

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting in Delhi from August 19 to 24, adopted a series of resolutions on the most urgent issues of the day. The resolution calling for a countrywide campaign for the defence of Kashmir is published on Page 3. On this page is given the resolution on the food movement. On back page is the resolution calling for the release of detenus imprisoned under the Defence of India Rules and on page 12 against the repressive actions of the government in various states. The resolution on solidarity with Vietnam appears on page 13. The Party's stand on the question of the linguistic reorganisation of Punjab and Sant Fateh Singh's fast is published on page 14.

# DEFEND THE NATION, FEED THE PEOPLE!

7-SEP-24  
COPY 1965

The food situation in the country has reached a most critical stage at a time when our country's territorial integrity is threatened by aggression from Pakistan, aided by the imperialist powers, in Kashmir.

**D**EFENCE of the country from external danger, the supreme need of the hour, makes it incumbent upon the government to solve the food crisis quickly and effectively. It is precisely in this sphere that the government has completely failed and exposed its bankruptcy more than in any other sphere.

The prices of foodstuffs and other necessities of life are going out of the reach of the people and are daily rising. Famine conditions prevail in the north-eastern districts of Bihar, parts of Maharashtra, rural areas of West Bengal, in Rajasthan, UP and Mysore. In certain areas, people have been driven to eating roots, tubers and leaves, and are dying of hunger, parents are selling their children, distitutes are flocking to the towns and hungry people driven to desperation are trying to get food by looting grainhoards.

## DESPERATE SITUATION

The traditional lean months in the non-wheat producing areas, when the prices of foodgrains generally rise high and agricultural labour in the villages remain unemployed are on. This year, there is an additional factor of the failure of the kharif crop, late monsoon and the failure of rains. But the whole situation has been made so desperate by hoarders and profiteers aided by the government policy of keeping the foodgrains market under the grip of these anti-social criminal elements.

The responsibility for making people of our country victims of a serious food crisis rests squarely on the shoulders of the government of India and the state governments. This crisis is caused not by lack of foodgrains but by governments' pro-hoarder policies and half-hearted measures which have enabled the hoarders and landlords to get hold of stocks and push up the prices.

The Union Food Minister and the chief ministers of several states had to publicly admit this fact. The chief ministers of Maharashtra and West Bengal have also admitted that the only remedy which can save the situation is resort to monopoly procurement and distribution.

The central and state governments, instead of adopting this course, have resorted to severe repression, lathi-charge, firing and wholesale arrest of leaders and cadres of the Communist Party of India, Marxist CP, SSP and others in Bihar and West Bengal where the food situation has become very serious.

The decisions of the recent chief ministers' meeting held in New Delhi, accepted by the Government of India, show that all attempts to evolve a national integrated food policy have been given up. Each state is virtually left free to choose its own methods of procurement. Similarly each state is free to decide whether maximum prices of foodgrains should be fixed or not. There is no guarantee that the states will take steps to introduce statutory rationing.

A really effective and integrated food policy has not been adopted owing to the Congress High Command's careful calculations of how its election funds might suffer if the hoarders are hurt by its policies.

Shorn of all verbiage, these decisions boil down to a refusal on the part of the government to take over wholesale trade in foodgrains, to make only a limited purchase of rice and wheat, to give a free hand to food-thieves in the matter of coarse grains and grams, to introduce statutory rationing only in cities with over ten lakh population and a few industrial centres like Jamshedpur and Rourkela, thus leaving the rest of the Indian people to the tender mercy of the hoarders and landlords.

## HIDDEN MOTIVE

The object of this decision of the chief ministers' meeting is to take care of big cities and a few industrial centres so that the main political and industrial centres are kept out of trouble and lull the deficit areas and towns with promises until the next crop comes into the market.

The zonal system, in the absence of an integrated national food policy is failing to achieve its purpose. The system, as it operates today, does not help effectively the

deficit states to get foodgrains.

The steadily worsening situation, with acute famine and scarcity over wide areas, is compelling wider sections of the people to take to resistance against government policies. In every state, the Communist Party and other left parties have been organising mass campaigns, hartals, satyagrahas and huge strikes to bring the government to its senses and adopt a national food policy.

The government is suppressing the legitimate and peaceful movement for people's food through the most extensive use of the DIR against the people, detention without trial, lathi-charges and firing.

Instead of taking drastic steps against the hoarders of foodgrains, the government is attacking the parties of the left who organise the people for food against the hoarders, and slandering them as anti-national. The government has thus made it amply clear that between the hoarders and the hungry people, it stands by the former.

In order to take this growing people's movement forward and compel the government to change its pro-hoarder policies, it is urgently necessary that all patriotic and progressive people, irrespective of political affiliation unite behind a common programme of getting food to the people.

## GOVERNMENT MUST ACT

The National Council of the Communist Party of India puts forward the following demands for saving our people from hunger and urges upon the government to accept them particularly in view of the grave peril that is facing our country:

**1** Monopoly purchase of foodgrains through the Food Corporation of India along with the following steps:—

- guarantee of a fair and reasonable price to the peasants;
- supply of necessary goods to the peasants at reasonable prices;
- complete ban on bank credit to grain traders;
- imposition of a levy on landlords; and
- ban on movement of foodgrains from one state to another on private account.

During the period before the monopoly purchase by the government becomes fully effective, the National Council of the CPI demands that the government takes over the accumulated stocks in the possession of the stockists like rice and flour mills, wholesalers and traders and landlords.

**2** Statutory rationing in big cities and towns over one lakh of population and heavily deficit rural areas like Kerala; informal rationing in small towns and other deficit areas.

**3** The areas where famine has broken out must be declared famine areas, famine works have to be started to give work to the people, and cheap shops to provide grains and other necessities of life must be opened. Long-term measures like irrigation projects and power-supply for pumps have also to be taken up in the recurring famine areas.

## HELP TO PEASANTS

The government should help the peasants and agricultural labourers with ample credit, tax relief and other facilities in areas affected by late rains and drought.

**4** Imprisonment and heavy fines for food-thieves.

**5** Make our country self-sufficient in foodgrains and end dependence on PL 480 imports from the USA by implementing the following:

- All fallow lands must be distributed among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Implement genuine agrarian reforms by amending the ceiling Acts in favour of peasants and implementing them immediately, by granting occupancy rights to tenants-at-will and share-croppers, by securing minimum wages and house sites for agricultural labourers, by providing debt relief to the peasants and agricultural labourers.
- Provide fertilisers, irrigation facilities, cheap credit and other facilities for carrying on improved methods of cultivation.
- Nationalise the banks together with the following steps:
  - supply ample agricultural credits to peasants at bank rates; and
  - advance the peasants the price of foodgrains to be purchased i.e., forward pur-

chase of foodgrains directly from the peasants.

The National Council of the CPI warns that the complacent and self-satisfied attitude displayed by the Congress government will lead to the infliction of terrible sufferings on millions upon millions of the people.

## COMMON DEMAND

It therefore calls on the people to demand with one voice that the government must take over wholesale trade in foodgrains and also its distribution. It appeals to all left parties, mass organisations, Congressmen and other non-party individuals to come together at this hour of grave food situation and build up a united powerful mass movement which can compel the government to reverse its pro-hoarder and weak-kneed policies.

While launching and developing the people's movement for food, we shall always keep in mind the claims of defence of India against Pakistani aggression and discharge our duty towards our people.

★ The National Council of the Communist Party of India decides to launch an all-India food movement from September 10 to 21, 1965. The state councils have to adjust their programmes of food movement to this time-table of all-India movement.

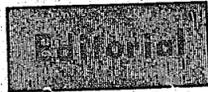
★ In this movement, all forms of action from satyagraha to mass rallies and demonstrations will be used and the Party units will be guided by the plan of action drafted by the respective state councils in this matter.

★ This movement will have to be coordinated with the all-India action of the workers to be launched under the leadership of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti in order to make that a complete success.

★ Where statutory or informal rationing is introduced, our Party has to work for people getting rations properly and for the removal of the defects in the rationing system.

★ The above programme has to be carried out in alliance with other parties and individuals wherever possible. Our Party will carry on its own where it is not possible to have an alliance.

## NATIONAL UNITY—HOW ?



THE PRESIDENT AND the Prime Minister have been making repeated appeals for national unity in the face of the dangerous

attack made by Pakistani infiltrators on Kashmir. These appeals will find a ready echo in the hearts of all patriots. Faced with aggression, the Indian people always sink their political and other differences, and come together in defence of India's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Unfortunately, however, the Prime Minister in his recent broadcast and speeches has thought it fit to combine his appeals for unity, with condemnation of mass movements of the people for food and against high prices and on other popular issues. In his broadcast to the nation on August 13 the Prime Minister said:

"I must refer with great regret to the disturbances which unfortunately took place in some towns of Bihar and in Calcutta, Hyderabad and one or two other places. What has happened there will help no one. Let there be no recurrence of such incidents."

In his Red Fort speech on Independence Day, the Prime Minister again appealed for unity, and went on to ask the people not to take part on what he called "agitation, hartals and strikes". (Times of India, August 16). He suggested that every one should "bear hardships willingly".

The Indian masses have been bearing hardships for all the 18 years, during which the Congress governments have ruled. Whenever the country has faced danger, it has been workers and peasants, the middle-classes, the ordinary men and women of this land who have rallied to its defence. There was no need, therefore, for the Prime Minister's homily on the bearing of hardships.

It would have been better if instead of condemning the people's peaceful movement as "disturbances", Shastriji had turned his attention on those whose hoarding has created the food shortage, on those whose profiteering and greed has sent the prices rocketing, on the monopolists, who are responsible for the people's hunger.

It would have been better if Shastriji had turned his anger on his own government, whose policies help precisely these vested interests, which profit from the misery of the masses—the hoarders and profiteers, the monopolists and the landlords.

The Communist Party has made it clear that it considers the defence of the country from external attacks is the "supreme need of the hour", and that the claims of defence shall always be kept in mind, when planning and developing the people's movements for food.

The Rashtriya Sangram Samiti, in its call for an India-wide action day, has also categorically taken a similar stand.

The Communist Party has rightly pointed out in its latest resolution calling for a countrywide campaign in defence of Kashmir, that the defence of the country must be organised with the full enthusiastic cooperation of the people. The Party has condemned the repressive actions of the government and described them not only as "contrary to all principles of democracy", but also "a complete negation of the interests of effective defence of our country".

Calling on the government to take positive steps to mobilise the active support of the mass of the Indian people for the defence of the country, the Communist Party has said that the way to ensure this and to give effect to the appeals for national unity, is to meet the legitimate demands of the people, and above all provide them with food and other necessities of life at prices within their reach, and stop its policy of repression and release all political prisoners imprisoned under the DIR.

This is the way to national unity for effective national defence. There is no other way.

Let the government use its BULLETS for the aggressors. For the people, it should provide FOOD.

(August 26)



Mazurov and Malik being received by Swaran Singh and Humayun Kabir on arrival at Palam airport.

## MAZUROV'S VISIT AND KASHMIR

IN the midst of the reported fishy manoeuvres of Britain over Kashmir happenings—among them an attempt to develop a concerted British-US move to put new pressures on India through cut in aid—the Deputy Prime Minister of the USSR Mazurov was hailed by official and political circles here as the most welcome visitor.

The exact nature of the talks he had with the government leaders has not been made public but it is known to have covered the Kashmir developments in detail. New Delhi was already informed that the Soviet policy on Kashmir issue was unchanged.

The situation created by latest Pakistani attack was a matter for India to best handle. The Soviet Union would always want India and Pakistan to settle their differences and disputes through direct negotiations peacefully and third party intervention was not called for. Mazurov has reiterated this position unreservedly during his stay in Delhi.

Meanwhile, the Kashmir situation remains grave with Pakistan now committing its regular forces to mount pressure on the ceasefire line. It is in this context that the Indian government leaders, among them the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, have warned Pakistan that India alone may not be counted upon to respect the ceasefire line. The danger of escalation of the conflict thus persists. The UN Secretary-General still hesitates, under Pakistani pressure, to exercise any restraint on Pakistan.

### BIG BUSINESS THREATENS

AGAINST all expectations entertained in the official quarters, specially in the Finance Ministry, the big business has reacted unusually sharply to TTK's supplementary budget.

It has, however, been noted that the attack of its spokesmen is not confined to the new imposts which in any case hardly touch the private industry and trade, but cover much wider ground.

Their positions are now more frankly political and are

based on fundamental policy issues. FICCI President Kiroloskar, for instance, openly suggested cutting off the Congress Party of its sources of election funds and spending businessmen's purses to finance individuals in the Congress Party who would act on their behalf in the ruling party.

This is not a new idea; it was put forward in the last session of the FICCI by a delegate from Bombay. It is also known that more shrewd among the top businessmen have been operating on this basis for a long time and already have well-organised lobbies in the ruling party and some other political parties.

### New Delhi Letter

But its "operation" is now proposed to be greatly expanded.

Behind such threats and the pompous talk of plan holiday and pause, however, the businessmen have rather more restricted ambitions. They seek their already accepted share of nearly one-third of the total fourth plan outlay to be financed more directly by government help than is being promised to them.

Besides banking, other forms of institutional finance created by the government, have been a major source of private sector's expansion. They are afraid that in the face of government's own difficulties of raising resources for the public sector, their claims on resources might not suffer. They want assurances against any such possibility.

An immediate source of the businessmen's irritation is the attempt by the government, under foreign exchange stringency, to encourage import substitution. This hits their foreign trade operations and huge profits that these bring. They also restrict somewhat deals with foreign private capital in other than approved fields.

The stand taken by big business after the supplementary budget helped to expose its pretensions. It has,

according to even official and Planning Commission circles, shown that its approach is essentially against any genuine industrialisation and it would much rather function within a neo-colonial economic framework if it ensures immediate profit.

It is not without significance in this context that even TTK should have to condemn it for wanting an economy of scarcities in which high profits and speculation rule the roost.

But while under compulsions of present difficult economic situation, government spokesmen speak harshly of the attitude of the big business; they are not willing to act firmly on its logic.

The confrontations such as the present end up with attempts at rapprochement at political level as was done after the last FICCI session with Home Minister Nanda going to Calcutta with Prime Minister's blessings to strike fresh deals and hold out new assurances to businessmen's representatives.

While Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission will shortly invite formally the big business representatives to discuss with him how they can be helped to fulfil their share of the fourth plan, moves are already afoot to "tackle" the more powerful of the tycoons among them at informal, political level.

It is against the consequences of such deals that the people must remain vigilant since they determine the implementation of policies.

—B. M.

### READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS PLEASE NOTE

All communications for the editorial department of New Age should be sent to the following address:

New Age Weekly  
6 Rani Jhansi Road  
NEW DELHI 1

# Defend Kashmir, Defeat Imperialist Plot

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India vehemently condemns the treacherous infiltration by some thousands of Pakistan-trained armed personnel across the cease-fire line in Kashmir. This infiltration by such large numbers of men under the command of Pakistani officers and armed with modern weapons including rocket-throwers and machine-guns, constitute an open aggression and invasion of Indian territory by the Pakistan armed forces.

It should be noted that in some ways this invasion is even more serious than the Pakistani invasion of Kashmir in 1947. The sinister nature of this planned infiltration is underlined by the fact that it followed so closely on the heels of the ceasefire agreement in Kutch, and on the eve of proposed talks on Kutch between the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan.

The Communist Party congratulates the Indian army government and people of Kashmir for successfully resisting the invaders, foiling their plans to capture Srinagar, and wiping out a large number of them. The Communist Party joins the rest of the nation in expressing its sense of pride at the courage and patriotism displayed by the ordinary citizens of Kashmir in defending their motherland against the aggressors.

The Communist Party however warns the people against any sense of complacency in regard to the situation in Kashmir. It must constantly be borne in mind that behind the infiltrators stands the Ayub dictatorship, which has always had the support of the US and British imperialists in regard to its aggressive activities in Kashmir.

Despite repeated warnings by the Communist Party and other democratic forces in the country, the Government of India has failed to resist and fight back the constant blackmail and pressures exercised on it by the US and British imperialists on the issue of Indo-Pakistan rela-

tions. On the contrary, the Government of India has repeatedly succumbed to these pressures and made concessions on a number of issues.

It is these concessions which have encouraged the British imperialists particularly to back the Ayub dictatorship so openly on this latest attack on India's sovereignty and integrity. Repeated protests made by the Government of India against the use by the Pakistan army of American arms and tanks in the fighting in Kutch, were virtually spurned. And yet the Government of India took no stern steps to express its indignation at this open flouting by the US Government of solemn understandings given by it to India.

The British imperialists have been emboldened by the manner in which the Government of India allowed them to intervene in support of Pakistan's totally unjust claims, during the so-called "mediation" on Kutch. The Communist Party and the democratic movement, while accepting the Kutch agreement, warned against certain of its terms, which were imposed on India by the British "mediators" against Indian national interests.

### Warning Ignored

The Communist Party and the democratic movement have repeatedly warned the Government of India against placing too much reliance on the so-called United Nations observers on the ceasefire line in Kashmir. This warning was again ignored.

But today even central government ministers are forced to state publicly that the UN observers have shown a constant bias against India and deliberately turned a blind eye to the infiltration by thousands of armed Pakistani soldiers, in civilian clothes.

The head of the observers group, General Nimmo, has gone to the length of justifying the inaction of the observers by stating that the ceasefire agreement does not prohibit the crossing of the ceasefire line by men in civilian clothes, even if they are armed!

Immediately following the Pakis-

tani invasion of Kashmir, the pro-imperialist Swatantra Party leaders in the country have stepped up their campaign for a complete change in our foreign policy and are demanding "security pacts" with the imperialist powers.

The Jan Sangh, while demanding resolute action against Pakistan, is also attacking Indian foreign policy, urging closer relations with the imperialist powers, and creating an atmosphere in which non-alignment and the entire system of parliamentary democracy can be attacked.

The American lobby in India, through such spokesmen as J. J. Singh, has been demanding that Kashmir should be declared an "independent" state.

The rightwing forces inside the government and the ruling party are equally active urging a shift in non-alignment in favour of the imperialist powers.

All these forces of right reaction seek desperately to "prove" that the imperialists have no hand in the Pakistani aggression. They take advantage of the fact of the close relations between Pakistan and China, and the recent open support given by Peking Radio to the infiltrators in Kashmir, to mask the face of the imperialists who are the real strength behind Pakistani aggression.

The Indian people strongly condemn the opportunist support given by the Chinese government to the Pakistan government in its anti-India actions. By this support the Chinese government is impeding a peaceful settlement between India and Pakistan and thus weakening the cause of anti-imperialism, peace and Asian solidarity.

But notwithstanding the role of the Chinese government in this matter, it is ultimately the US and British imperialists who will exercise pressures on the Indian government to enter into a dishonourable "settlement" with Pakistan.

In this situation the reiteration by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of their stand that Kashmir is an integral part of India, has been

a significant act of friendship.

The Indian people know that it has been the Soviet Union which again and again in the UN Security Council prevented the US and British imperialists from adopting anti-Indian resolutions and decisions on Kashmir. The continued support by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for India's efforts to build up its independent defence potential, has also been of special assistance to our people, in defending the nation's territorial integrity and independence and our policy of non-alignment.

The Communist Party urges the Government of India to take firm steps to halt the Pakistani aggression through all possible means.

The armed forces must take effective steps to see that no more Pakistani infiltrators are allowed to cross the ceasefire line under any circumstances. The mopping up operations against the infiltrators still hiding in Kashmir must be intensified in active cooperation with the Kashmiri people who should be organised into popular fighting units in the spirit of the 1947 resistance.

The defence forces must be deployed in full strength all along our borders to ensure that our supply lines are properly protected and no invasion or infiltration is allowed to take place at any other point.

The Indian people are aghast at the fact that so many armed infiltrators could enter across the ceasefire line without the knowledge of India's intelligence service. The functioning of our central intelligence service on the borders has to properly examined.

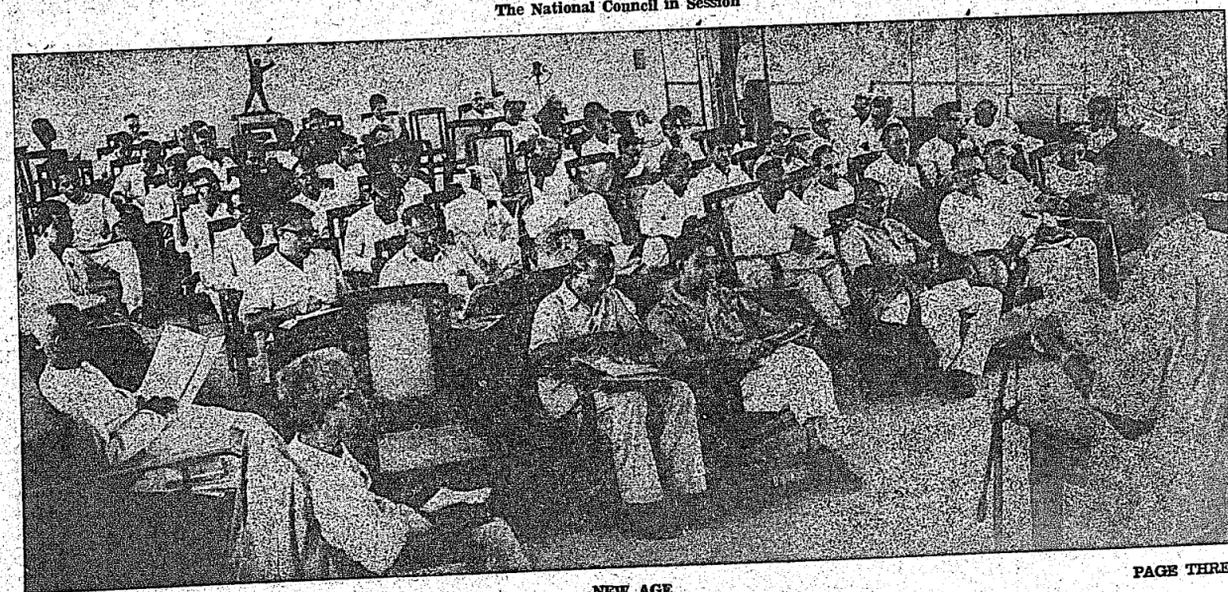
The continued dependence of our country on the imperialist powers for defence equipment, despite repeated warnings by the democratic forces, indicates the fact that the Government of India's defence policy is dangerously defective. To fight the imperialists conspiracy, in Kashmir and elsewhere, this dependence for arms on the imperialist powers must be ended.

The President and the Prime Minister and other government leaders have called for national unity in the face of the Pakistani threat.

But the defence of the country cannot be left only to the Congress government and its official machinery. Experience has shown that the Congress government has failed again

\* ON PAGE 13

The National Council in Session



# Whose Tune Does Masani Sing?

**MINOO** Masani, the Swatantra's leader, has been having continuous bad luck in politics, so to say. First it was the Rann of Kutch affair, now it is Kashmir.

His Lok Sabha constituency, Rajkot, is in a bad shape. The Swatantra leader's soft-corner for West-bound, SEATO-oriented Pakistan is the cause. His recent visits to Rajkot, all meant to save a crumbling base, have been great disappointments for the leader.

When the Pakistani aggression in the Rann of Kutch began, Masani was in a quandary. Reports were available that people in Gujarat were up in arms against a leader who had been preaching virtues of offering territorial concessions to Pakistan. Off west, Masani to Rajkot to mend the fences of his constituency. He used his suave tongue freely to assuage feelings.

However, awkward questions were asked, the most awkward of all being one which would have him clearly condemn Pakistani aggression in Kutch. Masani, quibbled and hedged and that set emotions into white heat.

The report went round that his erstwhile staunch followers in Rajkot, the Swatantra Party's own workers, were in a veritable state of revolt. Don't allow Masani this constituency again—that was the hue and cry. And a section in the Swatantra party in Rajkot were inclined to agree.

Masani was not to be cowed down, for he was a man of "principles". He could not change his principals. So he went places, addressed public meetings and

"workers" gatherings. Everywhere the Rajkot story was repeated.

Soon there befell another disaster. The Sheikh of Kashmir was back home after an extended Haj pilgrimage, and was promptly interned. What had Masani to say? Once again it was unruly meetings and angry crowds. But he it said to Masani's credit, he did not change his principals!

The most difficult phase was however soon to come. The massive Pakistani armed infiltrations into Kashmir provided a new testing point for Masani and his politics. It called for a new approach, a sense of political realism, and reckoning with the lessons of the past.

So bright new ideas struck him, which he put across in recent meetings of supporters as well as in his Lok Sabha speech. India's criticism against American imperialism for its role in Vietnam had recoiled! Yet another fruit of the policy of nonalignment—since the Pakistani infiltrators were another version of the Vietcong, said Masani.

Hardly did he realise that he was damning India and lauding the Pakistani raiders by equating these marauders with Vietnamese freedom-fighters. The more apt equation of the American-backed mercenary expedition of Bay of Pigs did not suit Masani, since that would harm his principals!

Another bright idea—a new slogan—of Masani. Let India join the Western bloc, lock-stock-and-barrel. That would enable India to strike jointly with the West against Pakistan. Little did Masani realise what he was saying. For it was none else than the West, his dear friends, who created the Kashmir problem. It is they who have all along been

at the bottom of the Kashmir

trouble—the Kashmir plot as I would like to call it.

There is before me a sheaf of papers to recount over and over again the story of this plot—call it straight, the Anglo-American plot against Kashmir. But there is one set of papers which I would like Masani to have a glimpse of. These are papers which provide irrefutable evidence right from 1953 that the Kashmir "problem" in its present shape is an American creation.

Have a look at the map given below. It is a reprint from the NEW YORK TIMES. The paper published the map on July 5, 1953. It provides exposition of the American plan for "Independent Kashmir"—to be headed by Sheikh Abdullah and over-looked by the United States!

According to this American plan, Kashmir was to be divided into three zones: the first zone comprising of Jammu and Ladakh to be completely a part of India; the second zone consisting of Gilgit in the North and the other Pakistani-held territories on the borders of West Punjab, to be constitutionally given to Pakistan.

"The third zone", revealed a newspaper message in 1953 which scooped the American plan for Kashmir, "which is the most important zone and the most valuable part of the state, namely, the Valley, should be either internationalised for a certain period, or alternatively, if India or Pakistan does not agree to this open UN influence, then a semi-independent government should be established for the Valley under Sheikh Abdullah and Chulam Abbas, whose neutrality should be guaranteed for a period of say 10 years... pending its final choice to either merge with India or any other of the

neighbouring states, or to remain a sort of international zone between the two".

This was the American plan which John Foster Dulles sought to foist on India and Pakistan during his visit to New Delhi and Karachi in 1953. Wrote the NEW YORK TIMES, through its New Delhi correspondent, John Trumbull, soon after the Dulles visit:

"It is rumoured here... that United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles supported a solution of this nature for the long-standing quarrel."

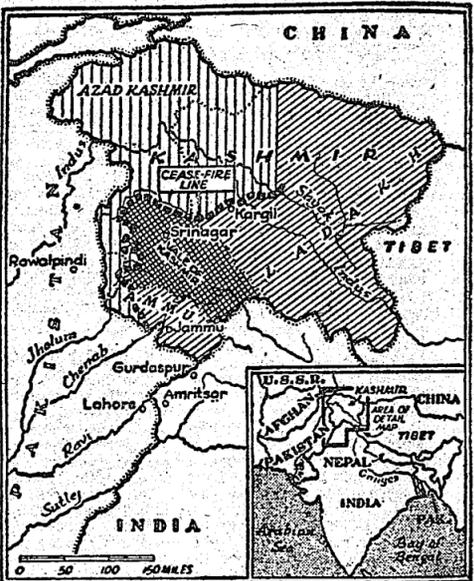
Soon after Trumbull's dispatch, the NEW YORK TIMES kept on writing about

the new plan, expounding it and backing it. On July 6, 1953, the paper reproduced in its editorial column the main outline of the American plan, describing the valley as the "richest and most desirable part of the state."

So, it happens that it was the American State Department, and John Foster Dulles personally, who were at the bottom of the plot, which sought to lure Abdullah to the dream of an "independent" Kashmir.

It was this mischief which has been at the bottom of the Kashmir trouble. And Masani wants us to defend Kashmir by joining the Americans (sic).

—BHIMA



**PATNA:** Despite terrible repression let loose by the state government the food agitation led by the united left opposition composed of the Communist Party of India and SSP and supported by RSP and Marxist CP, has successfully completed the first round creating an unprecedented mass upsurge all over Bihar.

All efforts made by the government and the ruling party to brand the spontaneous outburst of the people's wrath as "anti-national" and "act of subversion" by anti-social elements failed to deter the people from participating in the statewide anti-government demonstrations and strikes.

Having recorded their massive protest, the people have given a chance to the government to ponder over the "explosive situation" in the state created by high prices and food scarcity and take effective steps to bring down the prices and provide enough food for the people.

An uneasy calm returned to the cities and towns after a week-long massive demonstrations, officially interpreted as "restoration of normalcy" by brutal repression. But the real situation in the state is described as "explosive" by all responsible circles.

Despite the mass arrest of CPI and SSP leaders and workers the agitation is spreading to the villages. This was admitted by Chief Minister Sahay recently while

talking to the Congress workers here. While the government is trying to escape from all responsibilities for its failure in the food front, by accusing the CPI and other left parties, the saner elements in the ruling party are holding a realistic view on the developments.

This was reflected in the food debate in the state Assembly last week. Though the opposition benches were vacant due to the mass suspension of all opposition members for five days, attack on the government came from the Congress members.

Several Congress members who described the situation in Bihar "extremely explosive", sharply criticised the government for its failure in tackling the food crisis in the state. Despite such frank admissions by the leading members of the ruling party of the government's responsibility in creating the present explosive situation, the Chief Minister is singing in the old tune. He is trying to lay all blame on the Communists.

Sahay is reported to have written to the Union Home

# FOOD AGITATION CONTINUES IN BIHAR

From K. GOPALAN

Minister Nanda to ban the Communist Party of India without further delay.

Though the ban has not yet come, the state government has started treating the Communists as outlaws. Mass arrest of the CPI leaders and workers all over Bihar and raids and searches of the state headquarters of the Party as well as the districts and local offices are considered to be a calculated move on the part of the state government to make normal functioning of the Party impossible.

According to official figures 2639 persons have been arrested in connection with the agitations. Over 300 of them are detained under DTE. They include the CPI and SSP leaders; workers, students and NGOs. The government figures are considered to be incomplete. According to unofficial estimates arrests are understood to be over 4000. Arrests are still continuing. Meanwhile the government

and the ruling party have realised that if the food crisis was not solved situation in the state might further deteriorate. But no practical step is being taken to build buffer stock by taking over hoarded foodgrains. The state government has again appealed to the traders to extend their help in meeting the crisis.

The Chief Minister hurriedly called a meeting of the wholesale graindealers of the state and requested that they would make over to the government a certain minimum quantity of foodgrains at a fixed price to build a buffer stock.

Sahay implicitly admitted before the traders that the recent outburst of people's wrath was the result of the hardship among the people due to high prices and food scarcity. He told the traders: "Recent events in the state should be an eye-opener to the fact that if food prices are not held, 'anti-social ele-

ments' would exploit the situation. A bag of foodgrains hoarded is more dangerous for the society today than a bag of dry explosives."

Despite this realisation the Chief Minister, who was ruthless in suppressing the food agitation, was not prepared to resort to any strong measures or invoke the DTE to unearth the hoarded foodgrains.

This softness has emboldened the traders and they refused to give any definite assurance to the Chief Minister. On the other hand they put forward some conditions for extending cooperation. These are: (1) The zonal restriction should go; (2) the government should appoint some wholesalers and rice mills as their agents; (3) bank credit facilities be made available to the wholesalers; and (4) restriction on inter-district movement be abolished. All these conditions are beneficial to the traders only.

**NEW DELHI:** The Board of Trade, at its recent meeting in New Delhi, is reported to have expressed optimism about the "immense scope of developing exports" to the American region composed of the United States and Canada.

**B**UT the facts and figures before the Board of Trade certainly did not warrant such a conclusion. It is true that India's exports to the US went up slightly in 1964-65, but in the first quarter of 1965-66 they have come down drastically too.

Other western countries also contributed to a shortfall in the country's exports during the first quarter of the current financial year, important among them, Britain and Japan. The downward trend is likely to continue in the coming months.

It was this depressing picture of the prospects that prompted the Board of Trade to scale down the export targets for 1965-66 from the original Rs. 375 crores to Rs. 350 crores.

Also, the Board had another shock when it met. When it met in April last it had been told that the country's exports for the year 1964-65 were estimated at Rs. 335 crores. The revised figures are down to Rs. 315 crores. This is just Rs. 22 crores more than the exports in 1963-64.

The reason ascribed by the Ministry of Commerce for this downward revision is short and shut-out shipments which has come to about Rs. 18 crores for jute manufactures, rupees two crores for tea, rupees one crore for textiles and rupees two crores for various other items.

But more disturbing are the figures which have been released by the Directorate General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics for the

first quarter of the current financial year, that is, April-June 1965 which have shown an actual decline over the same period in 1964.

Against the revised estimates of Rs. 196 crores worth of exports during April-June 1964, this year only Rs. 185.3 crores worth of exports have been recorded. The monthly figures are Rs. 56.4 crores for April, Rs. 61.7 crores for May and Rs. 67.2 crores for June.

The major share for the fall in exports value is that of sugar. Though India exported 11 thousand tonnes more in the quarter April-June 1965 than in the corresponding period in 1964, the steep fall in the world prices of sugar hit the Indian exports very badly.

Exporting 156 thousand tonnes of sugar, India earned only Rs. 4.8 crores in April-June 1965 against Rs. 12.5 crores earned in the first quarter of the previous year exporting only 145 thousand tonnes of sugar.

Other items of which exports showed a marked decline in the first quarter of 1965-66 as compared to the first quarter of the previous year are:

Cotton piecegoods (mill-made) by rupees three crores from Rs. 14.23 crores to Rs. 11.19 crores. Groundnut seeds and coffee by Rs. 1.7 crores. Coffee exports fell from Rs. 5.42 crores to Rs. 3.66 crores and groundnut seeds from Rs. 1.68 crores to nil in the first quarter of 1965-66.

# INDIA'S EXPORTS DECLINE

# US, Britain, Japan Share Shortfall

Vegetable oils, raw wool, fabrics of synthetic fibres and spun glass, fuel and lubricants were down by rupees one crore each. Exports of vegetable oils fell from Rs. 2.83 crores to Rs. 1.63 crores, raw wool from Rs. 2.42 crores to Rs. 1.42 crores, synthetic fabrics and spun glass from Rs. 1.99 crores to Rs. 1.10 crores.

Manganese ore, coil yarn and rugs-and-foot-wear by Rs. 60 lakhs each. Exports of manganese ore fell from Rs. 2.99 crores to Rs. 2.42 crores, coil yarn and rugs from Rs. 2.81 crores to Rs. 2.23 crores, foot-wear from Rs. 1.12 crores to Rs. 54 lakhs.

Other items export of which showed decline are pulses, onions, gum and resins, lac, rice, leather excepting undressed leather, ferromanganese, cotton waste, cement, wood and lumber.

According to Commerce Ministry sources, the shortfall in the export of cotton piecegoods was because of lower intake into Britain. Exports of vegetable oils and groundnut seeds were lower because of the export ban imposed on them. Coffee

production itself was lower in the country resulting in a fall in its exports.

The reduced exports of fabrics of synthetic fibres and spun glass were due to change in the export promotion scheme. The fall in exports of pulses, raw wool and vegetables was due to increased domestic requirements and consequent larger indigenous consumption.

Reduced offtake by Japan was the reason for the fall in the exports of manganese ore.

A part of the decline in exports has been offset by increased exports in some other items. But the increase has been of small amounts with the result that the overall picture is that of a fall in the exports for the quarter under review.

The increase in respect of spices, mica, handloom fabrics, miscellaneous textile manufactures, iron and steel and engineering goods has been of rupees one crore each.

Exports of cashew kernel, clothing and raw jute were higher by Rs. 50 lakhs each and exports of chemicals and rubber manufactures by Rs. 30 lakhs each.

Exports of some items like bananas, meat and other allied products, animal casings, iron and steel scrap, natural silk, woollen fabrics, carpets, raw skins, undressed leather, plastics and plastic manufactures, paper and paper boards, glass and ceramics increased, though marginally, both in value and quantity. Exports of oilseeds, tobacco, raw cotton, fish and fish manufactures were higher in terms of value though the quantities were lower.

Regionwise, India's exports to Africa registered a significant increase during April-June 1965 compared to the corresponding period of the previous year. The increase was from Rs. 9.6 crores to Rs. 14.4 crores. The bulk of this increase was due to larger exports to the UAR, which went up from Rs. 1.81 crores to Rs. 7.10 crores. Exports to Ghana, Sudan and Tunisia were also slightly higher than in the previous year.

Exports to the American continent went up by just rupees one crore which was because of larger exports to Canada. Exports to Canada were up from Rs. 3.6 crores to Rs. 5.4 crores in the first quarter of this year. Exports to the United States, however, were lower by Rs. 1.10 crores, the fall being from Rs. 36.80 crores to Rs. 35.70 crores.

Indian exports to the socialist countries went up by rupees two crores mainly because of increase in exports to the Soviet Union. Exports to Soviet Union were up from Rs. 18.7 crores to Rs. 19.5 crores. Yugoslavia from Rs. 1.9 crores to Rs. 3.2 crores.

Exports to most of the West European countries declined during the quarter under review. Exports to Britain went down from Rs. 34.18 crores to Rs. 28.77 crores, to the EGM countries from Rs. 15.6 crores to Rs. 12.7 crores. Among the EGM countries, exports to France went down from Rs. 3.37 crores to Rs. 2.80 crores and to Italy from Rs. 3.28 crores to Rs. 1.86 crores.

The decline in Indian exports to Asian countries was also marked during April-June 1965. From Rs. 54 crores these went down to Rs. 43 crores—a fall of Rs. 11 crores. Exports to ECAFE countries took the major share in this short-fall. From Rs. 47 crores, exports to ECAFE countries went down to Rs. 37 crores.

Japan's share in the shortfall was Rs. 6.33 crores. (from Rs. 18.94 crores exports fell to Rs. 12.56 crores; and Ceylon's Rs. 1.65 crores (from Rs. 4.07 crores exports fell to Rs. 2.42 crores).

Three countries, to which Indian exports were higher during the quarter under review were Pakistan, Afghanistan and Australia. Exports to Pakistan were up from Rs. 2.28 crores to Rs. 2.93 crores; to Afghanistan from Rs. 1.24 crores to Rs. 1.72 crores and to Australia from Rs. 4.36 crores to Rs. 4.76 crores.

Economic notes

# DEVALUATION BY BACK DOOR

**T**HE supplementary budget was a well-kept secret. It has been rightly described by T. T. Krishnamachari himself as providing "formidable fare".

Ostensibly its claim is to encourage development without inducing inflation and to discourage speculation without retarding production. In actual fact, it will discourage development and induce inflation.

It can be called a budget to bring in devaluation through the backdoor. Even more serious than disguised devaluation is the open kuckling under to the World Bank. As THE HINDU points out (August 21) "it is well-known that the World Bank has been urging an across-the-board increase in tariffs as part of the corrective measures which the Bank thinks should be applied to the Indian economy in its present state."

"What he has proposed now is a well-calculated move to meet the argument of the World Bank while securing at the same time additional revenue for the Exchequer. The Finance Minister is leaving next month for Washington to attend the meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He may feel strengthened in pleading India's case for substantial external assistance."

Thus India's budget is also to be made as and when and how the US imperialists operating through the World Bank, desire. It is a state of

affairs which no patriot can tolerate. There are certain features of the economy mentioned in the Finance Minister's speech which are highly disquieting. He states that the whole sale price index had come down from 101 in January this year to 150 in March. By July 24 this had again shot up to 164.8 and the lean months are still ahead of us.

The foreign exchange reserves are now down below Rs. 100 crores which are "hardly sufficient to meet seasonal swings. The export earnings are Rs. 803 crores, roughly the same as last year, with an actual comparative decline in April-June this year.

There is a glaring admission of the failure of measures to control bank credit expansion through operations of the Reserve Bank. Bank credit expanded by Rs. 367 crores in the busy season of 1963-64. This year, despite all the so-called credit squeeze measures, it has soared to Rs. 407 crores. One of the reasons for this is supposed to be black money going underground.

Small savings are Rs. 20 crores below the target. Amnuty deposits are providing Rs. 15 crores less than expected. State borrowing has to be reduced by Rs. 20 crores. Excise duties, income tax and corporation tax are all producing less than satisfactory receipts.

Other reasons adduced for the onerous "supplementary" budget are defence needs, assistance to states and administrative allowances to government employees. The Finance Minister is

obviously trying to make a scapegoat out of the government employees. He has conveniently forgotten to mention that this DA increase is not only considerably less than what official reports have entitled the employees to get immediately.

The new measures proposed by the Finance Minister to meet this grave situation are expected to bring in Rs. 100 crores for the remainder of the financial year and Rs. 173 crores over the whole year.

Import tariff changes will yield an additional revenue of Rs. 119 crores, excise increase on petroleum products Rs. 30.84 crores, on steel and pig iron Rs. 14.38 crores and on non-ferrous metals Rs. 9.50 crores.

Speaking in Bombay after his budget presentation, TTK declared that there "need be no price increase and that if there is any, this will be due to lack of "good behaviour" on the part of the distributive trade. He pleaded for controls.

It can be stated without fear of contradiction that the budget will lead to sharp price increases, especially in the cost of public transport and in kerosene (the inferior variety of which has not been additionally taxed).

The heavy increase in import duties may help in the process of import substitution in the long run. But in conditions of India today, with its growth rate already slowing down, the immediate effect will be a large general price rise.

"Sympathetic" price rises of edible oils have already been

noticed. Such sympathy will be there in plenty!

Another shameful aspect of the supplementary budget is the further mercy shown to the holders of black money. It will be remembered that so far only Rs. 52.13 crores of black money have been declared, yielding a tax revenue of Rs. 21.61 crores. Searches have brought in another Rs. 5.7 crores.

So, a meagre Rs. 58 crores of black money has been found out of the estimated Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 crores, the basis of a parallel government, as V. K. Krishna Menon put it.

And now, there is to be a further extension of the period of voluntary disclosure till the end of next March. Only utter fools will bother to declare their boards and black money holders are scarcely stupid people.

The government has again declared through its new budget that neither Pakistani invasion nor serious economic difficulties are going to make it budget an inch in the direction of any radical measures like extensive nationalisation.

Its entire economic policy is one of encouraging indigenous capitalism and placating imperialism.

—MOHIT SEN

## SURATGARH STATE FARM

# GOVERNMENTAL NEGLIGENCE RETARDS PROGRESS

In the waterless wilderness stretched over miles in a region where the people have to face long spells of high velocity sandstorms as the temperature goes up to 120 degrees Fahrenheit during the summer months, the central mechanised farm at Suratgarh stands with pride, withstanding all the high pressure campaigns carried on by interested quarters who see in it a challenge to the out-moded past. It is an example of international cooperation between India and the USSR.

But it is really amazing that the tale of the numerous woes of the Suratgarh farm have remained untold so far, that the Rajasthan government has continued to violate its promise to the farm without anyone raising an eyebrow, that the Railways have continued to behave stupidly all these years to the detriment of the farm and to their own revenues and that even the flood control authorities of Rajasthan looked at the problems of Suratgarh farm with amazing lack of sympathy.

While all this was being done to the country's first and the largest mechanised farm, the truth remain-

ed unknown. The tirade against the farm continued unabated and the vested interests tried to prove that the state-owned mechanised farm was doomed to failure.

But, thanks to the dedicated workers of the Suratgarh farm, it has faced all odds with signal and singlehanded determination and its achievements speak for themselves. The Rajasthan government had assured, when the farm was inaugurated on August 15, 1956, that perennial irrigation would be made available from 1960 onwards.

During the intervening period, the farm authorities constructed the water chan-

nels to carry irrigation water and miles of water courses in the fields were built for full utilisation of water. The land was accordingly developed.

But till this day the Rajasthan government has not been able to fulfil its commitment. Even in respect of non-perennial supplies from the Karniji channel of Ganga canal, the embankments are cut during monsoon to permit the flow of Ghaggar flood to pass, and after the floods recede it takes the Ghaggar flood authorities several months to repair those cuts, with the result that timely watering of fields becomes impossible.

Floods of such large dimensions were unknown in the region for hundreds of years. Previously only a small flow of water came into the Ghaggar bed and the land became moist enough for cultivation. But since last four years the flow of water has been increasing.

In 1964, 24,000 acres of the

30,000 acre farm was submerged. This year half of the farm is already under water.

Losses due to floods till last year amounted to nearly Rs. 54 lakhs. Losses for this year are yet to be estimated.

The Ghaggar flood authorities do not consider it their duty to take protective measures to save the farm or the farm colony. Not only the entire expenses have to be borne by the Suratgarh farm, but it has also to depend on its engineers and technical men for the job.

It is surprising that the Rajasthan government, instead of sharing the farm's problems, leaves it to its own fate.

The Railways refuse to construct two small syphons under the track in the region, which would not only help flood control measures but also contribute to revenues by making it possible for the Railways to continue their service uninterrupted.

O. P. Gupta, the Operational Manager (Mechanical) of the farm told IPA that in spite of the floods and submergence of large tracts of land under water, the farm would have been capable of earning huge profits if only the cuts in the channels were repaired in time for adequate and timely irrigation of fields.

Even now the farm is under a loss only when an amount of Rs. 10 lakhs paid into depreciation fund every year to the Government of India in respect of machinery received as gift from

the Soviet Union is taken into account.

Despite all these difficulties, it is really inspiring to find that all the areas earmarked for agricultural operations have been brought under crops, Paddy, jowar, barley, cotton, sugarcane, etc. are grown in the kharif season and wheat, mustard, barley Gram, etc. in the rabi season.

The extent of damage by the floods to the output can be assessed from the fact that in 1963-64 the total production of various kharif crops was 1,36,33,896 kgs, while the same in the subsequent year of high flood fell to 47,39,288 kgs.

A visit to the farm workshop is a valuable experience. Eighty per cent of the workers in the shop began their careers here as unskilled workmen. Many of them are now working as chargemen, mechanics, truck drivers and other skilled workers.

Manned by these farm technicians, the workshop is capable of undertaking all kinds of major overhauls and repair works. Manufacture of some spare parts has also been undertaken. The establishment of the workshop has resulted in efficient running of machinery.

If perennial irrigation supply from the Bhakra system is assured and horticulture and animal husbandry schemes put on sound footing, the farm will go into full swing.

When fully developed, the Suratgarh farm will produce about 70,000 maunds of wheat and about 12,000 maunds of improved cotton seed, besides other crops.

Moreover, about 150 bulls of the Tharparkar and Murrah breeds, 200 pedigree rams of Eikaneri breed and about 10,000 birds of improved breeds will be available for upgrading indigenous livestock.

All this will open up a new vista of prosperity in this desert region of Rajasthan. But to achieve this everyone will be required to do his duty to the farm.—(IPA)

## Rajasthan Workers Gain Wage Increase

From H. K. VYAS

JAIPUR: In the struggle for full and adequate dearness allowance which took a vigorous form after the publication of the Mathur Committee report, is on in the state.

This month the workers have been able to wrest some more concessions.

One of the demands of the workers was that a proper and final formula for linking the DA with the consumer price index is not enforced, the owners should give an interim rise of Rs. 15 per month.

Now an agreement has been signed between the union and the Jaipur Metals and Electricals for the grant of an interim rise of Rs. 13 per month. Part of it, namely, Rs. 7.28, this concern had already given. Now it has agreed to grant a further ad hoc increase of Rs. 5.72.

Among the four major engineering concerns in the state this is the only concern which has agreed to give this rise.

All small-scale industries (those with a capital of Rs. five lakhs or less) have agreed to give an interim rise. An agreement has been signed between the federation of associations of the various small industries of the whole of Rajasthan and the Rajasthan branches of the AITUC and the INTUC to the effect that these small-scale industries

including the engineering group will give an ad hoc rise of Rs. 10 per month subject to a total minimum of Rs. 60.

With these concessions the Rajasthan workers have made one more advance in their struggle for dearness allowance.

Now the crucial question is of forcing the three major engineering units, two of which are owned by the Birlas, to grant this interim rise which they are persistently refusing. The workers are preparing for the next round.

The state government for its part stands committed to secure this interim increase by means of negotiation or any other suitable action. Persuasion has failed after the joint meeting held on August 13. Now the workers are demanding that an order under DIR should be passed to force these units to grant this ad hoc increase.

If the state government does not take any decision in this case, in the next few days the workers will move into action to force the Birlas to grant this ad hoc rise.

## GOA DOCKERS HOLD THIRD CONFERENCE

From Our Correspondent

PANJIM: Port and Dock Workers of Marmagoa Harbour in their third conference held at Vasco Da Gama on August 14-15 demanded the nationalisation of stevedoring which is an evil type of contract system.

The middlemen (stevedores) should be liquidated in view of the central government's policy of abolishing contract system, the conference demanded through a resolution.

In another resolution the dockers warned the government and the dock employers about their mechanisation and automation schemes in the Harbour which would lead to unemployment and crisis.

The conference which was organised by the Marmagoa Port, Dock and Transport Workers Union (AITUC) was attended by winchmen, gangmen, bargemen and Marmagoa Port Trust workers. Pralad Vengurlekar and Rajbharat Mourya presided over the two sessions.

Gerald Pereira, General Secretary, in his report congratulated the dockers for their glorious role in the seventy-day general strike and called upon them to unite under one banner in order to achieve their demands and improve their living conditions.

The conference urged upon the Goa government to solve the food crisis in Goa and hold the ever-increasing price-line.

Several delegates participated in the deliberations of the conference.

There was strong criticism of the Central Labour Ministry for their partisan approach in denying the seats in the

Marmagoa Port Trust Board and the All India Dock Advisory Committee to the Marmagoa Port, Dock and Transport Workers Union. A resolution was adopted demanding these seats immediately.

Resolutions were also adopted calling upon the Government of Goa to withdraw all the 14 cases pending in the Vasco Court, arising out of the 70 days strike, against 250 workers including 50 women.

The delegates unanimously resolved to support the all-India struggles that will be conducted and led by the AITUC and the Sangram Samiti.

The conference unanimously elected a sixty member general council and also nine-member managing committee with Gerald Pereira as the General Secretary, Ibrahim Suleman as the President, Gajanan Patil the Secretary, Nankur Nind the Vice-President and Felizardo Fernandes the Treasurer of the committee.

A mammoth rally was held in the evening of August 15 attended by thousands of people. Gerald Pereira, Narayan Palokar and Ibrahim Suleman addressed the meeting.

# ANTI-LABOUR ORDINANCE IN MADHYA PRADESH

From Our Correspondent

BHOPAL: Trade union organisations in Madhya Pradesh have reacted strongly against the recent ordinance promulgated by the Madhya Pradesh Governor to make "temporary provisions" for declaring certain industrial undertakings as "relief undertakings". They have demanded its immediate withdrawal and warned the government of serious consequences if this anti-labour ordinance is sought to be enforced.

The indignation of the trade unions was expressed strongly in the meeting of the MP Labour Advisory Board on August 7. Shakti Ali Khan, Diwakar and Govind Shrivastava, president, vice-president and secretary respectively of the MP state committee of the AITUC, V. V. Dravid and Ganga Ram Tiwari, president and general secretary of the Madhya Pradesh INTUC, and Anand Rao Shinde of the HMS voiced their powerful protest against the ordinance in the meeting.

It is reported that the Commerce and Industries Minister, S. D. Sharma was instrumental in bringing forth this ordinance and that the Labour Minister, being not even consulted by the Cabinet before it advised the Governor to issue the ordinance.

The MP Labour Advisory Board, where all matters concern-

ing labour policy are discussed, was kept totally in the dark till the publication of the ordinance in the gazette. The chronic, recurrent financial ills of the Rajnandgaon Textile Mills and consequent closure for long periods had prompted the government to bring such an ordinance.

The objectionable ordinance issued by the state government will be applicable to those industrial units in respect of which a notified order under Section 18A of the Industries (Development & Regulation) Act of 1951 is in operation.

### Reward For Mismanagement

Many industrial undertakings, throughout the country, have been taken over under the Section 18A of the above Act for reasons of financial crisis, mismanagement leading to closures of such units forcing unemployment on the workers.

But the present ordinance which was issued just a month before the session of the MP Assembly is really an extraordinary one in the sense that the MP government is offering rewards for the anarchy, mismanagement and financial crisis, artificially created by the owners of so-called marginal units or those who are suffering continuous losses.

The industrial undertakings taken over as relief undertakings would be managed by the nominee of the state government. A relief undertaking will be taken over in the first place for a period of two years which can be extended for five years.

Section 4 of this ordinance reads as under:

(a) In relation to any relief undertaking and in respect of the period for which the relief under-

taking continues as such under sub-section (2) of Section 3—

(i) all or any of the laws specified in the Schedule or any provisions thereof shall not apply or shall, if so directed by the State Government, be applied with such modifications as may be specified in the notifications;

(ii) all or any of the agreements, settlements, awards or standing orders made under any of the laws in the Schedule which may be applicable to the undertaking immediately before the issue of the notified order in respect thereof under Section 18A of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951 (65 of 1951), shall be suspended in operation, or shall, if so directed by the State Government, be applied with such modifications as may be specified in the notification;

(b) No suit, or other legal proceedings shall be instituted, or commenced, or, if pending, shall be proceeded with against any industrial undertaking during the period in which it remains a relief undertaking;

Provided that no direction under this charge shall be issued in respect of any legal proceeding under the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948 (34 of 1948) or the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952 (19 of 1952).

The Madhya Pradesh Industrial Relations Act of 1960, the MP Industrial Employment (Standing Orders Act, 1961, the MP Shops and Establishments Act of 1958, the Minimum Wages Act of 1949 and the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 are specified in the Schedule.

The plus objective, for which this ordinance has been issued, is to keep the industry going and provide the workers with employment. However, section 4, alongwith the Schedule brings into bold relief its obnoxious features, which are anti-working class to the core.

### Negating TU Rights

The ordinance aims at nullifying all the gains of the trade union movement and working class, won through bitter struggles.

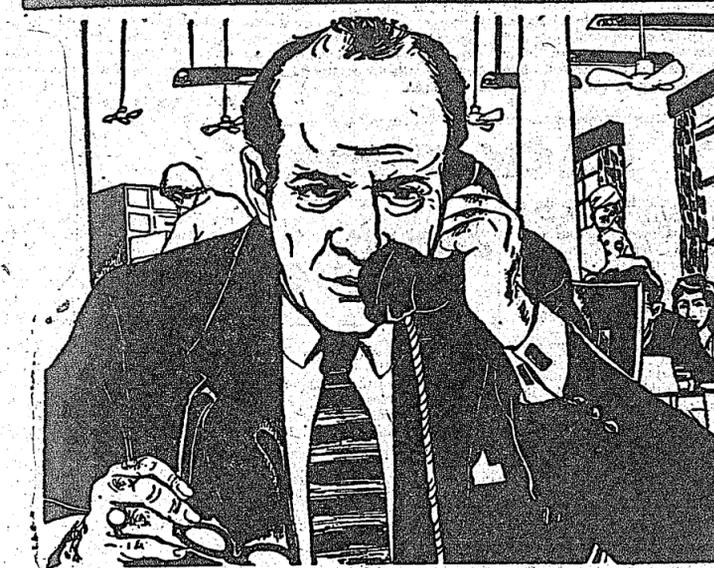
The agreements, settlements, awards of tribunal etc. will be inoperative and ineffective during the period an industrial unit is treated as a relief undertaking.

Even the Minimum Wages Act, which is intended to protect sweated labour will not be applicable to such relief undertakings. Workers would not be able even to protest against wage cuts and the victimisation of active trade unionists.

The demand for bonus, DA, wage rise and trade union rights are all sought to be put in cold storage for the period the undertaking remains as relief undertaking. Even the so-called representative unions of INTUC are treated as obstacles in the scheme of this ordinance.

Only powerful movement by the working-class the united action of the trade movement supported by the democratic-minded people can defeat this out and out reactionary, pro-employer ordinance issued by the state government.

PAGE SEVEN



### Paramount necessity for the formation of health

You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

Then it would rapidly improve your health if you take two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadraksharista (6 years old).

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA  
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road  
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48

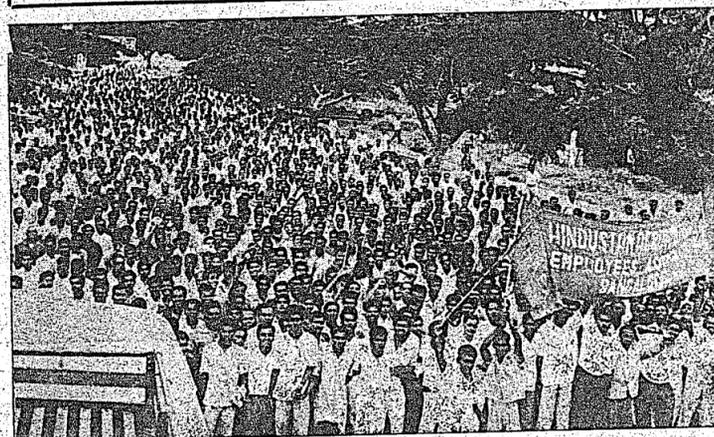
MRTISANJIBANI  
MAHADRAKSHARISTA  
(6 years old)



Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose,  
M.B.B.E. (Cal) Ayurvedacharya.



Adhyaksha Dr. Jages Chandra Ghose,  
M.A. Ayurved-Sastry, F.C.S. (London),  
M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor  
of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.



Hindustan Aircraft employees demonstrating on August 16 before their factory.

## BENGALORE PUBLIC SECTOR STAFF LAUNCH DIRECT ACTION

From G. S. Satyanarayana

BANGALORE: Public sector employees in Bangalore have begun their direct action in support of the common demands. The first stage of the direct action consisted of late punching by half an hour for one day on August 16.

Over 18 thousand employees of the Hindustan Aeronautics, 10 thousand employees of the Bharat Electronics and 4,000

employees of the Bharat Earth Movers attended to their duties on August 16 half an hour late.

Late punching was partially successful in Hindustan Machine Tools, but cent per cent success was reported in all the shifts in the HAL, the BEL and the BEML.

Employees of the HAL, the BEL and the BEML in all the shifts went in procession and held demonstrations before

their respective factories before they reported for duty.

The late punching campaign was organised in response to a call given by the joint consultative committee of the public sector trade unions in support of their ten month old demands and to protest against the delaying tactics of management for a negotiated settlement.

It may be recalled that public sector employees went on hungerstrike from June 21 to 23 and organised a joint mass

rally on June 26. (NEW AGE July 18)

After this demonstration of solidarity and determined united action, the management of the HAL, the BEL and the BEML called the employees for negotiations. But these negotiations were only a farce and nothing came out of it.

The 13-point demands charter of the employees include interim relief, linking dearness allowance to the cost of living index, house rent allowance, city compensatory allowance, profit sharing bonus, recognition of the union.

# PEOPLE ASK FOR FOOD NAIK GIVES BULLETS

From SARALA KARKHANIS

**BOMBAY:** The Naik government has followed in the footsteps of the Sahay government in Bihar by opening fire on people who demanded food. Six persons were killed and dozens of others injured when police opened fire on demonstrating people in Kohlapur city on August 19. Among the dead were two children below 12.

**T**HIS outrage against the hungry people came just a day after Chief Minister Naik had declared that the government would be "firm" in meeting the food agitation and that "law and order will be maintained".

The United Food Committee, popularly known as the Anti-Starvation Committee, had called for a hartal and demonstration on August 19, on the eve of the Demands Week. The city observed complete hartal on the day in response to the call.

In the afternoon a procession of 10 thousand people including about 3,000 women marched to the collector's office and compelled all work in the office to be stopped.

The police used teargas and lathicharge the people in an attempt to disperse them, but the hungry masses stood firm. The police brutality was specially ferocious towards the women demonstrators.

Failing to disperse the crowd through teargas and lathicharge, the police opened indiscriminate firing. Forty rounds were fired by the police, even according to official admission. As many as 120 teargas shells were also burst.

Curfew was clamped down immediately and police reinforcements rushed to Kohlapur. The city is still under curfew.

The government has also been arresting leaders and activists of opposition parties indiscriminately. So far, it is reported, 300 opposition workers have been arrested in Kohlapur, including municipal corporators and some MLAs.

These repressive measures of the government and strong-arm tactics in dealing with the food agitation has caused widespread resentment among the people. Several protest meetings are being held all over the state demanding judicial probe into the police firing.

## Protest Rally in Bombay

In Bombay a protest rally held at Kamgar Maidan demanded public enquiry in the firing at Kohlapur. The leaders of opposition parties reiterated their determination to continue the struggle for food and warned the government that the problem would become more serious if it pursues its unsympathetic and heartless policy.

What lies really at the back of the drastic steps taken by the government is something worth narration.

It was exposed during the fast undertaken by the legislators last week that the government was not prepared to take the responsibility of providing minimum quantity of foodgrains to the people.

The government absolutely refused to say how much food it would provide for the people, who have no grains in store, for the coming two or three months. Instead it pleaded scarcity and short-supplies from the Centre.

Why so? Is the food situation really out of hand? Is food so scarce that the government cannot control its distribution? Not at all. If the government means it, it can do many things for the relief of those who are facing starvation.

In the first place, the food situation is not uniform all over the state. Not all districts are facing scarcity conditions.

Vast areas in Vidarbha, Southern Maharashtra and parts of Konkan are in acute distress. Here, besides the agricultural labour, the bulk of peasantry has got no grains and the government is debarring these people from getting grains from fair price shops opened by it.

Not only that. Those entitled to get rations six kilos per head per month in town and four kilos per head per month in village are not getting it in government shops. This is the main problem.

The government machinery is not willing to move to provide foodgrains to any rural shops unless there is insistent demand.

The administration is concerned not with the problem of giving food but of preserving stocks in hands over as long a period as possible. Therefore it is interested in denying or reducing supplies to shops.

As a result near about 80 per cent of rural shops are, even at this moment, without grains. This is the main cause of present distress.

## Stalling for Time

This attitude on the part of the government, the attitude of stalling for time and driving the people to buy from the black-market, is supplemented by the persons running the shops in the villages through gram panchayats and cooperatives.

They are themselves local hoarders, keen to sell their own stocks at exorbitant prices. So they rather wish to have short supplies and blame the government for it.

Thus today the food agitation is centred round the demand of getting stocks in shops from rural hoarders or from government godowns. And the United Food Committee of the four major political parties of Maharashtra have taken up the demand.

United Food Committee have been formed in all the districts

of Maharashtra giving hope and encouragement to the people in their fight against starvation.

Through the central United Food Committee consisting of PWP, CPI, RPI and SSP had fixed the last week of the month (from August 20 to 27) as "Demand Week", in many places the struggle started even before these dates.

In Ahmadpur the district food committee submitted a memorandum to the Collector. About a thousand people marched to the Collector's Office on August 2 to submit the memorandum demanding adequate food for the people.

## Mass Satyagraha

After the morchas, 37 satyagrahis started a fast in front of the collector's office. Then the procession went to the house of the local Congress MLA and submitted to him a copy of the memorandum. Another batch of satyagrahis began a fast before the MLA's house.

Next day people demonstrated in front of both the places in large numbers. On August 4 more than 500 women staged a very impressive demonstration demanding food.

The public rally in the evening resolved to carry forward the agitation till the demand was conceded, and the satyagrahis ended their fast in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm.

In Vasamatnagar taluka about 401 satyagrahis including 73 women were arrested at Vasamatnagar, Shendursan, Kurund and Hatti towns. They were released afterwards. The struggle will continue next week.

Tasgaon in Sangli district was the scene of spontaneous agitation well over a week. On August 10 when the people offered satyagrah in front of the taluka office they were lathicharged. As people did not disperse the police used teargas. There were 80 women among the satyagrahis.

# DROUGHT HIT

From H. K. VYAS

**JAIPUR:** Rajasthan is facing a very serious situation

**T**HE rains have completely failed. Except for one good shower in July, there has been no rain for the last seven weeks in any part of the state. People are expectantly looking at the sky every day for some clouds but in vain. Day after day the rains are eluding them.

The result is that a disastrous famine is already looming large. The entire kharif crop has failed. There is not even ordinary fodder for the early shoots are now drying.

A conference of the collectors was held last week at Jaipur. It only took the decision to take all steps to ensure food supply and try to collect

People in the villages round the place are coming together in greater number to agitate for adequate and cheap food supply.

United food committees Sangli, Satara, Sholapur, Yeoma, Jalgaon, Nasik, Dhule, Poona, Bhir, Parbhani and other districts have organised meetings and conferences preparatory to the Demands Week.

Thus Maharashtra is getting ready to launch a well-organised united food agitation during the coming week. The repression at Kohapur will only strengthen the determination of the people to carry forward the struggle.

Immediately after the Demands Week, the United Food Committee and Maharashtra state branch of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti will fix a date for Maharashtra Bandh in September.

Unless the government decides to dehoard the grains and make them available to the people the battle will continue.



President Ho Chi Minh directing battle operations during the War of Resistance

After the defeat of Germany and Japan in the Second World War, the threads of war were picked up by the French, British and the Americans to push forward their own aggressive designs in the South-east Asia.

**T**HIS area was turned by them into a theatre of another war, a dirty and a futile one, of which Korea was just one of the high-points. Instead of a worldwide conflagration between the allied and the axis powers, the dirty war became a war between the imperialists nursing neo-colonialist aims and the national-liberation movements.

To achieve the aim of occupying China, the US forces set-up their base in South Korea and the events that followed are too well-known to be recounted. Japan had surrendered on September 2, 1945 but the American troops landed in South Korea on September 8, 1945. There was yet another significant development too.

September 2, 1945 was also the day of Vietnam's declaration of independence and the establishment of a provisional government. This was preceded by what has now come to be known as the August Revolution.

## National Uprising

The Vietnamese territory has been under the French occupation for a long time and on March 9, 1945 when the second world war was raging in the eastern theatre, the Japanese forces invaded Indochina. In less than 24 hours the French Army surrendered to the Japanese.

This was also to be the signal for the liberation forces in Vietnam who had been preparing for a long time to free their country. Since the early twenties, the liberation forces had been actively working for the liberation of Vietnam. On January 6, 1930 the Communist Party of Indochina was formed. Its name was later changed to Workers' Party. A series of uprisings, strikes and manifestations marked the growth of the Communist Party.

## The Shackles Are Broken

It declared, "Our people have broken the chains of slavery that have bound us for nearly one hundred years, and have won the independence of Vietnam. Our people have also overthrown the monarchial system of the past several thousand years and have established a democratic republic in its stead. Hence, we, as the provisional government of New Vietnam, declare on behalf of all the people, that the colonial relationship with France is at an end, that all the old treaties signed between Vietnam and France are null and void, and that all special privileges of

France in Vietnam are hereby abrogated." Within three weeks of the declaration of independence by Vietnam, exactly on September 23, 1945, the French Army, armed and protected by the British forces launched their attack against Vietnam and occupied Saigon. Thus began the dirty war in Vietnam, and the glorious period of resistance against the French colonialists. A large part of South Vietnam was by then re-occupied by the French.

AUGUST 29, 1965

September 2:

National Day

# VIETNAM'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE

France in Vietnam are hereby abrogated."

Within three weeks of the declaration of independence by Vietnam, exactly on September 23, 1945, the French Army, armed and protected by the British forces launched their attack against Vietnam and occupied Saigon.

Thus began the dirty war in Vietnam, and the glorious period of resistance against the French colonialists. A large part of South Vietnam was by then re-occupied by the French.

bloodshed signed these agreements even granting important concessions to the French.

On September 14, 1946 an agreement was signed ratifying the March 6 agreement which said that all hostilities between France and the DRV would cease immediately and that negotiations on sovereignty over South Vietnam and the DRV's right to independence in foreign relations and similar other questions should be settled by a conference to start not later than January 1947.

up by the Vietminh and backed fully by the people, began yielding results.

The victory of Vietnamese forces at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954 actually broke the back of the French forces though the war as such did not end. Engagement between the French and Vietnamese continued at other places but everywhere the Vietnamese forces beat the French expeditionary forces to pulp. Meanwhile, negotiations had begun in Geneva for a settlement of the Indochina problem on April 26, 1954 in which the Americans were trying to create all sorts of difficulties to prevent any settlement and return of peace in Indochina.

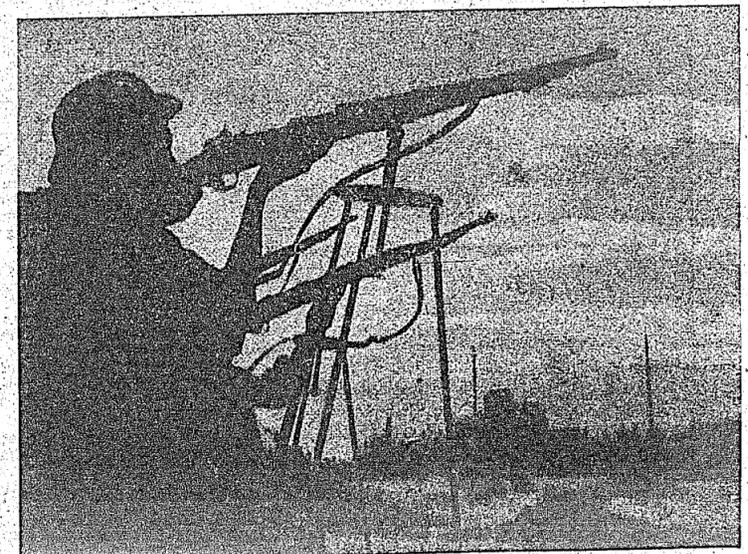
## American Intrigues

Dulles with his cold war manoeuvres was there but he left Geneva in a huff failing to carry forward his lines. Bedell-Smith took his place. There were the CIA, McCarthy gang and others to aid him and to ensure that there was no settlement on Vietnam.

The French Prime Minister Mendes-France had promised to the French people that he would bring about an agreement by July 20 or resign. As the zero hour drew nearer, the American intrigues took more and more blatant forms. But finally late at night the agreement was signed.

\*OVERLEAF

Guns trained on enemy the defenders are always alert



NEW AGE SUPPLEMENT

PAGE 1

# ILLITERACY LIQUIDATED

**NGUYEN VAN HUYEN**

Minister of Education of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

In September 1945, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded. The colonial regime which had lasted nearly a century left behind a sad heritage: there was one elementary school for every 100 villages against one alcohol shop and one opium shop or more in every village; 95 per cent of the labouring people were illiterate. ... We had thus to build out of nothing a new-type system of education in the service of national construction.

LOOKING back on what has been done, we are happy to note that in the light of the policy of the Vietnam Workers' Party, education work has vigorously developed in our country. We have scored great successes at all levels and in all branches. As a matter of fact, education has become in our country the work of the labouring masses.

In execution of the three main tasks: "to fight the famine, the illiteracy and the aggressors" and responding to President Ho Chi Minh's appeal: "Let those who know how to read and write teach those who do not; let the wife learn from her husband, the little brother from his elder, the old parents from their children, etc.," we have used our mother tongue in education from primary schools to colleges and in the fight against illiteracy.

Within one year of the triumph of the Revolution, over one million compatriots of ours became literate. Even during the Resistance War, we went ahead with the struggle

against illiteracy and the development of complementary education under the slogan: "Each class must be a centre of propaganda for the Resistance." In July 1954 over 10 million people in the liberated areas knew how to read and write.

After the restoration of peace we paid ever greater attention to the fight against illiteracy and the development of complementary education with a view to furthering the cultural and ideological revolution, socialist construction and the struggle for national reunification.

By the end of 1958, illiteracy had been liquidated in the main, as scheduled, among people between 12 and 50 years of age in the provinces of the delta and the middle region. As regards the mountainous region where education is given either in Vietnamese or in the language of the national minorities, it had been liquidated in seven provinces and in numerous districts of the others.

Every year, over one million people attend spare-time classes from secondary to higher education. These are peasants, workers, civil servants... who were not long ago illiterate and who are now anxious to improve their cultural, scientific and technological knowledge as a vital requirement in national construction.

Since the first year of the first Five-Year Plan (1961-1965), in conformity with the spirit of the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party, general education has made big progress. The number of students (including pupils of pre-school classes) amounts to nearly 4 million.

On an average, there are now one first grade (primary) school for every village, one second grade (lower secondary) school for every 8 or 4 villages, and one third grade (higher secondary) school for every 2 or 3 districts.

In 1961, after studies, we put into practice three draft scripts for the Thai, Meo, Tay and Nung national minorities. Since then, in the first grade schools of minority regions, the own scripts of the minorities are in use along with the language of the majority population.

The development of universities and secondary vocational establishments has made it possible to train in increasing numbers scientific and technical cadres for the various branches of the economy, culture and research.

Starting practically from zero, we have trained hundreds of high-level scientific and technical cadres, tens of thousands of

cadres graduated from higher educational establishments and hundreds of thousands of cadres graduated from secondary technical schools.

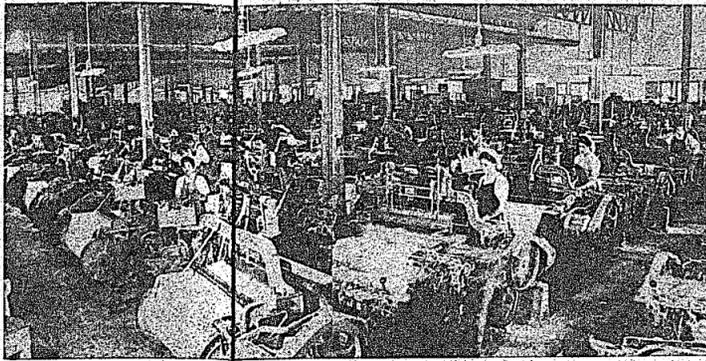
In view of the great number of higher cadres already trained, we are studying a post-graduate system to be applied in a number of branches of science and technology, the purpose being to meet our ever more pressing requirements with regard to home-trained cadres.

Over the 20 years which have elapsed since the August 1945 Revolution and as part of the growth of the entire Vietnamese people, our educational system has undergone big revolutionary changes and scored great successes.

These successes have contributed to the cause of socialist construction in North Vietnam and encouraged our Southern compatriots, youths and students in their struggle against the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges, for the liberation of South Vietnam and national reunification.

Looking back on what has been done, we can draw two major lessons: To grasp the line and tasks of the revolution, the guiding principles of the policy of the leading party—the Vietnam Workers' Party—to be imbued with the principle of self-reliance and reliance on the immense capabilities of the people, the teachers and students.

This is the only way to overcome all difficulties and to ensure a rapid, vigorous and steady development of education with a view to meeting in time and fully the increasing requirements of the revolution.



Nam Dinh Textile Mill

# Development Of Agriculture

Vietnam is a tropical country having rich resources and a fertile soil. In addition, her climate is a boon to vegetation. The Vietnamese population is dense and Vietnamese peasants are hard-working.

But notwithstanding this, Vietnamese agriculture was formerly very backward and its technique very primitive. As late as in the period immediately preceding the August 1945 Revolution,

climate, though favourable, offers to agriculture whims which the feudal-colonial regime was unable to overcome: drought, floods, water-logging, typhoons, white frost, etc. To these must be added the insects, birds, rats, and epizootic diseases which the old regime did not care to combat.

This backward agriculture, subject to numerous difficulties, was in addition seriously devastated by World War II. In late 1944 and early 1945, two million peasants in North Vietnam were starved to death by the Japanese Fascists and the French colonialists.

After the victory of the August 1945 Revolution, the then provisional government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam urgently called on the people to "save food" and "launch a vigorous drive to increase agricultural production" with a view to "putting an immediate end to starvation". At the same time, it ordered a reduction of land rents by 25 per cent, and the allotment of communal lands to the peasants.

Responding to the government's appeal and encouraged by the first democratic reforms which were carried out, the people actively participated in agricultural production. As a result, starvation was checked.

At the end of 1946, the Resistance War against the French colonialists extended to the whole country.

The land reform which began in 1953 ended victoriously in 1957. Over 8 million labouring peasants were allotted the lands and cattle confiscated from the landlords. The completion of the land reform gradually changed the face of the countryside. The peasant became master of his field and village.

After the land reform, the average possession of agricultural workers, poor and middle peasants, rose to about 1,400 square metres as against the previous figures of 200, 500 and 1,000 square metres respectively.

## Agricultural Cooperatives

Started in 1957, the movement for agricultural cooperativisation was completed in the main in 1960. At the end of 1964, over 88 per cent of the labouring peasant households had joined agricultural cooperatives (including over 87 per cent of high-level socialist cooperatives).

At present the average land yield achieved by the collective peasant is by 25 to 50 per cent higher than that of the individual peasant. The collective peasant has become the true master of the

countryside; he firmly holds in his hands the management and technique of production as well as any other work in the administrative and social life of the commune.

The government has extended every possible assistance to the agricultural cooperatives. It grants them long-term loans for the purchase of better equipment and the building of their material and technical basis.

It follows a policy of purchasing agricultural products to boost production and has established a tax system which encourages the reclaiming of waste lands, and the increase of the number of crops per year, etc. It helps train in short-term or long-term courses leading and technical cadres required for the development of agriculture and the consolidation of the cooperatives.

Encouraged by the success of the land reforms and the good effects of agricultural cooperativisation, our peasants actively engage in agricultural production.

## Production Doubles

In conformity with the slogan "so many plots of land, so many grains of gold", they have significantly increased the area under cultivation, raising the figure to over 2,400,000 hectares in 1964 as against 1,915,000 hectares in 1959 (the most prosperous years under the French domination.)

They have also endeavoured to increase the number of crops per year. Some fields, which formerly yielded only one crop per year, are now yielding two or even three. In this way, the total cultivated area, taking into account that some lands yield more than one crop per year, rose from 2,124,000 ha in 1959 to 3,500,000 ha in 1964, which represented an increase of 75 per cent.

The most outstanding feature in agricultural production in North Vietnam is the increase of land yield. Thus the average yield for rice-growing areas was over 19 quintals per ha in 1964 as against 12 in 1959.

The rapid increase of the areas under cultivation, of the number of crops per year and of land yield has resulted in an increased overall output of rice. From 2,407,000 tons in 1959, the figure rose to over 4,300,000 tons in 1964.

If we add the figures for non-staple food crops (maize, sweet potatoes, cassava roots, etc.), this made a total of over 5 million tons in 1964. For the North Vietnamese peasants, the age-old threat of starvation is now a thing of the past! Although the living conditions remain low, they are now in a position to eat their fill.

# EVERYDAY COURAGE

By WU HONG

The journalists who gathered round the hospital bed were deeply moved. Before them was a young girl in bandages, a victim of American cruelty. The hair of the wounded girl was in several places burnt with napalm. Her eyes burnt with wrath.

THE girl said: "We, Vietnamese women, bitterly hate the American interventionists. We are full of determination to fight to the end."

This brief interview made on us, Vietnamese journalists and foreign correspondents,

a tremendous impression and it is impossible to express it in words. There was a colossal will-power in the words of this maimed young patriot. As for me, I felt great pride and admiration in recalling the feats of the wounded patriot.

... A siren shrieked an air raid warning in Hamrong. Phuong Dinh and her girl friends immediately took their posts. Phuong was a founder; she was 23 years old and was born on the bank of the Ma river.

The fight was a fierce one. The American planes came on in waves, bombs showered from the skies. And on the ground the Vietnamese anti-aircraft artillery was working to its full capacity. Many of the air pirates, leaving behind a trail of black smoke, were falling down.

Phuong Dinh got the assignment of ensuring the delivery of shells to the battery. And suddenly an American pilot parachuted near the positions occupied by the guardsmen of Phuong Dinh's enterprise. The detachment commander sent her to the command post to warn of what had happened.

On her way back, Phuong

got under artillery fire. She threw herself on to the ground and boldly crawled across the slope of a trench nearby in spite of the exploding shells.

American planes appeared just at the moment when Phuong had finished her work in the morning shift. She took her sub-machine gun and went at once to her post. A few bombs exploded several meters away from the young worker.

Suddenly one of the planes dived right towards her. It seemed a peal of thunder shook the air. "Before dying I must shoot at it again..." Phung Dinh decided and pulled the trigger. But a new terrible explosion drowned the rattle of the sub-machine gun. Phung Dinh and four of her friends were buried under earth and stones. Soon her comrades found the lifeless, burnt Phung Dinh. Her left hand was without two fingers.

Two days later Phung Dinh regained consciousness. Her body shook from terrible pain. But she is one of those hardened people who suffer silently. The girl often smiles, talking with her friends who come to see her.

Sometimes, when she feels better, the patriot implores the doctors and hospital attendants to let her leave the hospital so that she could again take her place in the ranks of her comrades and repulse the attacks of the air pirates.

# GREAT RESISTANCE WAR

\* FROM OVERLEAF

Bedell-Smith declared at the final session that "my government is not prepared to join in a declaration by the conference such as is submitted" but pledged that his government would not use force or threat of force to upset the ceasefire agreements.

The US had suffered a big defeat in its move in Geneva and soon it began to hatch other plots to ensure American domination in this area. Its entry into this area had

begun on March 19, 1950 when for the first time two US warships had moved up the Saigon river to bring in supplies of war material to French forces.

Between 1951-1954, over a hundred Americans and CIA agents were caught in China carrying on subversive activities. A number of intruding planes were shot down. Formosa became a base of CIA operation.

By 1954, they had brought their stooge Ngo Dinh Diem back to Saigon and wielded considerable influence there.

On October 10, 1954, 80 days after the Geneva accord, the formal transfer of power took place in North Vietnam up to the ceasefire line at 17th Parallel. The French troops withdrew from North Vietnam. The Geneva accord specified that the ceasefire would become effective immediately. Time-limits were laid down for the completion of exchange of prisoners of war. Withdrawal of forces from either side of the 17th parallel and regroupment of north and south of the provisional demarcation line, was to be completed within 300 days. Elections to unify Vietnam were to be held in July 1956.

But this was not to be... Puppet Emperor Bao Dai had come back to the service of the French and he went on forming and dismissing his cabinets. The Americans took advantage of this situation and began feverishly working against him. Finally, they managed to instal Ngo Dinh Diem as the supreme dictator of South Vietnam, giving him all possible assistance.

The war in South Vietnam did not stop. Diem tried to hunt down every person who at one time or the other had fought against the French. The Geneva agreements were forgotten and in place of the French the Americans began bolstering their own strength.

Expressly violating the terms of the Geneva agreements they began to import arms, war-equipments, personnel and so on. An all-out cold war against North Vietnam was started along with the "weeding-out operations" as the Americans called it, of the South Vietnam patriots. Elections for reunification was

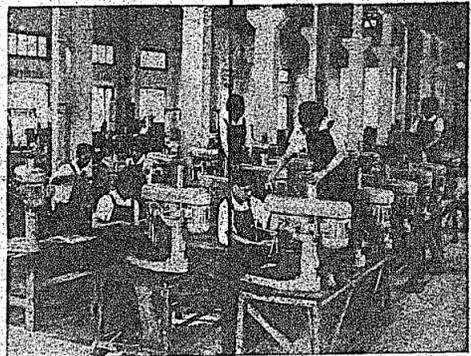
forgotten.

On July 20, 1955 when North Vietnam celebrated the first anniversary of Geneva agreements, in South Vietnam just the opposite happened. In Saigon the ICC team was attacked while the Diem police looked on. The US forces threw away all pretense soon after when they got Diem to formally call them in "for assistance"—South Vietnam was handed over to the Americans.

The people of South Vietnam did not want another foreign ruler to replace the French or the puppet monarch; they wanted freedom and hence the resistance grew from day to day. They wanted the implementation of the Geneva agreements and to breathe the air of freedom, peace, progress and happiness. Above all, they wanted reunification of North and South Vietnam. The shining example of progress in North Vietnam inspired them.

The end of Diem's rule in 1963 and the series of coups that followed in later years under the aegis of the Americans are known. The present position is that four-fifths of South Vietnam has been liberated by the South Vietnam Liberation Front, which was formed on December 20, 1960. Only a small area is now under American and puppet government control. Suffering defeat after defeat, the US has extended its war on North Vietnam, inflicting heavy damages. This second war of resistance has entered its eleventh year.

But North Vietnam marches ahead; its indomitable people are giving fitting



A view of the engineering factory at Tran Hung Duc.

rebuff to the aggressors—it fights with its back to the wall, as it did when it faced the French forces, with determination and fortitude.

During the years after the Geneva agreement North Vietnam has taken tempestuous strides on the road of socialism. In agriculture, industrialisation, education, raising of standards of living of the people, it has made big progress.

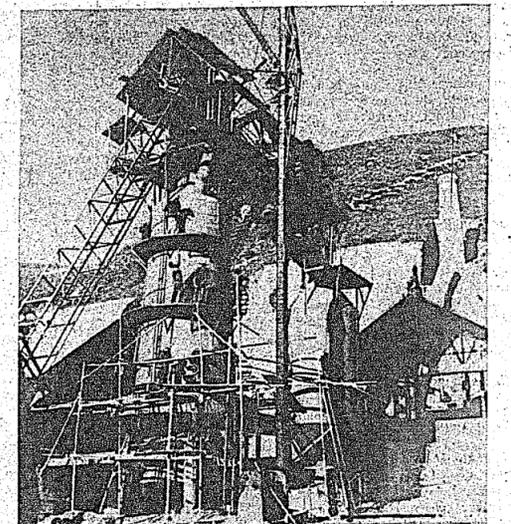
The Fatherland Front's bold programme adopted in September 1955 has been fully implemented followed up by other big and new programmes of development.

Today these gains are at a stake: the American imperialists want to crush North Vietnam to ensure its victory in the South. But North Vietnam endures... its programme of socialist construction goes on simultaneously with the building up of resistance against the Americans. Every person in North Vietnam is dedicated to the defence of the country. And with them are the peace-loving peoples of the whole world.

Addressing the National Assembly in April this year North Vietnam Prime Minister Pham Van Dong declared that "it is necessary to work out and urgently implement adequate and sound policies and measures so as to strengthen the economic and defence potential of the northern part

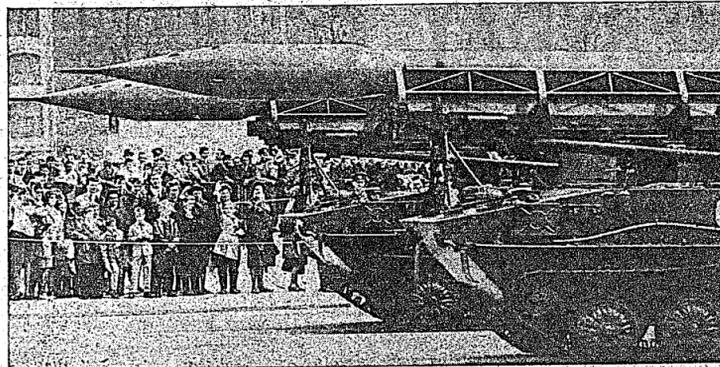


Deft fingers perform intricate jobs



Top: Cast iron furnace at Ben-Thuy. Below: Rich harvest at a Cooperative.





Determined to defend freedom—the new Soviet rockets hold the war-mongers at bay.



Red Flag over Reichstag—defeat of fascism but not the end.

# SEPTEMBER 1, 1939—THE DAY GREATEST CRIME AGAINST MANKIND BEGAN

"The destruction of Poland is in the foreground, the aim is the elimination of living forces, not the arrival at a certain line. I shall give the propagandist cause for starting the war, never mind if it is plausible or not. The victor will not be asked later on whether he told the truth or not....

"Be hard, be ruthless. Act more quickly and brutally than others... This is the most humanitarian method of warfare because it frightens people... And now forward... against the enemy!"

THIS is what Hitler had told his troops on August 22, 1939. And this is what his troops really accomplished during the second world war which began on September 1, 1939. More than 50 million people perished in this war besides 91 million wounded and crippled.

But perhaps this figure is not fully correct: there are yet many unaccounted for deaths.... And all the death and destruction did not come in actual combat. They were the result of Nazi monstrosity against the civilian population too.

For example, in Poland 6,028 million Polish citizens lost their lives during the war; of them 5,384 millions or 89.3 per cent were civilian population. Military casualties accounted for only 10.3 per cent. Over 20 million Soviet people lost their lives in defence of their country.

The same happened in Rumania, Czechoslovakia and many other countries. Among the civilian population, the Jews had to bear the brunt of Hitler's wrath, who wanted them to be exterminated as they were "non-Aryans". Racial prejudice, living space and world supremacy were Hitler's guidelines; savage butchery was his principle.

The second world war, which Hitler started attacking Danzig (Poland) on a false pretext, besides taking a terrible human toll, inflicted terrible damage to property, undertakings and resources. Many countries had to build their economy from scratches during the post-war period. The war in Europe ended on May 8, 1945 when Hitler's army capitulated but it went on in Asia.

In a way, the fire of second world war in different forms went on smouldering; it flared up in Korea and is at present raging in Vietnam. Only Hitler is not there, his place having been taken over by the Americans. Fascism was defeat-

ed. But colonialism and neo-colonialism were not.

In West Germany, the Nazi criminal's and revanchists are today again raising their heads; most of them occupy seats of power and handle big money. They, as well as many other war-entrepreneurs are again trying to kindle the flames of a world war.

After the end of the second world war, the victorious big powers, the Soviet Union, the US and Great Britain met at a conference at Potsdam to decide the future of defeated Germany.

On August 2, 1945 the historic Potsdam agreement was signed. This agreement, *inter alia*, declared that it was not the intention of the victorious powers to destroy the people of Germany. The inflexible purpose was to "destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world."

It was declared that "only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated, will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations."

The Potsdam conference planned to eliminate concentration of economic powers, disbandment and complete abolition of all organisations which serve to keep alive the military tradition in Germany so as to permanently prevent its revival.

The agreement outlined that the purposes of occupation of Germany was to ensure complete disarmament and demilitarisation of Germany and the elimination of control of all German industry that could be used for military production.

But exactly the opposite is happening now in West Germany while the German Democratic Republic has implemented the terms of the Potsdam agreement to the last letter and become truly a peace state. West Germany is

again the hotbed of tension against peace in Europe and the world.

Besides West German militarism and aggressive American imperialism which are directly contributing to a world flare-up, a number of other nations are going in for massive war preparations. Among them are Britain, Australia, South Africa, Israel etc.

The aggressive war now being carried out by the US against North Vietnam, though yet limited to that area, has reached very near the bursting point of a world conflagration. If there is further escalation, other countries would certainly intervene and that would open up the way towards a much bigger conflict. Only the might of the socialist countries is acting as a leash to the hounds of war.

The imperialist machinations have sparked off crises and vitiated the peaceful atmosphere in many a country. The Congo, the Dominican Republic, Greece are just recent examples. Even in the border conflict between India and Pakistan the hands of imperialists are clearly discernible.

September 1 this year people all the world over will remember that 26 years ago that day a terrible catastrophe had befallen to the mankind and they would hope that it would never happen again....



Victims of Nazi butchery. Top—Soviet Union; Below—Poland.



NEW AGE SUPPLEMENT



## S RAJASTHAN

market are the supplies of the last rabi crop.

Hoarding and rise in prices were a malady for which no serious measures had been taken by the state government. At the time of last rabi crop it did not build its own stocks but only depended on the goodwill of the traders.

Now this drought and the almost certain serious famine have suddenly given a great spurt to hoarding and holding back. Supplies of wheat and other food crops to the mandies have completely stopped. The prices have started rising by leaps and bounds.

In Jaipur wheat is now being sold in black and that too is available with great effort at the price of Rs. 100 to Rs. 120 per quintal. Prices of moong, jowar etc., have risen by almost 33 per cent. The state government has

recently banned the export of coarse grains from Rajasthan. But even this order had hardly any effect because those who have stocks are not bringing it out.

This serious food situation has been further aggravated by the fact that stocks of wheat in the hands of the government are very limited. Thus supply at the cheap grain shops in almost all towns has practically collapsed. The government announcements follow reducing the quantum of supply but even this reduced supply is not available. People and specially women have to squat for hours in scorching sun only to be told in the evening to come next day.

Local demonstrations and protest meetings have already started. In the coming weeks Rajasthan is going to face a big upheaval.

## Tram Fare Movement Continues In Calcutta

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA: The people's movement against increase of tram-fares and against the repressive policies of the Congress government, which had already found expression in the successful hartal of July 30 and the general strike of August 5, completed one more phase with the holding of a united mass rally and demonstration of all the left parties on August 15 at Raja Subodh Mullik Square. This was preceded by five days' of peaceful demonstrations at tram junctions in defiance of Sec. 144.

THE demonstration was called by the United Left Front of nine left parties which have been jointly leading the movement, including the CPI, CPI (Marxist), SSP, RSP, Workers' Party, Bolshevik Party and others.

Sudhin Kumar (RCPI) presided over the rally while Bhupesh Gupta, MP moved the main resolution. The resolution pointed out that "the pledge made at the time of the freedom struggle that independence will bring a total end of exploitation and the common people of India shall increasingly inherit the fruits of their toil" had been completely negated by the present governmental policies.

It stated that the Congress government's obligingly allowing the British-owned Tramways Company to increase fares at such a moment of rising prices was "a matter of national humiliation" and "one more example of open collusion and anti-national capitulations to foreign monopolists on the part of the Congress rulers."

### Repression Condemned

Condemning the massive repression unleashed in Calcutta, Bihar, Hyderabad and other places by the government in order to silence the people's rightful demands, the resolution called for still broader unity and mass struggles for defending the people's interests. It put forward the following demands:

1. No surrender of national interests by permitting increase of tram fares of a British monopoly concern. Enquiry Commission must be set up and fare increase suspended pending that.

2. Food must be made available to all our people. Immediate introduction of state-trading in foodgrains. Immediate steps for bank nationalisation.

3. An end to DIR and emergency. Immediate release of detenus and political prisoners and for ending repressions against democratic movement.

The demonstration had become possible because, following several days of peaceful demonstrations and satyagraha against Sec. 144 and the increase of tram-fares, the West Bengal government at last decided to lift the ban on meetings and demonstrations on the eve of Independence Day.

The different students' organisations had been jointly offering satyagraha in defiance of Sec. 144 at various tram junctions in the city ever since the order was promulgated on July 29. Between August 1 and 14, 43 students satyagrahis were arrested. Following the hartal and

general strike of August 5, the United Front of nine left parties also decided to organise demonstrations at various points in the city in defiance of Sec. 144, in order to appeal to the people not to pay increased fares and to boycott the trams in case the fare increase was forced through with police intervention.

According to this decision, volunteers of the different left parties tried to address the public at ten important street crossings and tram terminuses from August 10 to 14 at busy hours of the morning and evening and were arrested by the police while thousands of people looked on.

In all 84 volunteers of the different parties including 64 from CPI, 11 from SSP, 3 from RSP, 2 from Workers' Party, 2 from Bolshevik Party, one from CPI (Marxist) and one from SUC courted arrest during these demonstrations.

While the order under Sec. 144 has been withdrawn and the democratic right of assembly once again restored, hundred of people arrested in connection with the movement, including leading members of the different left parties remain under arrest. The arrests carried out over the past few weeks in Calcutta and suburbs numbered over 3,500, including a large number of arrests under DIR.

Many of those arrested for defying Sec. 144 or picketing the trams are being denied the treatment due to political prisoners. At the Alipur Special Jail, 37 prisoners, have served notice they would observe a one-day hunger strike on August 17 and ten of them would start continuous hunger-strike from that date unless granted Division.

### Student Agitation

On the other hand, the student organisations are planning to continue their agitation against the tram-fare rise and at the same time voice their protest against some proposals of the Calcutta University Vice-Chancellor to ban meetings on the University Quadrangle and issue student identity cards in the name of checking "indiscipline".

At a meeting on August 16, the United Left Front issued a statement which, in part, said:

"...while reiterating our opposition to the tramfare enhancement decision, we in the present phase of the struggle call on the people of Calcutta, Howrah and suburbs to set up citizens committees, organise public meetings and demonstrations so that it becomes possible to build up irresistible pressure on the government with the demands of the restoration of civil liberties, release of all those arrested in connection with anti-tramfare increase movement, withdrawal of warrants and cases in this connection and for setting up of a high-powered commission to look into the affairs of the Calcutta Tramway Co."

## LENIN AGAINST LEFT OPPORTUNISTS

AGAINST DOGMATISM AND SECTARIANISM IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, pp 235, Rs. 1.30

This collection consists of articles and speeches and chapters from books in which Lenin criticises left opportunists who have a dogmatic conception of Marxism.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PHASE, pp. 169, Rs. 0.45  
Lenin's speeches and writings mostly concerning the errors of the "Left Communists" on the question of the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest. He also exposes the stand of "Left Communists" on many other issues during the period of consolidation of Soviet power.

"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM—AN INFANTILE DISORDER, V. I. Lenin, pp 113, Rs. 0.30

This is the new edition of Lenin's well known book, to be published recently.

This classical work of the great leader and teacher of the international Communist movement and the founder of the Soviet State is an outspoken denunciation of the left-sectarian, adventurist trend afflicting a number of Communist Parties at that time. It is also a brilliant exposition of correct Marxist strategy and tactics and remains today a work of contemporary and living interest.

The speeches and writings included in these books are of immense contemporary interest.

Postage Extra Order from:  
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, New Delhi. PPH BOOK-STALL, Bombay, NEW CENTURY BOOK HOUSE, Madras. MANISHA GRANTHALAYA, Calcutta-12. NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY, Calcutta-12.

# THE GREAT TURN

## 30th Anniversary of Seventh Congress of the Communist International

The Seventh Congress of the Third Communist International, held from July 25 to August 20, 1935, represented a great turn in the world Communist movement. Georgi Dimitrov, who was then the Secretary-General of the Comintern, called it the Congress of the tactical reorientation of the world Communist movement.

LOOKING back after 30 years one can say that in truth, it laid the basis for an entire strategic reorientation of our movement which was carried forward by the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956 and embodied in the developments of the Moscow meeting of 1957 and 1960.

The background of the Congress was the rise and triumph of fascism in Italy and Germany, posing a most serious menace to the workers of the world and indeed, the whole humanity. Faced with this menace the international Communist movement, as the vanguard of toiling humanity, had already started working out the tactic of the anti-fascist united front in individual countries.

France had shown the way with the slogan of Communist-Socialist unity in the shape of the Popular Front and the policy of the outstretched hand. In the great class battles in Spain the democratic national front was taking on concrete form, which was later to blaze into the heroism of the anti-Franco civil war.

In China Mao-Tse-Tung was already appealing for an anti-imperialist united front for the national salvation of China. The great Dimitrov trial at Leipzig had shaken the conscience of humanity.

The menace of fascism as well as the beginning of a change in the tactical line of some of the major Communist Parties of the world had started inducing a process of differentiation and radicalisation alike in the social-democratic parties of Europe and in the national-liberation movements.

The French and Spanish socialist parties, urged on by their militant rank and file, had already moved to positions of unity in action with the Communists. In China patriotic elements in the Kuomintang had already manifested their desire to forge national unity to face the Japanese invasion. In India the new world currents found expression in the writings and speeches of Nehru and other leaders, some of whom went on later to found the Congress Socialist Party.

A deep analysis of fascism and generalisation of the experience of individual detachments of the international Communist movement was clearly on the agenda. This historic task was performed by the Seventh Comintern Congress through its resolutions and the great reports of Dimitrov, Togliatti, Pieck and others.

It can be said that in many ways this Congress was a carry forward of the line of the united front worked out at the 1922 Fourth Congress of the Comintern, the last to be attended by Lenin. The seeds of the new ideas on the approach to working-class unity, to the possibility of transitional government arising prior to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, were already sown in the reports and resolutions of that Congress.

The lessons to be drawn from the Seventh Comintern Congress are far too many to attempt to summarise in a

single article. All that can be tried is to stress a few points and urge the reader to turn to the mastery reports of Dimitrov and Togliatti, in particular.

First, the very approach to the phenomenon of fascism. It was not only stressed that fascism was the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist element of finance capital" but that it represented the substitution of one state form of bourgeois class domination by another.

The Communists were far from indifferent to this substitution. It was the height of sectarian stupidity to imagine that it was all the same for the working-class whether it struggled in conditions of bourgeois democracy or under fascist terror.

Refuting the facile thesis that "the worse it gets the better" the Seventh Comintern

slogans. On the other hand, the Communists had to work out a tactical line of a united front against fascism which would also take into account fully the mass discontent against the established bourgeois rule which the fascists so skillfully utilised.

Third, at the heart of the new tactical orientation was the slogan of the united front. The unity of the working-class, of a broad popular front, of all the possible allies of the working-class, of all democrats prepared to move into action against fascism—this was the central theme of all the great reports and the magnificent discussions at the Seventh Comintern Congress. It was in the propounding and elaboration of this theme that creative Marxism saw one of its finest hours.

Stress was laid on unity of action against the fascist menace. It was, indeed, made

by  
**MOHIT SEN**

Congress, not only proclaimed that the triumph of fascism was in fact a severe defeat for the working-class and democratic movement but insisted that the only way to bar the road to power of fascism was to smash the "reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie at present increasingly developing in bourgeois democratic countries—measures which suppress the democratic liberties of the working-people, falsify and curtail the powers of fascism and intensify the repression of the revolutionary movement."

Second, a penetrating analysis was made of the mass base of fascism. Though it represented the most reactionary forces in society, fascism often enough come to power on the crest of a mass movement.

Fascism demagogically appealed to the "most urgent needs and demands" of the masses, "inflamed their prejudices", "played on the better sentiment" of the masses, on their sense of justice and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. Chauvinism, anti-capitalist demagoguery and sharp attack on corruption are the stock-in-trade of fascist demagoguery.

"It is in the interests of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie that fascism intercepts the disappointed masses who desert the old bourgeois parties. But it impresses the masses by the vehemence of its attacks on the bourgeois governments and its irreconcilable attitude to the old bourgeois parties."

Quite obviously, the Communists could not, on the one hand, entertain any thoughts of a united front with fascist parties on the ground of their mass character and because of the so-called "anti-capitalist character of their policies or

new perspective that was placed before the international Communist movement as a result of the development of this process of militant unity. There was the perspective of the formation of a democratic anti-fascist government even prior to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When a certain degree of the disorganisation of the existing state apparatus had been reached, when there was vehement mass revolt against fascism though all sections of the masses had not yet advanced to the position of desiring socialist power, when a certain degree of differentiation had taken place in various political parties—in these conditions it was quite possible that anti-fascist democratic government of a transitional character could be established.

Another new perspective outlined was that of a single political mass party of the working-class. It was stressed that this desirable objective would require "stubborn work and struggle and is bound to be a more or less lengthy process."

Five conditions were advanced for unification: complete independence from the bourgeoisie; unity of action, recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; rejection of the support of one's own bourgeoisie in an imperialist war; the construction of the Party on the basis of democratic centralism. This was an advance from the positions of the famous 21 conditions for affiliation to the Comintern.

Fourth, to realise this unity of action and to win through to the new perspectives there was a searing attack against sectarianism. It was pointed out that sectarianism is often no longer an "infantile disease" as Lenin wrote but a deeply-rooted vice which must be shaken off or it will be impossible to solve the problem of establishing the united front of the proletariat and leading the masses from the positions of reformism to the side of revolution.

"Sectarianism, satisfied with its doctrinaire narrowness, is divorced from the real life of the masses; satisfied with its simplified methods of solving the most complex problems of the working-class movement on the basis of stereotyped schemes; sectarianism which professes to know all and considers it superfluous to learn from the masses, from the lessons of the labour movement."

The ideological consolidation, expansion of influence

\* ON PAGE 14

Georgi Dimitrov at his study.



AUGUST 29, 1965

MOSCOW: The latest information on the events in Kashmir as well as India's case and viewpoint on the grave developments there have been put before the Soviet government.

T. N. KAUL, the Indian Ambassador in Moscow had a talk lasting an hour and a quarter with the Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin on August 20. Kaul earlier met Poliansky, the first Deputy-Premier; Gromyko, the Foreign Minister; Kuznetsov, the Deputy Foreign Minister and other senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

It is understood that the Indian Ambassador has been reassured that the Soviet stand on Kashmir has not changed and remains the same as before.

As is well known, earlier also the Soviet representatives at the highest level have repeatedly declared that they regard Kashmir to be an integral part of India and recognise India's right to defend its territory and integrity.

Soviet influence in the international field and in the United Nations Security Council has been used to support India and foil imperialist plots and intrigues.

While the Soviet organs cannot be expected to pronounce public judgment on each incident and turn of events in the conflict, it is clear that the Soviet policy remains firmly and consistently that of retaining friendship of India and developing all-sided cooperation with this country.

It is pointed out that it is in India's interest that the Soviet

## SYMPATHY & SUPPORT TO INDIA

# SOVIET STAND ON KASHMIR REMAINS UNCHANGED

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

diplomacy should retain manoeuvring space and the good offices and goodwill be exercised as a helpful influence.

The Soviet press and radio unlike the western propaganda agencies have not played up the India-Pakistan conflict on Kashmir and the latest flare-up. The Soviet view firmly holds that all disputes between states should be settled by peaceful methods and nothing has been said or done here to encourage Pakistan in its intransigence vis-a-vis India.

On the contrary, it can be said that the Soviet leaders exercised their influence with Pakistan towards a settlement of the Kutch trouble and welcomed the agreement arrived at as a happy event.

There is deep disappointment and anxiety here over the latest grave turn in Indo-Pak relations and it is pointed out that ultimately only the imperialist powers can be expected to benefit from the aggravation of relations and conflict between India and Pakistan.

It has been pointed out here that there is some improvement in Soviet-Pakistani relations and there are hopeful trends in Pakistan's foreign policy which the Soviet Union welcomes and wants to encourage.

### Pakistan Must Leave War-Blocs

If there is a chance of Pakistan leaving CENTO and SEATO war blocs, the Soviet Union on its side would certainly like to do everything to help in this process. The less Pakistan depends on the western powers, the better neighbour it would be for a peaceloving nonaligned India, it is felt here.

But it is certainly not the Soviet policy to extricate one country out of American war-blocs by pushing another bigger and a more important one into the clutches of imperialist powers.

In fact, the Soviet Union had criticised China precisely for

its opportunistic use of Pakistan, as the Chinese game had led to a strengthening of the worst right reactionary elements in India.

The dangers of the present situation for India are also fully realised here. What is necessary in India's interest is to realise that the Soviet Union, of course, does not put its relations with India, a non-aligned peaceloving and friendly country with a long tradition of fruitful collaboration on "the same level" as with Pakistan, as the reactionary propaganda would have us believe for its own nefarious ends.

The Soviet Union's increasing influence with Pakistan, if this process were to successfully develop, could wean Pakistan away not only from its imperialist relations but could also to some extent neutralise the advice of its adventurist advisers, who although pose as arch-anti-imperialists, objectively encourage Pakistan in

playing the imperialist game by fanning the flame of anti-Indian prejudice.

The developing Indo-Soviet cooperation and collaboration in all spheres is itself a glaring proof of the happy state of the relations between our two countries. The Soviet Union not only recognises India's right to defend its borders, its integrity and sovereignty in words but also concretely helps in building up India's self-sufficiency and defensive capability.

### Indian Defence Mission in USSR

At this moment the Indian defence mission is here to arrange for the supply of Soviet-made modern submarines and other equipment. (The Soviet offer for these was made last year but the hesitations of the Indian government led it first to the western powers and only after encountering a rebuff did it come back to the Soviet offer). The Indian defence delegation is going round the Soviet Union on a tour of study.

The big trading team which has come here to plan a doubling of Indo-Soviet trade has brought an Indian shopping list for Soviet goods and equipment and also a list of things India can offer to the Soviet Union.

Talks are now going on in different committees to concretise the proposals. Minister Patolichev is expected to go to India towards the end of this year to sign the new trade agreement. In other fields also India has every reason to be satisfied with the state of Indo-Soviet understanding, concrete Soviet help and valuable collaboration.

## UGLY AMERICAN BACK IN SAIGON

THE CIA's 'kingmaker' in Asia is returning to Saigon after a long absence. A cable received from the State Department in the South Vietnamese capital has brought the news that Edward Lansdale has been appointed to serve there as a special assistant on pacification to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge who has already arrived there to take over charge.

"Like Mr. Lodge, Mr. Lansdale has a somewhat awesome reputation among the Vietnamese", a despatch appearing in the NEW YORK TIMES tells us, adding that an informed Vietnamese source had said that "the Premier, Air Vice Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, and the Chief of State, Nguyen Van Thieu, were suspicious—but not nervous—about Mr. Lansdale's appointment."

Suspiciousness, even though there be no nervousness, on the part of the present incumbents of office in Saigon has to be seen in the background of the 'kingmaker's' reputation and record and taken along with Lodge's recent statement—which was sought to be subsequently softened by President Johnson—that United States intervention in Vietnam would continue even if no one were there in Saigon to ask for it.

Edward Lansdale has been credited with a major role in discovering Ngo Dinh Diem and guiding him along the bloody course of suppression of all criticism and opposition in the early years of his rule.

Subsequently, it is admitted, Diem and his brother and brother's wife, the Nhu's, became too difficult even for the 'kingmaker' to handle. The 'clan' even succeeded in having the 'kingmaker' removed from the Saigon scene.

Still, it was the 'kingmaker' who had the last laugh. For it was his "close associates" who like him—though quite a few years later than him—"became thoroughly disenchanted with Mr. Diem" and saw to it that Diem and the Nhu's would no longer be there.

Now, when Edward Lansdale, the CIA's 'kingmaker' in Asia (that is how he is described in the American Press), returns to Saigon with "eight to ten aides" who all are supposed to be "the most sophisticated, informed and hard-boiled intelligence experts", it is understandable why the currently installed Premier and Chief of State of Vietnam feel "suspicious—but not nervous"—about what the future has in store for them.

Lansdale's appointment is another notice served on them that they have to behave and tow the line and act as the perfect rubber-stamp.

## Uncle Sam's Umbrella

Lansdale's reassignment to Vietnam signifies yet another stage in America's experiments with "special warfare" against the national independence struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples for which Vietnam has been made the testing ground. Edward Lansdale personifies the combination of the extreme brutality and toughness of the "Hawks" with the subtlety of the so-called "Doves" of US foreign policy.

He has been idolised by a section of American reaction as the best type of American abroad, winning successes out of failures for American policy. He has been painted so in the "UGLY AMERICAN", an apology for American foreign policy in the form of a novel. Its hero, Hildendale, is said to be none else than Edward Lansdale. More appropriately, Graham Greene patterned the protagonist in THE QUIET AMERICAN after this character.

In the current build-up that is being given to Lansdale the NEW YORK TIMES despatch says:

"According to those who knew him well, Mr. Lansdale was always interested in more than political intrigue and propping up shaky Asian governments. His friends admire him as a fresh and dynamic thinker on 'counter-insurgency or the art of defeating guerrillas.'"

This dynamic thinker, unfortunately for the Americans,

did not prove much of a success in his first spell in Vietnam, though now, of course, the blame for American failure there is sought to be put on Diem.

It might be recalled that in 1954 too Lansdale had been sent to Vietnam with a lot of fanfare. President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had expressed their admiration for the wonderful job Lansdale had done as "a key figure in the CIA-directed operation in support of Magsaysay in the Philippines." The Air Force colonel had been called back from the Philippines to appear before a special panel of intelligence and foreign policy officials including Foster Dulles. Lansdale had emerged from that meeting with a mandate from Dulles to find a popular leader in Vietnam and throw the support of the CIA's notorious "Invisible Government" behind this popular leader.

That is exactly what Lansdale did, with what results—that is too well-known: He played quite a part in leading the USA in a far deeper morass in South Vietnam than it was in 1954.

We can rest assured that the Quiet American's second term there will yield even more pitiful results for America. Meanwhile, Lansdale would have done his bit to bring a lot more of killing, maiming, agony and suffering to the Vietnamese people, and plenty of shame and destruction of conscience to his own countrymen.

## NEW AGE

| Subscription Rates |        |
|--------------------|--------|
| Inland: Yearly     | Rs. 12 |
| Half-yearly        | Rs. 6  |
| Quarterly          | Rs. 3  |
| Foreign: Yearly    | Rs. 20 |
| Half-yearly        | Rs. 10 |

All cheques, drafts etc. are to be made payable to T. Madhavan and not to New Age.

Managerial Office  
7/4 Asaf Ali Road,  
New Delhi  
Phone: 271002 & 271794

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. III DISCUSSIONS

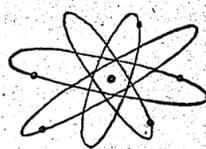
(JUST OUT)

PRICE Rs. 1.25

(Postage Extra)

Book your orders with:

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE  
Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi



**SOVIET  
TEXT  
BOOKS**

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

LATEST ARRIVALS

ONLY METRIC SYSTEM USED: POPULAR PRICES

MOST OF THEM PRESCRIBED AND RECOMMENDED AS TEXTBOOKS IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES AND TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS

ASK FOR COMPLETE ANNOTATED CATALOGUE OF TEXTBOOKS—1965 WITH DETAILS OF APPROVALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PHYSICS, CHEMISTRY, MATHEMATICS

PHYSICS, V. Perishkin and others, pp. 192, Rs. 1.50

This textbook for sixth form gives an elementary knowledge of physics.

TEXTBOOK OF GENERAL CHEMISTRY, B. Nekrasov, pp. 480, Rs. 6.00

Textbook for students of chemical and related subjects.

PROBLEMS OF MATHEMATICAL ANALYSIS, B. Demidovich and others, pp. 496, Rs. 6.00

This collection covers the maximum requirements of general courses in higher mathematics for higher technical schools.

BRIEF COURSE IN ANALYTICAL GEOMETRY, N. Yefimov, pp. 251, Rs. 5.00

This book presents the theoretical foundations of plane and solid analytical geometry.

ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY

FARM MACHINERY, N. Buzhuyev and others, pp. 303, Rs. 4.00

This book is a guide for farmers, students and all those concerned with agricultural machinery.

SCIENCE OF WOOD, L. M. Perelgin, pp. 200, Rs. 4.50

This textbook provides authoritative and up-to-date information about the fundamentals of wood structure.

DEVELOPMENT AND EXPLORATION OF OIL AND GAS FIELDS, I. Muraviov and others, pp. 503, Rs. 6.00

This book sets forth modern scientific knowledge on the subject.

STEEL FOUNDRY PRACTICE, P. Bidulya, pp. 320, Rs. 5.00

The textbook outlines the fundamentals of the theory and practice of steel casting.

METAL PROCESS ENGINEERING, P. Polukhin and others, pp. 440, Rs. 6.00

This course is intended for engineers as a basis for successful mastery over a number of special subjects.

GAS WELDING AND CUTTING, D. Glizmanenko and others, pp. 430, Rs. 6.00

A comprehensive textbook on gas welding and cutting.

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION, N. Shadrin and others, pp. 336, Rs. 6.00

This textbook is intended for students of railway colleges and secondary schools.

ELECTRONICS IN INDUSTRY, I. Kaganov, pp. 499, Rs. 6.00

This textbook discusses electronic, iron and semi-conductor devices and circuits and their applications in industrial electronics.

Postage extra

ORDER FROM:

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, New Delhi; P.P.H. BOOK-STALL, Bombay—4; NEW CENTURY BOOK HOUSE, Madras—2; MANISHA GRANTHALAYA, Calcutta—12; NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY, Calcutta—12.

SUBSCRIBE AND READ

**HAYAT**

URDU WEEKLY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Write to

THE MANAGER  
HAYAT WEEKLY  
5, RANI JHANSI ROAD  
NEW DELHI

**CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION**

**Stop This Unbridled  
Repression Of People**

The National Council severely condemns the round of repression and mass arrests, lathi-charges, tear-gas attacks and police firings, with which the Congress governments are seeking to crush the peaceful protest actions and demonstrations of the people, against rising prices and food scarcity and against rise in tram-fares and school fees.

In Bihar, where there was PATNA BANDH on August 9 as well as demonstrations before the Secretariat by the people and students demanding half in rising prices of food and the withdrawal of rise in school fees, the government responded to these demands with wide-scale arrests, bullets, lathis and tear-gas.

Three thousand people, including Yogindra Sharma, member of the central secretariat of the CPI; Sunil Mukherjee MLC; Indradeep Singh MLC; Chandrashekhar Singh MLC; Ramavtar Shastri; Ramavtar Sharma; Tejnarayan Jha MLC; Rajkumar Purbey MLC; Krishna Chandra Chowdhury; Ratan Roy, Secretary, Bihar TUC and many others have been arrested. Practically most of the state council and district level leaders of the CPI have been imprisoned. All the thirteen Communist members of the state legislature have been detained.

Similarly Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia MP, leaders of the SSP like Karpuri Thakur, Bhola Prasad, Ramanand Tewari, Kapildeo Singh as well as several of their workers have been arrested and detained; several members of the students' and youth federations and about 100 leading members of the state government non-gazetted employees, including Ram Iqbal Singh and R. K. Sinha have also been put behind the bars. Communist members of Parliament Renu Chakravarty and Indrajit Gupta and the Chairman of the SSP, S. M. Joshi were served with extermination orders debarring their entry into Patna.

**Muzzling  
The Press**

The most amazing thing was the arrest and detention under DIR of the editor of the well-known Patna daily SEARCHLIGHT which shows that the government is determined to stifle the press and the professional journalists discharging their duty to the people.

Police opened fire at a number of places including Patna, resorted to lathi charges and indiscriminate use of tear-gas during the last few days, causing several deaths. Mounted police were brought out against the young school students demonstrating before the state secretariat, causing injuries to some of them.

Police vandalism reached unprecedented heights, when they rushed into the Assembly premises and dragged out and severely manhandled a large number of employees and visitors including an MLA. On August 10 evening three MLAs, Chandrashekhar Singh, Karpuri Thakur and Ramanand Tewari—and a number of other leftist leaders were brutally assaulted and wounded by the police at Gandhi Maidan after

rest and folk cases against the people at Bangalore at the time of the AICC session when thousands of people demonstrated demanding attention of the ruling party's policy-making body for firm measures to improve the food situation.

In Kolhapur (Maharashtra), the Congress government has launched massive police action of lathi-charges and firings against the people peacefully demonstrating against rise of prices and food scarcity under the auspices of the Anti-Starvation Committee organised by the four opposition parties of the state. Six people have been killed, hundreds injured and some 250 including opposition leaders put under arrest and detained under DIR. Now the Government of Maharashtra has launched a statewide round of arrests under the DIR, putting over 300 behind bars including Nana Patil and other leaders of the Communist Party and other left parties.

The utter callousness of the Congress leaders is seen in this that while the voice of protest of the common people is being sought to be choked by force, nothing whatsoever is done to control the hoarders, profiteers, monopolists, blackmarketeers, corrupt officials and similar other anti-social elements.

It is essentially this anti-people policy of the Congress government that is actually accentuating the crisis within the country and creating unbearable situations. Any opposition to the Congress is being dealt with in a manner which only proves that the Congress leaders have scant regard either for the Constitution or the well-being of the common people and thus the democratic set-up of the country is in jeopardy.

The Prime Minister appeals for unity of the people against aggression and for the defence of the country, while his state governments unleash brutal repression against the people demonstrating peacefully for food and for the elementary demands of life. If the government is serious to unite and mobilise the people for the defence of the country, let them immediately stop this repression in West Bengal, Bihar, Maharashtra and elsewhere and take immediate measures to meet these just demands of the people.

Release all those who have been arrested and detained;

Institute judicial enquiry into the police firing in West Bengal and Bihar;

Take vigorous measures against hoarder-profiteers of foodgrains, introduce effective state-trading in foodgrains;

Take urgent measures such as rationing in big cities with a population of one lakh and more and where there is shortage make foodgrains and other necessities of life available to the people at reasonable prices, first and foremost, give relief to the people where the distress is acute; and

Suspend increased tram-fare in Calcutta and appoint a tribunal to go into the whole issue of justifiability of fare increase.

**Mass Arrests, Repression In Maharashtra**

MASS arrests, lathi-charges, tear-gas and firing—such is the reply of the Maharashtra government to the food campaign organised by the Hunger Resistance Committee in the state composed of the Peasants and Workers Party, the Communist Party of India, the SSP, the Republican Party of India and a number of independent citizens.

The committee had decided to organise processions, demonstration and mass satyagraha at district and tehsil offices during the week from August 20 to 27.

In Kolhapur, the struggle began on August 1, a report of which appears elsewhere in this issue of NEW AGE.

Reports of police attacks on the people have been

received from Karad and Phaltan.

In Kolhapur alone the arrests total above 400. In the state as a whole, they exceed 1200.

In many districts arrests have been made even before the launching of the struggle.

In Kolhapur, Sangli, Sholapur and Yeotmal districts the entire leadership

and active workers of the CPI and PWP have been arrested. Republican Party and SSP workers are also behind the bars.

All leading functionaries of the CPI have been arrested in Ahmednagar, Jalgaon, Amalner, Yeotmal and Akola districts.

Arrests in other districts are expected before the end of the campaign week. Most prominent among

the arrested are Nana Patil (CPI) and Dajiba Desai (PWP).

Among the arrested is a number of MLAs including Radin (CPD) from Sholapur and Karkhans (PWP) from Kolhapur.

The situation all over the state is extremely tense, and people are determined to carry forward the struggle despite arrests and repression.

**Solidarity With Vietnam  
CPI Condemns Shastri  
Govt's Slideback**

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India draws the urgent attention of the Indian people to the most recent steps announced by the US government for the escalation of its war of aggression in Vietnam.

Over 50 thousand fresh US troops are being poured into South Vietnam with more and more bombers, tanks and armaments of every description. The latest news of the setting up of a US mobile "research institute" for bacteriological and chemical warfare in South Vietnam—indicating new plans for the use of poison gas and even germs by the US forces.

The bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have been intensified. The US government has declared its intention to bomb every type of non-military targets. This week an announcement has been made that dams in North Vietnam will be blasted in order to flood the rice-fields and the villages and towns. The US imperialists' inhumanity and barbarism appear to have no limit. US imperialism is rightly being called the international gendarme, whose brutal might comes into action against the independence of peoples in all parts of the world.

The Communist Party once again appeals to all sections of patriotic opinion in this country, to intensify their protest actions against the US aggression in Vietnam.

The courageous resistance of the Vietnamese people to the US aggression has been unprecedented in its sweep and success in the entire history of the worldwide struggle for national independence.

Increasing numbers of right thinking men and women in all countries are taking part in demonstrations and actions, demanding that the US aggression be stopped and all US forces be withdrawn from South Vietnam. In the United States itself, a growing movement of different sections of the people is raising its voice against President Johnson's Vietnam policy, against the hated "Johnson doctrine".

The US government has spurned the appeal made by the Government of India and certain other nonaligned countries for an end to the bombing of North Vietnam. Instead of responding to this appeal, which has been reiterated in the recent Shastri-Tito joint communique, the US imperialists have intensified their dirty war.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, while welcoming the fact that the Government of India has demanded the ending of the US bombings and has also recently correctly pointed out that the South Vietnam Liberation Front must be represented in any Geneva-type conference which may be called, is concerned at some recent statements by Prime Minister Shastri, which indicate a serious weakening of Indian policy on Vietnam.

These statements have firstly watered down the demand for a halt

of US bombings, by making it appear no longer a necessary first step for peace, but only a part of what is called the stoppage of hostilities "by all sides." This amounts to white-washing the US aggression and placing the aggressors and the victims of aggression on the same footing.

The Prime Minister's "tribute" in his Independence Day speech to the so-called "desire" of the US imperialists for a peaceful solution of the issue, was absolutely unjustified. Everyone knows that the hypocritical professions of its desire for "negotiations" by the US imperialists are only a facade, behind which they seek to hide their plans for the continuous escalation of their aggression on Vietnam.

The Communist Party strongly condemns this sliding back by government spokesmen even on previously taken positions on Vietnam.

The Communist Party urges the Government of India to join hands with other peace-loving anti-imperialist governments and peoples in demanding the withdrawal of US forces from South Vietnam, recognition of the South Vietnam Liberation Front as the only representative of the people of South Vietnam and a solution through the calling of a Geneva-type conference, on the basis of the four-point proposal put forward by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Communist Party pledges itself to do all in its power in cooperation with other parties and mass organisations, to build a powerful campaign of solidarity with Vietnam. The collection of medical supplies and funds for such supplies to be sent to the victims of the US bombings in Vietnam is a concrete and practical method of expressing the Indian people's support. The large number of Indians, who have volunteered to go to the assistance of the people of Vietnam, either as doctors or medical personnel or as combatants, are an indication of the deep feelings of our people against the bestiality of the US aggressors.

Solidarity meetings and demonstrations, conventions and conferences on as broad a scale as possible must be organised in the coming days by all sections of our people.

The signing of a no-war pact between India and Pakistan would be a valuable step in the interest of both the countries. India has repeatedly offered a no-war pact to Pakistan during the last ten years, which the ruling circles in Pakistan have spurned. The Communist Party hopes that the democratic forces in Pakistan would join in making efforts towards this end.

The Indian people are deeply interested in a peaceful solution of all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan. They have always desired and worked for such a solution but if the Ayub dictatorship mistaking the peaceful aspirations of the Indian people as signs of weakness, insists on continuing its efforts to annex our territories, all patriotic forces in India shall rally to give the aggressors the reply they deserve.

The Communist Party appeals to all patriotic, secular and democratic forces in the country to unite to defend the territorial integrity of our motherland, and at the same time fight the imperialists' efforts to intervene against our national interests, and the attempts of communal elements to create disruption at this grave moment.

The Party calls upon its members and supporters to take all steps to mobilise mass opinion through a countrywide campaign in defence of Kashmir.

The Indian people are happy at the fact that the growing democratic forces in Pakistan are raising their voice against the pro-imperialist poli-

tics of the Ayub dictatorship and against the participation of Pakistan in imperialist military pacts.

The continued tension and conflict between India and Pakistan only helps the imperialists and internal reaction in both the countries.

The signing of a no-war pact between India and Pakistan would be a valuable step in the interest of both the countries. India has repeatedly offered a no-war pact to Pakistan during the last ten years, which the ruling circles in Pakistan have spurned. The Communist Party hopes that the democratic forces in Pakistan would join in making efforts towards this end.

The Indian people are deeply interested in a peaceful solution of all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan. They have always desired and worked for such a solution but if the Ayub dictatorship mistaking the peaceful aspirations of the Indian people as signs of weakness, insists on continuing its efforts to annex our territories, all patriotic forces in India shall rally to give the aggressors the reply they deserve.

The Communist Party appeals to all patriotic, secular and democratic forces in the country to unite to defend the territorial integrity of our motherland, and at the same time fight the imperialists' efforts to intervene against our national interests, and the attempts of communal elements to create disruption at this grave moment.

The Party calls upon its members and supporters to take all steps to mobilise mass opinion through a countrywide campaign in defence of Kashmir.

The Indian people are happy at the fact that the growing democratic forces in Pakistan are raising their voice against the pro-imperialist poli-

tics of the Ayub dictatorship and against the participation of Pakistan in imperialist military pacts.

The continued tension and conflict between India and Pakistan only helps the imperialists and internal reaction in both the countries.

The signing of a no-war pact between India and Pakistan would be a valuable step in the interest of both the countries. India has repeatedly offered a no-war pact to Pakistan during the last ten years, which the ruling circles in Pakistan have spurned. The Communist Party hopes that the democratic forces in Pakistan would join in making efforts towards this end.

The Indian people are deeply interested in a peaceful solution of all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan. They have always desired and worked for such a solution but if the Ayub dictatorship mistaking the peaceful aspirations of the Indian people as signs of weakness, insists on continuing its efforts to annex our territories, all patriotic forces in India shall rally to give the aggressors the reply they deserve.

The Communist Party appeals to all patriotic, secular and democratic forces in the country to unite to defend the territorial integrity of our motherland, and at the same time fight the imperialists' efforts to intervene against our national interests, and the attempts of communal elements to create disruption at this grave moment.

# NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION CPI URGES THE SANT TO DESIST FROM FAST

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses grave concern over the situation that has arisen in the Punjab following the breakdown of the talks between the Prime Minister and Sant Fateh Singh and the announcement by the Sant of a fast unto death and self-immolation.

ALREADY two swamies have announced a counter-fast. Arch-communist Master Tara Singh and the Jan Sangh are getting active seeking to divide the people. The situation is fraught with the danger of communal division, tension and even conflict. All this is happening at a time when the grave developments in Kashmir necessitate the fullest communal peace and harmony in the country.

The National Council of the CPI is of the considered opinion that the Government of India must bear its share of the responsibility for the serious situation developing in the border state of Punjab as it has all along refused to apply the democratic principle of reorganisation of states on a linguistic basis, applied now virtually to the whole country, to this region.

The people of Haryana feel they are backward because they are in an unequal position in the Punjab and are being kept there forcibly. In Punjab there is the

demand for reorganisation so that the Punjab consists only of the Punjabi-speaking area. But on one plea or the other the Government of India has under pressure of communalists and vested interest, all along stuck to its anti-democratic stand of maintaining the present state borders. In the state itself, the regional committees have been kept without any powers and made virtually defunct and the Punjabi language has been denied its due place and status as the regional language.

This has only enabled arch-communists like Master Tara Singh to raise the separatist slogans of "Sikh state" and "political self-determination for Sikhs" and the Jan Sangh to rouse communal passions even against the demands of equal status for Punjabi and of linguistic reorganisation.

Instead of realising that their anti-democratic stand must be changed the Congress rulers are

sticking to it and relying on repression and disruption to deal with the situation.

The National Council demands that the Government of India change its attitude and accept the democratic principle of linguistic reorganisation as applicable to Punjab.

The National Council of the CPI regrets that Sant Fateh Singh who has been insisting that for realising his demand of reorganisation of Punjab on a linguistic basis Hindu-Sikh unity is an essential precondition has now chosen the desperate path of self-immolation and thus of mobilising only the Sikhs for it.

The National Council appeals to him to desist from the extreme step in view of its likely grave consequences. The council appeals to the people of Punjab to maintain communal peace and harmony under all conditions.

It is confident that ultimately the untenable and anti-democratic stand of making an exception in the case of Punjab, when almost all the other states have been reorganised on the basis of language will have to be given up. The unity of the brave people of Punjab will forge the necessary democratic mass sanctions to defeat this anti-democratic policy and realise the just demand.

# Is Naik Going Morarji Way?

THE indiscriminate police firing in Kolhapur resulting in the death of six innocent persons and injuries to about fifty will send a wave of resentment and anger throughout Maharashtra.

The people asked for food, they got bullets instead! Only on August 19 morning, the Chief Minister, had threatened the people with dire consequences. Within hours the Kolhapur police translated the Chief Minister's threat into blood-bath for Kolhapur people.

Instead of consoling the people, the Home Minister has thought it fit to issue further threats.

This is the way Morarji ruled and ruined the democracy in Maharashtra ten years ago. I am afraid the Maharashtra Government is sliding along the same slippery path! If it has decided to take to the Morarji path, then I must warn that the people of Maharashtra will firmly unite and resist with all their might.

I hope Maharashtra Government will still hold its hand and meet the elementary demands of the people.

Instead of slandering the people, the government should immediately institute an open judicial inquiry into the Kolhapur happenings.

Bombay  
PRABHAKAR VAIDYA

## LETTERS

ges under the present circumstances. The articles 14, 15, 16 of our Constitution lay down equal rights for all, so the discrimination mentioned above should not be there.

Moreover a special quota of two kg. per person has been given to the urban areas but nothing has been allotted to those in rural areas, simply on the plea that there is larger number of marriages in rural areas.

The people in rural areas are experiencing great difficulty as this meagre quota of 200 gms. per head per month and that too being given irregularly, does not suit their requirements. Will the authorities take measures to remove this discrimination in distribution of sugar to villagers?

Amritsar  
BRAHM DUTT

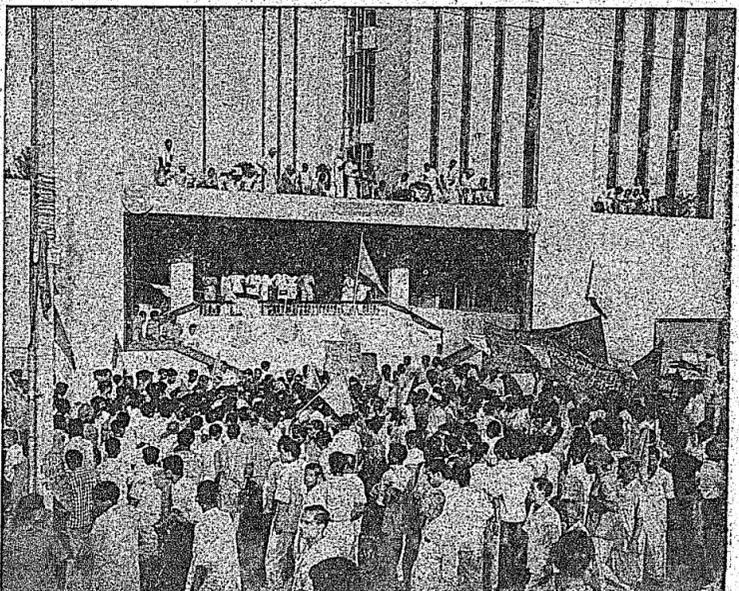
## The Times Of India Strike

ABOUT four thousand employees of the Times of India and allied publications went on a four-day strike beginning August 18 demanding settlement of their bonus dispute for 1964.

The strike was the result of the refusal of the management of Bennet Coleman & Co. to pay bonus at the same rate as last year. It had taken shelter under the provisions of the anti-worker Bonus Ordinance.

The workers suspended the strike on August 19 following the management's assurance that bonus would be paid as under the amended provisions of the Bonus Bill, now before Parliament, which entitled them to a bigger quantum of bonus.

Below is a view of the Times of India employees in New Delhi demonstrating before their office.



## Discrimination In Sugar Distribution

I would like to draw the attention of the authorities towards some hard facts relating to discrimination in distribution of sugar in rural areas of Tarn Taran Tehsil in Amritsar district.

The people residing in cities, that is in urban areas get their monthly quota of one kg. of sugar per month regularly whereas those living in villages get only 200 gms. per month and that too irregularly.

This quota has been fixed on the basis of 1951 census, which does not at all conform to the needs of the people in the villa-

influence but the national movement itself at that time adopted programmes and policies of a definitely progressive social nature.

In the new epoch when creative Marxism emerges to new levels of integration of theory and practice, the relevance and importance of this Comintern Congress only increases with the passage of time. A study of its documents will not be a matter of mere historical interest but even more of seeking guidance as we engage ourselves with the complex reality of today's revolution.

It made possible a new orientation towards the National Congress, towards the Congress Socialist Party, towards the united mass organisations of the workers and peasants and their integration with the national movement. As pointed out in that book, it enabled the CPI to correctly integrate its national and class tasks.

This proved beneficial not only to the CPI but to the national movement as well. Not only did the CPI increase its

# 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF SEVENTH CONGRESS OF COMINTERN

\* FROM PAGE 10

and development of the revolutionary militant qualities of the Marxist-Leninist Parties could not proceed further in the new period without this sustained struggle against sectarianism.

In this connection a new approach was outlined towards the social-democratic parties in the West and the national bourgeois-led national liberation movements in the vast colonial territories. While ideological-political independence of the Communist Parties and principled criticism of the social-democrats and national-bourgeois-led movements were insisted upon, there was a change from the previous position of labelling social-democrats as "social fascists" and the anti-imperialist national geists as "hidden agents" of imperialism.

This new line of the Communist International at the last of world congresses found splendid confirmation in country after country. It laid the ideological-political basis for

## BONUS BILL: AN ANALYSIS

By  
SATISH LOOMBA

READ ALL ABOUT THE ANTI-WORKER  
PROVISIONS IN THE BONUS BILL  
BROUGHT FORWARD BY THE  
GOVERNMENT

Price: 30 Paise

Order From:  
THE MANAGER

AITUC PUBLICATION  
5, Rani Jhansi Road New Delhi-1

The Programme of the Communist Party adopted at its last Congress in Bombay correctly analysed the development in India as "taking place on the basis of capitalist relations in industry and remnants of feudal relations in agriculture", and that it "suffers from all inherent and inevitable contradictions, crises, and serious limitation of capitalist system and its basic laws...."

"Therefore there is increasing contradiction between growing industry and impoverishment of people. This impedes the development of industry itself and prevents full utilisation of productive capacity of industry and the manpower in country. The rate of economic development lags seriously behind even the plan targets and recently has failed to keep pace with growth of population."

THE above characterisation of Indian situation pointed out in the Programme is fully applicable to Orissa, and the net result of development of Orissa during the last decade quite emphatically demonstrates the correctness of this formulation.

The above contradictions are more deep and wide-spread in Orissa resulting in greater suffering of the people. Orissa lags much behind even the average slow and halting rate of development of India as a whole. As a result, the impoverishment of the people of Orissa grows more in comparison to India itself. It is evident from the assessment of the result of five-year plans so far implemented. Let us examine in detail some important aspects of development so far achieved.

Everybody knows that Orissa is an undeveloped state with remnants of feudal economic relations, but possessing vast resources for its all-round growth. From the beginning of first five-year plan up to the first two years of third plan i.e., from 1951 to 1962-63, during the twelve years the total outlay spent comes to Rs. 214 crores. Not that nothing has been achieved after such an investment.

## Growth Of Industry

No doubt, some industries have developed, a number of hydro-electric, irrigation and other projects have been built, education has been expanded, roads are being laid, and wells and tanks etc., are being dug. All these have brought certain changes in different aspects of life of Orissa. What is the nature of the changes? What is the net result of the plan and how far it has taken people on the road to progress?

No doubt, during this period industries have developed. But in spite of that, dependence on agriculture has not lessened, rather it has increased.

In 1951 at the beginning of the first plan 70 per cent of people of Orissa were depending on agriculture, after 10 years in 1961 the dependence has gone up to 74 per cent. It shows development of industry does not keep pace with the growth of population.

People are forced to stick to the land as they do not find other alternate sources of income, and hence excessive pressure on land grows, which is already overburdened.

Due to the development of industry, there has been some growth of urban population, but the percentage of people living in rural areas in Orissa is still 94 per cent—the highest in India. Besides this, 40 per cent of the population of Orissa still belong to depressed class. This figure also is highest in India. All this proves the predominant position of agricultural economy.

Then what is the position of industry in the economy of the state? According to the price level of 1958-59, the share of the industry in the total income of the state was only 1.4 per

# Orissa's Tale Of Woe HALF OF THE PEOPLE SPEND 26 PAISE PER HEAD PER DAY

the actual picture of different classes of people. But we can well imagine their living standard from the amount of money they are able to spend given the following table.

| Monthly Household Expenditure Group | Orissa Percentage | all-India Percentage |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Rs. 1-50                            | 49.30             | 31.35                |
| Rs. 51-100                          | 38.03             | 38.09                |
| Rs. 101-150                         | 7.04              | 14.86                |
| Rs. 151-300                         | 4.23              | 12.36                |
| Rs. 301 and above                   | 1.40              | 3.34                 |

This shows about half of the households in Orissa has monthly expenditure of only Rs. 50 which means Rs. 10 per head per month for an average family of five, or Rs. 1.30 per day per household (or 26 paise per head per day). This household group is highest in Orissa in comparison to other states, and evaluation of the plan aptly put it "Orissa has unequal privilege of leading to this respect."

## By Gurucharan Patnaik

Even the household expenditure group above Rs. 150 forms 5.63 per cent in Orissa while the corresponding figure for all India is three times more, that is, 15.70 per cent. One in every two households is below the poverty line whatever might be the development. This abject poverty still persists in a wider scale.

## Lowest Expenditure

Whatever angle one may examine this naked reality can not be evaded. The per capita monthly consumer expenditure, in July 1960-61 was only Rs. 14.54 in Orissa, (lowest in India) while the all-India average stood at Rs. 21.44.

It is quite natural that major part of this meagre amount goes towards meeting the essential items of subsistence. Even per capita expenditure is only Rs. 1.54, lowest in India, milk is a luxury, Rs. 0.19 per head, the all-India average being Rs. 1.61.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people in Orissa and now-a-days more emphasis is given to it due to the shortage of food. But during the last two plans, taking 1952-53 as 100, the index number of agricultural production has been fluctuating between 97.7 and 112.5. During this period five times production has fallen below even 100.

This shows Orissa's agriculture depends not on planning but on the nature. Even if this growth is taken into account, it is only 1.4 per cent per year (1952-53=100) which is much below than the all-India average. Among the agricultural production, foodgrains production has increased by 17 per cent per year while during the same period population has showed a growth of 1.98 per cent per year. It shows our food production lags behind the persons to be fed.

## Halting Progress

All these go to prove that the rate of development is so slow and halting that it has become impossible to keep pace even with slow moving economy of India, and with this rate of progress Orissa would never be able to catch up with all-India average and achieve equality with other states. Hence with the rate of development, the relative backwardness and inequality will grow, and the gap with other states of India will further widen.

The above figure on per capita income in Orissa does not give

Again in analysing this aspect, it is found that growth of production of small millet is more in comparison to rice and paddy. Small millet has grown by 166.7 per cent taking (1952-53 as 100);

| Year    | Acres in thousands | Production in tons | Production per acre in pounds |
|---------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1960-61 | 9336               | 36.70              | 880                           |
| 1961-62 | 9682               | 36.50              | 844                           |
| 1962-63 | 9682               | 33.52              | 775                           |
| 1963-79 | 9682               | 42.55              | 986                           |

Though the small millets constitute a very minor part of our foodgrains, yet its growth is quite remarkable. Generally poorer sections of people in Orissa depend on it.

It shows a trend that poorer sections of people due to lack of land or being deprived of good cultivable lands are resorting more and more to cultivation of small millets, for their livelihood. During this period production of commercial crop has also gone down (tute from 151.8 to 98 per cent, sugar cane from 115.7 to 85.5 etc.).

Among the foodgrains, rice is the main. The third plan has set a target of producing 51.14 lakh tons of rice in 1965-66. The following figures are quite illustrative.

| Year    | Acres in thousands | Production in tons | Production per acre in pounds |
|---------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1960-61 | 9336               | 36.70              | 880                           |
| 1961-62 | 9682               | 36.50              | 844                           |
| 1962-63 | 9682               | 33.52              | 775                           |
| 1963-79 | 9682               | 42.55              | 986                           |

This trend in production of rice does not give the hope that the third plan target is ever going to be fulfilled. Leaving aside the land monopoly, and concentration of land etc., that hamper the growth of agricultural production, other factors such as irrigation, double cropping, manuring etc., which help the production, are very much lagging behind in comparison to other states of India. Orissa government boasts of

Hirakud and other projects, but the irrigation capacity covers only 15 per cent of the cropped areas of the state, (as compared with 23.65 per cent in neighbouring areas.) Backwardness of agriculture is also seen in respect of technology and application of fertilizer, from the fact that only 7.71 per cent of total cropped area is sown more than once as compared with 28.08 in Bihar state.

As regards small irrigation, first and second plan together had a target of supplying water to 3.60 lakh acres, of which actually only 2.77 lakh acres could be fulfilled. The third plan has set a target of 3.20 lakh acres. Even if everything goes according to the plan, it would not fulfil even half of the target by the end of third-year of the plan.

In most cases the minor irrigations are a great fiasco as they have no actual capacity to supply water as per the plan. Under the medium and major irrigation, by the end of second plan, an additional gross potential of 7.02 lakh acres has been created. The third plan has a target of additional potential of 12.57 lakh acres and utilisation of 9.46 lakh acres. Now this has been raised to 8.6 lakh and 8.2 lakh acres respectively.

Increased food production requires to bring cultivable waste

## Ajoy GHOSH

ARTICLES  
and  
SPEECHES

This volume contains articles and speeches of Ajoy Ghosh, the former General Secretary of the Communist Party of India who died in January 1962. They concern the major social, economic and political problems of India and they show the way to solving them. The articles and speeches are chronologically arranged and they will be of immense help for an understanding and solution of present-day problems of India.

Rs. 1.55

Postage extra.

ORDER FROM:  
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, New Delhi; P.P.H. BOOK-STALL, Bombay 4; NEW CENTURY BOOK HOUSE, Madras—2; MANISHA GRANTHALAYA, Calcutta—12; NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY, Calcutta—12.

# FOOD DOMINATES DEBATE ON NO-CONFIDENCE

## Swatantra's Tight-rope Walking

By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

While food has dominated the no-confidence debate against the Shastri government in the Lok Sabha, the grave situation in Kashmir completely overshadowed the Kutch debate in the Rajya Sabha.

**E**MOTION-packed—full of merciless exposure of the monstrous profiteering rampant in people's food—heart-rending narration of the woes of the masses, victims of high food prices and stark privation: this is how Communist spokesman Renu Chakravarty's hard-hitting attack on the government turned out to be.

She drew a straight line between the battle for food and the battle against external threat through Pakistani onslaughts in Kashmir.

If the country had to be defended effectively, its economy and food had to be rescued "from the clutches of the profiteers and blackmarketeers", who were the financial "mainstay of the ruling party".

The Communist spokesman also sharply arraigned the government for gross misuse of the emergency powers. The increasing resort to DIR for depriving people of civil liberties, government's refusal to release or try the left Communist detenus, arrest of a prominent editor in Patna showed how matters stood.

Renu Chakravarty saw in the threat to the people's livelihood through the unending rapacity of the food hoarders and the complicity of the bureaucracy the biggest threat which government had failed to meet. The government had failed to provide square meals a day to the masses and security from external aggression to the country.

There was however another

line of attack on the government, which came from the Swatantra Party.

Its leader Minoos Masani used his eloquence to drive home a sharp sally against government policies—not for failure to curb the hoarders and profiteers, but for the opposite reason.

Largely confining himself to a polemical debate on the utility of planning, Masani drew the strange conclusion: "the bigger the plan, the slower the rate of growth; the smaller the plan, faster the rate of growth". Masani's models for India were Pakistan, Formosa and Israel.

The Swatantra spokesman did some tight-rope walking on the grim problem of Pakistani aggression. Evidently he did not find the ground congenial.

But he did see some parallel between the Pakistani raiders in Kashmir and the Vietcong—only to draw the conclusion that India had been mistaken in being harsh with the Americans for their murderous bombings in Vietnam.

Another conclusion of the Swatantra leader was that India should become a partner of the West, evidently in one of the military groupings.

Two important announcements on the Kashmir situation came this week—one in the Lok Sabha from Defence Minister Chavan and the other from Prime Minister Shastri in the Rajya Sabha.

Both pronouncements indicated the grim prospects ahead in relation to Indo-Pakistani relations.

While the Defence Minister made a brief announcement, in reply to a question, Prime Minister Shastri made a well-considered statement.

Both pointed out that Indian security forces will cross the cease-fire line if that becomes necessary to ensure security of the cease-fire

line in Kashmir. Its implications were obviously far-reaching.

Shastri's defence of the Kutch pact with Pakistan looked to be incongruous when placed along with his statements on the Kashmir situation.

He did give some cogent reasons in defence of the Kutch pact—need to separate the Kutch and Kashmir issues, and persistence by India in finding avenues for settlement in relation to Indo-Pakistani disputes. But he largely failed to give effective answer to Communist leader Bhupesh Gupta's main criticism.

Bhupesh Gupta had pointed out the government's continued trust in British imperialist mediators, little realising British imperialism's role in regard to Indo-Pakistani problems.

The fact that the Kashmir issue stood out in the minds of the House was no doubt helpful to government in taking the Opposition's attacks on loop-holes in

the Kutch agreement with comparative ease.

The Lok Sabha benches were half-empty, and so were the galleries when the clock struck quarter past four last Thursday. Just then Finance Minister Krishnamachari rose to make a long pronouncement—it was his surprise introduction of a supplementary budget which imposes taxes ranging over Rs. 100 crores during the current year itself.

Taken completely by surprise most parliamentarians could hardly evaluate the implications of TTK's surprise packet. But the question uppermost on most minds was: how much more burden will this new budget impose on the common man, already bent with the load of taxes? How much more will prices of common articles rise as a consequence of these imposts? The answer has yet to be ascertained. (August 25)

## RASHTRIYA SANGRAM SAMITI CALLS FOR UNITED ACTION

NEW DELHI: The Rashtriya Sangram Samiti, at its meeting in New Delhi on August 24 and 25 adopted a call to the workers and people of India.

**T**HE call begins with a declaration expressing "unequivocal condemnation of the Pakistani aggression" and goes on to point out that at the time of the Chinese aggression of 1962 the working class responded magnificently to the call for the defence of the country.

However, the employers used the crisis to amass more profits, raise prices and attack the workers and their unions.

The Samiti draws sharp attention to the present situation when there is aggression again against our country, the government has failed to solve the urgent problems of food, prices and democratic liberties.

Describing the famine or near-famine conditions in vast areas, the Samiti in its call describes the scarcity conditions, the skyrocketing of prices, the hoarding and speculation indulged in by the profiteers.

The Samiti pays tribute to the thousands of participants in the mass movements for food in different states.

The call concludes in the following words:

"In these conditions the Samiti has given very careful consideration to the present situation. It feels that defence of our country cannot be divorced from amelioration of the living conditions of our people.

"A population starving because of wrong policies of the government, cannot adequately put in the effort which each one of us has to make, if the country is to be built, its defence strengthened and its integrity guaranteed.

"The responsibility of the present anxious conditions must squarely rest on the shoulders of the government.

"The people of India must therefore rouse themselves and unite in order to safeguard their own lives and the integrity of our country. Through their will and determination, manifest in a national united action, they must compel the government to take measures which will save the people and strengthen the defence of the country.

"The Samiti therefore calls upon the people of India, the industrial working class, the employees in offices and establishments, the intelligentsia, the middle classes, youth and students, the peasants and agricultural labour, in fact on all the toiling people of India, to observe Tuesday, September 21 as the "National Action Day" in support of the following demands:

1. Defence of the country and its borders against any aggression, while doing everything possible to settle all border disputes by peaceful negotiations, on the basis of

preservation of national honour and integrity.

2. Fix the fair price of foodgrains for the producers and for the consumers; and also fix the reasonable prices of all essential consumer goods; take over the hoarded foodgrains; introduce state trading in foodgrains and statutory rationing in all cities and deficit rural areas.

3. Release all detained trade union and political leaders, withdraw the Defence of India Rules, restore democratic and civil liberties and guarantee trade union rights.

4. Nationalise all banks.
5. Amend Bonus Bill in line with the demands of the workers.
6. Guarantee right to work and need-based minimum wages.

7. Introduce dearness allowance where it does not exist; and in all cases, link it, providing 100 per cent neutralisation, with cost of living indices on a correct basis.

The people in each state should unitedly observe this day by resorting to peaceful direct action ranging from demonstrations to strikes and hartals, to manifest their will to force the government to concede the demands of the people of India.

The Samiti directs all states to hold joint meetings or conferences of its constituents and all those who are willing to join it, to discuss and finalise the form of action in each state according to its own conditions.

The Samiti hopes that at this critical time when we are faced with external danger and internal misery, every democrat, every well-wisher of India, every patriot will do his or her duty and stand by the nation in distress.

The Samiti also passed a resolution which calls upon all workers and their trade unions to observe Friday, September 3, as "All-India Anti-Bonus Bill Protest Day" by holding 15 minutes demonstrations before and after each shift at the factory and offices on the widest possible scale.

## RELEASE DIR DETENUS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India in a resolution passed on August 24 said:

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the continued detention without trial of thousands of persons under the Defence of India Rules.

It is now over eight months since the government rounded up over a thousand leaders of the Marxist Communist Party.

The attempts of the Home Minister, Nanda, to justify these arrests have been rejected by widest sections of public opinion.

Most recent is the weighty pronouncement of M. C. Setalvad about the misuse of emergency powers by the government.

In addition the government is freely using the DIR to arrest and detain without trial all persons who raise their voice of opposition to its bankrupt policies in the field

of food, language and any other democratic cause.

Among persons so arrested and detained are leading members of the Communist Party of India, the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Peasants' and Workers Party and other parties, as well as non-party individuals.

The Marxist Communists in jail have launched a hunger-strike, demanding their release.

The condition of a number of hunger strikers, in particular A. K. Gopalan and B. T. Ranadive is reported to be serious.

The seriousness and urgency of this situation is further shown by the tragic death in detention of such well-known figures in the democratic and Communist movement as S. V. Parulekar and B. D. Parab.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India demands the immediate release of all persons detained without trial.

It calls upon all democrats to join in pressing upon the government to order the immediate release of all persons detained without trial.

The National Council warns the people of our country that this free resort by the government to the DIR and emergency provisions to suppress criticism and opposition represents a great danger to the future of Indian democracy.

It appeals to all sections of our people, regardless of political and other differences, to join together and compel the government to reverse its policy in this field and assure full civil liberties and respect for democratic rights for all sections of our people.

Another resolution passed by the National Council said:

In view of the alarming reports about the health of comrades A. K. Gopalan MP and B. T. Ranadive, the National Council of the CPI demands their immediate and unconditional release.