its independence and nonalignment.

Chinese Intransigence

THE Chinese government has rudely rejected the new efforts made on the initiative of the Ceylon Prime Minister to break the India-China deadlock. The Chinese government, through an article in the PEOPLE'S DAILY, has clearly indicated

objections to the Colombo proposals, by expressing his readiness to open talks with the Chinese government if they withdrew their posts from the demilitarised zone in Ladakh.

The Colombo proposals provided for an equal number of Indian and Chinese posts in this zone. The Chinese made it clear that they would not allow any Indian posts to be located in this zone.

The Ceylon Prime Minister, obviously on the basis of her understanding of the Chinese position, proposed to the Indian government that it should agree to make a concession to the Chinese viewpoint and accept that the spirit of the Colombo proposals would have been met, if the Chinese withdrew their posts from the demilitarised zone.

It is now clear that the Chinese government went back on the stand it earlier took, in

* ON PAGE 17

SYNDICATE IN A SPIN

THE Syndicate that rules this country has gone into a spin after last week's AICC meeting. INSIDER had never witnessed anything like it in recent times.

It was a battle, no holds barred, between Morarji's men and the Syndicate. The resolution demanding the scrapping of the Kamaraj Plan was ultimately withdrawn. More bitterness has welled up in the ruling quarters against Morarji.

Morarji will remain in the wilderness for a longer period than was expected. At the same time the Syndicate has no reason to feel comfortable. It will take some more time for the repercussions to be felt. And at the present reckoning they are bound to be serious.

Morarji has let loose his hounds at a time when the Syndicate itself is sinking by its own internal differences. That Shastri and some of the members of the Syndicate have been travelling in slightly different directions is no more a palace secret.

There has certainly been more grumbling at Shastri's gradual assertion of independence in the matter of appointments in the ministry and outside.

It is equally no more a secret that Atulya Ghosh and Sanjiva Reddi, two of the Syndicate members, do not exactly like Home Minister Nanda.

To a lesser degree both Kamaraj and Shastri also have not been seeing eye to eye

with Nanda on the Sadachar Samiti and things like that.

The result was that Nanda was defeated at the last Parliamentary Board meeting. Both Kamaraj and Shastri in their own way supported Atulya and ditched Nanda. Nanda is busy folding up his tents pitched in his residence to entertain public complaints.

This, however, is a small matter. The Sadachar Samiti can be wound up but the Santanam Committee report cannot be consigned to the flames because there had been a commitment to Parliament.

This report which suggests ways of combating ministerial and official corruption has sharply divided the Cabinet.

Most Cabinet ministers are against Nanda in this matter, though Nanda himself has suggested radical modification to that recommendation relating to charges of corruption against Ministers.

There is an amusing side also here. Since Bhubaneswar, Nanda and TTK had formed an axis. They were the two designated to look after governmental work during the ailment of the late Prime Minister.

They together kicked up a row on the question of rank when Shastri was allowed to break the queue of the Kamaraj Ministers.

Now TTK is ahead of everybody else in opposing Nanda on the question of the Santanam Committee report, especially that part concerning ministers. The main recommendation is that a certain number of legislators or parliamentarians can

initiate a corruption charge against a minister.

INSIDER does not appreciate TTK's opposition to Nanda but he can certainly understand it. After all, TTK had to pack up and go after one single MP, the late Feroze Gandhi, implicated him in the Mundhra affair.

I will not be surprised if I am told that TTK is called back for a day from Kuala Lumpur to finally decide this matter. After all, the Cabinet has to prepare its case on the report before Parliament meets on September 7.

If the bank rate is raised, as rumoured, then his one-day home-coming can be, of course, publicly attributed to that.

TTK's desertion is a hard blow to Nanda who had already been discomfited by Indira Gandhi's disenchantment with his Sadachar movement. Needless to recall here that Indira and Nanda were supporting each other during the succession struggle and even before.

Now that Morarji has given a shock to the whole lot, it is possible and likely that the love-hate relationship that I roughly sketched in the preceding paragraphs will undergo a sea-green change.

Already there are indications that the members of the Syndicate are closing their ranks. Patil who was floored at the AICC may cease for a while his sailing in both the boats. INSIDER will not be surprised if Shastri and Nanda come closer.

—INSIDER

WORLD PRESS REPORTS ALL-INDIA SATYAGRAHA

From P. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN: News Agencies, radio stations and newspapers all over the world reported prominently and continuously for four days the great satyagraha against three evils launched by the Communist Party of India on August 24.

SEVERAL big newspapers in London, New York, Berlin, Paris, Rome and in other world capitals devoted their front pages to splash the news of the great successes of the Communist Party that launched the food movement. The Indian words "Bandh" and "Satyagraha" have found place in English, German, French, Italian, Spanish and other European languages.

The arrest of S. A. Dange and other leaders appeared in bold letters on front pages. Foreign news analysts in Berlin editorial desks said this is a very big revolutionary movement they have seen in the "teleprinter in recent years. German Communists congratulated the Indian Party for its great initiative in launching a powerful mass movement shaking the whole country for five days. Indians living in Berlin asked this correspondent to convey their salutations to the organisers and participants of this great agitation for people's food.

COMPLACENT MINISTER

The next day, Times correspondent from Delhi wrote about the complacent attitude of Food Minister Subramaniam. "The India Government has recently been taking optimistic attitude towards the food situation and today Mr. Subramaniam, the Minister for Food and Agriculture told foreign journalists here that the country had now passed the three most dangerous months and that the situation was easing."

The correspondent continued: "Mr. Subramaniam argues that the food supply had not this year been markedly worse than last year, but because the country had been alarmed about it—and here he suggested that the opposition parties had been to blame—hoarding and retention of foodgrains from the market had made matters sharply worse."

"The Minister later went on to say, however, that the next two months were almost invariably a period in which food prices went up, and his sanguine expectations that prices would now remain steady and in due course fall a little seemed to have thin support. The Government must be expected to put as brave a face as possible on a situation which can be worsened by anxiety, but there is no conclusive evidence that prices have stopped rising or that supplies are now coming on to the market in quantities large enough to depress them."

TIMES REPORT

Almost all big British dailies prominently published the reports of satyagraha. The Guardian on Tuesday, under headline "Food Protests in India" gave a detailed report of the agitation and arrests on the first day of the demonstrations. The paper said the demonstrations were peaceful except in Lucknow. Its correspondent from Delhi announced that "the biggest demonstrations were expected in New Delhi on Wednesday." On 26th the Guardian gave prominence to country-wide arrests. On 28th the front-page of the same paper said that more than 10,000 Communists had been arrested since Monday.

"The highest number of arrests was in Andhra State, more than 3,000 people have been taken into custody." The Guardian added the police had not arrested all the agitators who had picketed banks, grain-markets and stock-exchanges.

The Daily Mail, giving a picture of Delhi agitation on top of its world news survey said, "Home Minister Nanda watched the New Delhi protest wearing sun-glasses and turban as disguise. In Lucknow the crowd tried to storm the Assembly Building."

London Times on 25th gave a thick top banner "Indian Police

page prominently featured country-wide agitation news and said Dange and 370 others, members of the Party in Bombay, were arrested "when they tried to break through a police cordon on the third day of protest against rising food prices". On 27th the paper put the figures at 2,700; on 28th again Telegraph reported the mass movement.

The New York Herald Tribune in a half column despatch on the 28th under the heading "India Puts Red Arrests at 2699—two day total is largest since independence." It wrote further: "Scores of demonstrating Communists were rounded up for the second consecutive day today in the biggest mass arrests since India became independent 17 years ago. Yesterday 1,600 demonstrators were taken into custody on the first day of the five-day protest. This was the biggest number of political arrests in one day since Gandhi's civil disobedience movement for freedom 20 years ago. Government leaders fear that Communist demonstrations will touch off violence among India's poverty stricken millions who are having an ever harder time than usual in getting enough to eat. The protest is being boycotted by the pro-Peking Communists who last April broke away from the Party."

Later the paper said the demonstrations were largely peaceful. On 27th the Herald Tribune continued its reporting on Indian mass struggles on the front page. In another report on 28th, the paper said more than 10,000 Communists had been arrested since Monday when the Party launched its five-day nationwide agitation.

New York Times on its front page on 25th and 26th, together about one and a half column story of its New Delhi correspondent, reported the price protest demonstrations. He announced that Dange will "demonstrate and invite arrest in Bombay."

In his long story, the correspondent said the demonstrations were peaceful for the most part, "because Communists are using the slogan satyagraha to cover their massive efforts to embarrass Government by demonstrations, obstructing traffic. The Communists are participating in civil disobedience in current demonstrations, obstructing business and forcing the police to arrest them. Their goal is to harass Mr. Shastri's Government which is regarded slightly as more conservative than that of late Jawaharlal Nehru."

STEEP RISE IN PRICES

The paper quoted the Food Minister's figures that "foodgrain prices had risen 22 per cent in the last 18 months and more than 18 per cent since last May. In the decade preceding the 18 month period grain prices had increased only 28 per cent."

The Communist press in all European countries, naturally true to proletarian internationalism, gave widest publicity to their brothers' sacrifices in India to secure a better deal for masses. The Daily Worker on 24th reported that the "Indian Communist Party will launch a five-day nationwide demonstration against rising food prices, picketing banks, stock-exchanges, Government offices and grain dealers. In this biggest action since the Shastri Government took over, a hundred thousand Communists, including the Party leader S. A. Dange will stage pre-independence style satyagraha. They are hoping one million other Indians will support them."

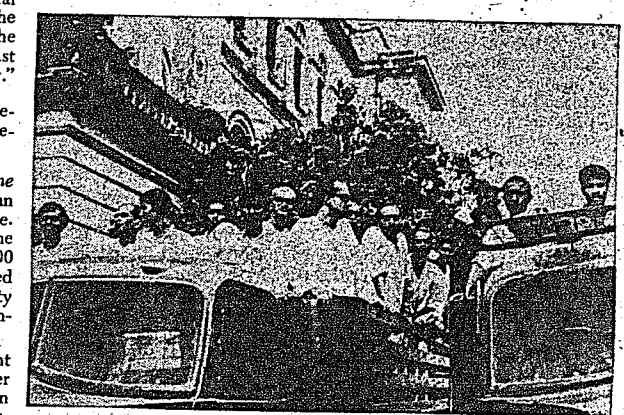
national page, the first column top headline was—"Dange, President Du Parti Communiste Indien Arreste" giving a short report of the countrywide arrests and people's determined struggle.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Leading GDR paper Neues Deutschland, central organ of the Party under the headline "Demonstrationen Gegen Den Hunger Drei Millionen Inder Nah Men Teil" on 26th gave the first reports of the food-satyagraha and arrests.

Communist papers in Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Finland, Scandinavian countries and other places widely publicised the story of India's greatest mass movement in the post-independence time.

The struggle of India's toiling millions led by the CPI hit the headline for four days continuously. This is an unprecedented publicity for the CPI, its mass influence and organisational strength.



ABOVE: Bhowani Sen and others after arrest on August 25 in Calcutta. BELOW: Student demonstration on August 26. (Photos: SHAMBHU BANERJEE)



CONGRESS CLEAVAGE MORE PRONOUNCED

By K. U. WARIER

The acrimonious debate on the implementation of the Kamaraj plan which dominated the AICC session in New Delhi last weekend confirmed more than the existence of groupism in the Congress—its accentuation in the few months since the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru and the ruling party presenting to the country a picture of bitter rivalries among factions fighting for power.

THE stench caused by this washing of dirty Congress linen was so high that even the withdrawal of the non-official resolution on Kamaraj plan at the end of a day's duel, in response to a persuasive speech by Prime Minister Shastri, did not cleanse the atmosphere in the AICC.

It was the first meeting of the All India Congress Committee after the death of Jawaharlal Nehru and it revealed the "new temper" of the Congress.

A determined group set about dragging the late leader's name through mud and denounced him as the cause of all their frustrations. Moving for the scrapping of the Kamaraj plan, the group imputed motives to the late Prime Minister in introducing the plan which had resulted in keeping some of them out of power.

The debate also disproved the "consensus" that had been hailed at the choice of leadership after Nehru and displayed deep fissures in the party arising from intensified group rivalries.

The Morarji lobby which led the attack on the Kamaraj plan showed no restraint or inhibition. It made no secret of its dislike for the coterie—or the "cabal" as it was called by one member—which controls the organisation and government and openly challenged its authority.

Throughout the debate on the Kamaraj plan, excitement ran high in the AICC and bitterness was most marked in the speeches of the more prominent critics of the plan, like the mover of the resolution T. J. Patel from Gujarat, Banarasi Das from Uttar Pradesh and S. N. Mishra from Bihar.

While it highlighted the acute dissension in the party and a weakening of the prestige and position of the High Command, on a scale never seen before, the attack by the Morarjimen against the plan and its implementation also produced much revulsion among delegates and provoked sharp replies.

Not only were the bonafides of the late Prime Minister questioned by the critics of the plan, but they also ridiculed those who had left office under the plan but had since then come back into power.

It was asserted that the Kamaraj plan was dead, the "unemployed" ministers had not contributed to the strengthening of the organisation and that it was a conspiracy that kept a few of them still out of office. Both Lal Bahadur Shastri and S. K. Patil had to face criticism for their return to government from

the embittered supporters of Morarji Desai.

Patil's appeal for postponement of the discussion was rejected and shouts and slogans asking him to resign were raised from the floor when he smugly suggested that he had more work when he was out of office than he had now. It was a bad choice for the High Command to have put up S. K. Patil of all men to defend the Kamaraj plan and the treatment he got from the house was largely well-deserved.

Another aspect of the tirade against the leadership was the reference to personalities. Particularly the inclusion of three former Congress presidents in the Central Cabinet was criticised and the question was posed why it was necessary if organisational work was so important.

Home Minister Nanda and his Sadachar Samiti were castigated and ridiculed by Banarasi Das: Nanda was asked to step down from ministership to fight corruption.

Banarasi Das's attack against the High Command for its handling of the UPCC presidentship issue reminded the AICC that the Gupta faction in UP was in no chastened mood. Speaking for his boss C. B. Gupta, Banarasi Das went all out against the High Command and accused it of having "raped" the party constitution.

While Kamaraj himself sat silent, the main defenders of the Kamaraj plan, apart from S. K. Patil, were A. P. Jain, Biju Patnaik and Lal Bahadur Shastri. The Prime Minister had to go into the "inside story" of how the plan was conceived; he had to be apologetic for his own return to government.

Shastri also tried to placate Morarji's supporters by recalling how he himself had suggested to the late Prime Minister that Morarji need not be relieved from the Cabinet and Nehru had observed that by resigning Morarji Desai would attain greater stature.

The attack on the High Command came mainly from the states of Gujarat, UP and Bihar. This itself was significant since it showed a hardening of positions of the "anti-syndicate" factions in these states and their joint front in the tussel for leadership.

It was evident that the High Command's authority was being challenged and its preeminence to lead the party clear of group loyalties questioned. The High Command itself was accused of being factional.

It was however able to weather the storm and get the resolution withdrawn because the delegates were not prepared to play into the hands of the Morarji lobby, even if they had little sympathy for the leadership.

The debate on the implementation of the Kamaraj plan with its focus on factionalism got the full attention of the delegates whereas the Working Committee's resolution on the food problem which was discussed on the first day received an indifferent approval from the AICC. Clearly the nation's most serious concern with the critical food situation could not induce Congressmen to forget their quarrels.

Apart from the lack of interest revealed in the thin attendance, the discussion on the food resolution failed to hold out any promise of bold action by government to take over the foodgrains trade from private hands and ensure protection for the community from hoarders and profiteers. This, despite the well-argued and forceful plea for state trading made by at least three prominent mem-

bers—N. V. Gadgil, K. D. Malaviya and V. K. Krishna Menon.

Gadgil moved an amendment to the Working Committee resolution categorically stating the constitutional responsibility of the government to feed the people and said it was time for the Congress party to take a major decision in the nature of taking over the entire foodgrain trade from private hands.

He pointed out that there was no free market or competition today. He was sharply critical of the policy of importing foodgrains and observed that after freedom we are becoming more and more dependent as a result of this policy. Gadgil characterised the resolution as "a big thesis" containing a number of "platitudes".

K. D. Malaviya stressed the impracticability of trying to work out a mixed trade pattern, with the state and private sectors existing side by side. In that case, he said, it was better to leave the trade in private hands.

On the other hand, he also discounted the fears that if the state took over the entire trade in foodgrains it would result in the disruption of the movement of foodgrains and private sector would be able to create difficulties for the government machinery.

On this point he clashed with C. Subramaniam who was pleading for a cautious approach to the question. When Malaviya interrupted Subramaniam during the latter's speech and remarked, "this fear must go", the Union Food Minister was annoyed and declared that though Malaviya may be a "brave soul", he would prefer to go

his own way cautiously. Subramaniam elaborated the measures already outlined by the government to establish a foodgrains trading corporation and to fix guaranteed minimum remunerative price for the producers. He was himself sceptical about the private sector playing fair. But then he assured that if it did not and if it became necessary for the government to take over trade entirely, he will not hesitate to do so.

Krishna Menon also was categorical that if the private sector was allowed to exist side by side with the public sector in foodgrains trade it will only result in encouraging the former to sabotage the latter. "We have to appreciate that this is a crisis of prices", he said and pointed out that the question was who regulated the prices.

Menon argued that if the country has to feed itself, it has to socialise its food economy and "there is no half-way house" in this matter.

Criticism of the resolution from an entirely opposite direction came from the champions of the private sector, notably Hanumanthayya who sought to ridicule the idea of state trading. According to him the allegations against private traders were not justified and state trading would prove a failure.

As usual the House passed the Working Committee's resolution which was a compromise between the two schools of thought. While the gravity of the food problem was recognised by everybody, the decision remained one of hoping that the crisis will pass without inflicting further damage to the party's prestige and following.

Rajasthan, land of the fabled warriors who fought with matchless courage for independence, is the scene of another kind of battle today. It is a very different kind of a battle, being fought in vastly different circumstances. It is for food that the people are fighting, against hoarders and price racketeers who appear to be flourishing under the protective shelter of a benign administration which seems to be supremely indifferent to the fate of the people.

THE western districts of Rajasthan were only a few weeks ago in the grip of a regular famine. The onset of the rains has provided employment to the landless labourers in the countryside and the opening of cheap grain shops has prevented starvation deaths from taking place, but the poorer strata are still living under conditions of semi-starvation.

Even more than wheat it is bajra, maize and barley which are the staple food of the poorer sections of the people. The prices of these have risen by about 100 per cent during the last year and are today selling at Rs. 22 to Rs. 24 a maund.

Pulses (dals) are Rs. 40 a maund or even more, edible oil is selling at Rs. 4.00 a kilo. Prices of vegetables have also risen to heights never before known in Rajasthan.

The story of how a normally surplus state, which according to official figures has been exporting two lakh tons of foodgrains in excess of its imports on an average in recent years, was reduced to such a condition of penury is a monument to the policy of surrender to the food hoarders which

has been pursued by the government. It all began with the serious drought last year. It was undoubtedly a serious calamity which is estimated to have affected two or three thousand villages comprising roughly fifteen per cent of the cultivated area. This however could only affect the crops that were to come.

But speculators were not the ones to let slip an opportunity of this nature. A ten per cent rise in prices took place immediately. When the drought was followed by a severe frost, hoarding began on a big scale. By January-February 1964 prices of wheat had risen to Rs. 90 or in some places even more per maund.

These prices had never been heard of in the history of the state. Naturally there was a big storm and people were in an angry mood. The government was forced to act. A ban on the export of wheat and also of other coarse grains was announced.

The government also announced that a rather radical piece of legislation would be introduced from April 1 in the shape of a Foodgrains Licensing Order.

People of Rajasthan Fight for Food

It was made obligatory for the wholesalers to give the locations of their godowns in their licenses. Traders were further required to furnish a security which would be liable to be forfeited in case of default of any of the provisions of the Order.

The traders immediately struck back. A big conference was organised by them in which they threatened to bring the entire foodgrains trade to a standstill if the Order was enforced. The government gave a counter threat that they would enter the foodgrains trade if the foodgrain dealers refused to cooperate.

The traders carried out their threat. The government did not. Instead, the administrators of Rajasthan beat a hasty retreat. A number of concessions were announced which removed the sting out of the Order. Trade was resumed.

The victims were the common people who paid for the compromise between the government and the trading community very dearly. Prices of wheat rose to Rs. 82 a maund in a number of areas and went up as high as Rs. 37 in certain districts

such as Barmer. Prices of commodities other than foodgrains were also affected.

Many interesting explanations are being offered for the behaviour of the government. Some said that it was the resistance of the officials who had argued that the government would never be able to handle the foodgrains trade which came in the way.

Another explanation is that the Birlas had threatened the Rajasthan government that they would see to it that the government's loan would not be subscribed to if state trading was resorted to.

There may be some truth in these allegations. But the talk that I had with the Food Minister convinced me that the Rajasthan government did not stand in need of any pressure to give up state trading. They had never seriously intended taking the step.

Food Minister Mircha did not seem to find any cause for worry in the present situation. He felt that the rise in prices was inevitable.

Another interesting fact was that the Maharaja of Jaipur has a number of farms and directly owns land far in excess of the ceiling. Evidently the land legislation in Rajasthan exempts from the ceiling those farms which are efficiently cultivated. Since the Maharaja's farms are supposed to belong to this category they are naturally outside the scope of the ceiling legislation.

It would seem that such large farms such as those of the Maharaja of Jaipur which have the financial resources to hold back stocks indefinitely are playing an appreciable part in creating a scarcity bigger than is really there and thus helping to push up prices.

With the onset of the rains and the prospects of a bumper harvest the tense atmosphere that prevailed has undergone a change. There is hope that the big harvest will bring down the prices automatically. But as yet there has been no appreciable

By Our Special Correspondent

table and had come to stay. He denied that hoarding was playing any big part in the present crisis, in fact he denied that there was any crisis at all.

He seemed to be extremely complacent about the position and did not think that any drastic action on the part of the government was called for. "I think the situation in Rajasthan is much better than that in most parts of India with the exception of Punjab", was a statement that he repeated twice in the course of the conversation I had with him.

Going round some of the villages and talking to the peasants as well as the Community Development workers at the base I got a totally different picture of the situation. There has undoubtedly been a drop in production because of the drought last year. But the government, it is generally believed, is exaggerating the extent of the shortage to give an alibi to the hoarders.

In the grain markets while I was told that arrivals were much less than last year, there was no dearth of wheat provided the prices demanded were paid.

I was told that traders had given advances to cultivators who had been asked to hold on to the stocks until demanded by the traders. By this means the traders could always deny the existence of hoarding and could moreover save themselves the expenses of hiring godowns.

drop in prices and the feeling of relief is more psychological than based on any easing of the situation.

Moreover unless the government steps in there is no reason to suppose that a bigger harvest will automatically lead to a fall in prices. The Food Minister clearly hinted that the prices would never go back to the old level.

There is also a feeling that the government decision to allow export of coarse grains has been instrumental in creating an artificial scarcity. If traders decide to corner the next year's stocks partly for purposes of export and partly to perpetuate the scarcity in the market the Food Minister's prediction about prices might well turn out to be true.

But the majority of the people scarcely seem aware of the dangers that threaten the future crops. The plentiful and unprecedented rains have been welcomed with a sigh of relief. Judging from the performance of the trade in the year 1964 there is however every reason to apprehend that despite nature's bounty people will be deprived of cheap food in the coming year too.

The government can avert the danger by playing an active role in the matter but that seems to be far from the intentions of the government unless popular movement forces it to change its attitude.

KARNATAKA SATYAGRAHA

From C. R. KRISHNA RAO

BANGALORE: The three-day Great Satyagraha programme in Bangalore came to a successful close on August 26 when Communist volunteers courted arrest before the Vidhan Soudha.

THREE batches of satyagrahis courted arrest today, led by M. S. Krishnan. Other batch leaders were Madhurai Venkatesh Murthy and M. C. Venkataram.

An interesting feature of the third day's satyagraha was the participation of women workers in it.

Twenty-six satyagrahis were arrested on August 26 in Bangalore, taking the city's total for the three days to 42.

Before the satyagraha and arrests, a meeting was held at Bank Circle addressed by M. S. Rama Rao, D. S. Srinamulu and Maridas. Another public meeting before the Vidhan Soudha after the arrests was addressed by M. C. Narasimhan.

The left group also offered satyagraha for the third day on August 26. Four batches of 23 volunteers led by B. L. Upadhyaya courted arrest.

In Mangalore, B. V. Kakillaya, secretary of the Karnataka state council of the Communist Party of India, and Monappa Shetty, secretary of the trade union council, led the satyagraha action. There were 56 satyagrahis

in this batch including 20 women. They squatted before the Chamber of Commerce offices.

Another batch of 17 satyagrahis including six women, led by Narayan Murthy and Vasantha Shetty, offered satyagraha before five prominent banks in Mangalore.

In Bijapur there was satyagraha on all three days. The Nagar Seva Samiti and the district Kisan Sabha cooperated in the movement.

A batch of 13 satyagrahis led by B. Y. Kaladgi offered satyagraha on August 24 before the Deputy Commissioner's office. There was a minor scuffle between the satyagrahis and the police as the former broke the police cordon and advanced to the office.

On the second day, N. K. Upadhyaya, secretary of the Bijapur district council of the CPI, led the satyagraha. Eleven volunteers courted arrest. On the second day, a big crowd witnessed the satyagraha.

Fourteen satyagrahis led by M. F. Inamdar, municipal councillor, courted arrest on the third day. Three thousand

people accompanied the satyagrahis on their way to the DC's office.

A significant aspect of the satyagraha action in Bijapur was the participation of women on all three days. On the first day Sabu Yellava, on the second day Champabai Upadhyaya and on the third day Murtujahi Begum and Hafizabegum Sheikh courted arrest.

In Gulbarga six satyagrahis led by Srinivas Gudl courted arrest on August 26 by picketing the DC's office.

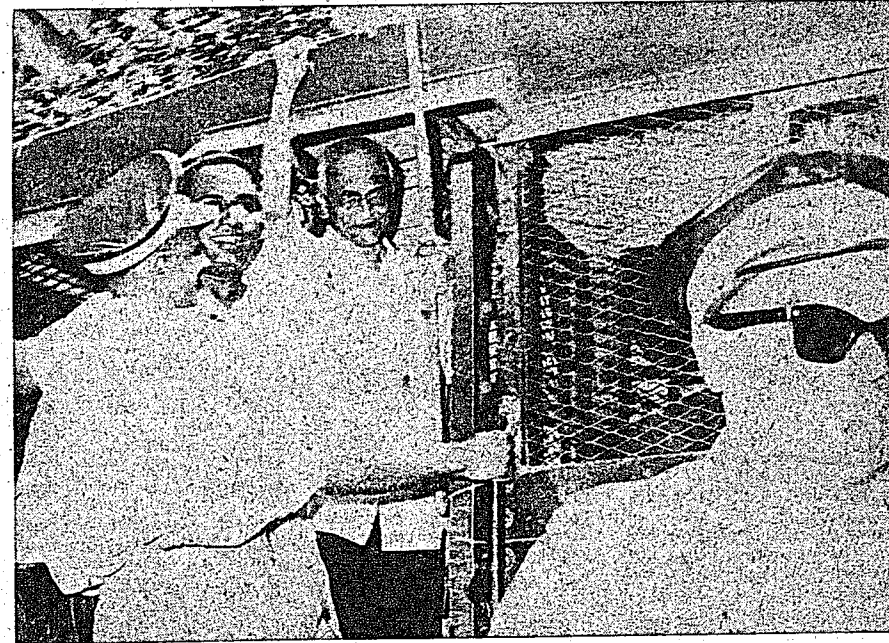
On August 27, another batch of 19 satyagrahis including three women and two children courted arrest. Gangadhar Namoshi MLA led this batch of satyagrahis.

The six satyagrahis arrested on the first day were forced to spend a night on the bare floor in a room just eight feet by eight in the Jagat police station.

The second batch was also ordered to stay in the room, but when they refused they were forced to remain the whole night in the police van.

Both the batches were refused even drinking water while in police custody and were not let out even for call of nature. It is reported that when the satyagrahis protested against such inhuman behaviour, the police officer threatened to beat them till their bones broke.

The secretary of the Gulbarga district council of the CPI, Abdul Karim has issued a statement condemning such inhuman behaviour of the police and demanding action against the erring police officials.



Bombay Satyagraha Scenes. Left: (top) S. A. Dange courting arrest; Left (bottom) Women Satyagrahis led by Roza Deshpande before Reserve Bank. Right: Satyagraha before bullion market (Photos: Sharad Fawar)



CPI CENTRAL SECTT. RESOLUTION NEW KARNATAK COUNCIL APPROVED

The Central Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India in its meeting held on August 23, 1964 adopted the following resolution:

THE secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has given careful consideration to the documents sent by Comrades N. L. Upadhyaya and B. V. Kakkillaya and the events that have led to a split in the Karnataka unit of our Party, leading to the formation of two state councils.

It is quite clear that the main reason for the split in the state council is the opposition of Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya and some other members of the state council to a perfectly justified resolution moved by Comrade B. V. Kakkillaya and others, whose main purpose was to safeguard the integrity and unity of our Party from the splitting activities of the supporters of the Tenali conference.

The resolution only wanted:

1 to reiterate that the Karnataka State Council is a constituent part of the Communist Party of India and pledges to implement the resolutions of the NC;

2 to declare (i) that it is opposed to the decisions of the Tenali conference; and (ii) that those who implement those decisions would forfeit membership of the Party;

3 to condemn and disapprove the action of four state council members, Comrades S. Suryanarayana Rao, M. H. Krishnappa, H. S. Rama Rao and K. Chandukutty Nair in having participated in the Tenali conference, disobeying the decision of the state council secretariat;

4 to prepare for the holding of the Party conference in the state and participate in the 7th Party Congress to be held at Bombay;

5 to call upon all the members of the Party to unite under the banner of the National Council and implement its resolutions.

What possible objection could there be to the above-mentioned points which are the imperative minimum for safeguarding the integrity of the Party from the splitting activities of the organisers of the Tenali conference is beyond one's comprehension.

But Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya and some others chose to oppose them. Over and above that, the committee led by Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya has given an ultimatum (under the name of an appeal) to the National Council that unless their conditions are accepted, they are not going to abide by the decisions of the National Council.

It demanded "Dange to step down from chairmanship" or at least restoration of "the secretariat as it existed in 1962 before the emergency" withdrawal of the "suspension of the 32 National Council members unconditionally." It advised the 32 members "to return to the National Council as soon as the conditions in the above appeal are fulfilled."

It also threatened that "if Comrade Dange and the National Council do not respond to our appeal, the provincial council leaves the future course of action to be decided by the provincial conference of the Party", meaning thereby that they are not bound by the decisions of the National Council, the highest organ of the Party.

Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya not only propagated his views in the state council meeting, but also defended them publicly in the press in his interview to the Deccan Herald dated August 10, 1964. He defended the action of the four state council members in participating in the Tenali conference and their implementing of its decisions.

He made it clear that his state conference to be held in October would decide in which Congress they should participate, either the Congress organised by the National Council or the splitters' congress, on the basis of the reply he gets from the National Council to the ultimatum he has given.

He has already given publicity in the press to the resolution of ultimatum to the National Council. Thereby he declared the independence of the committee he heads from the Communist Party of India. He has already started implementing his line.

He has not waited for the decision of his conference to be held in October 1964. He has already reorganised the state council secretariat excluding those who have been fighting the splitting activities and safeguarding the unity and integrity of the Party. He is allowing Party members to be enrolled anew on new cards, is giving recognition to rival party committees formed by the followers of the splitters' convention, is publishing the resolutions and literature of the rival party.

All this goes to show that Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya has been using his position as the secretary of the Karnataka state council, not for safeguarding the unity and integrity of our Party, but for aiding the splitting activities of the people of the Tenali conference.

The secretariat considers the whole procedure of the state council meeting held from August 8 to 10, 1964 at Bangalore unconstitutional. It had no right to allow the four state council members who participated in the Tenali splitters' conference and were implementing its decisions since then and thus splitting the Party, to participate in the meeting and exercise voting rights. It is also unconstitutional to allow an invitee to the meeting to vote. It is done only to vindicate through all means available one's own splitting activities.

The secretariat is of opinion that under these circumstances, Comrade B. V. Kakkillaya and other state council members were left with no other option except to refuse to participate in such a meeting.

Inside the Party, one can hold any opinion but he has no right to disobey and violate the organisational principles of the Party and decisions of the Party.

The main point is that the committee led by Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya does not consider itself bound to participate in the forthcoming Party Congress and abide by its decisions. In view of the urgency and

Next General Elections

LET US JOIN HANDS TO DEFEAT CONGRESS

Kerala State Council's Call To All Democratic Parties

The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting on August 17 at Trichur under the chairmanship of P. Balachandra Menon, has called upon all democratic parties, individuals and groups in Kerala to come together on the basis of a minimum programme to oust the corrupt Congress regime in the state and replace it with a good, democratic government free from corruption and affording relief to the common people and ensuring allround development of the state.

THE resolution said: The people of Kerala are going to polls early in 1965. They have an opportunity to pronounce their clear verdict against the five year corrupt regime that they have under the leadership of the Congress party.

The Communist Party is faced with the task of utilising this opportunity to give clear and effective shape to the aspirations of the people, to give them the fruits of a good and democratic government for which they have been yearning.

Congress has no other claim to trumpet about except that they were able to run the government for a full five-year term. It was able to come to power on the rising crescendo of anti-Communist hysteria let loose after the liberation struggle and with the help and support of all the non-Communist parties.

The Congress seized the reins of power in its own hands after ousting one party after the other from the unholy alliance it had forged for the nefarious scheme of ousting the Communist government.

The government that came to power afterwards did neither attempt to solve the problems of the state nor seek to satisfy and fulfil the expectations and hopes they had themselves raised among the people during the pre-election campaign.

The banner of "food for the

gravity of the situation created by this split, especially when the whole Party is in the thick of popular mass struggles, the secretariat decides to take appropriate actions in terms of the following resolution of the National Council:

"In view of the emergency created by the organised splitting activities of the Left seceders, the National Council authorises the CEC to take promptly all necessary organisational steps to prevent further disruption of the Party in particular where the work of the Party and the functioning of the units are obstructed and made virtually impossible by the members who adhere to the platform of the 32. In such cases, the CEC and the secretariat shall directly deal with the situation and take such organisational measures as would ensure the continued development of the Party in cooperation with all those comrades who

support the policy of the Party and are loyal to it. "All such decisions should be reported to the next meeting of the National Council for consideration and endorsement."

In view of the above facts established by the relevant documents, the secretariat resolves to authorise the state council with Comrade B. V. Kakkillaya as its secretary to carry on the work of the Party in Karnataka pending the final decision of the National Council.

The secretariat appeals to N. L. Upadhyaya and others to stop their splitting activities and abide by the decisions of the National Council.

The secretariat calls upon all Party units, Party members and sympathisers to rally behind the banner of the Communist Party of India and help the state council, whose secretary is Comrade B. V. Kakkillaya, to fight disruption and guard the unity and integrity of the Party.

where communal differences and passions have flared up.

All this has led to the position where people anxiously await the opportunity to oust the present regime. The Communist Party is of the view that the situation is ripe for all democratic opposition parties groups, individuals and all right thinking people to come together on the basis of a minimum programme, unitedly fight and oust the Congress from power in the coming general elections and establish a government that will usher in rapid industrialisation and allround economic development, render relief to the working class, kiss and tending sections of people and guarantee good government free from corruption and nepotism.

The state council of the Party in its meeting held in January and later in March 1964 had made this position clear. The Party desires to reiterate its earlier stand today with added emphasis.

The guarantee for realising this objective was the existence of a strong and united Communist Party when we took the decision early this year. But unfortunately that situation does no longer exist and that guarantee is not there today.

It is farcical that it is the selfsame splitters who broke into two the strongest weapon of the people against the Congress regime—the Communist Party—that go about today as the prophets and propagandists of unity and united front against Congress.

They continue their slanderous propaganda that the Communist Party is not prepared to fight the Congress, perhaps with the sole purpose of escaping from the quagmires of their own conscience!

The Communist Party is in the forefront in the struggle against the corrupt Congress regime in our state and will strive to unite such parties as the SSP, the RSP the Kisan Labour Party and other democratic groups and individuals

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SHILLONG: Twentysix food satyagrahis, led by Communist Party's Assam state council secretary Phani Bora, were lathi-charged here in front of the state secretariat on August 28, the last day of the five-day-long countrywide satyagraha movement.

THE twentysix satyagrahis—twelve from Nowgong, six from Goalpara, five from Shillong and the three leaders, Phani Bora, Pramode Gogoi and Benoy Lahiri—started from the local party office.

Carrying festoons containing the demands of the party and shouting slogans they marched along the main roads of Shillong towards the state secretariat. On their way they demonstrated for a short while in front of the local branch of the State Bank of India where they shouted slogans demanding nationalisation of banks.

As they proceeded towards the secretariat a large crowd, estimated at about two thousand, began to follow them. By the time they reached the gate of the secretariat the crowd swelled to about four thousand.

As they arrived at the gate of the secretariat steel-helmeted police were found standing in a line inside the gate. As the satyagrahis began to enter the secretariat compound, their way was barred by police.

Another section angrily protested

Assam

From M. Bhattacharyya

Police Resort to Lathi-Charge

against this lathi-charge and some of them had become so agitated that they began to rush towards the police who were assaulting the satyagrahis. This section had to be persuaded not to proceed. They began shouting "Down With Police Zoolum".

This spontaneous reaction of the people so unnerved the police that the Police Inspector was found rushing to his men and telling them not to continue the lathi-charge. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam and a Magistrate were present there, watching this demonstration of the armed might of the state.

A police van was then driven inside the gate and the satyagrahis were sought to be pushed

into it. But till then the satyagrahis had not been told that they had been put under arrest. As the satyagrahis were being indecently pushed, the crowd again burst out angrily and it was then that the satyagrahis were told that they had been put under arrest.

After this naturally there was no resistance from the satyagrahis. Amidst cheering clap from the crowd of people they boarded the police van and immediately they were hustled away to the jail gate where a magistrate reportedly had been waiting already. The magistrate remanded them in jail lock-up for fourteen days.

No first aid was rendered to the injured satyagrahis. They are also not being treated as political prisoners; they have been given no division.

The police are trying to charge them with "assaulting" police.

Observers think that the lathi-charge and the subsequent attempt to frame a charge against them of "assaulting" police etc. are pre-planned.

Earlier on August 27, the satyagrahis were given a send-off at a well attended public meeting here. Addressing that public meeting Phani Bora and Benoy Lahiri explained the purpose of the all-India satyagraha movement.

According to information available till the time of writing this over five hundred Communist Party members and sympathisers offered satyagraha on August 28 in different places of the state.

One hundred offered satyagraha at Nowgong, 30 in Sibsagar, 15 at Jorhat, 50 at Dibrugarh, 100 at Gauhati, 20 at Golaghat, 100 at Goalpara, five at Bihpuria, 50 at Nalbari, 12 at Tezpur, and 26 at Shillong.



Above and Left: Lathis show their might against Satyagrahis in Shillong. Below: Satyagrahis being rounded up

Orissa's Participation

From Nandakishore Patnaik

CUTTACK: The five-day satyagraha campaign came to an end in Orissa with the courting of arrest by 20 satyagrahis led by Ramakrishna Pati, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, before the court in Cuttack.

BEFORE the satyagraha, a procession of 200 people went to the court from the College Square. At the court premises, Pati addressed a gathering of 6,000 people who had collected to watch the satyagraha.

Reports from various parts of the state gave the following details about the last three days of the satyagraha: At Baripada, 21 volunteers were arrested on August 27. They have gone on hungerstrike in the

jail demanding that they be treated as political prisoners.

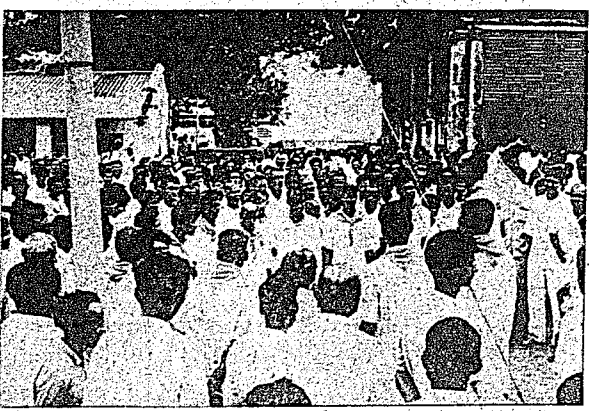
A procession of 1,000 people marched to the magistrate court, where 24 satyagrahis led by Ramchandra Das courted arrest on August 28. Ramchandra Das addressed a meeting of over 2,000 people before the court.

At Balasore, 3,000 people marched in a procession to the magistrate court on August 28. A batch of 12 volunteers led by Sailesh Maharana courted arrest before the magistrate court.

At Puri, 28 volunteers led by Indramani Naik were arrested after Naik had addressed a meeting of 3,000. Pranatanth Patnaik, secretary of the Puri district council, was also arrested.

At Angul, Dhenkanal, eight satyagrahis were arrested. In Aska, a batch of satyagrahis led by Harihar Das occupied the local court building continuously for three days beginning from August 26. They were not arrested. Satyagraha was terminated on August 28 at a meeting organised by all sections of the people.

A batch of 18 persons led by Brajakishore Patnaik was arrested on August 26 in Cuttack. A procession with satyagrahis at its head passed through the main thoroughfares of Cuttack and went to the collectorate



D. C. Mohanty addressing the people inside Cuttack court area

*ON PAGE 12

MORE REPORTS ON ALL-INDIA SATYAGRAHA

WEST BENGAL

From Our Correspondent

CALCUTTA: The Great Satyagraha came to its climax on Friday, August 28, when hundreds of people courted arrest all over West Bengal. Satyagraha took place in Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly, Midnapur, Bankura, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Murshidabad, Nadia and 24 Parganas.

In Calcutta, 251 volunteers offered satyagraha in front of the state food department. The satyagrahis were led by Biswanath Mukherjee, president of the provincial Kisan Sabha. They were mainly peasants from Midnapur and 24 Parganas.

Among the satyagrahis were Ajoy Dasgupta, secretary of the Calcutta district council of the CPI, Kanti Bhowmick, secretary of the Midnapur district council and Deven Das, a "centrist" Communist leader.

A meeting before the satyagraha was addressed by Indrajit Gupta, Dr. Ghani MLA and Hemanta Ghosal. A mass meeting at the Monument Maidan after the satyagrahis were arrested was also addressed by Indrajit Gupta.

The total number of ar-

rests in the five days of the Great Satyagraha movement is estimated at more than two thousand. Among them were about 200 women volunteers also.

In Bagnan, Howrah, 25 offered satyagraha before the BDO's office. In Basirhat, 24 Parganas, 98 persons, mostly peasants courted arrest and in Barrackpur 12 persons offered satyagraha. In Bongaon 42 persons courted arrest.

Mohammed Elias MP led 15 volunteers who offered satyagraha before the Howrah court. In Narsimpur, Hooghly, ten satyagrahis courted arrest before the BDO's office led by the Anchal Pradhan.

Thirteen satyagrahis led by trade union leader Gulam Mohiuddin offered satyagraha before the State Bank at Serampore. A meeting which

followed a big demonstration was addressed by Panchugopal Bhaduri MLA. In Diamond Harbour, 24 Parganas, 30 satyagrahis including peasants courted arrest preceded by a demonstration.

In Asansol, 50 people mostly workers, courted arrest. Satyagraha was preceded by a big demonstration of 5,000 workers from collieries, Sen Raleigh, Burnpur and Kulti Works and glass factory workers, which was addressed by Aswini Roy MLA and Kalayan Roy, the leader of the colliery workers.

In Berhampur, Murshidabad, eleven led by Sanat Raha MLA courted arrest before the court. Students observed total strike in support of the satyagraha. In Barasat, 24 Parganas, 28 volunteers offered satyagraha before the court. Earlier, a big demonstration took place before the State Bank.

On Thursday, 82 people led by Bhupal Panda offered satyagraha in Tamluk, Midnapur. In West Dinajpur, 50 people offered satyagraha on Tuesday and Wednesday, and nine on Thursday.

On Thursday, the satyagraha in Calcutta was before the wholesale rice market in Rathhola. Twenty-three satyagrahis led by Dharani Goswami courted arrest. The saty-

agraha was preceded by a huge procession and meeting. In Burdwan town 16 volunteers courted arrest after a demonstration in pouring rains.

Despite heavy rain all through the previous night and 27th morning, a demonstration of about 300 people started from Hazra Park for the Allpur court.

Twentyseven satyagrahis led by Manik Dutta were arrested on entering the court. Among the satyagrahis were 12 from Batanagar including three women, ten peasants from Canning, four from Sonarpur and one from Baruripur.

Twentytwo satyagrahis led by Gobinda Deb, secretary of the Gaighata Dekan Karmachari Samiti, were arrested in front of the civil supply office Bongaon. Among them were a number of peasants and also some teachers.

Seven satyagrahis led by Tarak Chand Sinha Roy were arrested outside the BDO office Tarakeswar and taken to the court at Chandannagore. The satyagraha was preceded by a demonstration and meeting addressed by Gulam Mohiuddin and Dwijen Tarafdar.

Twenty two satyagrahis led by Kunja Basu were arrested in front of the Barrackpur court. Earlier, there was a meeting near the Mangal

Pandey Memorial addressed by Kunja Basu and Gopal Banerjee MLA, followed by a demonstration.

Nine satyagrahis led by Ram Chatterjee were arrested in front of the BDO's office.

On the third day of the five-day Food Satyagraha movement organised by the CPI, satyagraha and demonstrations took place in Calcutta, Bongaon, Barrackpur, Ranaghat, Midnapur Town, Chinsura and many other centres of West Bengal.

At the call of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation, the day was also observed as Students' Day of protest against high prices and for food, through student satyagraha, demonstrations and strikes in schools and colleges in several centres.

Eightythree students were arrested in Calcutta—15 of them after staging a surprise demonstration at the Stock Exchange where there were no police arrangements.

All through the morning school and college students who had come out of their institutions kept converging on College Square in small processions with College Union and Students' Federation festoons.

From there a demonstration of over two thousand started at noon with the satyagrahis

in front, and proceeded along Bowbazar Street to offer satyagraha before the Stock Exchange. A police cordon stopped them before they reached Lal Bazar. Bishwanath Mukherjee, one of the founders of the AIFS, addressed the students who squatted there.

Sixtynine students including eight girl students broke through the police cordon shouting slogans against "Fatkabaji" and black-marketing and were arrested. One of the girls was a high school student, and another, a young married student, had her baby with her.

Earlier, at the College Square, the students were addressed by Ia Mitra, MLA and Nandagopal Bhattacharyya, general secretary of the BPSF. Meanwhile, preparing a surprise for the police, 15 students led by Partha Sengupta, joint secretary of the BPSF, proceeded to the Stock Exchange, where a notice had been hung up just inside the main gate bearing the instruction that in view of the proposed Communist demonstration, no outsiders should be permitted to enter the non-members' enclosure.

Whipping out satyagrahi badges, paper flags and festoon from their pockets, they shouted slogans against "Fatkabaji" and demanded closing down of the Stock Exchange.

A huge crowd gathered at the spot and were addressed from the steps of the Stock Exchange main building by Partha Sengupta and Indrajit Gupta MP. In pouring rain, the students then proceeded towards Writers' Building and were arrested just in front of it, bringing the total of the day's arrests in Calcutta to 83.

In Chinsura, Hooghly, seventeen satyagrahis led by Girija Mukherjee MLA, courted arrest before the court, following a demonstration addressed by Gopal Banerjee MLA.

Another demonstration addressed by Gopal Banerjee went to Barrackpore court and 20 satyagrahis led by Suren Dhar Chaudhuri, secretary of 24-Parganas district council of the CPI, courted arrest.

Thirty satyagrahis were arrested before the Bongaon Court, on August 28. Twenty women satyagrahis had been arrested before the Bongaon Court the previous day.

One thousand students demonstrated before the State Bank on August 26 following total students' strike in Ranaghat and Nadia. They also demonstrated before the SDO court on the 26th and the

ANDHRA PRADESH

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: A fitting finale to Hyderabad's satyagraha action came with the unprecedented 15,000 demonstration on August 27 evening. Pressmen and public agreed that Hyderabad had not seen the like of this demonstration for a decade.

ORGANISED by the City Trade Union Council and led by Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Raj Bahadur Gour, K. L. Mahendra and Amolak Ram, a three-mile long procession started at Pratapgiri Kothli and ended at police lines, Basir Bagh.

The demonstration ended at a meeting which called on the government to act for people's food or face Bharat Bandh. It condemned the police lathi-charges and raised funds for its victims.

Earlier, the third day of the satyagraha, August 26, found the Communist satyagrahis picketing the government secretariat in Hyderabad. The police had gathered in force to "defend" the secretariat against the peaceful satyagrahis.

Two batches of volunteers courted arrest first. One was led by Pillalmarri Venkateswarlu, leader of the opposition in the Andhra Assembly and consisted of 29 satyagrahis. The other was led by Arutla Kamala Devi, deputy leader of the opposition in the Assembly. Andhra Devi MLA was also in this batch. Together with the women satyagrahis was also a batch of men led by Amolak Ram.

As soon as the satyagrahis reached the place, the police commissioner declared the assembly unlawful. As they went forward to the secretariat gates they were arrested.

satyagrahis were then arrested.

Students Day was observed by observing strike and demonstration in Midnapur Town Tamluk and satyagraha offered at Sutahata, Daspur, Lalgarh, Bhigwanpur and Potashpur in Midnapur District. Students in schools and colleges observed complete strike in many centres in 24-Parganas.

Satyagraha scenes in Vijayawada—Right top: Women volunteers before government office, Centre: satyagrahis being arrested, bottom: Police dragging a satyagrahi. Below: Police helps a cycle to be pushed over satyagrahis.

who were all arrested. Over one thousand women demonstrators had come to cheer the satyagrahis. The police lathi-charged the women satyagrahis.

From East Godavari came news of action at Samaria-kot.

Karimnagar, Rajahmundry and Anantpur kept up the tempo of previous days. In Medak District, Siddipet and Sangareddy were in the forefront. In all nearly 400 offered satyagraha in these two places.

At Sangareddy, satyagrahis unearthed 15 bags of rice and one bag of jowar from the house of the director of a cooperative society.

News has come of action

also at Nellore, where Yellamanda Reddy MP is on hungerstrike along with several others.

Two days satyagraha has also been offered at Kurnool and Masulipatnam.

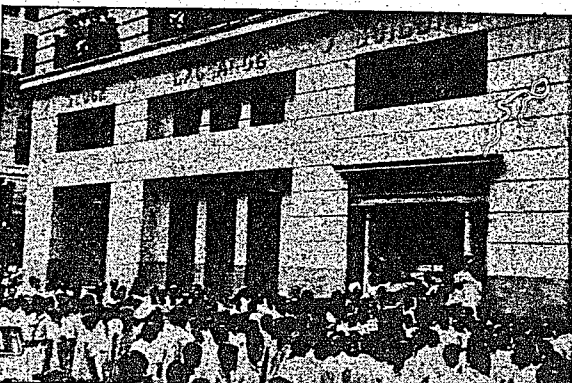
In Kakinada the situation is the same as elsewhere as regards mass participation.

A rough calculation shows that news has come in of action having taken place at some 30 urban centres apart from rural areas.

It can safely be said that Andhra has surpassed the target of 7000 satyagrahis. Of course, in many places the police refused to arrest those who offered satyagraha in an effort to keep down their number.



Left top: G. Mohiuddin and others after arrest at Serampore; Bottom: Women satyagrahis in Calcutta. Above: Renu Chakravarty and women satyagrahis after arrest. Below left: Students picket Calcutta Stock Exchange; right: Student satyagrahis after arrest. (Photos Shambhu Banerjee)



WILL NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE ALLY WITH WORKING CLASS?

Q. It is stated in the Draft Programme of the CPI that in the national democratic revolution in India the national bourgeoisie will share leadership with the working class. Apart from the fact that it is strange that the working class should share leadership with an exploiting class, why should the national bourgeoisie agree to it? (J. N. SINHA, Dalmianagar, Shahabad, Bihar)

A. Whether the working class is to ally with the national bourgeoisie or the landlords is to be decided by a concrete examination of the stage of revolution in any particular country and the nature of the class enemy to be fought.

This fundamental point apart, at certain stages of the working class struggle either on the international or national plane, the working class may well find it imperative to unite with a section of the class enemy against another which is the greater menace at any given moment.

In the course of such alliance, sharing of leadership or even working under the leadership of another class, may well become essential for the working class.

In the struggle for national freedom the main enemies of the entire nation, including the working class, are the foreign imperialist rulers and their feudal allies. In the ranks of the anti-imperialists are to be found the national bourgeoisie, even sometimes, for example in Vietnam, a section of the landlords as well.

Confronted with such a situation the working class has as its paramount duty the rallying in a single united front all the possible anti-imperialist forces on the basis of a national programme, which takes into account the interests of all these forces. Its ability to build such a front will precisely determine whether it can become the leading force of the nation or not.

In order to accomplish this role the working class has to organise itself, become class conscious, raise its political level and wage necessary struggles under its own banner for national aims, for its own economic demands and go forward to build the worker-peasant alliance. It has also to become highly skilled in dealing with the vacillation and opportunism of the national bourgeoisie.

Where it is able to perform this complex task it becomes the leader of the anti-imperialist, democratic revolution, as in China. Where it fails, as in India, the national bourgeoisie occupies this honourable position. In still other countries the revolutionary democratic intelligentsia becomes the leading force, as in Cuba in the first phase or Algeria or Burma or a number of African countries.

Alliance Possible

The alliance of the working class and the national bourgeoisie is possible because their objective class interests coincide in their opposition to the production relations established by foreign monopoly capital and feudal landlordism. At the same time the exploiting character of the national bourgeoisie and its ties with imperialism and feudalism make it an inconsistent revolutionary class, prone to compromise and concessions.

Apart from this, there have been occasions when inter-imperialist rivalry has sharpened to the extent of armed action and the working class has found itself in the same

Jaipur AICC session last year and at the Bhubaneswar Congress.

The centre and to an extent, the left inside the Congress are its most characteristic political representatives. This section of the national bourgeoisie is also represented in the ruling combine and has a powerful and extensive mass

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

base. It is the ally of the working class in the national democratic front.

But its path of independent capitalist development is not the same as the national democratic non-capitalist path advanced by the CPI though there are points of convergence and agreement. This path is inherently contradictory with prospects of slow growth combined with mass poverty.

The non-capitalist path is consistently anti-imperialist and would

eliminate its economic position in the national economy; it is consistently democratic and would break the concentration of economic power of the Indian monopolists and of the landlords; it is consistently popular and would ensure the rising living standards of the masses as well as their increasing participation in state power. It is sharply differentiated from both paths of capitalist development.

At the same time, the non-capitalist path does not eliminate all capitalist relations of production and concentrates its fire on the imperialists, monopolists and landlords and gives a definite

superiority over imperialism, it becomes increasingly possible to draw the bulk of the national bourgeoisie and its vast mass following into the national democratic front.

Without the leading role of the world working class, expressed through the socialist system, becoming the decisive force determining world social developments, without powerful mass actions of the workers, peasants and urban petty-bourgeoisie and the increasing political assertion of the working class, such a non-capitalist path of development is impossible. At the same time the increasing power of these forces blocks the anti-national right reactionary path of capitalist development along exclusively capitalist lines.

Caught between the two fires of the anti-national right forces, led by imperialism, and of the forces of non-capitalist development, led by the world socialist system, the bulk of the national bourgeoisie and above all its vast mass following, can break with the topmost monopolists and come over to the camp of the people.

It is in the interests of the working class in India that such a possibility becomes a reality. Guided by these class interests and outlook the CPI Draft Programme, therefore, postulates the concept of sharing leadership with the national bourgeoisie. Contrary to what the questioner has in mind, it would be strange, indeed, if the party of the Indian working class did not strive to realise this new possibility in the new epoch.

—MOHIT SEN

Kerala Satyagraha

* FROM PAGE 12

day of the satyagraha in Kerala.

In Trichur district, the total number of arrests on the day came to 147. Among the arrested were K. K. Warior MP, C. Janardhanan, V. V. Raghavan and C. O. Paul.

A twelve-strong batch of satyagrahis led by P. K. Balakrishnan was arrested on its way to picket the Calicut district collectorate.

In Alleppey, two batches of satyagrahis were arrested. At Mavelikkara, 33 Satyagrahis were arrested.

On Thursday, the second day of Satyagraha, about five hundred satyagrahis were arrested in various parts of the state for picketing collectorates and taluk offices, banks and wholesale grain markets.

The largest number of arrests for the second day in succession was in Cannanore district, where 147 satyagrahis were arrested, 50 of them in Tellicherry and 26 of them in Cannanore town.

In Calicut town eleven satyagrahis under the leadership of Kallat Krishnan were arrested on their way to picket the United Commercial Bank.

In Kottayam P. T. Punnoose led a batch of 16 satyagrahis. The police had to chase after Punnoose who gave them the slip and appeared at two busy centres and made speeches before the police could arrest him.

Among the 75 satyagrahis arrested in Trichur on the second day was K. Damodarani MP. The 13 satyagrahis in Alleppey was led by R. Rajasekharan Thampal.

In Quilon, the satyagrahis were led by P. R. Madhavan Pillai, vice-president of the Kerala Karshaka Sanghom.

The secretariat was picketed again on the second day. Fifteen satyagrahis were arrested.

An earlier despatch from Trivandrum said:

Kerala joined the national Great Satyagraha campaign on August 26 when Communist volunteers picketed wholesale grainshops, big banks, collectorates and taluk offices in all the nine districts and the government secretariat in the state capital.

Reports pouring in from more than 50 centres of picketing indicate that over a thousand volunteers offered satyagraha on the day. Only half of them were arrested.

In Trivandrum, M. N. Govindan Nair and M. K. Kumaran, both Members of Parliament, led a hundred strong procession from the CPI state council office to the secretariat. State council secretary, Achutha Menon greeted the satyagrahis.

The procession was however not allowed to reach the secretariat or anywhere near it. Though no section 144 or any other ban had been imposed anywhere in the city, the police stopped the satyagrahis half way to the secretariat and took them into custody.

Thus, the satyagrahis could not reach the secretariat gates, where they had proposed to offer satyagraha. But, the police were fooled if they had imagined that by arresting this batch they could prevent any satyagraha before the secretariat.

Three other batches of Communist volunteers sprung up as if from nowhere in front of the secretariat and breaking the police cordon picketed the secretariat. They were all immediately arrested.

In Trivandrum district, there were satyagraha before the Nedumangad taluk office under the leadership of Kunhikrishna Pillai and before the Neyyattinkara taluk office under the leadership of I. John, municipal chairman.

At Quilon, the collectorate was picketed by 41 volunteers in two batches led by P. A. Solomon and P. Bhaskaran. Most of the volunteers were cashew workers.

A batch of eleven comrades under the leadership of P. Bhaskaran Nair who went to picket the Kottayam collectorate was arrested. In Ernakulam 50 satyagrahis were arrested, among them T. M. Abu.

In Trichur, 60 satyagrahis led by E. Gopalakrishna Menon, A. M. Paraman and T. K. Raman were arrested on their way to picket the collectorate, the bank of Baroda and grain market. In the same district, at Irinjalakuda, a batch of 20 volunteers were arrested.

In Calicut, 22 volunteers under the leadership of T. V. Krishnan and Mohammed Koya were arrested on their way to picket grainshops and the godowns.

The largest number of arrests for the day was in Cannanore. There were arrests at Tellicherry, Taliparamba, Kannhangad and Kaserode, totalling 131. Among the arrested were K. P. Gopalan, Mukundan, A. K. Poduval and T. V. Narayanan.

The central trade union organisations of the Central Government employees have reacted very sharply to the appointment of S. K. Das as the one-member commission to examine their dearness allowance question.

THE National Council of the Confederation of Central Government Employees is meeting in Delhi on September 8 to consider the announcement and also to decide on its attitude towards the commission.

The trade union bodies have serious reservations about the commission's terms of reference and the All-India Defence Employees Federation has specifically demanded the setting up of a new wage board.

S. Madhusudan, Secretary-General of the Confederation of Central Government Employees & Workers, in a statement said:

"The press note issued by the Government of India on August 27 announcing the name of Sri S. K. Das as constituting the 'Independent Body' to examine the quantum of dearness allowance payable to Central Government employees and the terms of reference indicated therein has come as a rude shock and caused deep disappointment to the employees, in the context of the hopes raised after the meeting with the Prime Minister on August 12, 1964.

Kerala

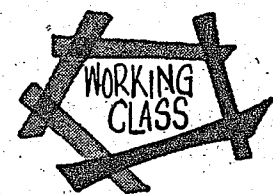
TODDY-TAPPERS WIN BONUS DEMAND

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: About 15,000 toddy-tappers in Kerala won a significant victory when on August 26, after a five-day strike, the employers were forced by the Industrial Relations Committee to grant bonus, which was more than last year's bonus by 25 per cent.

THE toddy-tappers were forced to go on strike, when the employers refused to concede the demand for a fixation of statewise percentage of income as bonus. After the strike, the employers conceded to this very principle.

This year's bonus, computed in terms of moneyvalue, will be Rs. 40 as minimum and 37 days' total earnings of each worker as maximum. Fifty per cent of the bonus amount has been immediately paid while the balance will be disbursed before the end of March 1965. The Industrial Relations Com-



mittee has been also authorised to take steps to evolve uniform rates of bonus in all areas. The employers have further agreed that there would be no victimisation for participation in the strike.

AITUC CONDEMNS BONUS REPORT MODIFICATION

National Campaign Committee Meet On Sept. 5

Satish Loomba, secretary of the AITUC, in a statement on August 28, very strongly criticised government's modification of Bonus Commission recommendations. He said:

THE decision of the government to modify the Bonus Commission report will not be accepted by the workers. The Bonus Commission report was clearly accepted as a package compromise deal by the workers although in many respects, its recommendations fell far short of the workers' demands.

Now the government has altered these compromise recommendations along lines urged by the employers. This will deprive workers of a big part of bonus which would have been due to

Central Govt. Employees'

Resentment Against D.A. Commission Confederation To Meet On Sept. 9

justness of the demands the decision of the Cabinet would not be wholly unfavourable.

"But surprisingly enough the government's Press Note is completely silent on the two basic issues of making the so-called 'Independent Body' a 'full-fledged Arbitration' as assured even by Nandajit and on the inclusion of the revision of Pay Commission's formula in the terms of reference. It does not even stipulate the time-limit of 'three months' so clearly agreed to by the Prime Minister himself. On the other hand the Press Note restricts the scope of the enquiry to the recommendations and general observations made by the Pay Commission.

"The employees were never satisfied with the Pay Commission's formula as it did not offer timely relief to compensate for the rise in prices. They have been agitating for changing this formula and the 1960 general strike actually sparked off only on

this issue. Government's reluctance to refer this formula to arbitration, even after the expiry of the period of five years has created serious doubts on the usefulness of the enquiry itself.

"The employees strongly urge that the demands raised on August 12 should be duly considered and the terms of reference improved accordingly. The government should also announce the grant of an ad-hoc relief as demanded by the employees.

"If, however, the government continues to be indifferent and apathetic to the demands of the employees, it would be difficult for them to cooperate with the 'Independent Body' now set up as it might not serve the purpose for which it was meant."

K. G. Sriwastava, joint secretary of the AIDEF, in a statement on August 31 said:

Appointment at this stage of ex-Justice Das, as a one-man

commission to simply determine the quantum of 'dearness allowance' is not only too late but will serve little purpose. As it is, it is a wastage of the government money.

What is needed today is appointment of a fresh board with representatives of employees on it to give an award within a fixed period regarding new formula of DA for Central Government employees and immediate grant of interim relief of Rs. 10 p.m. pending efforts by the government to open consumers stores where cheap grains will be made available.

The Executive Committee of AIDEF at its recent meeting has decided that if these and certain other demands like a new Wage Board and Permanent Negotiating Machinery are not satisfactorily negotiated in September, the workers will be legitimately justified to take recourse to strike ballot in October 1964.

CALCUTTA CONVENTION OF TRADE UNIONS

Under the joint auspices of BPTUC and UTUC and attended by representatives of Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association, Federation of Mercantile Employees' Unions, Insurance Employees' Association and Petroleum Workers' Union, a convention was held in Calcutta on August 21.

REPRESENTATIVES from about 150 unions participated in the convention, which was presided over by Prodyot Ghosh, President of the Federation of Mercantile Employees' Unions. The resolution on Food and high prices was moved by Monoranjan Roy, MLA, general secretary of the BPTUC and supported by Jatin Chakravarty, MLC, general secretary of the UTUC (West Bengal Branch).

Speakers included Monoranjan Bose (Bank Employees' Association), Atin Sadhu (Petroleum Workers' Union), Indrajit Gupta, MP, Chatur Ali, Harisadhan Mitra, Naren Guha, Nani Bhattacharya, MLA, Anadi Das, MLA and others.

The resolution demanded, inter alia, setting up of consumer stores in factories and establishments for supply of all essential commodities at reasonable prices, reduction of prices, increase in wages, setting up of an expert committee for a probe into the compilation of consumer price index numbers, restoration of cut in DA given effect to on the alleged ground of fall in consumer price index numbers, state-

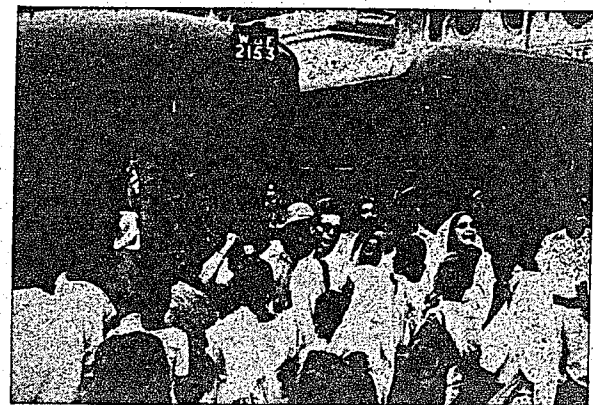
trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks, etc.

The convention called upon all unions to observe August 31 as Demands Day and to organise on that day simultaneously in all factories and establishments mass deputations to visit the respective managements during recess hours or after working hours to place the demands for setting up of consumer stores, wage increase, and other demands.

A mass rally will be held in Calcutta on September 4 under the joint auspices of the BPTUC, and bank, mercantile, insurance and petroleum workers' and employees' unions.

The convention called upon the working class to prepare for one day token general strike which is expected to take place sometime in September.

The convention appealed to all central trade union organisations to come to an understanding for a united movement on the basis of demands which are common to all and in respect of which all trade unions are united.



Calcutta: Satyagrahis, including Somnath Lahiri and Renu Chakravarty, after arrest on August 24

NATIONAL HOLIDAY OF BULGARIA

By ERIC ANDREICHIN

September 9 is the national holiday of Bulgaria. On this day, 20 years ago, the monarcho-fascist government was overthrown by a national uprising and a government of the Fatherland Front was established.

THE Fatherland Front was formed at the height of the struggle against fascism on the initiative of the Communist Party and Georgi Dimitrov personally. At present it unites all patriotic and democratic forces in Bulgaria. The aim of its programme was the settlement of all the national and social problems.

cent. Industrial production is 18 times above 1939.

The industrialization of the country with the predominant development of heavy industry created a solid basis for the advance of all sectors of the national economy, including agriculture, which made considerable progress. Helped financially by the state and by other organizations, the small farms united into larger units in which modern methods of organization and production were introduced. While in the past the wooden plough played a predominant part in our agriculture, at the present moment our cooperative farms own more than 55,000 tractors, 12,000 harvester combines and tens of thousands of other machines (for 4,800,000 hectares of arable land). Agricultural production increased by 174.5 per cent in comparison with 1939.

MASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

This expanded construction programme transformed the face of the whole country. Hundreds of new factories and plants were built and entire new towns and industrial settlements sprang up and modern resort complexes with growing renown and popularity far beyond the boundaries of Bulgaria. Over 45,000 new dwellings are built every year.

The towns and villages have been modernised and electricity supplied to the most distant settlements of the country. The railway network and the modern asphalt roads have increased manifold. Fifteen big and 1,800 smaller dams have been constructed. Irrigation canals cut through the fields and irrigate more than one fifth of the arable land.

This progress has been made possible by the participation of the great masses of the people, liberated from capitalist exploitation, in building the new life. The working people completely changed their relation towards

labour and production, and towards the state. Today they play an active part in the government of the country. Labour has become the only measure determining the place of the individual in society. The terrible fear of unemployment and all the other social evils of the past have disappeared from the everyday life of the people.

NATIONAL INCOME TREBLED

In the past 20 years the national income of the country has increased three times. All the material and spiritual wealth are the property of the people. Three quarters of the national income is used in meeting the direct needs of the population, which assures a constant increase of production, the economic welfare and strength of the country and higher living standards. From 1952 to 1963 the purchasing power of the population has doubled. In 1963 the population consumed twice as many consumer goods as in 1952.

But this is not all. Every Bulgarian citizen is entitled to use the so-called social funds, which the state puts aside to meet certain needs, as for example, every Bulgarian citizen is entitled to free medical aid. The best illustration is that Bulgaria has outstripped even the most developed capitalist countries in the high ratio of the number of doctors to her population: There is one doctor for every 624 persons. The respective number is 780 in the United States, 930 in France, 690 in West Germany and one doctor to every 932 persons in Britain.

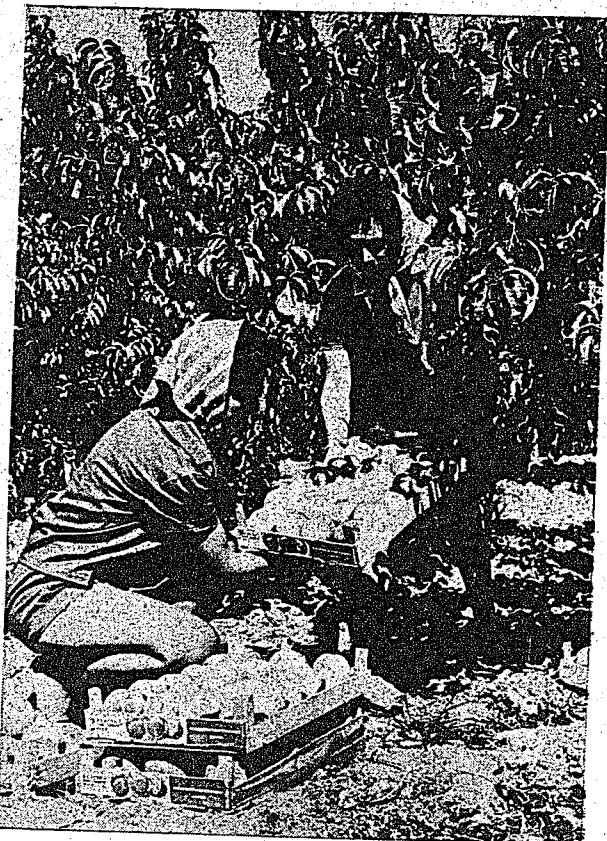
Education in all its forms and stages is free, including university education. Social insurance for old-age pensions, which covers the entire population, is free as well. Creches, kindergartens, study-halls, student hostels, summer camps and holiday houses, meals at canteens are facilities provided free or at a very low charge.

NO TAX ON WORKERS

A great part of the working people in the low income bracket are exempt from all taxes. It is also noteworthy that rents in Bulgaria do not exceed 4.5 per cent of incomes.

An indisputable proof of the rise of living standards is the increase of life expectancy: while during the period of 1934-1939 the average life span was 52 years in Bulgaria, during the period of 1960-1963 it increased to 70 years.

During the past 20 years a real cultural revolution has also taken place in Bulgaria. Before the war the seven-year elementary education was only formally obligatory. Only small percentage of the children could study beyond the fourth class and illiteracy was widespread. It was done away with very early in the people's democratic rule. The extension of the network of educational institutions, the free training in them, the great num-



Picking Apricots

ber of scholarships granted to over 30 per cent of the students, as well as the rising living standards of the population opened the way to the schools for every-

body. In all the different fields of art. This year over 420,000 persons participate in amateur choral, dramatic and dance groups, as well as in art and literary circles.

At present the eight-class elementary school is obligatory for every Bulgarian child, but a great part of those who graduate from these schools continue their studies in the secondary schools and later in the institutions of higher learning. Bulgaria ranks third in the world in respect of the number of students attending the universities — 96 to every 10,000 people of the country's population.

CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

The doors of all cultural institutions are open to all the citizens of the country. The number of theatres, cinemas, libraries, radio listeners, the circulation of books, newspapers and magazines has increased manifold. The rapid development of amateur artistic activities is a proof of the great interest that the working people

devoted themselves to constructive labour and earnestly want peace to triumph both in the Balkans and the world, they want to be on friendly terms and to co-operate with all the peoples of the world. In accordance with its aspirations the People's Government actively intercedes for the peaceful settlement of all international problems, for disarmament, for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

A POPULAR INTRODUCTION-

by

DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA

(Author of LOKAYATA)

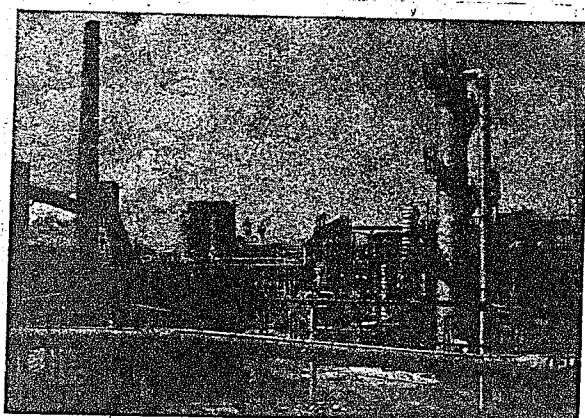
Pages: 260

Price: Rs. 15

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, New Delhi

NEW AGE

SEPTEMBER 6, 1964



Kremikovtsi Metallurgical Works

"The worst of the food crisis has passed", Union Food and Agriculture Minister C. Subramaniam told foreign correspondents in New Delhi on August 25. "We are over the watershed"; "It is like finding the shore after a long voyage"—these were some other expressions which the Food Minister used to describe his achievement.

HE based his claim on the "fact" that there are "prospects of almost a bumper monsoon kharif crop"; that the "wholesale price index fell last week for the first time since May"; and that "the situation has begun to ease" because of the steps taken by the Food Ministry.

Although the Food Minister's tall claims were duly broadcast in this country, it seems they were meant mainly for foreign consumption. For, he dared not repeat them at the AICC session four days later even in the face of the trenchant attack against his policies made by the delegates.

In fact both the premises on which Subramaniam based his conclusion that the food and price situation has eased have been proved to be wrong. There has been no fall in the price index and the prospect of the kharif crop are not as rosy as the Minister would like them to be.

To take the wholesale price index first: It has shown a steady upward curve ever since February this year. The figures for the last twelve weeks were as follows:

The wholesale price index for all commodities stood at 144.1 for the week ending May 30 (with base 1952-53=100). It rose to 145.3 for the week ending June 6; to 145.9 for June 13; to 146.8 for June 20; to 147.8 for June 27; to 148.9 for July 4; to 150.2 for July 11; to 150.6 for July 18; to 152.2 for July 25; to 154.2 for August 1; to 154.4 for August 8 and 155.6 for August 15.

This shows a steady increase in the index figures and not a fall anywhere "last week". May be, the Minister was talking about the groupwise index for food articles. But here again, the index, which showed a 0.1 point fall for the week ending August 8, more than made up the following week by going up by 0.5 points.

Food Minister Boasts on Wrong Facts

By PAULY V. PARAKAL

The governmental steps which Subramaniam talked about are pretty intriguing. It was a month ago that he promised to fix wholesale grain prices. But so far only the prices of grains for the South have been fixed. The price committee appointed

of Food and Civil supplies, were invariably higher than those prevailing in the market. A comparative study made by THE HINDUSTAN TIMES showed the prices fixed by the committee and those prevailing in the market as follows:

Committee Prices	Market Prices
Rice Basmati 64.30 to 69.65	64.30 to 67.00
Rice Sela Begami 76.35 to 81.70	75.00 to 80.50
Wheat Dara 50.90 to 52.25	49.50 to 51.50
Dal Arhar 105.00 to 132.00	101.00 to 122.00
Dal Moong 115.00 to 150.00	114.00 to 143.00
Dal Masoor 90.00 to 95.00	86.00 to 90.00

by the Delhi Administration has made even the fixing of prices a mockery. It fixed the "margin of profit" and asked the wholesale traders to fix the prices themselves. The wholesalers did so on August 27 and the joke of it was that the prices fixed, and duly displayed at the office of the Director

This then is the price situation. The government has not only not taken any effective steps to bring down the prices but is also guilty of being complacent and twisting facts to suit its false optimism. It is high time that it woke up to the facts and acted to bring down the food prices.

BONUS REPORT . . .

* FROM BACK PAGE

committed by the government and the loss suffered by the workers will be visible by Diwali and Puja time. The workers of textile and engineering industries, who have had good agreements and awards before, will be the first to be hit and are bound to hit back, as in the case of Bombay workers. The same may be the case in some industries in Calcutta, Coimbatore, Madras etc.

Therefore the leadership of trade unions of all shades, must consult together and evolve a common plan of resistance to the government-cum-employer offensive of campaign and action. March separately but strike together as in the Bandh.

If the government brings the Bonus Bill in Parliament this session, the lobbying of MFs and action at Parliament gates can be planned.

But if the Bill is not brought up now, and employers begin cuts on previous years' amounts of bonus, the action will begin in the industries

where the workers are affected, spreading to other areas as they become aware of things.

The leadership of the trade unions must soberly assess how a successful common all-India action can be made possible. The leadership must judge how far its own indignation is the common sentiment of the working masses in the factories. It must also judge how and when the workers will act after the great Bandh series which we recently had, embracing millions of people.

Having judged and weighed all this, let us all unite for an agreed common action, with the perspective that the highest and most effective point of this developing movement has to be the National General Strike and Hartal—for the three, immediate major demands on the wages front along with other demands:

1. BIGGER AND BETTER BONUS FOR ALL
2. LINK DA WITH COST OF LIVING INDEX
3. 25 PER CENT RISE IN WAGES.

COMMENT . . .

* FROM PAGE 4

consultations with the Ceylon government, the moment India formally agreed to that stand. The Chinese leaders agreed to withdraw those posts when they thought India would not accept; the moment India accepted, the Chinese refused.

This is not the way towards peace; this is the way of those interested only in keeping up tension whatever the cost may be.

India And The Bomb

THE fantastic charges put out by the Pakistan government, suggesting that the Government of India is manufacturing nuclear bombs, have been promptly denied by official spokesmen. Once again the government's policy has been reiterated:

India shall never make an atom bomb, come what may.

It is amusing to hear the Pakistan government wax eloquent about imaginary bombs being made in India while it keeps mum both about the continuation of US underground tests and the open declarations of the Chinese government that it is almost ready to test its first bomb.

Indian spokesmen have done well to remind the world of India's repeated initiatives for disarmament and for a ban on all nuclear weapons and their tests. It is in the context of the necessity for still greater initiatives by India that peace workers throughout the world have welcomed the decision to hold in India in November this year, the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation.

This conference will give the Indian people an opportunity without parallel to demonstrate to all mankind their devotion to the supreme cause of world peace.

(September 2)

—ROMESH CHANDRA

RESPONSE IN RAJASTHAN

JAIPUR: The Great Satyagraha action in Rajasthan was a great success and in some centres like Alwar developed into almost a mass movement.

THERE was satyagraha at 12 centres. A total of 1250 volunteers offered satyagraha out of whom as many as 880 were arrested.

The largest number of satyagrahis was in Alwar: 600 out of whom 400 were arrested. Here, the police lathi-charged the satyagrahis on August 26 which led to a complete hartal in the city. A huge protest meeting was held in the evening.

Next day, the volunteers batch led by Ramanand was 225 strong, reflecting the resentment which arose among the people over the police brutalities.

Another storm centre of action was Beawar where 300 people offered satyagraha. More than a hundred satyagrahis were arrested.

Despite heavy rains, Jaipur was also the scene of satyagraha amidst enthusiasm. Seventy satyagrahis were arrested in the state capital. H. K. Vyas, secretary of the state council of CPI, courted arrest in Jaipur, by picketing the grain mandis.

HOSE who offered satyagraha included five MLAs, two MLCs and 20 municipal commissioners and hundreds of panches and sarpanches and block samiti and zilla parishad members. Thirteen members of the executive of the state council of the CPI also, courted arrest.

About 5,000 satyagrahis were arrested. More than 250 of them are being proceeded against under various cooked up charges.

Despite the absolutely peaceful nature of the satyagraha, the police went berserk in many places.

They lathi-charged the satyagrahis at Phagwara, Batinda and Mansa.

In Jullundur there was a regular brutal repression unleashed by the police. Satyagrahis were lathi-charged on two days.

Avtar Singh Malhotra, secretary of the state council of the CPI, and others were man-handled and beaten up. Even women satyagrahis were beaten and roughed up by policemen.

The executive of the Punjab state council of the CPI has demanded exemplary action against the officials responsible for such illegal repressive measures.

KERALA ARRESTS CONDEMNED

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on September 24 on arrests in Kerala:

THE popular discontent against the state of affairs in Kerala is boiling over, as was seen in the Kerala Bandh action and the massive satyagraha.

Our Party took steps to challenge the government by moving a no-confidence motion in the state Assembly. The state government, after arresting thousands of satyagrahis, has tried to reduce the opposition vote by arresting six MLAs under the DIR.

We strongly condemn this undemocratic action of the Congress Ministry in power.

Our Party has already protested against the impermissible misuse of DIR to suppress legitimate agitation against high prices and for people's food. If the government seeks to ignore the widespread demand for withdrawal of emergency, it must at least be compelled not to misuse its authority under the emergency legislation.

French Party Supports Preparatory Meeting

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party has replied to the letter of the CC CPSU supporting the convocation of a meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1965. L'HUMANITE, the central organ of the French Party, on August 19 published the full text of the reply.

THE reply highlights a number of important points. In the situation that has arisen in the international Communist and working class movement really causes much anxiety. In the last four years our Party has on several occasions set forth its position regarding the differences that have arisen, at first in Party documents, and then, publicly.

In order to help overcome these difficulties our Party, in the resolution of our Central Committee back in October 1963, came out in favour of the convocation of a meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties of the whole world at suitable time.

line of the international Communist movement defined in 1957 and 1960 and to adopt all decisions that help to safeguard its unity; that is why it came out for the "convocation of a meeting of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the whole world within the shortest period."

"For us the question of a meeting is indissolubly connected with the problem of safeguarding and strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement.

"The serious difficulties that have arisen in the past years in the international Communist and working class movement have become so sharp that they hamper the development of the

socialist and anti-imperialist forces all over the world. It is clear this can be beneficial only to imperialist reaction, primarily to the United States where it is becoming more and more active and this increases the danger of war.

"That is why we maintain that all the Communist and Workers' Parties should seek ways to overcome them and this can be done only at a general meeting of parties. We by no means regard that the meeting should 'banish' anyone, on the contrary, we hold that it must strengthen the unity of the international Communist and working class movement.

"We realise perfectly well that this is an exceptionally difficult task in view of the seriousness of the differences."

"To object to such meeting means, to our mind, to deny the necessity of a united front in the struggle against the imperialist forces, to perpetuate a situation which can further deteriorate, doing incalculable harm to the cause of socialism.

"Fully agreeing to your proposals, we confirm our wish that the meeting should be held as soon as possible and believe, like you, that it is time to start

preparatory work. We should like to add that, since most of the Parties have expressed themselves for the convocation of the meeting, we are also for holding the meeting, which we consider necessary even if no unanimous agreement is reached.

"Since the question of the composition of the drafting commission has become a new subject for dispute, we propose including in the commission the same 26 Parties which conducted the preparation for the 1960 meeting, that is, the Parties of the following countries: Australia, Albania, Argentina, Bulgaria, Brazil, Great Britain, Hungary, Vietnam, GDR, FRG, India, Indonesia, Italy, People's Republic of China, Rumania, USA, Syria, USSR, Finland, France, Czechoslovakia, Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, and Japan.

"As for us, we agree to send our delegation to be included in the commission to Moscow by December 15, as you propose; the delegation will include Raymond Guyot, Roland Leroy and Jean Kanapa. Then the organisation of the meeting itself could be started, which could take place early in the summer of 1965."

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, an outstanding leader of the CP USA, a militant civil rights lawyer and champion of Negro equality breathed his last on August 22 at the age of 60.

BENJAMIN Davis's father was a national Republican Committeeman from Georgia and a newspaper publisher. Under his active guidance young Benjamin took to academic lesson with all earnestness and in 1929 graduated from Harvard Law School.

In the same year, after he started practicing law in Atlanta, Benjamin Davis defended Angelo Herndon, a 20-year old Negro youth who faced death under an old Georgian law for having led a joint protest march of Negroes and whites against unemployment.

Years later commenting on his defence of Herndon, Davis a victim of Smith Act along with 11 other members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of USA, said during the trial in 1948:

"It was the turning point in my life. In the course of trying that case I suffered some of the worst treatment, along with my client, with the judge calling me 'n . . . ' and 'darkie' and threatening me with jail. I could see there the whole treatment of the Negro in the South.

a Communist and a Negro until I die. I am proud of being both."

Fulfilling his vow to carry on the fight in prison, Benjamin Davis fought against the unlawful and unconstitutional practice of segregation in US higher courts.

In March 1962, when he was again arrested along with Gus Hall under the Internal Security Act for refusing to register the Communist Party, he vowed:

"Before we register, before we answer falsely that we are witches and traitors, before we expose a single citizen to the pains and penalties of this Act, before we cooperate to destroy political freedom in America, we will sit in jail until we rot."

The Court of Appeals in December 1963 reversed a conviction of the CP USA for non-registration though Benjamin Davis and Gus Hall still faced individual charges.

At the last convention of the CP USA, Benjamin Davis was reelected to the National Committee, which in turn elected him to its executive board and national secretariat.

Benjamin Davis was a man of the Party who fought with a fierce energy for the fulfilment of the integrity of its deals and theory against all of its enemies and detractors.

The original WASHINGTON POST story had said that unpublished high level discussions had been held about possible construction of an American naval communications facility in the British owned island of Diego Garcia in the Chagos archipelago about 1600 miles south-west of Ceylon.

It had revealed that several other British administered islands in the sweep of the ocean bounded by the African coast, the Arabian peninsula and the Indian sub-continent are under consideration for development as potential air and sea bases and as staging areas for the airlift of troops to "trouble spots."

A small group of American naval officials aboard a British ship was currently conducting a survey of the islands.

The Anglo-American negotiations on the subject have been extremely secretive, said the WASHINGTON POST report, as the issue of island bases was regarded as especially touchy because of possible criticism by the United Nations Colonialism Sub-Committee "which is heavily weighted with Asian and African members".

Britain having already encountered the sub-committee's sting over Southern Rhodesia and Aden.

Justifying Britain's reported decision the DAILY TELEGRAPH said in an editorial on August 31 that the US "wants to be better equipped for getting forces and military aid very quickly to possible trouble spots."

Thus there is hardly any mystery about the whole scheme. It is a pure and simple plot to strike at the national liberation movements which constitute imperialism's "trouble spots". It is a plot to encircle South Asia and East Africa with US-British naval and air might, armed with nuclear as well as conventional weapons.

The plot also envisages linking up the US Sixth Fleet with the Seventh Fleet thus making it into one unbroken chain.

The US and British imperialists consider Asians and Africans to be such utter simpletons as would be taken in by their stock argument of the Chinese threat to the Indian Ocean creating the necessity to fill up the vacuum in the area. The flames of the national liberation struggles in Africa, Southern Arabia and South-East Asia are rising ever higher and making the US and British imperialists lose their

They seek to station a huge police force in the Indian Ocean so that tomorrow they can stage Tonkin Gulf type strikes and Suez type invasions wherever they want and can. India is at the

America's plans for "filling the vacuum" in the Indian Ocean which came to light last year with the dramatic debut of the Seventh Fleet in the area are being steadily pushed ahead.

The latest in this connection is the revelation made on August 29 by the WASHINGTON POST that the US and Britain have been jointly exploring the possibility of establishing a series of island bases in the Indian Ocean "to reinforce security in South and South-East Asia."

Official British sources trying to deny these reports succeeded only in confirming them. Claiming that these bases would be "purely and simply to provide radio-communication links", they nevertheless declared that these bases "could, of course, be extremely useful as forward staging points for troops."

According to Reuter, these sources said "they were looking for a small island on which to set up a small American relay station. This would provide better communications between United States forces in the Southern Mediterranean and those in the Indian Ocean."

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heart of this encircled area and can remain indifferent at its own peril to this US-British plot to create a network of bases aimed at itself and its closest neighbours.

DRV'S 19TH BIRTHDAY

SEPTEMBER 2 is the 19th birthday of the heroic Vietnam Democratic Republic which was recently made the target of attack by the US Seventh Fleet. Nineteen years ago, after the collapse of the Japanese fascists in the Far East, when the imperialists were preparing to reimpose French rule on Indo-China the patriotic forces of Vietnam led by President Ho Chi Minh declared the independence of their country and proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The French, egged on first by the British and later by the Americans refused to recognise the independence of Vietnam and of the two other Indo-China states. They launched upon the dirty colonial war which lasted till they were convincingly defeated at Dienbienuphu.

The war was brought to a close by the Geneva agreements signed in July 1954 which created the two temporary regroupment zones of North and South Vietnam, divided at the 17th parallel and clearly defining it as the temporary demarcation line.

The agreements signed at Geneva recognising that Vietnam was one and indivisible provided that it will be formally unified through a countrywide general election to be held within two years of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, i.e., by July 20, 1956.

To thwart the implementation of the Geneva Agreements and the unification of Vietnam by peaceful and democratic means, the US gradually took over the dirty war that the French had been forced to abandon. For the people of South Vietnam the colonial war launched by the French in December 1945 has never ceased, to this day.

The opposite kind of development in the two parts of Vietnam during the last ten years is a study in contrast as sharp as any could be.

During all these years the North has been subjected to all sorts of harassing and sabotage tactics by the US imperialists culminating in the barbarous air raids of last month. And yet neither US attempts at subversion nor vandalism have been able to shake the stability of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, born and steered in the battle for national independence.

By contrast the puppet regimes the US has tried to stabilise in South Vietnam have collapsed one after another like a house of cards. The latest is the case of General Nguyen Khanh who declared himself president on August 7 only to find himself eased out within three weeks, despite repeated declaration of American support for him.

WILL INDIAN OCEAN BECOME AN AMERICAN LAKE?



Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the people of India wish success to the people of Vietnam in their struggle for the unification of their country and for the return of peace to that tortured land.

ANOTHER VIETNAM?

US opinion is alarmed at the rise of a new South Vietnam so far as American involvement in an undeclared war is concerned. This time it is in the heart of Africa, in another long-suffering country, the ex-Belgian Congo.

Nothing could be more explicit—and cynical—in this regard than the TIME magazine's story on the Congo in its issue of August 21. Said the TIME:

"A trifle clumsily, the US last week tried to tiptoe to the rescue of the Congo government. Aligned at the mounting conquests of leftist-backed warriors and unable to interest friendly African or European countries in helping Premier Moïse Tshombe's beleaguered government, Washington decided to 'strengthen' its military and economic aid.

"Off to Leopoldville last week winged: four C-130 Hercules transports, which the State Department said would be used to airlift Tshombe's troops and supplies to rebel-threatened areas. Aboard the big planes were 44 handpicked US paratroopers equipped with jeeps, bazookas, grenade launchers and machine guns. What would they be used for? Well, said State, they would guard the planes.

"Oh? Just as eyebrows were going up, three US helicopters followed the paratroopers into Leopoldville, and the line was hastily changed. The helicopters would be flown by US pilots on 'rescue and logistical missions' for Tshombe's army, and the paratroopers would ride shotgun. But not, said a briefing officer in Leopoldville, as combat troops. Question: Might not their shotgun duties get them into combat situations? Answer: 'I cannot comment on that kind of hypothetical question.' Still later another 'official' line was that the helicopters would not be used to help Tshombe at all, and had been sent only for possible evacuation of American citizens.

"Whatever their purpose, the paratroopers and helicopters were hardly the first US involvement in the Congo war. Since last month, some 70 American officers and men have been working closely with the Congolese army on guerrilla warfare and paratroop techniques.

"In addition, the US has given Tshombe's army ten C-47 transport planes, ten helicopters, 70 jeeps, 250 trucks, and seven of the ubiquitous little T-28 trainers that have proved so useful on strafing and bombing missions against Communist guerrillas in Southeast Asia. Washington was even thoughtful enough to provide the pilots—and sensitive enough to American public opinion to have recruited them from the ranks of anti-Castro Cubans.

Competent observers are all agreed that Chile will be neither another Cuba nor another Brazil.

Chilean government's breaking of relations with Cuba on the eve of the elections on the dictat of the OAS will in no way help the Christian Democrats. A survey conducted by the University of Chile showed that 62 per cent of the people were against breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba.

The FRAP candidate Allende, who is supported by the Chilean Communist Party, had lost the 1958 elections by a narrow margin of 29,000 votes, and there is every possibility of a landslide victory for him in the September 4 elections.

Competent observers are all agreed that Chile will be neither another Cuba nor another Brazil.

African Leaders Are Coming

Two of the most outstanding leaders of the South African People's struggle for freedom against the hated apartheid regime, are arriving in India on September 5, as guests of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

THE two leaders, who are expected to visit almost every state during their one month tour of the country, are Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, the world famous founder and head of the South African Indian Congress, and J. B. Marks, who heads the foreign mission in Dar-es-Salaam of the African Congress and is one of its eminent policy makers.

Delhi of an office of the South African freedom movement, which could help to keep the Indian people informed of the latest developments. It will be recalled that the Algerian Front of National Liberation maintained a similar office in the Indian capital for a long time, before it achieved final victory.

Meetings of solidarity with the South African people are being organised in honour of the visiting leaders, in Delhi, Jaipur, Srinagar, Kanpur, Patna, Calcutta, Cuttack, Gauhati, Madras, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Bombay, Goa and other places.



(Top) On August 28 hundreds of peasants came to Diamond Harbour Court to demonstrate for food. Most of them walked more than 40 miles. (Right) Two old women participants (Photo: Satya Sen)



(Right) Two old women participants (Photo: Satya Sen)

ORGANISE ALL-INDIA ACTION TO DEFEAT BONUS REPORT CHANGES

The biggest, the most organised, the most conscious, and skilled battalions of the working class in India have lost the battle for bonus temporarily.

AFTER years of hard struggle they had won in many industries. Still the employers as a class resisted. So a Bonus Commission was appointed to decide some reasonable norms and basic principles for application to the whole country, to all industries and all workers.

The employers kicked up a row in the composition of the Bonus Commission and tried to brow-beat it. Then, when unanimity was almost achieved in the Commission, they pressurised their representative to write a note of dissent, which he did.

Then they turned round and asked government to change the report of the majority of six versus one and accept what their minority of one had said.

All the ICS gentry round the ministries made most blood-curdling memos, as to what disaster it would be to the country, if the Bonus Commission recommendations were accepted. They wanted to 'scuttle' the recommendations altogether.

Ignorant ministers bowed to the "wisdom" of these invisible permanent rulers sitting behind their backs. The shrewd and knowing ministries, like those of finance, backed the monopolies which had started a howl against the Commission's recommendations and ultimately the government voted on the side of the big monopolies. The Bonus Commission report was alter-

ed, in respect of its main and vital part, in favour of the employers endorsing the single dissenting note of the representative of the monopolists. The workers thus suffered a retreat.

The result is that the most advanced sections of the working class, those working in the industries with large blocks of capital, have lost what was rightfully due to them. Even those who were getting some good quantum of bonus on the basis of the old, discredited and dispute-making formula of the Labour Appellate Tribunal, will be in the worse position.

The government has surrendered to the service of right reaction which is out to hit the working class and create conditions in which they can rule the country as they like.

That, in essence, is the result of the government decision on the Bonus Commission report.

The whole country, all decent persons, are astounded at government's decision. Even some of the monopolists are saying that even they did not expect the government to give all that they had asked for. They had not expected that their stooges in the upper ranks of the official hierarchy could manoeuvre so successfully and that the ministries would follow the whip of the moneybags so dutifully.

I need not describe here

the changes that government has made and how the formula would now work out. What is required now is to find out what movement can be built, what plan of action can be laid out in order to force government to change its course and compel the employers to give better terms

The statements of the leaders of the INTUC, HMS, UTUC and AITUC—all have a common reaction.

But united action may not be so easy and so quick, as some people think.

In the first place, many workers will get bonus for the first time in their life in some industries.

The quantum that they will get, such as the minimum four per cent of their annual wages or Rs. 40, will be attractive to those who never got anything.

The loss-making factories, which did not pay anything before or very little, will now be given the minimum of four per cent of total wages, i.e., basic pay and dearness allowance of about two weeks.

There will be no dispute on arbitrary rehabilitation sums formerly deducted. And all payments of bonus will have to be made within eight months of the closing of the year.

Certain public sector undertakings also will get some bonus.

These are, no doubt some gains. They will prevent

many sections of workers from knowing how the government has cheated them of higher gains and nullified their future advance. The man who receives the bonus for the first time will require convincing before he joins in action with those who have lost. That is a hurdle that will hamper quick and united action.

At the same time, those who will lose and be in worse position than even under the old IAT awards will be those workers who have fought bonus battles before and won good agreements and awards. They are conscious, organised and capable of action. They can give battle.

But they must not fight in isolation from those, who have newly acquired the right to bonus. Otherwise, those who understand and act will be separated from those, who do not yet know what is what and hence will not act, as quickly as the leadership may want.

The enormity of the crime

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By S. A. DANGE

to the working class, despite the government decision on the Commission's report.

Unless the working class wages a consistent, organised, democratic battle, it will not be able to recover the lost position.

Fortunately, almost all the trade union leaders, all central organisations are agreed that the government has surrendered totally to the monopoly pressure, that the workers must agitate and fight the changes made by government.

THE OTHER NOTE OF DISSENT

The Government of India changed the recommendations of the Bonus Commission by accepting the minute of dissent submitted by the employers' representative N. Dandekar. The acceptance of this minute of dissent changed the report in favour of the employers and against the workers.

BUT there was another "minute of dissent" also—that of S. A. Dange, the representative of the AITUC and the workers.

He disagreed on seven very important recommendations of the Commission, on which all the other six members had agreed.

But the Government of India did not change the report by accepting these points of dissent by S. A. Dange because, these would have changed the report in favour of the workers and against the employers.

This is what S. A. Dange had finally said in a separate note to the Bonus Commission's Report:

"There are certain points in the general body of the report and in the bonus formula adopted here, on which I would have liked to add a separate dissenting note detailing my views. But I have refrained from doing so in the hope that what has been

accepted herein may do away with the complications which the workers had to face in the last few years and may give ALL of them a better deal for the time being at least."

S. A. Dange had doubts about the net effect of the agreed recommendations and the formula. So he agreed to sign the report on condition that it will give a better deal for ALL workers. Not only no one should lose what he already got but that every worker would gain.

The Government of India by changing the report in favour of the employers has absolved the AITUC from whatever obligation it had accepted. The AITUC will now be naturally free to fight the damaging part of the recommendations and government's award, while accepting what is beneficial to the workers. The seven points of dissent given by S. A. Dange will be published next week.

— Editor

USSR TO MEET OUR DEFENCE NEEDS

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: India's Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union has had a warm reception here and the Indian side seems to be satisfied by the progress of the talks taking place in Moscow for the purchase of military equipment for India's armed forces.

AT a lunch given in Chavan's honour, Marshal Malinovsky, Soviet Minister of Defence, wished his Indian guest every success in developing the defence capacity of his country.

Both countries, he said, were working for peace and were against aggressive military blocs, both stood for disarmament and for strengthening the independence of newly independent countries. "Our friendship is based on respect for each other's independence and sovereignty."

Chavan said that friendship between India and the Soviet Union was based on a common approach and would last long. The visit, he was sure, would yield good results and would be an example to others who value their independence. Inviting Malinovsky to India, Chavan said, "we shall welcome your advice on our defence."

On Monday Marshal Malinovsky and other top defence chiefs of the Soviet Union were guests at the Indian embassy at a lunch given by Ambassador T. N. Kaul in honour of Chavan.

Kaul pointed out in his speech that this was the first visit of India's Defence Minister to the Soviet Union. Such visits, he said, were not mere courtesy calls but had deep significance for both

countries and for the rest of the world.

"While the people of our two countries have welcomed this visit because they expect fruitful results from it, the rest of the world is also watching with interest. My colleagues and I have been pestered by all kinds of enquiries not only from correspondents but from other quarters also.

"While I am certain this visit will produce certain concrete results—but irrespective of what you give us and what we get—let me assure you that we attach far more importance to the spirit underlying this visit and our talks, the spirit of friendly cooperation and mutual respect", he said.

Malinovsky said that Soviet Union appreciated India's policy of peace and nonalignment and would be happy to assist as much as possible in accordance with the traditional Soviet policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of others and without attaching any political condition.

"We are not in competition with anyone in the matter of giving you assistance. We shall help as much as we can on such terms to the maximum extent we can." The main enemy was imperialism and capitalism, he declared with emphasis.

"India needs peace and so do

we. What is important is that you preserve your independence and nonalignment policy."

Minister Chavan said that cooperation between the two countries had grown considerably during last ten years and prospects of even wider cooperation in future were very good. It was a pleasure to work with Soviet Union for peace, disarmament, settlement of territorial disputes through peaceful means, liquidation of colonialism and racialism, for free trade and cooperation between all countries.

"On issues which are vital to India's security the Soviet Union has given us considerable support for which we shall be always thankful. The consistent Soviet support for India on the Kashmir question has received widespread appreciation in India.

"The fact that our position on the Sino-Indian boundary dispute is also correctly understood here is a source of much comfort to us. The Soviet response to our difficulties has been very encouraging and we are grateful for it", Chavan said.

He proposed a toast to the health of Khrushchov "the prime Soviet architect of Soviet-Indian cooperation".

Later Chavan left on a tour of Leningrad, Volgograd, Astrakhan Simferopol, Yalta, Sevastopol and other places. He will visit a number of defence centres and factories. On Monday he saw the plant which produces Iushin 18 and MIG 21 planes.