

USSR: INDIA'S BEST FRIEND

7 - SEP 22 1964



Vol. XII No. 38 New Delhi September 20, 1964 25 Paise

The caterwaulings of the Kripalanis and the Masanis, the Swatantras and the Jan Sanghis and their Rightwing supporters inside the Congress for alignment with the imperialist powers sound more hollow than ever today. There is an old English adage about the proof of the pudding being in the eating. And the Indian people know today from their own experience to distinguish the poisoned pudding of an enemy from the good, fresh pudding given by a friend.

THE agreement for the supply of defence equipment signed by the Government of India and the Soviet Union in Moscow last week is proof positive that the USSR is India's best friend.

Details of the agreement are still not officially known, but enough has appeared in special correspondent's despatches in the daily press to make it clear that:

★ The Soviet Union has agreed to meet all India's requests for defence equipment;

★ The terms on which this assistance is to be given are the most favourable compared to those by which India has secured such assistance from any country;

★ The list of defence equipment includes several vital items which have been consistently refused to us by the Western powers;

★ There are no political strings of any sort attached to the agreement.

No Strings

The defence materials are supplied to India for use in its defence needs, in accordance with the Government of India's own decisions and no one else's. No provisions or conditions on the use of the material are insisted upon in the agreement, as with the "assist-

ance" provided by the Western powers.

The signing of this agreement has been followed by the momentous visit of President Radhakrishnan to the Soviet Union. Each day of the President's stay in the Land of Socialism is a day of friendship demonstrations and manifestations by the Soviet people.

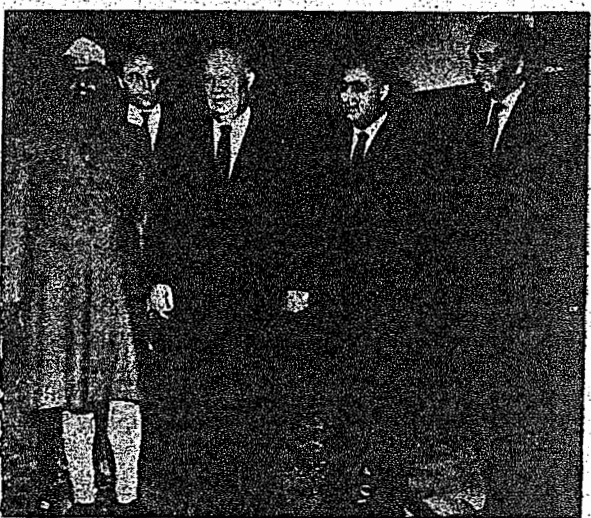
Of the greatest significance are the repeated declarations by Soviet leaders of the willingness of the Soviet Union to give all

possible assistance to India in its efforts to maintain its policy of nonalignment.

The saga of Bhilai, Suratgarh and all the other major projects in which the Soviet Union is helping India's economic development, is known to every citizen of this land. That saga continues with renewed fervour and more Bhilais and Suratgarhs are on the agenda.

The imperialists and their Indian henchmen are naturally gnashing their teeth in frustration. The dream castle they have built in

Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan with Premier N. S. Khrushchov (Right) and Defence Minister R. Malinovsky (below).



to stop—of course, Goldwater is the excuse or the argument!

It is time the balancing trick (which is a totally wrong idea of what nonalignment should mean) is ended. If the US imperialists cannot give their so-called "aid" without political strings, to hell with it and with them, Johnson, Goldwater and all.

Don't Forget

Let us not forget the whole history of India's repeated humiliation at the hands of the US imperialists whenever it has asked for substantial and effective defence assistance:

★ The supersonic fighters were refused: the blackmail over Kashmir is well remembered.

★ Missiles...

★ A submarine... Oh, No! only for darling Ayub Khan.

And now the newspapers openly report that the Soviet Union has agreed to supply all that India asked for—including much of what the US imperialists refused.

The new Indo-Soviet agreement is a landmark of great significance not only in the development of relations between the two countries, but above all in India's own struggle against the pressures and blackmail of the imperialists and reactionaries, in defence of India's independence and integrity and its policy of nonalignment.

(September 16)

BIG SOVIET WELCOME TO INDIAN PRESIDENT

Moscow, Leningrad, Yerevan, Yalta....

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, is passing through the famed cities of the Soviet Union on a successful state visit.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has already had talks with President Anastas Mikoyan and Premier Khrushchov.

According to an Indian spokesman, there was complete agreement between President Radhakrishnan and Premier Khrushchov on international matters.

A joint communique on talks between the Indian President and the Soviet leaders is expected.

(For a despatch on the big Soviet welcome to President Radhakrishnan, see page 12.)

the days following the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, of an India aligned with the imperialist military pacts, has evaporated into thin air.

The speeches the once-big guns of reaction are making in the Lok Sabha these days, are pathetic and whining. Gone, never to return, is the bluster and swagger of the days which immediately followed the Chinese aggression, when the high priests of imperialism inside India thundered so confidently.

The US government can ill-conceal its alarm. The Washington correspondent of the HINDUSTAN TIMES reports that Secretary of State Dean Rusk "showed no sign of concern" over reports of the agreement, but adds significantly:

"The Johnson Administration is... anxious to prevent India's acceptance of both US and Soviet arms aid from developing into a campaign issue for Senator Goldwater". (HINDUSTAN TIMES, September 16).

How can it become a campaign issue? Precisely because all US "aid" has only one purpose: that of imposing US domination, directly or indirectly, on the receiving country. That is why Goldwater can attempt to use the "aid to India" issue as a stick to beat the Johnson administration.

It is known in the capital that the US embassy in India has been busy meeting ministers and officials to impress on them the "perils" which Soviet military assistance means. These "warnings" are accompanied by the threat that US "aid" may have

SEVENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 10 TO 20, 1964

Forward to the Seventh Congress

Editorial

THE DATES FOR THE SEVENTH CONGRESS of the Communist Party of India have been finalised. The entire Party is being geared into action for the great event in the history of India's democratic movement, which will take place in Bombay from December 10 to 20, 1964.

Local, district and state conferences which will precede the Congress take place now in the wake of the mightiest all-India mass movements ever conducted by the Party. The Seventh Congress is the Congress of the Party of the Great Petition, the Great March and the Great Satyagraha.

Leaders of the powerful *bandh* actions of 1963 and 1964 will be among the delegates. Organisers of the kisan satyagraha of Andhra Pradesh, of the numerous strike struggles, of the anti-imperialist demonstrations for peace and solidarity and of other memorable fighting actions led by the Party this year and last year will represent their respective states.

The Seventh Congress of the Party will carry forward the true heritage of the 39 years of struggle of the Communist Party of India, and will lay the basis for the celebrations at the end of 1965 of the fortieth anniversary of the Party. Among the delegates will be veteran leaders, who are among the founders of the Party, led by Comrades S. A. Dange and S. V. Ghate.

There will be Party leaders and organisers who joined in each of the decades of the Party's life—old and new members, members working in different fields, in trade unions, the kisan sabhas, the peace movement, the youth and women's organisations, the cultural workers, middle class, professional bodies.

The Central Executive Committee of the Party has given a call for a Seventh Party Congress Enrolment drive: the target is to double the Party membership by enrolling in the first place the tens of thousands of Party militants, who for several years have taken part in many a Party

struggle but are still outside the Party. The enthusiasm and devotion for the Party, generated through the Party's great actions in defence of the interests of the working people during 1963 and 1964, make this enrolment drive not only essential but certain of success.

The Party Congress preparations take place side by side with the carrying forward to new heights of the mass struggle for people's food, for bonus, against high prices. September 25 is Bonus Demand Day. October 2—Gandhi's birthday—is the Foodgrains Trade Nationalisation Day. The battles for bonus are already beginning to burst out. The Seventh Congress will reverberate with the key slogans of today of the toiling people for democratic advance, against the stranglehold of the monopolies, for the defence of the basic national policies and against the efforts to subvert them.

The Seventh Party Congress will take place at a moment when preparations will begin for a new meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties of the world. The international Communist meetings of 1957 and 1960 gave a powerful impetus to the Communist movement in every country. Despite the attempts by the Chinese leaders to split the Communist movement, internationally and nationally—the Communist Parties of the world stand steadfast, growing from strength to strength.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, by the pursuit of their policy of peaceful coexistence, of cooperation in all fields with the developing countries of Asia and Africa, of relentless support to the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, have won for the Communist movement, high prestige and the respect and affection of hundreds of millions in all lands.

The Communist Party of India is proud to belong to the great family of Communist Parties of the world. The Seventh Congress will rededicate the Party to the principles of Marxism-Leninism which are the guiding star for all Communists.

(September 16)

CEC Resolution On Mao's Talks With Japanese Socialists

MAO'S AGGRESSIVE PLANS, EXPANSIONIST POLICIES

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has read with alarm and indignation the report of the talk which Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China had recently with a group of Japanese socialist leaders.

This report which has now been published widely all over the world from the August 11 issue of the Japanese journal *Shekai Shuho* has been confirmed by the statement made by Prime Minister Chou En-lai (published in the Japanese daily *Asahi* on August 1) and by Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Wang Ping-nan, who was asked specifically for an explanation.

The Central Executive Committee draws the attention of all Indians to the dangerous views of Mao Tse-tung as quoted in the report of this talk and in particular, to the following venomous attack on the Soviet Union and on the entire socialist world:

"There are too many places occupied by the Soviet Union. According to the Yalta agreement, the Soviet Union, under the pretext of guaranteeing the independence of Mongolia, has actually placed that country under its domination. Mongolia occupies a considerably larger area than Kurile islands.

In 1954, when Khrushchov and Bulganin came to China, we raised this question, but they refused to talk with us. They have appropriated part of Rumania. Having separated part of East Germany, they expelled the local inhabitants to western part. Having separated part of Poland, they included it into Russia, giving to Poland in compensation part of East Germany. The same happened in Finland.

They have separated everything that could be separated. Some people have stated that

Sinkiang area and the territories north of the Amur river must be included in the Soviet Union. The USSR is concentrating troops on its border.

The Soviet Union occupies an area of 22 million square kilometres and its population is only 200 million people. It is time it stopped the division. Japan occupies an area of 370,000 square kilometres and its population is 100 million people.

About a hundred years ago, the area east of Baikal became Russian territory and since then Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Kamchatka and other places are territory of the Soviet Union. We have not yet requested settling this account. As for Kurile islands, this question is clear for us. They must be returned to Japan."

Such an open call for the dismemberment of the Soviet Union is not only pernicious in its treacherous hostility; it amounts to direct and open assistance to imperialism.

Just as Hitler sought to justify his criminal aggressions by pleading for "living space" (*lebensraum*) for the "growing" German population, so Mao preaches unashamedly on behalf of the Japanese reactionaries. The demand is made for the surrender of Soviet territory because its 22 million square kilometres are inhabited by only 200 million people, while Japan's 370,000 square kilometres have a population of 100 million.

Mao forgets that the peoples of the Soviet Union, the peoples of the territories he claims for the Chinese leadership, for the Japanese militarists and for all and sundry, have already decided their own destiny and are marching side by side with the rest of the peoples of the Soviet Union towards communism.

Mao perhaps imagines that these millions of Soviet citizens can be transferred at his command out of their Motherland to where he wills. Mao's dreams of such dismemberment count without the Soviet people.

Mao not only attacks the Soviet Union. He supports the West German revanchists in their propaganda demanding the cancellation of the Oder-Neisse border and the swallowing of East Germany.

At the other end, Mao extends his support to the Japanese militarists in their claims against the Soviet Union for the return of the Kurile islands. Mao conveniently has not one word to say about the facts regarding the role of the Kurile islands as a beach-head used by the Japanese militarists for their aggressive plans against the Soviet Far East.

Mao again says not one word on how the US imperialists are using Japanese territory for their nuclear bases, Japanese ports for visits of nuclear powered submarines and Japanese airports for nuclear armed bombers.

In this context, Mao's support for the "return" of the Kurile islands amounts to direct assistance to the US imperialists who seek to use the Kurile islands as an advance base for their plans of war and aggression.

Mao Tse-tung's thesis goes so far as to praise the Japanese imperialists for their "greatness" of their seizure of so many Asian countries during World War II.

Seen in the context of the publication of the Chinese maps claiming large parts of Asia as

* ON PAGE 19

SEPTEMBER 20, 1964

OCTOBER 2 : FOODGRAINS TRADE NATIONALISATION DAY

The Great Satyagraha launched by the Communist Party of India has been a resounding success. It has succeeded in its objectives of giving an organised shape to the mass discontent, of pinpointing the real culprits—the government, the hoarders and banks and stock-exchanges—behind the rise of prices and misery of the people and of bringing pressure on the government to take minimum steps to relieve the people's distress.

It is the first all-India struggle launched on a countrywide scale since independence in which about 80,000 offered satyagraha and 27,000 were arrested. People in their thousands everywhere supported this great struggle through demonstrations, contributing money, etc.

ON THE 32

The 32 members of the National Council who had been suspended from the Party membership following their walk-out from the April session of the National Council and their public declaration of revolt against and disruption of the Party have carried forward their disruptive activities to completion.

Having turned down the unity offer of the National Council and its Secretariat, they held their Convention at Tenali and gave a formal shape to a separate party of their own.

Activities of this party since then have furnished further proof of their blind hatred for and enmity to the Communist Party of India, a Party which has been built by the working people through long and innumerable struggles and sacrifices in the cause of national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism. This blind hatred and enmity is leading them more and more to the position of objectively helping the worst enemies of the Indian people despite their tall talk and revolutionary phrase-mongering.

By their splitting activities culminating in the formation of a separate party, the 32 suspended members of the National Council, as well as all those who have attended the Tenali Convention and joined their party have ceased to be members of our Party. Hence, all Party Committees should strike-off their names from the rolls of the Party and remain ever vigilant for guarding Party unity against their splitting activities.

ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR PARTY UNITY

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India endorses the unity negotiations conducted by its Secretariat in pursuance of the resolution of its National Council.

The representatives of the Central Secretariat, in their negotiations with the representatives of the Tenali splitters, took a consistent stand of Party unity based on the principle of democratic centralism as laid down in the National Council resolution. But the representatives of the Tenali splitters refused to accept this principled basis of Party unity. All that they wanted in the name of Party unity was to convert the Party into a united front of two parties formally under the same name and flag so that they could paralyse all political and mass movements of the Party while carrying on their own disruptive activities unhampered. Thus, the unity negotiations initiated and conducted by the Central Secretariat broke down because of the anti-Leninist approach of the Tenali splitters to the problem of Party unity.

The events following the breakdown of unity negotiations such as the Tenali Convention, open formation and functioning of their separate party inside and outside Parliament, hectic preparations for their separate Congress, their public opposition to the Great Satyagraha struggle against rising prices and food scarcity, etc., have completely exposed their false pretensions about Party unity.

The Central Executive Committee congratulates all Party members and the working people of India who rallied round the National Council and given a resolute rebuff to the splitters.

A PART from this, the historic bandhs of Maharashtra, Kerala, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh have shaken the government, the hoarders and the financiers, in which the members of our Party played a leading part along with others.

The Central Executive of the Communist Party of India congratulates all Party members, militants and people who have made the bandhs and the Great Satyagraha a resounding success, braving the police repression and the counter-attack by the hoarders and other reactionaries.

It enjoins upon the Party members and the people not to relax their efforts but to carry on the movement vigorously.

It emphasises that if the movement has to gather momentum and strength and achieve its aim, it has now to switch over from the general programme of the food movement to the concrete main demand of the

CEC RESOLUTIONS

movement, for effective concrete and immediate measures for state-trading in foodgrains and fair prices for the peasant and for the consumer. This can unite the consumers and producers on a common platform.

State-trading in foodgrains has long ago been accepted in principle and practice. Several state governments have in the past entered the market as purchasers of foodgrains. But the freedom given to private wholesale traders to buy in the market directly from the peasant producers and the landlords has always forced the government to retreat, ultimately forcing the government to buy at the wholesalers' terms.

The proposal of Food Minister Subramaniam to enter the market to purchase foodgrains through the Foodgrains Corporation to be set up by the government is partial acceptance of the demand that the government take over the foodgrains wholesale trade into its own hands.

DEFECTIVE PROPOSAL

The proposal of the government is seriously defective and will be defeated by the bankers and wholesalers unless it is radically altered and democratically implemented.

The Foodgrains Corporation will be set up in January 1964 and will do only partial buying, allowing the wholesalers freedom to corner the rest of the market. The reason given for this halfhearted show of pressure on the hoarders is that government has no machinery to purchase and warehouses to store.

There is no doubt that the bureaucratic machinery can be no match to the wholesalers who now command all the mandis in India and have extensive contact with the peasants who, due to poverty, sell in advance their standing crops. That warehousing scheme of the government has also been lagging behind is a fact.

The solution to this is not to surrender to the wholesaler and banker. Government's decision not to buy in this season has already sent the prices rising and the traders threatening the government with a new crisis of supplies and prices.

The Central Executive Committee, therefore, proposes that the government should immediately take the following steps:

CLOSE FORWARD MARKETS

1 Close down with immediate effect all the forward markets, forward trading and speculative price quotations in the ready market in all foodgrains, oil-seeds and oils.

2 Prohibit all papers from quoting these rates in their papers and take strong action against kerb-trading.

3 The Foodgrains Corporation should be established within fifteen days for which there should be no difficulty as it is a government concern.

4 Government should draft the services of the purchasing agents who do the actual buying for the wholesalers and give them due remuneration as temporary government employees with prospects to be absorbed in the government's Foodgrains Corporation, which will require the service of thousands of such purchasing cadres.

5 Fixation of fair prices to the peasant producer should be immediately done and announced for this very season. The plea that experts are required to calculate costs of production and then fix prices will only lead to sabotaging the quick implementation of the policy. Even a small increase over the wholesalers' purchasing price, if announced and enforced by the government, will bring the peasant-seller to the government buyer. Payment of money to the peasant-sellers must be as quick as that of the wholesalers.

6 The government's Foodgrains Corporation should have its centres near the trading mandis, but outside their influence and surroundings.

7 The octrois which are charged on the peasant producer coming to the mandis should be suspended with immediate effect and the affected towns reimbursed their loss of income from government subsidy. This should apply only to those who sell to the purchase centres of government's Foodgrains Corporation.

8 To requisition the existing godowns of the wholesaler for stocking government grains.

9 From now itself all bank advances to foodgrains trade must be completely banned. For this season and the next, "clean" advances that is, advances given to big individuals without security, made by the banks should be banned despite the reason for which they are asked. All channels of money used for hoarding foodgrains must be plugged for which some more measures can be suggested.

10 Fair prices shops should be established in towns and villages on the basis of one shop for 500 families, for supplying foodgrains and other essential articles to the people. Retail traders have to be utilised for the running of these shops by guaranteeing them reasonable profits.

11 The central and state governments have to undertake the supply of foodgrains and other essential commodities to their employees at subsidised rates through shops run by the respective government departments.

12 In the same way, the government must compel the private employers to run subsidised shops and supply foodgrains and other essential commodities to their employees as was agreed to at the tripartite conference.

13 People's food committees representing progressive parties and mass organisations have to be established to help in the implementation of the above-mentioned measures.

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LAUNCH CAMPAIGN

All democratic progressive parties and organisations who support this policy should come together to launch a campaign in the villages and mandis.

★ The rank and file Congressmen and good village based leaders should join first in this task apart from the government machinery, as this task in no way conflicts with the government but helps in the implementation of a national policy for people's food;

★ They will persuade the peasant to sell only to the government's Foodgrains Corporation as a patriotic duty to themselves and to the people and the country;

★ People's volunteers without any party labels and rivalries should be enrolled under the aegis of some form of unified organisation to help the peasant to get the fair price, to overcome the lack of machinery to carry out such a big operation, to watch and overcome sabotage from any quarter, particularly the agents of the wholesalers and bankers;

★ Factory workers under the leadership of their unions and organisations should set apart a week or ten days of their paid leave to go to the villages to join in this campaign to defeat the wholesaler and make state

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Focus On Govt's Split Personality

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

In Parliament's lofty and splendoured precincts where the voice of down-trodden India often quivers, there resounded this week a mighty challenge to the prevailing order of the tycoons, the mercantile sharks and the corrupt politicians and bureaucrats.

THE occasion was provided by the debate on the motion of no-confidence—the star event of the week in Parliament.

The debate, fairly packed with scintillating performances which broke the monotony and dullness of the proceedings, was an event of significance as the first nation-wide stock-taking since the demise of Jawaharlal Nehru.

It did indeed clear some of the debris and confusion that has accumulated.

The debate clearly brought out the new and emerging lines of demarcation, and the confrontation was sharp and forceful.

An unadulterated stand for throwing overboard rapid and planned economic development, with a slant on industrialisation, on the domestic front, and of the foreign policy of peace and nonalignment was presented by the Swatantra spokesman Dandekar with such exalted support as was forthcoming from Acharya Kripalani and Frank Anthony.

Trojan Horse

It was no accident that these once arch-foes of the Nehru government now opposed the no-confidence motion. They counselled moderation while seeking a new orientation to the country's policies.

In the clearest terms they

asked for taking India into the camp of the imperialists and a member of their military world network.

Sangh's Slant

The Jana Sangh attack on the government largely fell in line with these positions. Skirting the domestic issues pointedly raised during the debate on the food crisis, Jana Sangh leader U. M. Trivedi chose to concentrate his fire on the international issues, on the policy of nonalignment and peace.

In the face of this challenge, the Shastri government's representatives spoke with different voices and with varying accents. They provided a colourful reflection of the government's "split personality" of which Communist leader Hiren Mukherjee spoke with great effect.

Food Minister Subramaniam ineffectively sought to score a debating point when winding off the food debate when he sought to blame the agitation of the Opposition parties for the acute food situation.

He wanted an "agrarian revolution" but sought to achieve it through the approach of a technocrat. On the question of land reforms, the Food Minister had slippery answer.

He had no clear stand on the Swatantra plea for a complete free enterprise economy—freedom for the traders

and hoarders on the food front. His was the path of the golden mean, or better put, of the government's "split personality".

Another facet of the government was represented by Home Minister Nanda who was emphatic in the government's determination to continue the "legacies" of Nehru. Yet when it came to specific issue—use of DIR against hoarders and corrupt politicians—he had nothing solid to report.

The opposition parties and groups who backed the motion of no-confidence faced an arduous task in dealing with the dual confusion spread by the extreme Right as well as the ruling party which "seems to rely on consensus, on mediocrity and escape from principle".

Food Minister Debunked

Demolishing Food Minister Subramaniam's case against the opposition food agitation, Hiren Mukherjee said amidst cheers from his colleagues on the opposition benches:

"The Minister thinks that agitation cannot help in the solution of the food and price crisis. Agitation does not drop from the skies. Is there anybody in this country today who

Chaotic Team

With devastating effect, Hiren Mukherjee depicted the state of demoralisation into which the Congress was sinking with the all-pervading atmosphere of corruption in high places. It had been reduced to "a conglomeration of factions with no loyalty to the people, no loyalty to causes".

The Shastri Cabinet was a "chaotic team, pulling in different directions", he said.

He warned the government against the consequences of allowing the plan to be diluted and the basic policies of the country to be subverted.

The first round of the great debate has seen the Left opposition score heavily over the government. What will be the Shastri government's answer to the posers put by Hiren Mukherjee and the Swatantra representatives? The country awaits the answer.

Clash Of Ideas

But in the clash of ideas and the ensuing confrontation it is the Left opposition which emerged with reinforced strength. Moving the mo-

CASE OF PLUS AND MINUS

Whispering Gallery

NANDA is a good old Gandhian, one of the stubborn survivors of a vanishing tribe. But we never thought he could be profound too.

He thought he had demolished by a fell stroke the entire Opposition case on the no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha by saying that plus one and minus one don't add up to two but make a zero.

The jibe was at the divided Opposition united temporarily to declare no-confidence in the Shastri government.

And then Nanda went on to expatiate on the actual, potential and alleged virtues of the Congress. It was the hallmark of stability in this country, he pontificated. After that, the deluge!

Of course, as a speech it was a well rehearsed performance. Unlike in the past INSIDER did not doze on the gallery.

But is it the contention of the Home Minister that the syllogism that plus one and minus one make a zero apply only to the Opposition?

The Swatantra Party has not supported the no-trust move. Do Swatantra and the Congress add up to two?

That apart, has Nanda thought of the plus ones and minus ones in the Congress itself. If only he goes through

the proceedings of the Jaipur AICC and the Bhubaneswar Congress, he will find a lot of plus and minus.

At Bhubaneswar, of course, Nanda was neither plus nor minus. But on bank nationalisation, state trading in food and such other crucial issues Shastri, Morarji, TTK, banker Bajaj and industrialist Chinoy were on the minus side whereas Menon, Malaviya, Azad, Stephen, Govind Sahai and a cast number of delegates were on the plus side.

By Nanda's logic, and especially after the Bhubaneswar spectacle, the Congress should have been a mere nothing, a cipher. But is it?

This is not all. Nanda equates the Opposition with chaos and his own party with stability, God's own chosen instrument for the governance for eternity of this ancient land of ours.

I wonder whether he, an honest Gandhian, really believes in what he says. Is the Congress the mainstay of Indian democracy, the hallmark of stability?

This time last year Nanda himself did not think so. INSIDER had the good fortune to preserve a note he produced for the Congress High Command after the triple defeats at Amroha, Rajkot and Farukabad.

After becoming No. 2 in the Cabinet if he has forgotten

about his own note of June 4, 1963, INSIDER is prepared to present him a copy: Meanwhile, here are some excerpts for the reader:

"On the political side lack of cohesion and a common outlook, dissensions, factions, mutual recriminations, and cross-purposes at all levels sum up the image of the Congress in the minds of the people."

By not counting "stability" as part of the popular image of the Congress, Nanda was true to himself.

"Too much latitude is now being given to those who have no real loyalty or zeal for the ideology of the Congress and its basic principles. Some of them may even be guilty of disguised hostility."

A confession of the phenomenon of plus one and minus one among the White Caps.

"There is no margin of safety left with regard to the confidence and support of the people for the Congress."

Pathetic, indeed! No margin of safety left at all for the Congress as far as the people's confidence goes.

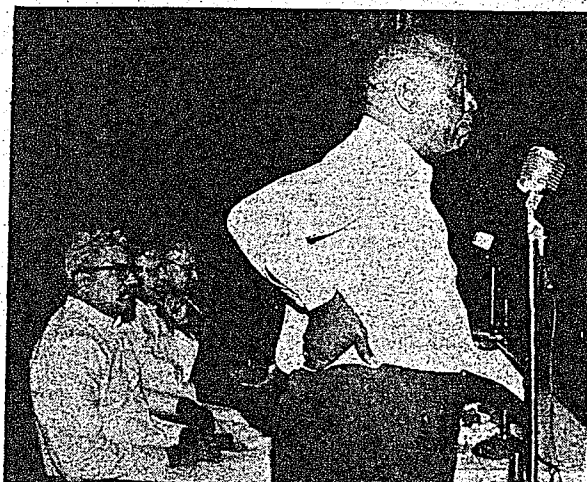
May be, Nanda is obliged to speak his piece in Parliament as the Home Minister. But when he says even Atulya Ghosh is helping him in the Sadachar movement, we know what it is all about.

—INSIDER

wants agitation for agitation sake?

"The fact of the matter is—this is where this leadership of the country in the government has dragged the country—that the public are convinced that the government would not move without agitation, without struggle, which alone can put the fear of God in the minds of government and in the minds of those with whom it connives".

SEPTEMBER 25 : HARTAL AND BONUS DEMAND DAY.



J. B. Marks addressing the Jaipur Meeting

MARKS-DADOO TOUR BEGINS

THE South African leaders J. B. Marks and Y. M. Dadoo have now begun the first leg of their nation-wide tour.

After a successful round of meetings in the capital, which were ended with a public solidarity meeting under the auspices of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the South African leaders are now visiting other states.

In Delhi, they were received by the President, Vice President, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

A dinner party was given in their honour by Deputy Minister Dinesh Singh on behalf of the Ministry of External Affairs. Marks and Dadoo also addressed the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India. Their inspiring addresses were followed by an assurance by Chairman S. A. Dange of the continued support of the Communist Party for the solidarity campaign.

The CEC later adopted a detailed resolution on the campaign for South Africa, which is published on this page.

JAIPUR MEETING

The South African leaders spent a day in Jaipur as guests of the state branch of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

At a public meeting organised by the Association, a donation of RUPEES FIVE THOUSAND for the South Africa Solidarity Fund was announced, to be paid within a week.

Later Marks and Dadoo flew to Srinagar as guests of the National Conference. Here too a series of meetings ended with an announcement of a donation of RUPEES TEN THOUSAND for the Solidarity Fund.

It will be recalled that the Fund is earmarked for the expenses for the establishment of an office in New Delhi of the South African freedom movement.

SOLIDARITY WITH S. AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India passed the following resolution on September 12:

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India salutes the indomitable struggle of the South African people against the bestial, racist rule of the Verwoerd government.

New sagas of heroism and courage are being written as the battle, under the leadership of the African National Congress, reaches unprecedented heights. A wave of acts of militant resistance is sweeping the country and is preparing the way for higher forms of armed struggle for freedom.

At this moment, there is vital need for a redoubling of international solidarity with the South African liberation movement. The peoples must demand the strict implementation of the numerous international decisions and calls for complete economic boycott of South Africa.

The economic and other support which the South African government continues to receive from certain governments, particularly those of the USA and Great Britain, must be stopped. Specially condemnable is the military aid being given to the South African government by the imperialist powers, particularly by the British government.

The pressure of the people must be exerted particularly against the US and British governments to compel them to cease the assistance they are giving to the Verwoerd regime.

India has a proud record of solidarity with the struggle in South Africa. India was the first country to impose an economic boycott of South Africa. The Indian working class has again and again demonstrated its solidarity with the South African

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India adopted the following resolution on September 12:

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India sends its greetings and congratulations to the thousands of Party members and working people who in response to the call of the Party participated in the Great Satyagraha struggle of August 24 to 28 and braved all the consequences of this peaceful political struggle. The masses have yet to attain their demands and prepare for future struggles.

The Central Executive Committee having reviewed the Bandh actions and the Satyagraha struggle, resol-

ved that all Party units working in the trade unions should observe September 25 as the All-India Bonus Demand Day according to the decisions of the National Campaign Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress and its associates.

CEC RESOLUTION

The National Campaign Committee is of the opinion that in view of the absence of a unified call for Bharat Bandh, which can be made a

success only if all the Trade Union Centres unite in calling for it, September 25 cannot become a day of general strike.

The Bharat Bandh, however, remains on the agenda as the natural corollary of the Bandh actions and the unity displayed therein.

The Central Executive Committee hopes that all political parties and trade unions will unite in preparing for the mighty action of Bharat Bandh in the near future in order to give a further rebuff to the policies of the monopolists and the Congress government, which still has not taken steps to curb the vested interests and give relief to the toiling masses and save the country from economic disaster and its political consequences.

A united Bharat Bandh will not only unite the working class but also strengthen the democratic and socialist forces in the country and will take the battle against the forces of Right reaction to a new height.

The Central Executive Committee supports the call for all-India hartal given by the Samyukta Socialist Party.

The Central Executive Committee hopes that the Bonus Day demonstration and the hartal will be a powerful democratic and peaceful demonstration of the solidarity and unity of all the democratic forces in the country.

3 Collection for the South African Solidarity Fund launched by the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity to assist in the setting up of an office of the African National Congress in India.

The Communist Party calls upon all its committees and branches to take part in all solidarity actions called by other democratic organisations and to take the initiative to see that these actions are effective and truly reflect the deep fraternal solidarity of the masses of our people.

SAVE THEIR LIVES

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, meeting in New Delhi from September 10, sent the following cable to the Minister of Justice, Pretoria, South Africa:

Communist Party of India demands immediate cancellation of death sentences imposed on Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayinga, Zinakile Kaba and Washington Bongco, brave fighters against apartheid.

To carry out these death sentences would be tantamount to murder and would bring on your government the righteous fury of hundreds of millions of our people.

We strongly urge you to cancel the illegal sentences and release the prisoners.

Central Executive Committee
Communist Party of India

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Double C.P.I. Membership

call for 7th congress enrolment drive

An inspiring call to double the membership of the Communist Party of India in honour of the Seventh Congress of the Party by recruiting the thousands of militants who have been thrown up during the mass movements has been given by the Central Executive Committee, at its session in New Delhi from September 10 to 15. A resolution passed by the CEC says:

It has been a longstanding weakness of our Party that its organisation does not correspond to its mass influence. The mass influence of the Party is far more than what is reflected in its membership. This gap between the mass influence and organisation of the Party has to be bridged if it has to discharge its political responsibilities.

Thousands Of Militants

There are tens of thousands of militants who have been participating in the mass struggles and movements conducted by the Party and yet do not find a place inside our Party. Among them, there are some who have been with the Party since a long time and will perhaps remain lifelong militants if they are not enlisted into the Party.

There are also thousands of militants who have been thrown up in the mass movements of the last two years like the Great Petition campaign and the historic march of September 13, 1963, the four-stage struggle against high prices, for increase in D.A. etc. conducted by the AITUC which had to be halted after the second stage due to the split in our Party and the Great Satyagraha against high prices of foodgrains and many other struggles conducted in the states.

It has been a habit to complain about the political backwardness of Party members and militants, while at the same time not doing anything to give them political education. This failure on the part of the Party leadership is put up as a justification for not enrolling the militants into the Party.

Love For Party

It is only the negligence of our Party leadership that is responsible for keeping them outside the Party. These militants have got immense experience of mass movement, love of our Party and readiness to undertake work given to them. What is lacking is political education.

Hence they must all be taken in at once as candidate members and arrangements have to be made for their political training.

The National Council was forced to hold the Party Congress on the basis of 1962 membership which was closed on June 30, 1963 because of the objection of the splitters to the new membership and their demand for the Party Congress to be held on the basis of the pre-Vijayawada Congress membership.

Because of this controversy also, the efforts for the enrolment has slackened though it is the normal duty of the Party committees to enrol members into the Party whether they get representation at the Party Congress or not.

It is a crime to keep the militants outside the Party any longer. They must be enrolled immediately as candidate members of our

it the Seventh Congress enrolment.

The National Council had decided to hold the Party Congress on the basis of the membership of 1962 closed on June 30, 1963. This decision will not change. The newly enrolled membership will become full members after six months according to the Party constitution. But they will at-

C.E.C. RESOLUTIONS

Party. This enrolment should proceed alongside the preparations and holding of branch and taluk, district and state conferences. Each state can observe a week or fortnight of Party Enrolment.

We should keep in view the idea that the membership should be at least doubled by the time we meet in the Party Congress in December. In fact, we should present the Seventh Party Congress with double the existing membership, calling

tend the taluk or mandal conferences as observers.

The following points have to be kept in view in enrolling the militants into our Party:

★ The duties and rights of Party members are elaborated in Articles X and XI of the Party constitution. When once militants are admitted into the Party, they will have the same duties and rights as full members except that they have no right to elect or be elected or to vote

on any motion. (Article IV (6)).

★ The minimum qualifications for membership as stated in Article IV (1), are as follows:

- 1) An Indian citizen of 18 years or above;
- 2) Accepts the programme and constitution of the Party;
- 3) Agrees to work in one of the Party organisations and carry out the decisions of the Party;
- 4) Pays regularly Party membership dues.

★ The militants who are admitted into the Party are made to sign the following pledge in the General Body meetings of the branches after receiving the membership fee of one rupee from each candidate member enrolled.

"I accept the aims and objectives of the Party and agree to abide by its constitution and loyalty to carry out decisions of the Party.

"I shall strive to live upto the ideals of communism and shall selflessly serve the working class and the toiling masses and the country, always placing the interests of the Party and the people above personal interests." (Article V).

All the signatures of the candidate members in a branch can be taken on one sheet of paper on the top of which the pledge is written, instead of each signing a separate pledge. This is suggested to obviate the elaborate procedure written in Ar-

Article IV and to enlist new members without delay.

Membership cards can be issued later at the conveniences of the Party committees.

"By the end of the period of candidature, the Party branch or Party committee concerned shall discuss whether the candidate member is qualified to be admitted to full membership. The Party branch or the committee concerned may admit candidates to full membership or prolong the period of candidature for another term not exceeding six months. If a candidate member is found unfit, the Party branch or committee may cancel his or her candidature membership." (Article IV (3)).

Political Education

We will have to undertake the political education of these militants who are enrolled and old Party members immediately the Party Congress is over.

Mass schools, where attendance can be by hundreds or thousands can be held successfully as has been tried and proved in some places. Pamphlets explaining Marxist theory, Party Programme, etc. have to be produced which can be understood easily by Party members.

The Party Centre will provide in all the signatures of the candidate members on one sheet of paper on the top of which the pledge is written, instead of each signing a separate pledge. This is suggested to obviate the elaborate procedure written in Ar-

On Party Situation In Gujarat

The following resolution was adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India on September 14:

BY the end of July it became clear that the leadership of the Gujarat state council of the Party was not going ahead with making preparations for holding the Seventh Congress of the Party in accordance with the instructions of the National Council. Draft documents for the Congress were not being sent for translation.

One prominent member of the state council and the secretariat, Com. Chiman Mehta had gone to attend the Tenali conference of the splitters and he was going about holding general body meetings in certain districts, reporting on the Tenali decisions.

He had also issued a public statement (Indian Express, Delhi edition, 22.7.64) denouncing the National Council and calling upon the Party members in Gujarat to join the rival party.

The name of another member of the state secretariat, Com. Vajubhai Shukla, was published in the local press as well as in the journals of the rival party Congress, which they were holding in Calcutta. He has never repudiated the same.

In view of these developments, some 15 members of the state council made a requisition to the secretary of the state council, Com. Dinker Mehta, to call a meeting of the same.

The purpose was to thrash out these issues and to initiate preparations for holding the Party conference in Gujarat in accordance with the decisions of the National Council and to elect delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India to be held in Bombay.

Com. Dinker Mehta agreed to hold the session of the state council after August 5, after the Gujarat Bandh campaign started by the Sangram Samiti in which we were participating was over. A tentative date of August 12 was also given by him. But as our comrades, including Com. Dinker Mehta were arrested, the decision could not be carried out.

Thereafter, some of the members of the state council approached Com. Chandubhai, another secretariat member, to call a state council meeting and he agreed and has given the date as September 25.

In the meanwhile, further developments have taken place. The Central Secretariat wrote to both Chiman Mehta and Vajubhai Shukla (a National Council member) asking them to explain their stand in regard to their participating in the splitting activities initiated by the Tenali conference (both letters of August 27). No reply has been received from either of them.

On the other hand, the following

facts have been reported by comrades which clearly prove that both of them are actively engaged in splitting activities in pursuance of the Tenali conference's disruptive lead to hold a rival party congress.

On August 31, in a general body meeting at Ahmedabad presided over by himself, Com. Vajubhai is reported to have said: "If I were present in the April National Council meeting, I would have walked out with the 32... policy of 'Dange group' is pro-capitalist and I do not accept its leadership" etc.

Com. Chiman Mehta and Com. Thakorebhai are reported to have made similar attacks on the National Council and its leadership and supported the line of the Tenali splitters.

Com. Chiman Mehta not only reported on Tenali conference to various ward units but he also began organising rival units in Saurashtra region where the supporters of the National Council are in a majority.

He has set up a rival unit in Jamnagar and is attempting to do so in Sawar, Kundla and Porbunder. In Upleta, he attempted to organise a public meeting to openly denounce the National Council but his plans were foiled the local Party unit.

Com. Thakorebhai runs a weekly paper called JANATANGRA which is a TU paper known to be sponsored by the CPI. But now-a-days, it gives publicity to material emanating from the

Tenali splitters presenting that as the CPI.

In view of all these facts, and in view of the fact that Com. Chiman Mehta and Vajubhai Shukla have not replied to the letters sent to them by the Central Secretariat, it is necessary now for the CEC to take further action in terms of the June resolution of the National Council.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, therefore, declares that both Comrades Chiman Mehta and Vajubhai Shukla have placed themselves outside the pale of the Communist Party of India and have ceased to be its members.

The Central Executive Committee directs the state council to ask Com. Thakorebhai to tender his explanation and if he persists in his support to the splitting activities of the Tenali conference, that he should be also dealt with in a similar manner.

The Central Executive Committee authorises the Gujarat state council to strike off the rolls of Party membership the names of those pursuing the organisational line of the Tenali splitters and to reorganise the Party units wherever necessary.

The state council should proceed forthwith with the work of preparing for and holding its district conferences and state Party conference in accordance with the decisions of the National Council on the holding of the Seventh Party Congress.

The Sankar Ministry in Kerala has been thrown out of office and Presidential rule has been imposed in view of the fact that none of the opposition parties singly or together can form an alternative government in the state for the rest of the five-year term.

NOW that the ministry has toppled down and the General Elections are scheduled to take place early next year, political parties have begun addressing themselves to the question of how to face the electorate. It is worthwhile here to draw and understand the lessons from the downfall of this ministry in Kerala.

Product Of An Immoral Alliance

The coalition ministry of the triple alliance that came to power in 1960 was the illegitimate progeny of the coup that was called the "liberation struggle." What brought the participants and parties in this alliance together was not any programme designed for the good of the state. It was a hysteria of negative anti-communism that inspired their unity.

For this very reason, conflicts and fissures began to crop up when this government started grappling with the realities of life. The Muslim League broke away first and later the PSP was forced out by the Congress which began to rule as one party ministry under stewardship of Sankar.

The conflicts within the ruling party did not end there. Within the Congress party contradictions sprang up and the finale of it was that as many as fifteen Congress legislators broke away from the party against the High Command's advice and entreaties, forming themselves into a separate group, and stood in favour of the opposition motion of no-confidence moved for different reasons and voted down the ministry.

This is not the first time that Congressmen have brought down their own ministry in this state. The first popular government in the erstwhile Travancore under Patton Thanu Pillai was brought down by two-thirds of the legislators signing up a no-confidence memo.

In 1950 and again in 1952 Congress ministries fell due to opposition from within; later the same drama was repeated against a PSP ministry and a Congress ministry. As against a duly constituted Communist ministry, the minority party—Congress—had, of course, to organise a coup d'etat in alliance with all the reactionary and vested interests and force the President to intervene and dismiss the ministry.

If this sorry drama should not repeat in Kerala, no government which is subject to the pressures and influences of communal and reactionary vested interests, should be allowed to come to power here. Such forces should be prevented from being able to oppose and defeat a government that dare stand up

against them. This is not an easy process but there is no hope or saving for Kerala unless this is done.

Many Congress legislators, including the spokesman of the ruling group—the KPC—spoke in a self-critical strain during the no-confidence debate. They admitted that they had been wrong in wooing and compromising with reactionary communal forces with a view to ousting the Communist ministry, and on earlier occasions.

Such processes brought about the present impasse and hereafter the Congress was determined to go all alone and fight these forces as well, they argued. How far these professions are genuine and sincere, only the future can tell. Proclamations, however loud they may be, are not adequate today.

And the Indian National Congress has never been wanting in bold and beautiful declarations and profession of progressive aims and policies. And the people of Kerala cannot be expected to unite with all anti-feudal, anti-communal patriotic forces including the bourgeoisie to lift up our state from its present backwardness through rapid industrialisation, comprehensive agrarian reforms and tasks of social regeneration.

The Communist Party today is striving to build a broad patriotic democratic united front in Kerala, keeping in view the above analysis and perspective. The split in the Party today at this historically important juncture is mak-

Complex And Difficult

The perceiving of such an aim, the mobilisation of forces of democracy and non-communal secularism for its realisation and the very realisation are complex and difficult tasks. Particularly in the background of the grievous split in the Communist Party.

Only now aid in today's context are we able to realise the full gravity of the crime that was committed when the Party was split; those who have been responsible for splitting the Party and the masses rallied behind the Red Flag for over thirty years into two, have to bear the responsibility for the utter helplessness and sense of defeatism that reigned among the people when on September 8 Sankar ministry had to quit and people's eyes wandered in vain to see their own Party leading and unifying the democratic forces guaranteeing a firm alternative to both the Congress and the communal reactionary axis that was openly emerging as a new force in Kerala's politics.

It was the Kerala Party that rallied as many as 35 lakhs of votes in the mid-term poll in the context of the hysteria of liberation struggle and as against the all powerful alliance between Congress, PSP and League. If the Party was united today and could face the 1965 poll, the Party alone and by itself could have got a clear majority in the Assembly.

Teachers' demonstration in Calcutta on September 5



Kerala Elections

FOR A UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, AGAINST COMMUNAL AND REACTIONARY FORCES

I am not mentioning this to prove that CPI would or should have stood alone. The Communist Party's policy has been and is that even if the Party could be a majority, it should combine and unite with all other democratic forces to ensure a good government for Kerala.

Neither is it an empty boast. When one analyses the social-political features of our state and the state of its economy today, the Communist Party comprehends the necessity for the working class to unite with all anti-feudal, anti-communal patriotic forces including the bourgeoisie to lift up our state from its present backwardness through rapid industrialisation, comprehensive agrarian reforms and tasks of social regeneration.

The Communist Party today is striving to build a broad patriotic democratic united front in Kerala, keeping in view the above analysis and perspective. The split in the Party today at this historically important juncture is making the task of building the united front all the more difficult. But the Communist Party does not conceive any other path open before it. The united democratic front has to be built, whatever be the odds and difficulties imposed by subjective and objective factors.

With the above aims in view, representatives of some of the left parties and few prominent individuals with progressive views met at Quilon on September 4 on the initiative of N. Sreekantan Nair MP, leader of the RSP. After a preliminary round of discussions on the perspective, programme and consolidation of the front, they have decided to convene a broader and more representative meeting on September 19

sentative meeting on September 19 again.

All patriotic-minded democrats and progressives see in this meeting a silver lining in the otherwise dark and cloudy horizon facing our state. They wholeheartedly wish that this endeavour will be crowned with success.

The purpose of this article is not an analysis of the problems that this conference and front will have to face and solve. But one or two very important points have to be emphasised at the very outset, to achieve clarity regarding the direction and scope of the front.

One of the points is the present attitude of the SSP in Kerala towards the front. If the perspective before Kerala is a non-Congress democratic government of the progressive parties, groups and individuals of the state, there is no

Further, the aim of defeating the Congress will remain a pious and good but unrealised wish. The inevitable conclusion is that the SSP should shed its present hesitancy and come forward as a full partner and participant in the democratic front.

Another danger that faces the front is the tendency to conceive it as an opportunistic shortcut for electoral victory based not on any easy democratic principles and programme. This tendency is bound to raise its head again and again during election particularly in today's context.

Why? The dissident Congressmen, the Muslim League and other forces are coming out as fighters against the official Congress. And we know that anti-Congressism is not synonymous with progressivism. If we conceive that any stick is good to beat the Congress with and we can use it then we will be forced to ally with it; we will have to gang up with reactionary communal parties and forces.

The result will be not our victory, not the strengthening of genuine democratic forces but it will be the victory for the very communal reactionary forces against whom also we are committed. That will mean that history will again repeat itself.

The Communist Party will, therefore, have to take a very firm stand against these communal and reactionary forces also outside the Congress, apart from fighting the present Congress and seeking to replace it with a non-Congress democratic government.

By
C. ACHUTHA MENON

Secretary, Kerala State Council of CPI

Meeting At Quilon

With the above aims in view, representatives of some of the left parties and few prominent individuals with progressive views met at Quilon on September 4 on the initiative of N. Sreekantan Nair MP, leader of the RSP. After a preliminary round of discussions on the perspective, programme and consolidation of the front, they have decided to convene a broader and more representative meeting on September 19

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CPC DISTORTS LENIN'S VIEWS ON FORMS OF STRUGGLE

Q Lenin said that the working class must master all forms and means of revolutionary struggle without exception and it must be prepared for the swiftest and most unexpected switch from one form of struggle to another and utilise it in conformity with the obtaining situation. Does the CPI abide by this proposition in thought and deed? (ASIMES GOSWAMI, Serampore, West Bengal).

A Frequently in the recent period the leadership of the Communist Party of China has used this proposition of Lenin to try to browbeat the majority of CPs in the world. They have vulgarised and distorted this guiding idea to mean that everywhere in the world, all CPs should immediately start giving their members training in armed struggle so that this form of struggle is mastered and kept ready for use for the "great" and "inevitable" day when armed struggle in one form or another breaks out.

They do not seem to mind carrying this distortion to its ultimate logical absurdity as far as the ruling CPs are concerned, when they deny that peaceful coexistence should be the general line of the foreign policy of socialist states vis-a-vis the capitalist world.

They would like the socialist states not only to be in a state of preparedness to meet any crisis provoked by the imperialists, which certainly should be the case and has repeatedly been shown to be the case as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. Keeping the defence forces technically up to the constantly advancing standards and in a state of combat preparedness has been repeatedly stressed by the leadership of the CPSU and the Warsaw Treaty meetings.

The CPC leadership wants others to go further and, perhaps, try a little probing here and there to get some "practice" on being able to meet the imperialists militarily. Something, perhaps, on the lines of the Chinese adventure on the Indian border territories.

Fantastic Distortion

The dangerous and fantastic nature of this distortion of Lenin scarcely needs to be argued since it could so easily lead to a world war with cataclysmic consequences for the progress of humanity to the shining vistas of the inevitable triumph of socialism on a world scale.

As far as CPs in countries where they are still struggling for power, the distorted thinking of the CPC leadership is equally preposterous. Take countries like Britain, France, Italy, Scandinavia or India. With the prevalence in these countries of the system of one form or another of bourgeois democracy, where and how are the CPs there going to "practice" armed struggle so as to become adept therein?

Conversely, take the position in Portugal or Ecuador or Angola or South Africa. Are we to follow the opposite course to the CPC leadership and insist that the CPs in these states of fascist or colonial terror should learn rightaway how to be adept at functioning in a legal way, leading open mass demonstrations, strikes and the like? Where are these CPs to learn how to be

come adept at waging the non-armed form of revolution?

Take the experience of the CPC itself. Correctly its leadership has pointed out the form of the Chinese revolution was a peasants' war led by the proletariat and that no legal opportunities at all were allowed by the fascists to the democratic movement.

It can legitimately be asked what the leadership of the CPC did about making its members adept at working under legal conditions and now did it prepare them for a swift transition from armed struggle to peaceful forms of revolutionary activity?

What Lenin Meant

Obviously they could do nothing in this regard and did do nothing about it.

What then did Lenin mean? ★ First, Lenin was speaking not of any one national contingent of the international army of the working class fighters for socialist revolution. He was generalising about the world working class movement as a whole and warning it against making a stereotype of only one type of revolutionary activity.

At the time he was writing it was essential to warn the workers of the world from taking the legal and parliamentary form of social democratic activity in Western Europe as some sort of eternal or sole form of work.

He warned that this would be dangerous not only for countries where democratic liberties did not exist but also for countries where bourgeois democracy existed.

Even in such countries the working class must be ideologically prepared for different forms of action when the bourgeoisie, fearing danger to its class rule, subverts its own democratic structure and imposes civil war on the workers. The fascist triumph in the 1930s in Europe proved how correct Lenin was.

Since the days of Lenin and right up to date the international Communist movement has never tied itself to anyone form of revolutionary activity. Increasingly in the conditions created by the new epoch new possibilities open up for increasingly varied forms of struggle and of different types of transition to socialism.

At such a time the CPC leadership wants to tie down the world Communist movement to recognising armed struggle as the only form of revolutionary struggle and as the ultimate sign whether a particular struggle is revolutionary or not.

It is committing the same dogmatic mistake as the social democrats, against which Lenin fought, but only from the opposite angle.

★ Second, Lenin never meant that at any given point of time the CP of any particular country, or the world Communist movement as a whole, should

not concentrate on some particular form of struggle as the most expedient and necessary one in the circumstances.

Obviously, the CP of Portugal has to concentrate on the illegal form of struggle, including armed action. Equally obviously, the CP of Great Britain has to concentrate on the legal form of struggle, including the very important Parliamentary elections now ahead.

Similarly, during the Great Patriotic War the CPSU had to bend all its energies on fighting the war to a victorious finish, while now it has to concentrate on winning in peaceful competition with capitalism.

It would have been far better for the CPC and the world Communist movement had its leadership also continued its previous policy, as decided by its last 1956 Party Congress, of concentrating on socialist construction as its chief contribution, in the present period, to furthering the cause of world revolution. It seems, however, to be itching to go back to the "good old days" of armed struggle from the Yenan headquarters.

Without ability to pick out the chief and most expedient form of struggle at any given moment, no CP can make the fullest possible advance and, indeed, can court disaster. The demonstration of such ability is precisely the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of a particular country at a particular point of time, without which no CP is worth anything.

Singling Out

Being able to single out the particular type of armed struggle—a peasants war led by the proletariat—as the chief form of revolutionary struggle in China was one of the chief merits of the leadership of Mao Tse-tung.

When other CPs not yet in power are also trying to discover what form of revolutionary struggle suits the conditions of their time and situation, it is strange that the CPC leadership should be up in arms.

★ Third, Lenin's proposition means that ideologically and politically the various CPs of the world and the world Communist movement should be prepared to quickly change their form of struggle when rapid shifts in the political situation takes place.

In some of the European countries in the 1920s the socialist parties were not able to change over rapidly from legal form of mass activities to armed insurrection when the situation so demanded. Hence, the working class suffered a grievous loss.

Changing Tactics

In some other countries after the Second World War—for example Greece and Indonesia—the CPs still stuck to armed struggle long after the situation warranted a shift to legal activities and open mass activity. Once this shift was accomplished the CPs made rapid progress but not then.

The reluctance of some comrades to give up the armed struggle in Telengana after the Government of India's armed forces

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

had moved in is another conspicuous example of failure to heed Lenin's warning about making a quick change in the form of struggle when the situation so demands.

Ideological and political preparation means that the different CPs must learn from each other, must utilise the enormous variety of experience accumulated by the different contingents of our vast international movement. It does not mean that every CP must on its own "practise" all forms of struggle even when conditions do not permit the use of certain forms.

The CPI has accumulated a lot of experience of different forms of struggle. It has also shown a willingness to learn from fraternal parties. It will undoubtedly do a lot more as the days go by to generalise its own experience and be still more adept at learning from others.

The CPI fully abides in thought and deed with the important proposition of Lenin mentioned by the questioner. It, therefore, struggles against all attempts to distort and pervert this important principle of revolutionary action.

—MOHIT SEN

Discussion Forum For Party Congress

In pursuance of the resolution of the National Council for making preparations for Party Congress, the Secretariat has taken the following decisions regarding FORUM:

Central FORUM will be run immediately as a four-page supplement to the NEW AGE weekly. All suggestions and criticisms not exceeding one page of the weekly will be published in the Forum. Longer documents will be published as separate booklets. This is the most convenient way under the present circumstances.

Comrades sending contributions have to keep the following suggestions in view:

★ The two draft documents—Ideological controversies in the international Communist movement and Party Programme—are under discussion at present. Hence comrades are requested to send their contributions on these two documents only.

★ Contributions must be sent in English as there is no arrangement for translations from state languages at the Central Office.

★ Comrades must remember that only contributions not exceeding one page of NEW AGE weekly will be printed in it and other longer documents will be printed and sent to party units separately.

Comrades must also take note of the fact that it is not possible to print all the material that is sent because of lack of space. Hence the Secretariat would choose from among the contributions with a view to give effective representation to different points of view or shades of opinion. The contributions will also be shortened when necessary.

Party members must send their contributions to

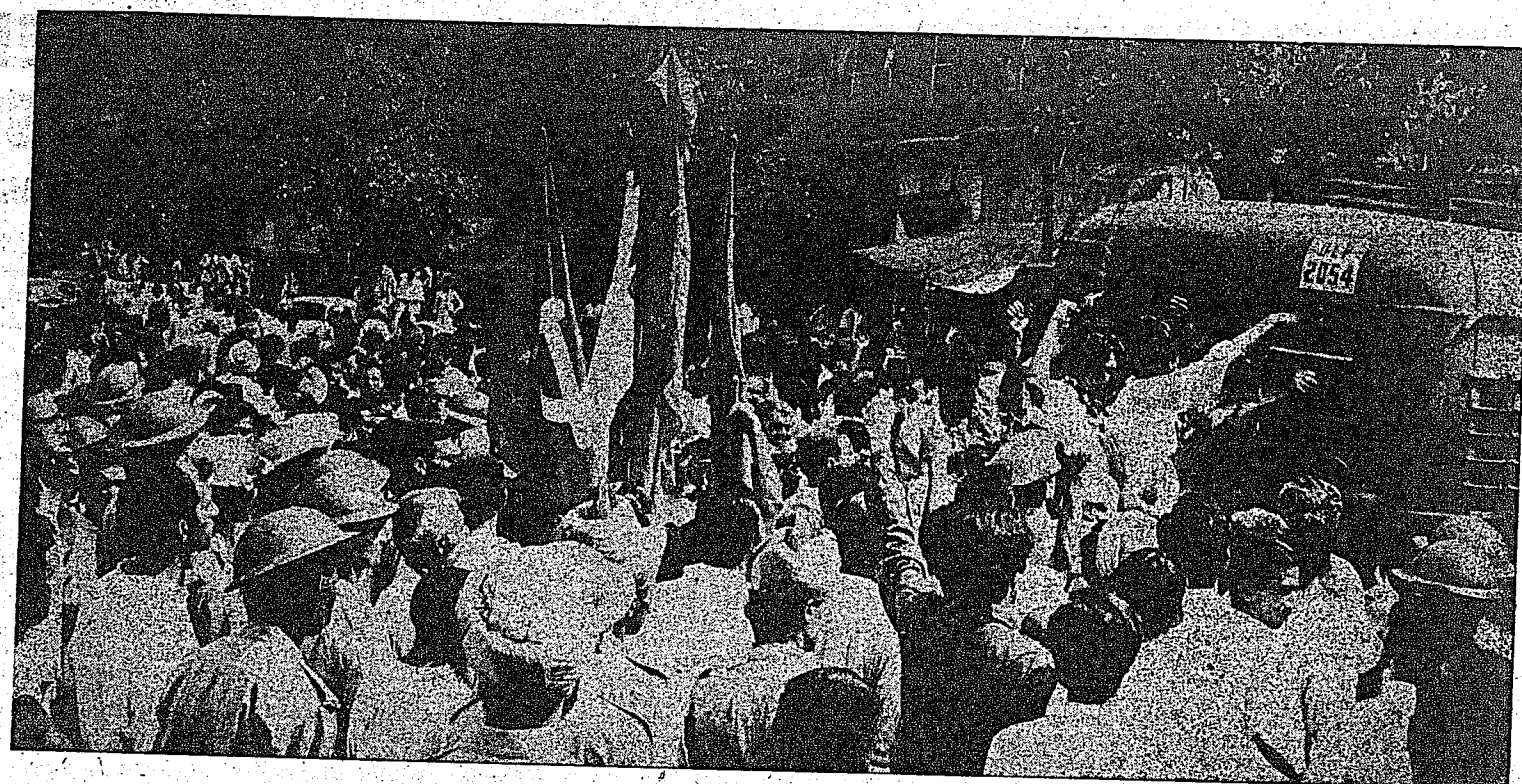
The Central Secretariat,
Communist Party of India,
7/4 Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi.

They must send their full name, address and the Party unit to which they belong along with their contributions.

★ The State Councils have to run FORUMS in their own organs immediately.

September 8, 1964
New Delhi.

CENTRAL SECRETARIAT
NATIONAL COUNCIL
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA



SATYAGRAHA: FINAL SCORE

THE All-India satyagraha has been a resounding success. 80,000 offered satyagraha, over 27,000 were arrested.

It took place in about 1,000 important centres of the country, covering all the state headquarters, majority of the district headquarters and many of the sub-divisional and anchal headquarters. It thus covered almost all the important political, administrative, industrial trade, banking and business centres of the country.

This all-India character of the satyagraha shows the all-India character of the problem of price-rise and food crisis, as well as the all-India character of the mobilising and striking capacity of our Party.

In the past, there have been satyagrahas led by our Party and other parties. But all these satyagrahas in the post-independence period have been on local or at best, state levels.

This was the first satyagraha on a national plane launched by a political party in the post-independence period.

The satyagraha came off successfully despite the opposition of the government, monopolists, big traders and hoarders. The Prime Minister raised the bogey of "law and order in danger". Huge police mobilisation and cordons were brought about to frighten the people.

The Jan Sangh actively opposed the satyagraha in league with the traders and hoarders. But their opposition to satyagraha only isolated and exposed them.

The extreme Right and the extreme Left in Indian politics viz. the Swatantra Party and the Tenali splitters vied with each other in opposing the satyagraha, though from two opposite ends. The Tenali splitters got exposed as irresponsible talkers in contrast to the Party which rose in public esteem as the serious organiser and leader of popu-

lar mass actions.

While the extreme Right and Left opposed the satyagraha, the bulk of SSP followers and Congressmen adopted an attitude of benevolent neutrality or support in some cases.

The whole Party was drawn and moved into the satyagraha which ensured its remarkable success. This demonstrated discipline, staunchness and devotion of our Party ranks in the cause of the people. This mobilisation of the whole Party took place in three weeks' time that we really got between the date issued the call for all-India satyagraha (July 25) and the starting date of satyagraha (August 24).

Only in Tamilnad, the government resorted to preventive roundup on the eve of the satyagraha. Otherwise the satyagrahis in most cases, were not arrested. Many who

Further, this mobilisation took place at a time when majority of our rural cadres were engaged in sowing.

But we had to put up with these two handicaps in consideration of the timeliness to strike when the iron is hot.

Only about one-third of the satyagrahis who offered satyagraha by picketing before the grain mandis, banks and government offices—"the unholy trinity" responsible for rising prices and food scarcity—were arrested and still fewer were imprisoned and sentenced.

Only in Tamilnad, the government resorted to preventive roundup on the eve of the satyagraha. Otherwise the satyagrahis in most cases, were not arrested. Many who

were arrested, were released the same day as in Bombay and in some other places.

Many were released immediately after the last day of the satyagraha period, August 28, was over as in Delhi. Many were released on the first day of hearing in the courts. Many have been sentenced to imprisonment ranging from one week to a month.

Many are still awaiting sentences or acquittal by the courts. In Delhi, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan and Tamilnad all satyagrahis arrested have been released.

The police resorted to unprovoked lathicharges on peaceful satyagrahis in many places in Punjab, U.P., Bihar and some other states. Several thousand satyagrahis and

under-trial satyagrahi demonstrators received lathicharges at the hands of the police.

But lathicharges of the police dismally failed if the intention was to belittle or break the satyagraha. Their policy of lathicharging instead of stopping the satyagrahis, only evoked popular indignation against the government and support to and solidarity with the satyagrahis as demonstrated in huge protest meetings condemning the lathicharges.

A significant feature of this condemnation is that in many places, SSP followers and Congressmen also joined in it.

The Communist Party's call to mobilise ten lakh people in active support of the satyagraha was overfulfilled. Never before had any all-India action led by the Party enjoyed such wide and enthusiastic support of the people.

Huge meetings, demonstrations and processions took place to express solidarity with the satyagrahis; centres of satyagraha became centres of huge mass mobilisation.

If we take into account the people who joined the satyagrahis in the form of send-offs, meetings, processions and demonstrations, their number will come to about 20 lakhs.

Satyagraha being country-wide, popular, peaceful, disciplined and organised under the leadership of the Communist Party, created a big impact.

No wonder, it was reported prominently and continuously for five days all over the world from Delhi to Moscow, London and New York by news agencies, radio stations and newspapers.

The above assessment is from a report presented by the Central Secretariat to the recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India.

ACHIEVEMENTS

★ The satyagraha was the biggest all-

India action covering all states in the country which has ever been organised since independence. It has revived and carried forward the tradition of our Great Petition and Great March of the last year whose onward march had suffered a temporary setback due to communal riots and split in the Party in the months of March, April, May.

★ It enabled the millions of our people to understand the real causes of the price rise and food scarcity better than anything else could have done.

★ It has given a still greater impetus to the national slogans of nationalisation of banks, state-trading in foodgrains, reduction of prices, increase in DA and land reforms which had been first popularised by our Party on a mass scale through the Great Petition and the Great March last year. These slogans are now being accepted and shouted by millions, many among them being those who ad-

here to other parties or to no party at all.

★ 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.

★ It has prepared millions for the actions which are yet to come in the wake of the historic 'bandh' actions in several states by creating enthusiasm, hope and confidence in the working people in every corner of the country.

★ It has helped to strengthen and unify our Party and prepare it better for the coming struggles in the service of the people and in fulfilment of national democratic tasks.

★ The satyagraha, along with the state-wide 'bandhs' in which CPI played a very prominent role, has created the atmosphere for the broad unity of democratic forces for a change in the government's price and food policies for further resolute action against people's enemies.

On these pages NEW AGE publishes review reports of the Great Satyagraha presented by state leaders of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India at its recent meeting in New Delhi. These reports contain valuable information about the sweep and impact of the Satyagraha which all readers will find, we hope, of great interest and worthy of study—EDITOR



Satyagraha Scene in Alwar, Rajasthan

PUNJAB: DEMANDS RECEIVE WIDE POPULAR SUPPORT

By Avtar Singh Malhotra

When the Punjab state council met on August 4-5 to plan the campaign it welcomed the central secretariat decision. But at the same time it was conscious of some problems and difficulties.

WE could not base on a spontaneous mass upsurge as the problem in the state was not of a food crisis and scarcity but of high prices.

Wheat was available at Rs. 19 and Rs. 20 per kilogram even in the open market. Our earlier campaign had been interrupted and now we had to begin from scratch.

Secondly, July-August are very busy months for the peasantry and the bulk of our cadre comes from the peasantry.

Thirdly the time for preparations was short.

Nevertheless there was acute discontent over rising prices of other necessities of life, and the state council confidently planned the preparations and fixed quota of 7,000 volunteers for the state.

Mass meetings and rallies and general body meetings of Party members and sympathisers were held in urban and rural centres. To give a fillip to the campaign our MLAs went on a hunger-strike (48 hours) at Chandigarh on 17, 18 and 19.

At Jullundur 15 women went on a 24 hours hunger-strike and at some other centres meetings and processions were organised on these days. Mass dharnas were organised at Patiala and Mansa.

We did not organise hunger-strike and dharnas at other centres as we had already carried out that programme very successfully in February over sixty centres and the state council thought a repetition would not be useful.

Subsequent experience showed that repetition with some local variations would have been useful, by way of preparations for the struggle.

Another preparatory step was a successful tour programme of three central state jathas led by A. S. Malhotra, Teja Singh Swatantra and Master Hari Singh starting on 20 night from Ferozepur, Mansa and Hoshiarpur respectively and passing through three districts each, offering satyagraha at Jullundur, Patiala and Chandigarh respectively.

Within the districts, local jathas also toured villages before offering satyagraha—this was done on an extensive scale in Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Bhatinda, Karnal, Ambala and Gurdaspur.

During the satyagraha also when the police released satyagrahis at night but 15-20 miles away from the centres most of the jathas offered satyagraha. Thus hundreds of villages were covered.

On the eve of the satyagraha the flood situation grew very acute and affected our mobilisation badly especially in some districts. But we went ahead.

Excepting Mohindergarh district (very small district in Hindi region) satyagraha was offered in all 15 districts and also in two or three picked tehsil head quarters in most districts. Mostly it was before government offices and at some places before banks.

In most districts there was satyagraha at the district headquarters on all the five days, but at tehsil headquarters it varied from 3 to 5 days.

At some places the authorities stopped work in the courts and offices for the day because of the picketing but satyagrahis were not arrested e.g. Moga, Bhatinda, Sangrur, Patiala, Hoshiarpur, Rupar.

At other places they arrested the satyagrahis after two or three hours tussle, took them 10, 15 or 20 miles away in police lorries and released them there at night, detaining only the leaders.

At Jullundur when the police stopped the jatha led by Malhotra before the closed gates of the District Courts, the jatha pushed ahead.

A scuffle ensued. The police used lathis, kicks etc. to beat back the satyagrahis but they peacefully pushed forward. This battle lasted for two or

three hours till arrests were made.

As the press representatives were present all along, the entire press bore witness to the peaceful and disciplined satyagraha and condemned the police highhandedness. For the next two days also there was police repression and manhandling of satyagrahis before arrest. There was regular peaceful battle between the police and the satyagrahis for three days at Jullundur.

On the last two days the police had to retreat. At Phagwara on August 24 and Bathinda and Mansa on 26 and 27 there were some incidents.

In all ten thousand offered satyagraha, out of which nearly five thousand were put under arrest but of these only 251 were sent to jail. The cabinet decided on September 4 to release them and they were released on the ensuing three days from different jails.

Three members of the secretariat (Malhotra, Master Hari Singh and Jagjit Singh Anand) were detained. Two others (Swatantra and Satish Loomba) offered satyagraha

but were not arrested. Thirteen members of the executive offered satyagraha. Five MLAs offered satyagraha (sixth is ill).

The satyagrahis also included 20 municipal commissioners, scores of Zilla Parishad and Block Samiti members.

was beyond expectation.

Police high handedness was universally condemned. Of the political parties the Republican Party was the first

* ON PAGE 14

It did not call upon all Party members to enlist as it was not possible, within the short time to make decisions in respect of individual members as to who should be exempted.

It would be an impossible task for the newly formed district councils (formed within less than a month) in the absence of branch committees not yet reorganised. Therefore the state council called upon those Party members to enrol themselves who are not employees and not in danger of losing their jobs. Similarly peasant comrades (Party members as well as sympathisers) and others were called upon to enrol themselves voluntarily.

In response to this call about 2000 volunteers including Party leaders offered satyagraha and were arrested. It can be safely assumed that 50 per cent were Party members and the rest were sympathisers, or members of mass organisations.

For about two weeks, prior to satyagraha, mass meetings were held in many localities as a part of the preparation for satyagraha.

In the districts, special part played by propaganda meetings in hats and bazars where people assemble in large numbers on fixed days in the week. Street corner meetings in Calcutta played the same role.

Through these meetings, funds were also collected in order to meet the expenses for the satyagraha and the provincial centres received approximately Rs. 2,000 in two weeks.

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W. BENGAL: PARTY'S PRESTIGE GOES UP

By Bhowani Sen

In West Bengal, the satyagraha struggle was a big success, raising the prestige of the Party among the people as the defenders of their interests. It has emerged once more as a fighting Party devoted to the cause of the people, despite the split.

INITIALLY, the West Bengal state council was faced with certain specific difficulties particular to this state because of the split in the Party. The reorganisation of Party centres was not complete.

The state secretariat discussed the issue of satyagraha and adopted a draft plan for the campaign on August 3. An extended meeting of the state council was convened on August 17.

In the meantime, the secretariat issued letters to all the Left Parties, appealing to them for either direct participation in, or some form of solidarity with the satyagraha.

Only the Bolshevik Party had taken a formal decision to express solidarity with the satyagraha. Accordingly, they issued a press statement and their representatives participated in the demonstration on the first day of satyagraha, on August 24. Others expressed their sympathy for the movement though they were not yet in a position to participate in this movement.

But the demonstration of sympathy and support exhibited by thousands of people left no room for any doubt about the fact that our Party was not alone and was not at all isolated from the masses.

As a matter of fact, there was no open opposition to the satyagraha from any quarters. It is in this background that the state council in its meeting on August 17 made a concrete plan of operation for the movement.

In Calcutta satyagraha was offered on five days in five different centres from August 24 to 28. The targets were the government house, the banks, the stock exchange, the wholesale market and the civil supply office of the government.

Each day along with the satyagrahis a big procession marched to the place where the law was broken and the entire route of the procession was crowded with sympathetic spectators.

The total number of arrests made on these five days in Calcutta was 554. They included 223 satyagrahis from Calcutta itself and the rest were those who had come from 24 Parganas and Midnapore.

Out of the 554 arrested in Calcutta, 137 were women and 82 workers. Among the 137 women, there were 21 jute workers and 53 agricultural workers and 9 students. The rest were middle class housewives. There were amongst them mothers with babies accompanying them.

Among the districts, 24 Parganas topped the list with 697 comrades offering satyagraha at various centres within the district and getting arrested.

Within the district of Midnapore, 580 offered satyagraha of whom 549 were arrested. They were also mostly peasants and agricultural workers.

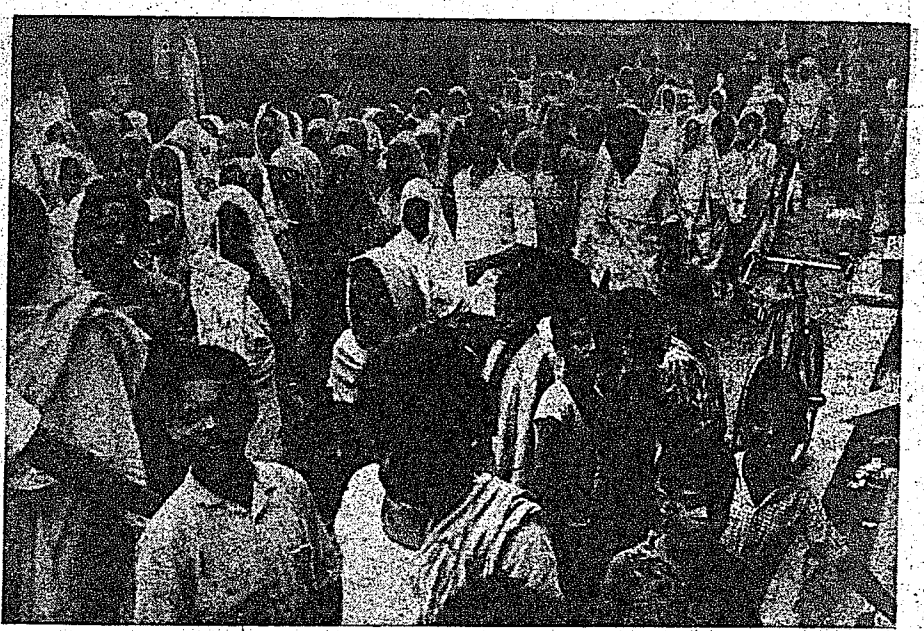
This reminds us of the glorious

stormed the government in 1949 and the militant workers from Matlabur, Dum Dum and other industrial centres.

The student community in Calcutta and elsewhere did not fail to play its role by resorting to a strike on the third day of satyagraha and sending a strong contingent of satyagrahis under the banner of the Students Federation.

So much enthusiasm was generated that students who had not enrolled themselves as satyagrahis but came into the procession, ultimately broke the law and walked into the prison.

The old veteran peasant leader, Advaita Maity, proied for his son who had fallen ill. The father did not like that his son's place should remain vacant.



Satyagraha scene at Aska, Orissa: 500 women in burqa participated in demonstration

MAHARASHTRA: OTHER PARTIES JOIN CPI MOVEMENT

The satyagraha in Maharashtra took place against the background of the unprecedented success of the Maharashtra Bandh action of August 12. About 8,000 satyagrahis participated in this action throughout the state. Satyagraha morchas took place in 100 taluks in 20 districts of the state.

DISTRICTWISE figures of satyagrahis who participated and offered themselves for arrest at the various places fixed are: Bhid 1129 Dhulia 1100 Parbhani 1500 Nagar 970 Bombay city 803 Nasik 800 Usmanabad 654 Kolhapur 355 Amraoti 311 Yotmal 215 Sholapur 137 Poona 128 Jalgaon 118 Aurangabad 118 Nanded 58 Thana

Among the satyagrahis were 500 women, 50 of them with their babies with them. Women participated in Bombay City, Ahmednagar, Bhid, Dhulia, Kolhapur, Poona, Usmanabad, Parbhani, Yotmal, Nasik, Thana and Nagpur.

A striking feature of this satyagraha struggle on the food issue was that it received the support of workers and

crisis, but also because our Party took the initiative in different districts to start a mass campaign with correct slogans and with a correct form of struggle and because it forged a broad united front for the massive Maharashtra Bandh action of August 12, together with the SSP.

That is why, though the satyagraha call from August 24 to 28 was a Party call, it received this broad support.

In BHD district, where our Party has a good mass base (two MLAs and several Gram Panchayats led by the Party) even a section of Congressmen sympathised with our action and privately said that such action is necessary to bring pressure on the government to take effective steps to solve the food crisis.

Out of 8,000 who participated in the satyagraha and offered themselves for arrest about 5,000 were arrested. The arrested batches were released in the evening in all places. The satyagraha action in all places on all five days was completely peaceful.

The Maharashtra Bandh action was for the most part restricted to Bombay, district towns and industrial centres in the state. It brought mainly the working class, employees and the urban middleclass into action.

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By G. Adhikari

However, in a few places the police resorted to lathi-charges and force, without any reason whatsoever. In Latur (Maratwada) the police resorted to a lathi-charges. Sambhaji Rao Madane was wounded. Dr. Ausekar and others were hurt.

In Majalgaon (Bhid) the police and the home-guards behaved in a rough way and one satyagrahi was wounded. In Sholapur, rough handling by the police resulted in 7-8 people receiving minor injuries.

Barring these incidents, the satyagraha actions throughout the state were entirely peaceful, especially because the Party satyagraha volunteers and their leaders displayed commendable discipline, resolute but restrained behaviour.

In the course of the five-day satyagraha campaign, public meetings and processions were arranged. Some 500 such meetings have been reported, which were attended by five lakhs of

people in all. Similarly 100 processions were reported in which about 2-3 lakh participated in all.

The satyagraha campaign evoked great response from the broad masses in the towns and in the countryside.

This was the biggest statewide satyagraha campaign that took place in the days after independence. Even in the Samyukta Maharashtra movement, such a statewide action was not planned and carried out though local actions in Bombay and other places were very big.

This is all the more significant when one considers that it was organised and initiated by the CPI alone.

It was supported not only by the mass organisations led by the Party but also by other democratic parties like the PWP and the Republican Party and by non-party progressives. This spontaneous united action came into existence because of intensity of the food crisis and also because of the united front forged for the August 12 Maharashtra Bandh action.

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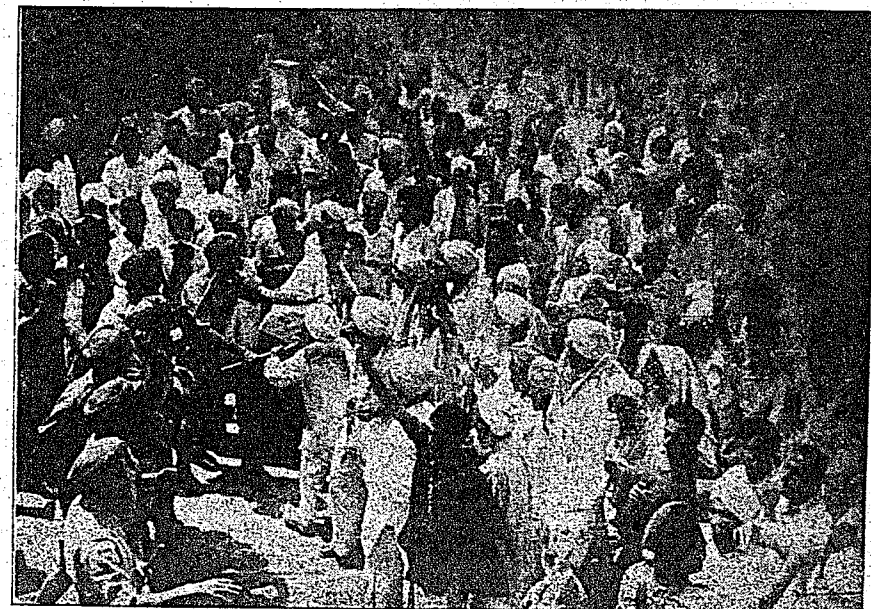
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Police manhandling A. S. Malhotra and other satyagrahis at Jullundur on August 24



Ramakrishna Pati addressing the gathering before Cuttack Secretariat prior to Satyagraha



BIG SOVIET WELCOME TO PRESIDENT RADHAKRISHNAN

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan received a rousing welcome on September 11 when thousands of people lined the 15 kilometre route into town. In spite of a sudden autumn shower and cold wind the people of Moscow persistently waited to greet India's head of state and showed their deep friendly feelings for India, their respect and love for our country.

THE whole route was lined with people, everywhere flew the Indian and Soviet flags and a happy holiday mood of the people made it a memorable occasion.

In his welcome speech Mikoyan said that the Soviet people always most heartily greet the envoys of India. "Our countries stand for peace, for international co-operation and friendship and for the complete liquidation of colonialism. Soviet people respect the great Indian people which made a great contribution to the treasure house of world culture. We respect the people of India not only for their past but also for their efforts to consolidate and develop their economy".

Mikoyan mentioned the long and selfless struggle of the Indian people for freedom and the present efforts to develop and strengthen the independent state economy and culture. "We are happy at the successfully developing and strengthening friendly ties between the Soviet Union and India", he said.

Mikoyan mentioned the historical mutual visits of Nehru and Khrushchov which laid the foundation for these relations. During the eight years that Dr. Radhakrishnan had not seen the Soviet Union much has been achieved and the President would see with his own eyes the results of the work of the Soviet people and their full determination to safeguard peace which they need like air to accomplish the big tasks of the building of communism. The Indian President noted that each time on his visit to the Soviet Union his delight has been greater. He called Khrushchov, "a great friend of human beings" and noted his untiring efforts for peace and betterment of international relations. Dr. Radhakrishnan mentioned India's love for peace, the policy of non-alignment and active and fruitful cooperation with all countries as the aim.

Socialist Society

"As all recently liberated people we stand for the development of socialist society in our country. Anti-capitalism within and anti-imperialism without are the principles of the newly liberated countries", Radhakrishnan declared.

The President mentioned the great heritage of democratic society left by Jawaharlal Nehru for India. He was sure that friendship between India and the Soviet Union will develop and will be a great contribution to world peace.

The same day Dr. Radhakrishnan and his party called on President Mikoyan and Premier Khrushchov in the

be able to surmount the obstacles on the road of development and strengthen their state on the road of progress".

Mikoyan expressed satisfaction at the statements of Prime Minister Shastri that India will follow the foreign policy of Nehru. He proposed a toast to the health of the Indian President, the Prime Minister of India and for Soviet-Indian friendship and co-operation.

In reply Dr. Radhakrishnan declared that the Soviet example of progress was an inspiration. He noted that the Soviet Union was interested in developing not only the material standard but also the intellect, the whole man, the body and the spirit.

He said India's policy of co-existence was not negative or passive but one of fruitful and dynamic cooperation. "We have existed for centuries, we must learn to love and create and not hate and destroy. Peace is the greatest prize we have to win in our generation".

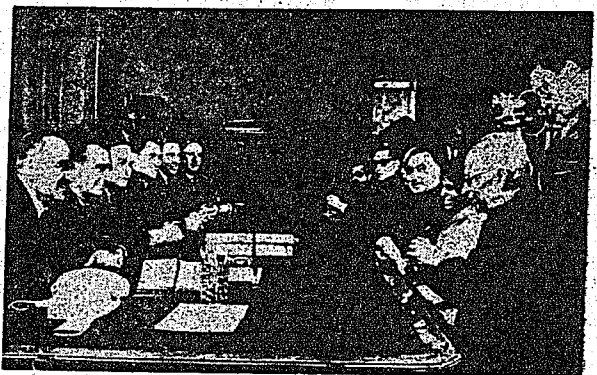
"I can assure you that our policy will remain and continues to remain as it has in the last many years".

Dr. Radhakrishnan declared that imperialism and racism were the biggest obstacles to the cause of peace.

Indian President mentioned Soviet interest in Indian authors as evidence that Soviet people wanted to understand the hopes and aspirations of other peoples. He proposed toasts to the health of Mikoyan, Khrushchov, to Indo-Soviet friendship and peace.



Above: Premier Khrushchov welcomes President Radhakrishnan at Vnukovo Airport. Below: Visiting President Mikoyan.



The Indian President had an half-an-hour meeting with Premier Khrushchov on Saturday morning at which from Soviet side, Foreign Minister Gromyko, head of the South-East Asian Division of Foreign Ministry Likhachov and Soviet

Ambassador to India Benediktov were present. Minister of State Lakshmi Menon, Secretary S. Dutt and Indian Ambassador Kaul accompanied the President. An official spokesman of the Indian side described the talks as friendly, frank and fruitful. They are to be resumed when Dr. Radhakrishnan returns from his tour of Leningrad, Armenia and Yalta.

Friendly Feelings

On Friday evening a state banquet was given in President's honour by the Soviet President in the grand Kremlin Palace. Anastas Mikoyan, the head of Soviet state, greeting the Indian dignitary mentioned his role in strengthening Indo-Soviet relations. He said the Indian guests can see for themselves how deep and sincere are the friendly feelings of the Soviet people for India. "As far as we are concerned we are fully determined to develop this friendship in future as it is needed not only for the Soviet and Indian peoples but also serves the cause of strengthening peace in the world".

Speaking of the successful cooperation between the two countries one cannot but remember the lustrous name of India's great son and our great friend Jawaharlal Nehru, said Mikoyan. Khrushchov and Nehru had laid the enduring foundations of friendship between India and the Soviet Union, he said. Soviet people are rapidly advancing along the road of Communist society. Material and spiritual life had become richer and attained new summits.

Mentioning the healthy influence of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty, Mikoyan said that he could not fail to mention that India was the first country to accede to it.

Mikoyan said he had no doubts that Soviet Union and India will continue their co-operation in the struggle for strengthening peace. "The achievements of our country since independence are considerable. We understand that you have difficulties and hope that the industrious and talented Indian people would

TRADE PROSPECTS WITH GDR VERY BRIGHT

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

LEIPZIG: The great International Trade Fair closed here on September 13 after a week's brisk transactions in which India and a number of other Asian and African countries concluded several gainful business contracts with GDR and other European trade partners.

LEIPZIG is the trade metropolis where the East and West regularly meet for trade twice a year. It also puts the newly emerging countries on the world market. The 800th anniversary of this Europe's oldest trade fair will be commemorated in March 1965.

From fifty eight countries of the world came exhibitions to this year's autumn fair, which is normally a consumer goods fair. The spring fair in March is a traditional technical show in which world's greatest industrial giants display their best. It is here you can find the latest in scientific and technical progress for the good of mankind.

This year's fair took place just on the eve of GDR's 15th anniversary. GDR, though a small country of 17 million, in such a short time has risen to the position of the fifth industrial power in Europe and the tenth in the world, despite her war destructions and payment of heavy reparations for Hitler's war crimes.

Now GDR maintains commercial relations with more than hundred countries. This year she has already concluded trade agreements

The letters were exchanged between D. S. Joshi, Secretary of Union Ministry of Commerce, and Kurt Epperlein, Deputy Foreign Trade Minister of GDR.

Apart from traditional goods, the GDR has agreed to purchase from India non-traditional items like motor vehicle components, radiators, machine tools, electrical equipment, car batteries, chemicals and drugs.

India will import from the GDR fertilizers, like ammonium sulphate and muriate of potash, various items of industrial raw materials, like alloy steel, pig iron, caustic soda, heavy soda ash, dye intermediates and various chemicals. GDR will also supply machine tools, rotary printing machines and other printing machinery, textile machinery and various other items of capital goods.

GDR has recently offered handsome credit for India's industrialisation on very favourable terms. The Government of India had stated that it had no objection in accepting this credit "in principle".

But opposition from Bonn is standing in the way of the Government of India accepting this credit.

Many of the Asian and African countries have already established trade missions in Berlin to further their trade interests in the GDR. It is high time that India also did so and saved herself from the humiliating position of taking dictats from West Germany.

BAGHDAD: Nationalisation laws have been recently published in Baghdad according to which the credit and banking system, insurance and a number of enterprises of the manufacturing and building industries were taken over by the state. Simultaneously, maximum holdings in companies remaining as private property were fixed. The number of shares belonging to one person is not to exceed 10,000 dinars. The wages of Iraqi factory and office workers are being increased. On a government decision 25 per cent of the property of enterprises will be used for improving the conditions of the workers.

THE nationalisation laws were nothing unexpected in Iraq. This is the logical continuation of the progressive policy which is making headway since the November 18, 1963 state coup. Precisely, as a result of the liquidation of the bloody Ba'ath tyranny prerequisites were created for carrying out transformations in the interests of the Iraqi people.

Immediately following the anti-Ba'ath coup the forces backing the President Arif outlawed the "national guard" which had become a Ba'ath tool in its struggle against Iraqi democrats. Hundreds of hoodlums "guardsmen" were put on trial. The Iraqi people greeted this important step of the new regime.

The termination of armed actions between government troops and Kurd detachments last February were of exceedingly great importance. The ceasefire terms envisaging the protection of the national interests of both the Kurds and the Arabs could not only put an end to the bloody fratricide but also become the starting point for

settling the Kurd problem within the framework of the Iraqi state. Another important step taken by the new Iraqi government was the establishment of close friendly relations between Iraq and the United Arab Republic.

The result of this was not only a rapprochement between the two Arab countries, the differences between which were always used by the imperialists and local reaction; the normalisation and strengthening of relations between Cairo and Baghdad opened up the road for Iraq utilising UAR progressive experience.

Political observers noted in particular that the latest reforms in Iraq greatly resemble what had taken place on the banks of the Nile.

With a further rapprochement with the UAR, its progressive experience will undoubtedly have still greater influence on Iraq. This has been pointed out by the present Iraqi leaders. Prime Minister Taher Yahya recently stressed that the Egyptian revolution was the source of everything new for the Arab states.

IRAQ: new hopes but many hurdles

True, the experience of the UAR and the Algerian People's Democratic Republic has not been fully used in Iraq as yet. The latest decrees of the Iraqi government, for example, pass over the activities of foreign oil companies.

But voices are heard in Iraq demanding that concession payments be raised and that the republic be given an opportunity to exert a much bigger influence on the operations of the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Iraq is an agricultural country. Therefore an agrarian reform is vitally important for the Iraqi people. What makes the solution of this problem particularly difficult is, above all, the organised resistance of the landowners who do not wish to part with their property and class privileges. The latest decrees of the Iraqi government do not as yet tackle the agrarian problem either.

All activities connected with the liquidation of the grave consequences of the Ba'athist dictatorship, including the discontinuation of the sanguinary war against the Kurds and the proclaimed nationalisation show that the Arif government is anti-imperialist in nature.

And it is highly indicative that it has already encountered a most bitter resistance of home and foreign reaction. The imperialists and the local reactionaries are mainly acting in three ways in Iraq at present.

First, the foes of Iraq's progress try to preserve the discord between, the Arabs and the Kurds. False rumours are being spread about the Kurds' alleged "separatism" and their intention to secede from Iraq. But it is perfectly clear that the Iraqi Kurds headed by Mustafa Barzani are upholding their national rights within the limits of the Iraqi Republic. The justice of their demands is unquestionable.

It is likewise clear—and this has become particularly evident in the last few months—that M. Barzani upholds the necessity of solving the Kurd problem by peaceful means. But it is generally known that the solution of any issue depends on the policy of not one but of both parties concerned.

At present, Iraqi reaction strives hard to frustrate the carrying out of the armistice agreement with the Kurds. This striving is understandable. The settling of the Kurd problem will close the doors through which imperialism and the CENTO countries can penetrate into Iraq and create in this Arab country a situation of weakness and instability, so convenient for intrigues against the Iraq people.

The second trend of the anti-communism.

Blatant Lies

The reactionaries are again trying to fan up anti-Communist sentiments in connection with the latest progressive measures in Iraq. Recently Minister of Internal Affairs Musleh stated that the Iraqi Communists allegedly participated in the recently discovered anti-government plot.

As it should be expected, Musleh was unable to adduce any fact to prove the lie. This is not the first time he makes such falsifications.

Everybody remembers that when he was a military governor under the Ba'athist regime, Musleh fabricated and signed a statement on the execution of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Iraq, Salam Adil, and his associates after they were brutally tortured to death in prison without any trial.

Many people also know that Musleh is an owner of property whose interests were damaged by nationalisation laws. Is he not trying now, resorting to his favourite anti-Communist device, to divert attention from the forces which are interested in frustration of progressive measures taken by Arif?

Meanwhile these forces are acting. A Ba'athist plot has been recently discovered in the army. According to the Iraqi press, another plot was disclosed in Baghdad on July 29. Capitalist elements, dissatisfied with the latest reforms in the republic, were implicated in it. The threads of the conspiracy lead abroad. Everything is logical: internal reaction joins imperialism with the aim of frustrating the progressive development of the country.

In view of these threats, the unity of all national forces has

acquired an ever greater importance for the country.

Certainly there are many prejudices today which hamper the unification of patriotic and anti-imperialist forces of all trends into a single front. But they will undoubtedly disperse in the process of rapprochement, of the united actions of patriots.

Then it will turn out that many things out of those which are now listed as "irreconcilable contradictions" between different groups of the national forces and which are artificial are the result of misinformation or the unwillingness to take into account the inextinguishable reality.

Primary Task

At any rate the gradual overcoming of prejudices on the path to the unity of anti-imperialist parties and groups in Iraq is a task conforming to the lofty interests of the Iraqi people.

The third trend of present actions of imperialism is local reaction in Iraq is speculation of a religious character, an attempt to use some representatives of the clergy in anti-government interests.

There is also propaganda against the nationalisation laws; it is conducted especially among the Shi'ite section of the Iraqi population. "Propagandists" declare that the new laws contradict Koran and are "Communist" and call to act against the new reforms.

The Iraqi Communists are alive fully to these problems. In a recent statement the Communist Party of Iraq pointed out that imperialists and reactionaries are trying their might and main to prevent the consolidation of unity of the patriotic forces in the country.

For this objective, the imperialists are indulging in the trite slogan of anti-communism. It warned against falling into this trap and demanded that all persecution of Communists and other democrats be ended.

Speed Up Reforms

The statement criticised the procrastination in the revocation of martial law and release of political prisoners, victims of the Kassem and Ba'athist regimes, and under-estimation by the government of the need to satisfy the just demands of the Kurds.

It is also necessary to speed up the implementation of the law on agrarian reforms and to change it with a view to cutting the maximum size of allotments and freeing the peasants from the redemption payments for land, the Iraqi Communist Party said.

The Communist Party of Iraq welcomes the statement says, the formation of the Arab Socialist League in Iraq as an organisation for rallying the revolutionary forces hostile to imperialism and feudalism and for achieving social progress and Arab unity.

All progressive measures of this new political organisation aimed at promoting and deepening the July 14 revolution, statement concluded, will be fully supported by the Iraqi Communists and the broad masses of the Iraqi people.

Chinese Slanders Against Soviet Union Exposed

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

[This article was written by the late Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for a special page in Pravda, dedicated to the problems of the international Communist movement. It appeared in its issue dated September 7. Probably this is the last article written by her before her death.]

At the time of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR in 1961, many important concepts were discussed. But this fine Congress was misrepresented and distorted in the American press, so that the differences between the socialist camp and Albania and China were highlighted out of all proportion as the most important subject of discussion.

Our Party (the CPUSA) realised that this was incorrect and that many new ideas—new at least to us—were presented, which evoked much interest among our members.

The reports on the tremendous development of the socialist economy in the USSR to guarantee the material well-being of all the people; the completion of the building of socialism; the plan to build communism, with a twenty year prospective, were thrilling to our Party members and many others in our country.

Necessary Guarantees

We further understood that in order to achieve all this, guarantees of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and struggle for universal disarmament were necessary.

Therefore it impressed us as shocking and shameful that the Chinese Communist Party would challenge and criticise the achievements of the Soviet Union as "turning bourgeois" and would oppose the efforts of the CPSU and other fraternal parties to establish peace for all peoples. The struggle for

and of war, and to build socialism, was necessary.

But now, forty-seven years after the revolution, capitalism is extinct in the Soviet Union, differences between workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are eliminated. It is possible now to see the development of the state of the whole people from the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It would be fine if the Chinese "theoreticians" understood that a certain Chinese wall between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the whole people does not exist. This is a living process, that life itself has dictated it. It cannot be accomplished by decree.

Eventual Objective

It is not stepping from an old house into a brand new one. The eventual objective in the foreseeable future is a classless society or communism, the dream of mankind. Such is the way things are in reality. To claim that a small criminal element in such a vast and healthy country as the Soviet Union, constitutes a new "bourgeois class" is an absurdity. We American Communists welcome the development of the Soviet Union into a state of the whole people, and its Party, into a party of the whole people.

We welcome this as a great historical milestone. Drawing all citizens into state functions, through the take-over by public organisations, is a tremendous achievement.

Progressive American people believe that ever greater success will be the results of the magnificent achievements of the Soviet Union. We American Communists hope to live to see communism in your beautiful country and socialism in our own country.

SATYAGRAHA : IMPACT ON STATES

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

to condemn the police and support our demands. The SSP followed suit. Then the Sant Akali Dal. Some Congressmen also opposed.

The Jan Sangh condemned the satyagraha as a move to politically exploit the popular distress but it could do nothing by way of active opposition. On the contrary, strong discontent grew in its own ranks and to placate

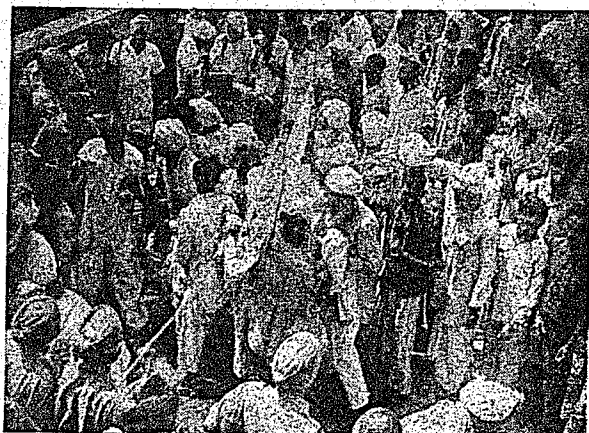
them a oneday "call attention" mas hunger strike was organised by the state Jan Sangh on September 6.

The satyagraha has evoked wide mass sympathy and support. Thousands joined in processions and meetings addressed by satyagrahis in every centre everyday. Barring the anti-betterment struggle it has been the biggest mobilisation by our Party since 1947.

All sections of the working

people have applauded it. The prestige of the Party has risen. The morale of the cadres has gone up greatly. More could have been done but for the grave flood situation.

The demands of the campaign now find far wider acceptance and support than before. Mass mobilisation has advanced and in the towns we could never before make such an impact as with this campaign.



Satyagraha scene at Jullundur

TAMILNAD: GOVT. FORCED TO CRACK DOWN ON HOARDERS

By M. KANDASWAMI

In the satyagraha in Tamilnad 2,200 courted arrest and remained in police custody from 7 to 15 days. Contrary to our expectations, the police arrested many Party functionaries on August 23 and 24 morning throughout the state with a view to prevent the satyagraha taking place.

THE unexpected action to a certain extent affected our effectiveness in the satyagraha. But the remaining comrades who were outside, mostly ranks and file, managed to conduct the satyagraha all the five days.

The satyagrahis were arrested even while proceeding to the spot where satyagraha was to be offered. Everywhere thousands of people witnessed and enthusiastically cheered the satyagrahis when they were arrested.

The object of the government to foil the satyagraha was defeated. Batches of satyagrahis courted arrest all the five days.

The districtwise break up is: Rannad 459, Tirunelveli 312, Salem 249, Madurai 129, Pondicherry 70, Chengulput 26, Kanyakumari 30, Thanjavore 416, Trichy 216, Coimbatore 10, Madras 89, South Arcot 21, Nilgiris 50.

Apart from the above a few hundreds were arrested and released on the same day within a few hours.

In Tamilnad ours is the only Party which has taken up the price issue and initiated a campaign for reduction in price and against the government's food poli-

cies. The prestige of the Party has gone up tremendously in the eyes of the common people.

The other important parties—Swatantra, Muslim League and DMK—which form the notorious reactionary trio were exposed in their true colours by their inactiveness against the government policies, on this important issue.

This satyagraha conducted by our Party to a great extent exposed the hollowness of the reactionary trio's claim that they are the biggest anti-government force in the state.

The left splitters were almost isolated and their trick of confusing a section of the Party members that we are pro-Congress was completely proved as "slandorous and false."

The impact of the satyagraha was such that M. R. Venketaraman, secretary of the splitters group, was forced to address a letter to the secretary of the Tamilnad Council of the Party requesting for postponement of the satyagraha under the pretext of enabling all the opposition parties to launch a joint campaign or movement.

We replied saying that since this satyagraha campaign

was initiated and organised by the centre they should approach our central leadership through their all-India leadership.

Among the Congress, good and democratic minded Congressmen expressed the sympathy for this struggle in their private talks to our comrades and also contributed to the satyagraha fund liberally.

In certain municipal towns collections were made in small coins amounting to Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 in each town. This helped a lot in meeting the expenses towards the satyagraha movement in the state.

Many meetings were held throughout the state which had record gatherings. In Mannarkudi, a municipal town in Tanjore district, where the secretary of the Tamilnad state council participated in the satyagraha on 23, a huge procession of about 15,000 marched in the streets and nearly 25,000 attended the meeting.

A new factor in these cam-

paign meetings was that we were able to attract a considerable section of the Congress masses and the urban middle class which so far showed an attitude of indifference towards our Party.

Before the satyagraha was launched the Chief Minister of the state on an occasion expressed his view that this satyagraha is unwanted and that it will be dealt with seriously. But the astounding success and popularity which the satyagraha evoked, made the rulers to keep mum to the last.

It is significant to note that the government was even forced to take steps to unhoard stocks in certain places in the fear of thorough exposure of their prohoarder policies.

In Trichy district the biggest landlord's granary was broken open and nearly 4,000 bags of paddy worth a lakh of rupees had been seized.

In Thanjavore district also a few thousand bags of paddy from landlord elements have been taken possession of by the government.

At Theni, a town in Madu-

ral district, a huge crowd of women gathered before the police station and compelled the police to follow them to the shops where rice was refused to be sold to them and who at last were forced by the police to bring out the stocks and distribute the same to the people.

This is one instance where the satyagraha inspired and emboldened the people to take energetic action and force the police to cooperate with them in dealing with anti-social hoarders.

Generally, the satyagraha has enhanced the prestige and political influence of the Party in the minds of all sections of the public except the Right reactionary parties and their henchmen.

In Tamilnad this satyagraha has become so popular that most of the people now has clearly understood the cause for the abnormal rise in prices, that the reactionary forces were responsible for manipulating the price in the market and realised the urgency and necessity of bank nationalisation and state trading in food grains.

MADHYA PRADESH : JAN SANGH EXPOSED, PARALYSED

By B. K. GUPTA

The MP Party launched satyagraha movement from August 24 to 28 at 23 places in the state. In this 1000 volunteers offered satyagraha out of which only 596 were arrested.

GWALIOR spearheaded the satyagraha action in a big way and though the nervous authorities tried to foil satyagraha by arresting important Party leaders in a pre-dawn swoop on August 23 and by clamping 144 on the town the Party outwitted the government by sending volunteers for satyagraha every day and by defying 144.

Districtwise break up of the figures is: Gwalior 191, Bhand 50, Indore 98, Bhopal 100, Balaghat 10, Waraseoni 2, Hoshangabad, 7 Harda 12, Burhanpur 41, Rewa 11, Saugor 2, Jabalpur 11, Durg 12, Rajnandgaon 2, Ujjain 17, Narsinghgarh 7, Khandwa 6.

In the period preceding and following the satyagraha campaign, the entire Party moved in a big and concerted manner with alternative line of the Party for

solving the food and price problem.

It exposed the superficial nature of Jan Sangh's agitation based on mere negative criticism of the government in an effort to protect the hoarders and profiteers and trying to cash on the discontent of the people and lead the masses in a reactionary direction was constantly put before the masses through meetings, demonstrations and handbills.

The JS during this period, unable to snatch political mass initiative, was almost completely paralysed as a result of the struggle launched by the Party. Everywhere anti-price agitation of the Party became the focal rallying point for the people.

By and large the govern-

ment tried to suppress the anti-price agitation by show of its police and special armed force, arrests and detention at Indore and Gwalior even prior to satyagraha and finally deterrent punishment and rigorous imprisonment of satyagrahis under DIR.

Satyagrahis were sought to be treated as ordinary criminals inside jails which precipitated protest actions and hungerstrikes in jail.

Since the struggle against price rise, profiteering and hoarding and the collusion of the government in the same was part of the all-India movement of the Party, everywhere it evoked tremendous response of the people and a continuing interest in the struggle.

The frustrating impact and demoralisation arising out of the splitters' effort to break and disrupt the Party has been completely overcome and a renewed confidence, in the strength and capacity of the Party and its central leadership to move millions into action has been created in the Party ranks and at all levels of the Party and its mass organisations.

UNITED TU RALLY IN CALCUTTA

CALCUTTA: A mass rally of workers and employees was held in Calcutta on September 4 under the joint auspices of the BPTUC, UTUC, and unions and federations of bank, insurance, mercantile and petrol employees.

THE rally protested against the retrograde modifications in the Bonus Commission report made by the government and the abnormally high prices of all essential commodities.

It demanded wholesale state trading in foodgrains and nationalisation of banks.

After a brief meeting at the Monument Maidan, presided over by Mohammed Ismail, vice-president of the BPTUC, UTUC and supported by a massive demonstration of ten thousand paraded the streets of the city.

Besides office employees, a large number of processions of workers joined the rally though it was a full working day.

A resolution adopted at the rally called upon the workers to make preparations for a token general strike and hartal to support the demands put forward by trade unions.

The resolution was moved by Jatin Chakravarty of the INTUC affiliates have, however, refrained from joining the boycott move. NFTR President, S. R. Vasavada, had, in fact, welcomed the setting up

Central Govt. Employees Boycott DA Commission

NEW DELHI: The Confederation of Central Government Employees, the All-India Defence Employees' Federation and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation have decided to boycott the DASS Commission on employees' DA. This decision follows the unwillingness of the government to include within its terms of reference revision of the Pay Commission's formula on DA.

THE three organisations will also observe a Protest Day on September 21.

The National Federation of Indian Railwaymen and other INTUC affiliates have, however, refrained from joining the boycott move. NFTR President, S. R. Vasavada, had, in fact, welcomed the setting up

of the Commission and offered all cooperation.

The All-India Railwaymen's Federation which is holding its annual convention in Delhi from September 24 to 28 has decided to hold a demonstration before the Rail Bhavan and the Prime Minister's office on September 24, in support to their demand for a separate Wage Board, and subsidised grain shops in Railways.

The Confederation is also considering a proposal for mass hunger strikes in 60 centres, to demand ad hoc rice in DA by Rs. 10, revision of the DA formula, etc. A final decision in this respect is expected to be taken by the national executive of the Confederation which has been convened on September 22.

The employees' leaders have pointed out that the DA Commission, because of the narrow scope of its inquiry, can at best recommend a rise of two rupees or so in DA to provide for a larger percentage

of neutralisation upto 135 points.

This is held to be unrealistic since the index has already risen beyond 150. There is thus a wide gap between DA revision granted under the iniquitous formula of the Pay Commission and the actual need of relief from the rigours of rising prices.

The Pay Commission's formula stipulates that the DA can be revised only when there has been an average rise of 10 points during a 12 month period. Because of this after November 1961, it took over two years for a DA revision early this year.

In the case of other industries, as in banking, the DA is adjusted quarterly and in textiles every month, which provides a measure of immediate relief to the workers against the rising prices.

Recently, the West Bengal government, by an order under the DIR, gave an ad hoc DA rise and also revised the DA formula in engineering industry to provide for quarterly revision of DA as against the earlier practice of adjusting DA on an annual basis only.

These developments have added to the strength of the demand for revision of formula in the case of Central Government services also.

PATNAIK MINES FLOUT 20TH ILC DECISION Workers On Strike

BARBIL: Nearly 700 iron mine workers under raising contractor Tarachandra of the B. Patnaik Mines are on strike from August 10. The strike is very peaceful.

THESE workers are very old workers of the said company. They were under contractor M. B. Das.

On May 25, 1964 all of a sudden the management terminated his contract in violation of the decisions of the 19th and 20th Indian Labour Conferences on abolition of contract labour and appointed a fresh contractor, Tarachandra and directed the workmen to work under him.

The old contractor vanished from Orissa without serving any notice nor paying the dues of the workmen.

In order to break the AITUC union, the new contractor, stopped giving medical benefits, payment of paid festival holidays and reduced the quantity of supply of rice on concessional prices.

He imposed a new condition that only those workmen who gave 12 boxes of ore a week would get rice on concessional prices. The workers resisted and foiled the nasty game of the management and the raising contractor.

Then the company tried its best to sponsor a rival union to divide the workmen, but that too failed.

When all these attempts failed, all of a sudden the raising contractor closed the working of some pits and retrenched about 200 workers on August 9. The other workers in protest stopped work.

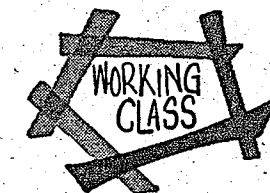
Meanwhile the conciliation officer (C), Jharsuguda, came for a

GOA MINERS' CONFERENCE

PANJIM: The second annual conference of the Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union was held at Assonora on September 6.

It was presided over by Divakar Kakodkar. George Vaz presented the General Secretary's report. Over 100 delegates, from mining companies in Sanvordem, Pali, Bocholim and Assonora attended the conference.

The conference demanded that the Bonus Commission report be made applicable to Goa also and warned that the retrograde changes made in the report by the Government of India would result in renewed struggle by the workers to gain their demands.



Anti-Labour Bill Rushed Through Rajya Sabha

The government has rushed through the Rajya Sabha an amending Bill ostensibly to improve on the Industrial Disputes Act. The Bill adopted last week is one of the most scraggy pieces of legislation and there is more in it to hurt labour interests than afford protection.

BY the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill 1963, the government has sought to bring in another dose of restrictive bans on TU rights.

In order to satisfy the employers, voluntary arbitration is made equal to adjudication in the matter of restraints on freedom of action during the pendency of proceedings.

The government reserves the right to determine the representativity of particular unions and to adjudge whether the union could be a party to arbitration.

On this point, there was an interesting discussion in Rajya Sabha on collective bargaining rights and the need for ballot to determine the representative character of the unions.

Specific amendments incorporating this provision of ballot was moved by Communist MP P. K. Kumaran.

Abid Ali, erstwhile Deputy Labour Minister and INTUC leader made the astounding plea that there cannot be any ballot for workers to decide which union should represent them.

Labour Minister D. Sanjivayya, and Deputy Labour Minister R. K. Malaviya only repeated the argument that since verification procedure for determining representative unions was accepted in tripartite, they do not want to accept ballot.

Opposition MPs drew pointed attention to the disputes in Bhopal Heavy Electricals and other plants to prove that un-



Bonus Demonstration by Durgapur Steel Employees on August 26



Satyagraha scene at Rewari, Punjab.

KHRUSHCHOV EXPLAINS

The Necessity For Early World Communist Meet

[Speaking on the occasion of the signing of the recent Soviet-Czechoslovak joint statement in Prague on September 4, N. S. Khrushchov explained in some detail the reasons for calling a world Communist conference now and answered doubts which had been raised by some Communist Parties on whether such a meeting would do any good at this time.

NEW AGE is publishing below extracts from this speech dealing with this important subject, of vital interest to all Communists.]

It is well known that the successes of the world Communist movement are due in the first place to the identity of views, identity of ideology, the pooling of efforts of all fraternal parties, of all Communists in the struggle for the realisation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This was clearly expressed in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Meetings of the Communist and Workers Parties.

Necessity is ripe for representatives of the Marxist-Leninist Parties to meet in order to sum up the results of the past stage, to generalise the experience of the revolutionary struggle in the past years, to outline new tasks for the future.

At this meeting views must be exchanged on urgent questions confronting the International Communist and Workers' movement of the whole world, the national liberation movement of the peoples.

A majority of fraternal parties regard the convocation of such a conference as necessary. But the leaders of some parties take a rather strange stand on this matter.

Chinese Somersault

The leaders of the Communist Party of China presented themselves for a long time as the initiators of the earliest convocation of a meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties. Then they were saying that the convocation of such a meeting would be useful for the consolidation of the unity of the international Communist movement, for the cause of socialism.

But now that the Chinese leaders realise that the Marxist-Leninist parties have seen through their splitting intentions; their great-power aspirations, they have made a 180 degree turn.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Peking splitters are trying to disorganise the Communist and workers' movement and rendering tangible assistance to international imperialism. It is not without reason that bourgeois propaganda so actively helps to disseminate the slanderous materials concocted by the splitters against the CPSU and other fraternal parties adhering to Marxist-Leninist positions.

Who profits by it? Is it advantageous for the revolutionary forces?

No, it is advantageous only to imperialism, to the most



rabid American militarists and the militarist-revanchist forces in West Germany. It is indicative that in West Germany, the Communist Party is banned, Communists are persecuted and imprisoned, but Chinese slanderous materials are published and distributed most willingly.

Quite recently the Chinese leaders were still advocating the convocation of a conference of fraternal parties and were asserting that this conference would be useful.

But now when concrete proposals on this matter are under discussion, they say that the road to the conference is a road to an abyss. Like hysterical women, they are trying to frighten us: if you follow this road you will get to hell, and are foretelling all kinds of other "misfortunes."

Why have they changed their tactics? Because they want to gain time for disruptive activities within the world Communist movement, to establish bases from which to disorganise the fraternal parties and subordinate them to their influence.

They are now secretly preparing a meeting of representatives of the splitter groups, and concentrate all efforts on smearing the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and fraternal parties.

Some leaders in the fraternal parties, worried by the situation that has developed as a result of the actions of the Chinese leaders, express doubts whether a meeting of Communist and Workers Parties will do any good in the present conditions. They sincerely wish to prevent a split of the Communist movement

They did not want to enter into an honest discussion in order to find out on what points we differed but only used rude words.

The so-called discussion which the Chinese leaders have imposed on the fraternal parties is not a discussion at all but mere abuse addressed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the peoples of our country and other fraternal parties.

It is also impossible not to see that the leaders of the Communist Party of China have long since extended, ideological differences to the interstate relations between China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese leaders have gone so far as to present territorial claims and are almost suggesting a division of the territory of the Soviet Union.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China are trying to create a vicious circle as it were, blackmailing the fraternal parties by the threat of a split.

On the one hand, they inflame passions in every way, engage in subversive activities within parties and sabotage the calling of the meeting. They repeat over and over again: to go to a conference it is necessary to do preliminary work and bring the positions closer together.

And on the other hand, they refuse to meet representatives of fraternal parties and do everything to exacerbate and aggravate the situation in the world Communist movement. By this they want to prevent any possibility of a meeting of the fraternal parties in the future too.

It is obvious that in these conditions the only sensible and correct solution is a meeting of representatives of all fraternal parties which stand on the positions of serving the ranks of the international Communist movement.

A consistent struggle for cohesion on the Marxist-Leninist basis, for the pooling of our efforts in the interests of peace and socialism is necessary. To fight for cohesion means to mobilise the revolutionary forces against our class enemies. To fight for cohesion means to expose the splitters who come out against the cohesion of our peoples. They must be exposed, naturally, not by swear words in which the Peking leaders and some of their allies specialise but on the basis of the revolutionary teaching, on the basis of facts.

We are not afraid of a discussion. More than once did we show with arguments and

* SEE PAGE 18

Portuguese C. P. Supports Proposal

More support has been forthcoming for the proposal of the Communist Party of Soviet Union to hold a preparatory meeting in coming December in Moscow for the conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of the world.

THE latest to express its support for the proposal is the Communist Party of Portugal. The PCP's support to the Moscow meeting is contained in a reply sent by Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the PCP, on behalf of its central committee, to the July 30 letter of the CPSU.

In the resolution adopted at the plenary meetings of the Central Committee in August 1963 and April 1964, the letter states, the Portuguese Communist Party came out in favour of the convocation of an international meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in the shortest possible period.

The letter says: Some Communist Parties hold a different view regarding the timeliness and date for convening the meeting. This, however, cannot serve as grounds for not convening it. For, in that case, the will and initiative of the Communist and Workers Parties in the collective study of problems of common interest would be forever paralysed by the opinion of one Party.

In order to get down to the preparatory work we agree with the proposal that a commission be convened consisting of the same 26 fraternal Parties that formed the drafting commission of the 1960 Meeting.

Although in the conditions now prevailing in the international Communist movement the drafting commission could, in our opinion, be more favourably composed so as to arrive at mutual understanding, this proposal should be accepted in order to get down

to preparatory work as quickly as possible.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the discussion on the new composition could serve as another pretext for differences and delays, which would worsen the situation even more.

The refusal of any Party to take part in the work of the commission can be appraised in no other way than evidence of the fact that such a Party, or Parties, do not strive for the unity of the Communist movement and reject the only road that can lead to overcoming differences and controversies—the road of open exchange of opinions of all the fraternal Parties, the road of discussion and achievement of agreement.

That is why we hold that the commission should begin its work at the fixed time even if representatives of a Party fail to come.

The letter adds: As for the participants of the meeting, we agree that it must be attended by the same Parties as the 1960 Meeting, that only the meeting itself can decide on sending invitations to new fraternal Parties formed later on.

However, we would resolutely object to proposals for participation in the meeting of any groups, even if they call themselves "Marxist-Leninist Parties", which have appeared in some countries in violation of the principle of democratic centralism and as the result of the splitting activities and the struggle against the lawfully elected leadership of the fraternal Party in the given country.

Hiren Mukherjee, leader of the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha, made a scathing attack against the slide-back which the Shastri government is making in the policies pursued by the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, while participating in the debate on the no-confidence motion. Excerpts from his speech are given below:

ONLY a couple of days ago, government used its majority in the House to secure a vote of approval of its food policy where particularly its egregious failure stinks in the nostrils of our people. It is our duty and our obligation as Members of Parliament to reflect the indignation of our people who will not be fobbed off by such manoeuvres in this House.

Indeed, it is when these things take place that we understand what used to be meant at one time by the expression which was common in the phraseology of our national movement, namely 'brute majority'. By such majority, a government can hold on to power but it loses the confidence and the affection of the country.

The Congress government in Kerala has just paid the wages of its mounting sin. It had to go. Its misdeeds had piled up so much that it just had to go.

The chain of Congress supremacy in India has broken at its weakest link. The Union government today may imagine itself to be immune from such things. But if the people's hunger and despair continue to mount, the day is perhaps not too far when it will have to go also.

I say this as much in sorrow as in anger. After Jawaharlal Nehru was no more, the people were ready to stand by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri in the hope that his administration would work genuinely for their interests.

They knew and we knew, and we said it, that there were problems which Jawaharlal Nehru himself had left unsolved, problems that Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and his friends could not solve overnight.

But our people expected, and they had a right to expect that the agony of the people would not become so dreadful and so intolerable so soon after the calamity which was the death of Jawaharlal Nehru. And all this happened, in spite of whatever Shri C. Subramaniam might have tried to say, on account of the government's utter failure.

All-Pervading Crisis

The problem of food and high prices has become so acute and all-pervading a crisis, a man-made crisis caused by the greed of a few whom the government does not check because it does not wish to do so.

On the immediate and effective solution of this crisis depends not only what is going to happen tomorrow and the day after, but on the immediate and effective solution of the present crisis depends the continuing progress of Indian planning, the stability and advance of Indian democracy, the integrity and strength of our foreign policy and indeed the entire legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru — all this and nothing less.

I wish Shri Shastri and his friends ponder that all this and nothing less is at stake. Shri Shastri who swears by Jawaharlal Nehru does not appear to realise this. He does not seem to understand the full meaning of the Swatantra Party's new-found softness towards him when they dissociated themselves in a particular way from the no-confidence motion.

This was very clear when my friend, Shri Masani, who is not here, spoke on the food debate or when Shri Dandekar, in his maiden speech, which it is parliamentary etiquette not to criticise, even spoke of the

good result he expects from the passing away of the overpowering personality whose mantle has fallen on Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Meanwhile it will not be easy to forget that for demanding implementation of well-known policies, the striking workers of Ahmedabad were shot dead, satyagrahis sent in their thousands to jail and leaders of workers arrested under the Defence of India Rules, while the very anti-social elements who have their cleverly hooded spokesmen inside the government as well as in this House, who have manipulated this crisis which was by no means unavoidable, who are exploiting this crisis through profiteering and price racketeering, they are all being sought to be appeased.

The food thieves control stocks and manipulate markets, in spite of whatever Shri Subramaniam might choose to say. They are powerful inside the Congress. They paralyse government action and they go on with impunity hoarding, rigging prices and grabbing super-profits....

Soft To Hoarders

But government cannot be tough with the hoarders, in spite of the hoarders being not only tough, but cruel with our government. Government could do the de-hoarding with the help of the people. Government could mobilise the assistance of the gram panchayats. As far as we are concerned, 200,000 members of the Communist Party of India and members of other parties would volunteer for this kind of work. But, of course, government does not want it.

Even after state-trading starts, government does not seem to realise—and this is an urgent moment in the life of our people—that anti-hoarding legislation and active measures in that regard will be necessary and it should start at once and make purchases direct from peasant producers; for, even with state-trading and statutory prices when they come, if they come, the private sector must be compelled to behave or else, it will control the projected Foodgrains Corporation, operate its own price line and gamble with the lives of the people.

To all these things, unfortunately, government is indifferent and no better proof for this callousness can be found than the speech which was made the other day in this House by the Food Minister.

The Minister chose to say that the opposition's action resulted in the creation of a crisis of confidence. Where, I ask, does the Minister have his habitation? Is it possible for the opposition to create conditions in this country where this sort of crisis which has taken place is manufactured?

On the contrary, the Minister himself has said that the availability of unaccounted money on a big scale to big producers, middlemen and wholesale traders had accentuated this crisis. These offenders get away with impunity, with no fear of punishment.

This government which connives with all these real enemies of the people, even in big cities like Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay, does not take recourse for instance, to the Defence of India Rules for dehoarding purposes....

Government does not even

SLIDEBACK FROM NEHRU POLICIES

Hiren Mukherjee Assails Shastri Govt.

help the retailer, the small man, who is getting fed up and frustrated with the wholesaler's tactics. In Calcutta, I know the fish retailers, sick of playing hide and seek with the public, are willing to sell at the controlled rates, but the wholesalers have their own tactics and government does not help the retailers....

The rise in food prices is only part of the problem which the government has bungled and mismanaged. There is a general all-round increase in prices, a sort of runaway inflation which government has been able to do nothing to tackle. Indian planning, just completing 13 not very lucky years, has lacked a national price policy which has been sometimes talked of, but never implemented.

Our planning provides no institutional guarantees to enforce such a price policy. Uncontrolled and uncontrolled prices disrupt all plan targets and wipe out whatever welfare gains have been achieved by our people. Our people's patience has been sorely tried and the cup is now full.

The Food Minister will base his policy on higher production. He told us the other day of remunerative and incentive prices for the farmer. Well and good. A very good idea which everybody supports. But the pattern which will follow this kind of declaration by government is very well known and we can guess what is going to happen from previous experience.

The real farmer will not get remunerative prices, but the moneyed intermediary, already busy advancing money to the cultivator to grab whatever he can get of the new crop, will pocket the gains and the interest of the consumer everywhere will be disregarded. Prices rise, stabilise at a high level; rise again, are further stabilised.

This is an unending spiral which can be only countered as far as food prices are concerned by an effective system of rationing and controls and that sort of thing, but they are methods which government cannot operate in a manner different from what is government's proven speciality, namely, incompetence and corruption.

Corruption Unlimited

Perhaps this should be no surprise, this incompetence and corruption. For, from Punjab to Orissa, from UP to Kerala, the Congress seems today to consist of demoralised, selfish groupings who bring no healing touch to the people when they are afflicted whether by floods or by high prices or by any other kind of disaster, a conglomeration of factions with no loyalty to the people, no loyalty to causes but only some sort of understanding that they are behind one boss or the other.

At the highest organisational level, the Congress today seems to rely on consensus, on mediocrity and escape from principle. It gives me no pleasure to say this. So many of us have been in the Congress. I can claim to have been in the Congress at a time when some of these colleagues of Shri Shastri had never thought of being even within miles of the Congress organisation....

That is what has happened to

the Congress. Incompetence is only a natural upshot of the degeneration which has taken place in the life of the Congress. That is why we hear so much talk about corruption.

One And Only Kairon

Once upon a time perhaps, the former Chief Minister of the Punjab, Sardar Kairon, was called the 'one and only Kairon', but he has found many competitors in notoriety.

And there is a Chief Minister of Kerala who has just had to get out of the place. He had corruption allegations piled up so high that the former President of the State Congress Committee, the late C. K. Govindan Nair, asked for an investigation.

In regard to Kerala, the Congress has a most unpleasant record of manoeuvring over the so-called liberation struggle against the only honest and popular administration that Kerala ever had....

Shri Shastri has brought together a chaotic team, pulling in different directions, which he calls his Cabinet. They cannot deliver the goods. There is a moral collapse; there is stagnation. The Cabinet is full of go-slowers, the cautious and the unenterprising who are dominating the thinking of the government. And even the stomach for a real contest of principles seems to be non-existent in the Cabinet.

Years of absolute power, money making, licence peddling, and what is called 'fixing' have spread the cult of the status quo. That is why targets of the Fourth Plan, approved by Jawaharlal himself, are in danger of being lowered. On the plea of so-called consolidation the direction of the country's economic development is being sought to be altered....

The government indicates the inclination towards a smaller indigenous effort but a widening of activity on the part of foreign capital. The timorous thinking of government seeks to cushion its crisis through foreign aid and foreign capital.

The Finance Minister and the Minister of Commerce speak very knowingly, when they go abroad, of a new climate in India. Fertiliser production has been opened up on special terms for a United States consortium. The Minister of Steel and Mines makes a bid for the headlines with thinking aloud on the idea that steel production might be made available for private foreign enterprise. And there is nearly lunatic talk of suspending projects, concentrating on unutilised capacity, de-emphasising heavy industry, etc., etc.

And Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri is getting plaudits from his new friends: he is very admirable nowadays. Shri Masani said that he is toning down industrial projects relating to heavy industries.

I charge him with having a split personality. He professes to be loyal to the ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru, but he is somewhat incoherent. He seems willing to wobble the basic concepts of the Plan but yet afraid to strike. But his hands will be forced at this rate by the neo-pragmatists in his Cabinet.

It was Jawaharlal Nehru who left behind the perspective division papers on the Fourth Plan

based on a 7.6 per cent growth-rate which was the minimum necessary to move forward to a self-generating economy. And we discover not only Shri Shastri talking in a doubtful way, but Mr. Woods of the World Bank saying that we should concentrate on agricultural work, like Shri Dandekar says, and that we should not aim at anything more than a five per cent increase.

Jawaharlal Nehru was almost always a pragmatist, no doubt about it. But his pragmatism had a positive, dynamic role. He kept basic purposes unchanged; he adjusted from time to time only the means of achieving them. The pragmatism in that sense is only a method, not a policy in itself. But it is as a policy that pragmatism is being sold, and the way to reaction is paved with these pragmatic bricks which are now being supplied to the country by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri.

That is why in regard to foreign policy we find a sharp twist given to the right by the performance of Shri Krishnamachari in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference. He tried a sort of bargaining, a sort of horse-trading, by being as eloquent as he could be over Malaysia, hoping that by that means he could get the British to agree to Pakistan, not including the Indo-Pakistan reference in the communique.

But of course it did not work; he got a rebuff over the Indo-Pakistan relations and his hymns of praise of Malaysia, about which he should be careful. He goes to Kuala Lumpur and unnecessarily butts into a region which at least does not belong to him, which belongs to Shri Swaran Singh....

Years of absolute power, money making, licence peddling, and what is called 'fixing' have spread the cult of the status quo. That is why targets of the Fourth Plan, approved by Jawaharlal himself, are in danger of being lowered. On the plea of so-called consolidation the direction of the country's economic development is being sought to be altered....

TTK's Antics

When Jawaharlal used to be in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conferences, he would raise the dignity of our country in the eyes of the world. But Shri Krishnamachari has brought back indignity, he has brought back a picture which is by no means pretty to behold. And that is why we feel that the Finance Minister and his like should not be trusted with the governance of the people or the honour of our India.

That is why I have recalled from time to time the Prime Minister who has passed away, and every time we use the expression Prime Minister we think of the man who is gone. In the last months of his life, he was stricken in health. He was burdened by work which would have broken the back of anybody half his age. He was surrounded by people who had either never known or had forgotten the passion of that trust with destiny about which he spoke so beautifully at midnight on the 15th August, 1947.

But to the end that man was a non-conformist, he was an experimenter searching for clarity and perspectives, determined to find the answer to the problems of India....

We too have our promises to keep; we too have miles to go before we sleep. If Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and his friends do not remember their responsibility, if they are taken in by the words of praise which are thrown to him by the Swatantra stalwarts in this House and in the country, God help India.

FOREIGN PARTNERS CONTROL COLLABORATION PROJECTS

BOMBAY: A Reserve Bank of India study on the whole range of foreign collaboration agreements since Independence reveals that foreign partners maintain "effective control" over the collaboration projects even though they may have only minority equity participation, reports IPA.

THE study entitled "Some Aspects of Foreign Participation in Indian Industry", earmarked for official use makes striking revelations about the functioning of joint collaboration projects.

The first part of the study covers thirty chemical firms which concluded 58 foreign collaboration agreements during the period of the Second Plan and the first two years of the Third Plan in Maharashtra.

It reveals that foreign partners are not keen on majority equity participation. This is so because minority participation is considered less risky than majority participation.

The foreign partners are also confident of retaining technical leadership even after divesting technical knowhow since this is a continuous process.

As regards the rates of royalty, the study points out that while the government envisages five per cent rate of royalty as the ceiling, there is hardly any case where the prevalent

rate of royalty is less than five per cent. There has, however, been a perceptible trend towards lower royalty payments in recent years. Some years ago the rate of royalty was as high as 20 per cent.

Another interesting revelation of the study is that after the government started drawing a distinction between royalties and technical services payments, the foreign companies have started diverting their remittances abroad from royalty payments to such heads as "knowhow fees" etc.

The government scrutinises the royalty payments agreements very carefully, and royalties are subject to tax to the extent of fifty per cent. Technical service payments on the other hand are free.

During the period 1956-57 to 1962-63, remittances by the foreign collaborators covered by the study increased by only about four and a half times under the head of royalties, from Rs. 1,71,000 to Rs. 7,74,000,

and those under the head of technical services increased by as much as 54 times from Rs. 1,26,000 to Rs. 68,28,000.

According to the study, terms and conditions regarding foreign collaboration have considerably improved in recent years. Foreign collaboration agreements entered into during earlier days had a number of "restrictive clauses" besides stringent royalty fees.

Some of these agreements made it incumbent for the Indian parties to spend a specified amount on advertising and to maintain specified level of stocks. In some cases, even the export market was restricted to neighbouring countries only.

The new agreements generally do not contain such restrictions on exports as a result of insistence by the government in this regard.

During the first fifteen years of Independence, as many as two thousand foreign collaboration agreements were concluded. Though the 1949 Industrial Policy Resolution clearly stated that majority holdings by foreign participants would not be permitted, a number of exceptions have been made.

MUKTIBODH

Gajanan Madhav Muktibodh, renowned Hindi poet and critic, is no more. He breathed his last on September 11 at the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, at 9.10 p.m. His body was cremated at Nigambodh Ghat the next day in the presence of a large number of the topmost writers in the capital.

COMMUNIST Party leaders P. C. Joshi, member of the Central Secretariat, and B. K. Gupta, member of the National Council and of Madhya Pradesh Party secretariat paid respects to the poet and attended the last rites.

Earlier M. N. Govindan Nair, MP and Yogendra Sharma, members of the Central Secretariat, had visited the ailing poet in the hospital along with several other comrades.

Born at Shivapuri, Gwalior, on November 17, 1917, Gajanan Madhav Muktibodh received his education at Ujjain.

In 1938, Muktibodh passed his B.A. from the Holkar College, Ujjain. In 1940 he joined the Sharada Shiksha Sadan as a teacher at Shujalpur. In the years 1938 to 1942 were, in the poet's own words, "years of inner struggle". However, the outcome of this struggle was that he began more and more to be drawn towards a Marxist approach to life and literature.

In the year 1949 was published the famous collection—TAR-SAPTAK. This symposium of seven poets was pioneered by Gajanan Madhav Muktibodh himself. In his poem PUNJI-WADI SAMAJ KE PRATI, published in the TAR-SAPTAK he addressed the capitalist system in the following words:

Tu hai maran, tu hai rikta,
tu hai vyarth,
Tera dhwanas kawal ek tera arth.

Muktibodh, in the following year, founded the Madhya Bharat Pragatisheel Lekhaka Sangh at Ujjain. In 1944 he organised the conference of anti-fascist writers at Indore. The conference was presided over by Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana. Muktibodh, in his paper presented to the conference, called upon the writers to fight for the independence of the country and against fascism with all the strength at their command.

Later, in 1945, he joined as editor of HANS for a short time, but again shifted to Jabalpur in 1946-47. He contributed articles to the bimonthly 'SAMATA'. However, he could not find a stable source of sustenance for himself and his family, so he went to Nagpur as news editor of the AIR.

He was to be transferred to Bhopal, but refused. As a result he lost the job. In this period he contributed a regular column to the weekly NAYA-KHOON.

Again, it was in this very period of hard struggle, that he wrote his famous book "KAMAYANI: EK PUNARMULYANKAN": He contributed a regular series of articles to monthly VASUDHA known as EK SAHITYIK KI DIARY, a brilliant contribution in the realm of aesthetics.

In the beginning of the year 1964, Muktibodh suffered a stroke of paralysis. Want and hunger and struggle had crushed him down physically but his spirit remained indomitable. Thanks to the efforts of Muktibodh's colleagues and friends as also some realisation on the part of the government that their callousness might cost them a lot—as it had done in the case of Nirala and Rahul earlier—Muktibodh received early attention from the Madhya Pradesh government. And, when his condition deteriorated there, he was brought to the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, at the instance of Prime Minister Shastri himself. At the All-India Medical Institute he lay in a state of coma for over two months, till he breathed his last on September 11.

Muktibodh's major works KAMAYANI: EK PUNARMULYANKAN and EK SAHITYIK KI DIARY deserve particular attention by all enlightened poets and critics. In the latter work he lashes out at all those so-called new or modern poets and writers who seek escape from realities of life in the name of higher aesthetic values. In Muktibodh's opinion these ideas are being particularly propagated by the "Western press" and are motivated by the desire of isolating the intellectuals from society. No less bitter is his condemnation of the rule of capital and the evil influence of vested interests which are corroding the fibres of our social life.

Some of his important poems like BRAHMARA KSHASA, ANDHERE MEN and CHAMBAL, KI GHATI MEN are landmarks in the realm of Hindi poetry. As in life, so in art, he was uncompromising. He stood by the values he cherished most, and upheld them to the last.

TRIVANDRUM: A plenary meeting of the Kerala state council of the Communist Party of India, held at Ernakulam on September 13, has called on all democratic parties, progressive groups and individuals to rise as one man to face the challenge of the communal and reactionary forces inside and outside Kerala.

THE plenum meeting welcomed efforts of Left parties to form a democratic united front based on a programme to secure a majority against the Congress and form a non-Congress democratic government in the state in the 1965 poll.

Two hundred and four delegates—members of the state council and district councils and secretaries of mandal and taluk committees—attended the meeting.

KERALA C.P.I. PLENUM ADOPTS 20-POINT PROGRAMME

From S. SHARMA

Satyagrahis On Fast In Jail

PATNA: Thirteen satyagrahi prisoners lodged in the Aurangabad sub-jail are on hungerstrike from September 8, according to reliable reports received here.

THESE satyagrahi prisoners were handcuffed and roped by the police when they were being escorted to the court from the sub-jail.

The satyagrahi prisoners protested then and there against this high-handedness by the police, but to no avail.

It is in protest against such treatment that the satyagrahis have gone on hungerstrike.

It is also reported that when a local advocate wanted to send a telegram to the political department of the Government of Bihar protesting against this, the local postal authorities refused to accept it under police pressure.

Communist satyagrahi prisoners have decided to go on hungerstrike in Gaya central jail also in protest against the government's refusal to treat them as political prisoners, according to reports received from there.

The Bihar government is refusing to allow any special facilities to political prisoners as in other states.

In fact, a demand which is being voiced by all satyagrahi prisoners in all the jails in Bihar is that they should be treated as political prisoners and given more amenities than ordinary criminals.

In the Gaya central jail, Khagragadhari Mishra, popularly known as Tumaria Baba, is lying seriously ill, too.

Tumaria Baba, a colleague of Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, is over sixty.

The proceedings of the meeting were guided by a presidium consisting of T. V. Thomas, Kandalot Kunhambu and T. A. Majeed. Twenty delegates participated in the discussion on the resolution, moved by C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the state council, on the political situation in the state and the tasks facing the Party in the electoral battle. The resolution adopted termed the fall of the Sankar Ministry as "people's victory". Anti-communism and anti-people policies had led to fissures and cracks in the ruling party and finally to its downfall, it said. The dissident Congressmen had voted against the Ministry, but the forces behind them were not progressive but the same reactionary groups headed



KERALA BANDH DEMONSTRATION IN CALCUT ON JULY 31.

by Mannath Padmanabhan and the Church. They had pulled down the government because it had refused to act upto their dicta.

The resolution said that the official Congress was facing the elections posing as champion of secularism and democracy, but in reality it was seeking to mobilise its following on communal lines.

As far as people's food, workers' wages, relief to middle class employees' and rights of kisans were concerned, both the Congress and the rebels championed the same reactionary policies.

The resolution said that the democratic front was being formed to fight these reactionary policies and attempts of these forces to disrupt and divide the people's unity.

The plenum welcomed efforts of the Left parties in this direction and pledged its support. It appealed to the Samyukta Socialist Party to give up hesitancy and come into the front as an active partner so that the widest possible unity of non-Congress, Left, democratic forces could be forged.

The secular, non-communal character of the front was underlined by the plenum. It pointed out that the Muslim League has and can have no place in this front because it was a communal organisation and had no democratic orientation.

The plenum discussed and adopted a twenty-point programme for the front, wherein the defence of the interests of religious and linguistic minorities and backward communities has been listed as an important task.

The growing unity among working class organisations and popular masses in fighting against high prices and the government decision on Bonus Commission report was greeted by the plenum.

It called on Party units to further intensify and strengthen the movement for the defence of the interests of the workers, kisans and other sections of people, which was the sure guarantee and basis for the democratic front of parties and groups emerging as an alternative to the Congress in the coming polls.

SSP Attitude

Meanwhile, the Kerala unit of the Samyukta Socialist Party has set up a seven-member committee to conduct negotiations with other non-Congress parties about the coming elections. The committee will be guided by the decisions of the SSP convention held recently at Trichur regarding the election tactics, according to an official spokesman of the SSP.

The Trichur convention had taken the stand that the SSP was prepared to have an understanding with the non-Congress parties but not to become a constituent of any united front to fight the elections.

NECESSITY OF WORLD MEET

* FROM PAGE 16

facts the entire untenability of the positions of the leaders of the Communist Party of China.

We are prepared to enter into a discussion in the interests of establishing truth, but it must be a real discussion and not mere swearing which does not help the matter but aggravates the differences. We are against such method because it is advantageous not for the Communists but for our class enemies.

It has now become standard procedure for the Chinese splitters to slander the fraternal Parties, the Party of Lenin, all those who disagree with their special course.

But no one will throw us off the correct road. We are loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we are following a correct course. We are guided by the immortal Marxist-Leninist teaching which illumines the path of our advancement.

We call upon all Communist and Workers' Parties, upon all revolutionary forces who adhere to the Marxist-Leninist positions, to pool their efforts in the struggle for our common cause. In order to consolidate our unity it will be useful to call a conference in order to discuss all issues confronting the world Communist movement.

We believe that all truly Marxist-Leninist Parties, all revolutionary forces will overcome the difficulties created by the actions of the splitters, will pool their efforts in the struggle for the victory of the great cause of socialism and communism.

OCTOBER 2 : FOODGRAINS TRADE NATIONALISATION DAY

* FROM PAGE 3

buying a success and help the peasant to get a fair price and help the towns to get supplies;

All newspapers should be called upon to treat it as a national obligation to display advertisements and propaganda to help in this campaign.

The Communist Party of India is prepared to play its part in the campaign, in company with others without bringing in the question of political slogans or platforms. It will send its active members and workers in the field along with others. Its workers will rely either on the hospitality of the generous peasantry of our villages or its own

supporters, on the same level as those of other parties and organisations.

National Task

The Communist Party proposes these steps not only to the government but to all democratic forces in our country who consider it as a national task of immediate importance vital to the life of the whole people, to curb the profiteering monopoly interests who make people's food and the peasants' labour the object of their lust for money and power, to assure supplies in

the hands of the state for the people and to ensure fair price for the producer.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India calls upon all Party members to propagate this proposal, influencing friends in other parties including Congressmen to study it, call food conferences to discuss this and also other proposals and take other steps necessary to bring pressure on the government not to surrender to the blackmail of the monopolists and hoarders to the detriment of the country's interests.

Only people's mobilisation

can defeat the anti-national conspiracies of the monopolists and the banker-landlord-hoarders.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon the people—workers, peasants, middle class employees and other poor people—to unite and observe October 2, 1964, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, as Foodgrains Trade Nationalisation Day through demonstrations and mass meetings.

The Central Executive Committee enjoins upon all Party units to make this Day a resounding success.

Mao Boosts Militarists And Fascists

* FROM PAGE 2

Chinese territory, this lauding of Japanese militarism in Asia can have the most sinister meaning in an attempt to justify as "great" Chinese expansionism itself.

On the one side, the Chinese leadership boosts the West German fascists, on the other, the Japanese militarists—the two ends of the pincers the imperialists seek to use against the socialist world and against the peace of mankind.

Abhorrent to any true Communist is also Mao's scandalous attempt to create discord among socialist countries and to rouse anti-Soviet sentiments in all the countries which are neighbours of the Soviet Union.

The rest of Mao's talk deals with other vital questions.

The so-called "intermediate zone" theory is now revealed in all its ugliness—covering up class differences and differences in social systems—all with a view to "justify" the Chinese leaders' growing collaboration with such imperialist powers as Britain and France.

The manner in which Mao Tse-tung deals

with the differences with the Soviet Union—"We are ready to continue this war for another 25 years"—shows not the slightest desire for unity. On the contrary, the entire anti-Soviet venom of the Chinese leader, indicates his insistence on continuing the campaign of slander and abuse and it is now clear, of unceasing military border provocations against the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of India has repeatedly warned against the perilous "historical arguments" being used by the Chinese leadership to justify their expansionism. These "arguments" have now reached atrocious limits in pressing the Chinese leaders' claims on the Soviet Union and in bolstering up anti-Soviet chauvinism in Japan and other countries.

The Chinese leaders are not satisfied with making anti-Sovietism their own main plank. They insist on all the adherents of their wrong ideological positions repeating these anti-Soviet falsehoods and justifying Chinese expansionist claims and activities. It is this which adds to the dangers which today beset the anti-imperialist movement all over the world, arising from Chinese expansionism and chauvinism.

Mao Tse-tung's talk with the Japanese socia-

lists, which has been given worldwide publicity, reveals in a flash the grim truth that as far as the Chinese leaders are concerned, their differences with the rest of the Communist Parties on ideological issues have now become more and more divorced from all Marxist-Leninist principles and are now for a great part a screen for their expansionist policies and aggressive plans.

On November 1, 1962, the National Council of the Communist Party of India, in its resolution on Chinese aggression, had come to the bitter conclusion that it was the national-chauvinism of the Chinese leaders and their repudiation of all the agreed principles of the international Communist movement that was at the root of the Chinese aggression against India.

Far from retracing its wrong and dangerous outlook the Chinese leadership has gone steadily forward on the path of chauvinism till now its entire policies are unmasked before the Communists of the whole world as arising from the most fanatical great power desire for world domination.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India joins Communists all over the world in condemning the chauvinist and expansionist views expressed by Mao Tse-tung.

BONUS PROTEST REMAINS

INTUC SURRENDERS TO GOVT.

When the Government of India announced that it had rejected the Bonus Commission's bonus formula and accepted the formula put forward by the big employers, the whole of the working class in India was roused in indignation against the Congress government's surrender to monopoly interests.

EVEN the INTUC, the faithful flag-bearer of the Congress and its bourgeois friends had to make a show of protest. Their whole base in the working class was in danger of being knocked out.

So many of their leaders made thundering speeches against government policy. Then a highpowered deputa- tion went to see the government of India.

We have no authentic news as to what the government has agreed to do. But from the obscure news-bit that has appeared, government seems to have done very little and the employers' formula accepted by the government, in opposition to that of the Bonus Commission's, remains intact and valid.

The only thing that the government seems to have clarified is that whatever has been customarily agreed to between the workers and employers so far in the matter of calculating bonus, should not be set aside by the new formula.

This is nothing new. It was

By
S. A. DANGE

agreed in the Commission itself. But this does not ensure every last year's bonus in the very industries, where there has been no customary agreement, as in Bombay textiles

for the last four years. They were all ad hoc settlements, neither bound by custom nor by formula.

There will also be the situation where steel workers in Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur may get no bonus at all under the six year clause (which I rejected in the Commission) while the Tatas and Martin-Burns may for some time be asked to stick to the old scale, until they too apply government's formula and cut their workers' bonus, if not this year, sometime later.

The trade unions in the plantations have already been forced to sign an agreement in ad hoc payment accepting Rs. 20, while the Bonus Commission provided for Rs. 40.

Their agreement says that this is pending final settlement. But what is there for settlement when the minimum has to be Rs. 40 or 4 per cent of annual wage whichever is

**SEPTEMBER 25
HARTAL
AND
BONUS DEMAND
DAY**

higher? If time is required to find the value of 4 per cent, then Rs. 40 could have been paid right now and the balance later on, if the 4 per cent were higher.

Thus government's behaviour has already helped employers to begin the offensive.

Government's modification of their first modification has not given anything more to the workers, whose bonus is finally murdered by the 8.5 per cent guaranteed profits of the owners and all the taxes of the government.

In view of this, the interview given by the INTUC leaders that now workers should not agitate or strike is an anti-working class advice.

First, government surren-

dered to employers and now the INTUC has surrendered to the government—it has become all a puppet show of the big money bags.

Hence the decision of the AITUC to give notices of demand for bonus on the basis of our formula and approach stands.

★ The protests and the Bonus Demand Day of September 25, should be carried out without hesitation.

★ The government has betrayed the workers and so has the INTUC by accepting the employers' formula.

We have to fight in order to establish our rights and claims—for Bonus, DA and wages throughout the country in all industries. Capitalist robbery must be defeated.

**OCTOBER 2
FOODGRAINS
TRADE
NATIONALISATION
DAY**

NEW DELHI: Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink! The man who coined this aphorism was understandably in the middle of the ocean and did have only salt water around him. But Delhi, the Indian capital, is in the centre of the land and yet people are yearning for a drop of pure water.

THE Delhi floods made headlines in every newspaper. Whole villages were submerged. Water ran several feet deep, rendering thousands homeless.

But what made the stink was that sullage and garbage flowed through the drinking water pipes in the city: the floods had overrun the dumping grounds into the Jumna just near where the Delhi Corporation has its water works located.

Floods in the rural areas of the Union Territory of Delhi are just an annual feature. But this year, due to the heavy rains, the floods were unprecedented.

Out of five development blocks in the Union Territory, four have been affected by the floods. Out of 230 villages, 150 to 160 have been affected.

The total area submerged under water comes to about 65,000 acres. Of this, 26,000 acres are under foodgrain and vegetable crops.

As a result of the floods, evacuation of whole villages have been carried out. Villagers have sold cattle and moved over to urban areas on almost a mass scale.

Not that the urban areas are free from the floods. Many areas in the city itself were under two to three feet water only a few days ago.

This disaster is a manmade one in the sense that it could have been avoided if the authorities had shown more interest in the problem of recurring floods in the Delhi rural areas.

But they did not do so because they were more interested in political patronage and granting of favours than the welfare of the people.

The Allpur block on Karnal Road has been inundated because Drain Numbers Six and Eight have been diverted through the Union Territory of Delhi by the Punjab government's irrigation officials.

This was done on the orders of former Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon, against the advice of the Central Water and Power Commission and its technical experts.

And so, the drains were diverted in such a manner that they passed the lowest ground level on Delhi's borders.

The reason for the extraordinary behaviour of Kairon was that such diversion of the drains through Delhi would have saved the farms of two of his staunch supporters in the state Congress. And they were saved too, at the expense of the villagers of Delhi.

In the Najafgarh block, the authorities had decided as back as 1958 to widen and deepen the Najafgarh drain so as to get better discharge of rain water.

The contract for carrying out the widening and deepening work was given to the Bharat Sewak Samaj, but it failed to implement the project.

Then the Punjab government took over the job. It was to have finished it by June 30 this year, that is well in advance of this year's monsoon.

But it was not done with the result that the urban colonies in West Delhi suffered from the worst floods they have seen since development of the area.

Now, coming to the water contamination part of the story:

The whole of South Delhi

FLOODS RECEDING, BUT EPIDEMIC LOOMS AHEAD

DELHI'S TALE OF WOES

has been getting contaminated water ever since the Union Rehabilitation Ministry built the Okhla Water Works 15 years ago.

In 1955 the contamination became so acute that jaundice (infectious hepatitis) epidemic broke out in Delhi.

There was a big furore in Parliament and outside and a committee was appointed to enquire into the whole system of water supply.

The Hajarnavis committee submitted its report in due course (during which, in 1958, water supply had again to be suspended because of contamination) but no effective remedy to the threat to people's health was taken.

The reason given for the water pollution in 1955 and again in 1958 was that the Jumna had receded away to the opposite bank and that the intake pumps had sucked in the sullage deposited into the Jumna by the Najafgarh drain.

So, a barrage was put up at the Wazirabad pumping station to keep the water of the Jumna from receding away and to prevent the backflow of the sullage from the Najafgarh drain.

This year, the situation was the reverse: The flood water flowed into the Jumna taking along with it the sullage and garbage in the Badli dumping grounds.

The sullage treatment plant had stopped working due to the floods, facilitating the flow of the refuse dumps of the city into the river and into the intake pumps.

And the polluted water is being supplied to the people.

Of course, the authorities have taken precautions: they have increased the chlorine content of the water supply and asked people to drink only boiled water!

The irony of it is that expert medical opinion has stated that boiling the polluted water would not kill the hepatitis virus in it which causes jaundice.

Boiling can at best avoid the outbreak of other epidemics like cholera and typhoid.

But neither the Municipal Corporation nor the Delhi Administration took any other steps to curb the threat to people's health. They showed utter callousness in the matter.

It was a week after the high degree of contamination was found. In the water supply that the Municipal Corporation took steps to stop the ice factories and aerated water factories from peddling their products.

Even now, "refrigerated water" is being sold on the roads of Delhi with the full knowledge of the authorities. The water sellers carry municipal licences to ply their trade.

Above all, the authorities did not foresee a situation where the Jumna water might get contaminated from the sullage dumped near the water works.

They have not taken any steps to isolate the Jumna from likely overflow of flood waters, which along with them would always bring the sullage.

They have not yet set up a good water testing laboratory so that regular check-up of

the purity of the water supplied to the people might be done.

The ruling party in the Delhi Corporation has shown a mullish attitude towards the whole problem—both the floods and the hazards to the people's health resulting from contamination of drinking water.

More objectionable was the role of the Mayor who did not even deem it necessary to depute the officials of the Corporation on an emergency basis to meet the threat to people's health. He never even visited the pumping station.

Opposition parties in the Corporation has demanded that the Mayor should resign. They point out that heads had rolled for the bungling in 1955.

An interesting sidelight of this otherwise grim tale of inefficiency, corruption and total lack of civic responsibility is that with the money spent on emergency measures, relief and evacuation—reported to be around Rupees two crores—the authorities could have very well turned the Najafgarh drain into a regular river.

That might have solved the problem of floods and water pollution. But that perhaps would not have given the rulers that be the chance to defalcate public money and to grant political patronage to hangers on.

The people of Delhi are waiting with crossed hands now for the inevitable: the hepatitis virus takes a full two to four weeks to show its vicious power.