

THIS LAND IS OURS ★

new age
CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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★ WE SHALL ★ DEFEND IT

THE nation has lifted up its head in quiet determination. This is a moment which comes but rarely in the life of a people. This is a moment of decision. Destiny beckons us.

Our Motherland has been threatened as never before. We cannot live with aggression menacing us from year to year, from month to month, from day to day.

With every hour, the Pakistani aggressors seek to escalate the war to a still higher pitch. The aggression is sought to embrace ever new sectors. First the air force and now the navy have been thrown into the battle.

To Protect Our Homes

There has been no other choice for us: to protect our homes, our children, our future, we have been compelled to strike in defence at the seats of aggression.

New chapters of glory are being written into the history of mankind's struggle for peace and independence, as the men of our armed forces and the ordinary citizens of our towns and villages, fight back to drive the aggressors out of our land.

Our people are united as they stand up against the enemy. Our people are fearless and undaunted. They will not rest till the aggressors have been thrown back.

But despite all the provocations our people remain devoted to the cause of peace. They earnestly desire an end to the present fighting.

They never forget that the only aim before our armed forces in undertaking the tasks they have decided upon is the defence of this country.

We have no wish other than to live within our own borders in peace and amity with our neighbours. The moment that is assured, our task is over.

The Ayub dictatorship refuses to heed the voice of

peace. It places its reliance on the support it is receiving from the imperialist powers, on the American Sabre jets and Patton tanks on the votes the US and British governments and their supporters can give it in the councils of the world.

The Indian people understand today as never before that but for the US-British arms aid and support, the Pakistani rulers would never have dared to embark on their career of unmitigated belligerency and military adventures against our country.

The defence of this country requires the mobilisation of the active support of our entire people. This requires that a united fight is waged with resolution and determination against all those who seek to utilise the present crisis for their narrow political and other ends.

Above all the fight has to

be waged against the right reactionary communal forces in the country, against the hoarders and profiteers, against all those whose treacherous role has once again become a menace to the country's future.

Our fight is not against the people of Pakistan. It is not they who have launched aggression against us. It is the Ayub dictatorship, with the

backing of the imperialist powers, which is responsible for the aggression against our Motherland.

The democratic people of Pakistan are more and more asserting themselves against the ruling dictatorship. The Paktoon people have sounded the bugle of revolt.

Our hands go out in solidarity to our brothers and sisters in Pakistan. There is

nothing our people desire more at this moment than to live at peace with them. We fought the British imperialists together. We belong to the same stock. We speak the same languages.

The Ayub dictatorship and its imperialist masters seek to create a river of blood between us. They must not be allowed to succeed.

We know that the democratic forces inside Pakistan, despite the terror of the Ayub regime, are fighting back to assert their right to a free life. Their struggle and ours are both directed against the same forces of evil.

The Way To Peace

To our friends in other lands, we say: the best help you can give for the early ending of the conflict is to direct your pressure against the Ayub regime to compel it to withdraw its aggression, to remove its infiltrators from our soil, and give real guarantees against renewed aggression.

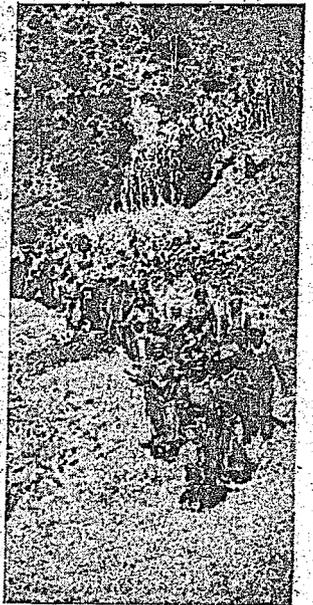
The best contribution peace-loving mankind can make for the stopping of the hostilities is to isolate the US-British imperialists, who are the main force behind the Pakistani aggression.



Indian forces at the highest post Bedori, in the Uri-Poonch bulge

A column of Indian troops at the Haji-Pir Pass

MOBILISE
FOR DEFENCE OF MOTHERLAND
FOR COMMUNAL HARMONY
FOR NATIONAL UNITY
FOR PEOPLE'S INTERESTS



THANT'S MISSION

Editorial

UNITED NATIONS Secretary-General U Thant is on his way to India and Pakistan, as NEW AGE goes to press.

His mission has been announced as being concerned with the ending of hostilities between the two countries, in terms of the Security Council resolutions.

The Indian people are a peace-loving people. They sincerely desire an end of the conflict, an end of the bombings and shellings. Any step which helps to promote peace would be welcomed and supported by this country.

But it is necessary for U Thant to understand the realities behind the present conflict, if he is to be effective. Peace cannot be promoted, if the peace-maker shuts his eyes to the truth.

As the Communist Party of India has clearly pointed out in a statement issued on September 6, after the first Security Council resolution had been adopted,

"—an unconditional ceasefire which ignores the fact of Pakistani aggression, which enables Pakistan to maintain its infiltrators inside Indian territory and to send in more of them at will, would not be a contribution to peace. Such a ceasefire would only enable the aggressors to continue their aggressive infiltration, while depriving India of the means to defend itself".

Let it be clearly understood by the UN Secretary-General that the Indian people are not prepared to accept any longer any ceasefire agreement which results in giving the Ayub dictatorship the opportunity to intensify its aggressive activities against our Motherland.

What the Indian people want is a ceasefire which effectively guarantees the following:

- * Pakistani aggression is vacated;
- * all infiltrators are removed from the Indian soil of Kashmir; and
- * provision is made to ensure that no further infiltration or aggression is possible.

U Thant's own report to the Security Council made specific reference to the finding of the UN Observers' group regarding the crossing of the ceasefire line by armed infiltrators from Pakistan and clearly established the facts of Pakistani aggression.

Moreover the Secretary General's second recommendation in his report to the Security Council categorically stated that the Pakistan Government must "take effective steps to prevent crossing from the Pakistan side by armed men, whether or not in uniform".

It is amazing that the Security Council resolutions make no mention of these vital facts and recommendations.

The imperialist powers and their hangers-on in the Security Council were in fact, anxious to brand India as the aggressor, in complete contradiction with the Secretary General's own conclusions. It was only the firm stand by the Soviet Union which prevented Malaysia and such other pro-imperialist governments from bringing before the Security Council a draft embodying such a condemnation of India.

It was also the Soviet Union which acted to prevent the adoption of any pro-imperialist proposal to authorise U Thant, to deal with the so-called "political background" of the present conflict. The Pakistan Government insists that the whole question of Kashmir be brought up again, and its imperialist patrons are equally keen to use the present occasion to interfere once again in Kashmir.

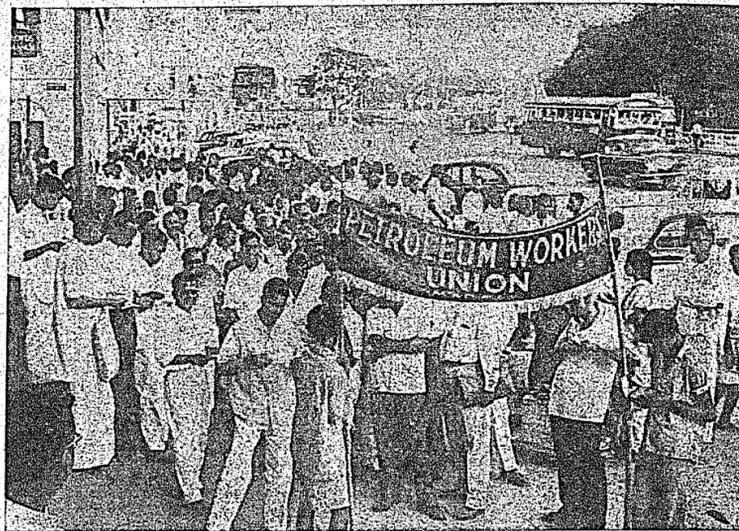
The imperialists plan to bring into Kashmir a so-called UN "police force" in the name of "guaranteeing" the ceasefire line. This is a most dangerous proposal—one that could be disastrous for Indian independence and for the whole future of Kashmir.

The solution of the Indo-Pakistan conflict lies not in further dependence on the imperialists, whether under the label of the UN or otherwise, but through direct Indo-Pak negotiations without any imperialist interference.

India's repeated proposals for a No War Pact must be renewed, and the support of friendly socialist and non-aligned countries secured to put pressure on the Ayub dictatorship to stop its aggressive activities forthwith. Pakistan must be made to sign a No War Pact guaranteeing that it will never commit aggression again and that it will never attempt to use force to settle any outstanding problems with India.

(September 7)

On September 3 petroleum workers in Madras held a demonstration and meeting demanding nationalisation of oil companies. Picture shows a view of the demonstration



SEPTEMBER 21 NATIONAL SOLIDARITY DAY

NEW DELHI: The Rashtriya Sangram Samiti has called off the "national action day" called for September 21 in support of its charter of demands in view of the grave situation created by the Pakistani war of aggression.

In a statement issued in New Delhi on September 8, Indulal Yagnik and Satish Loomba, president and secretary respectively of the Samiti, called upon the workers to do all that lies within their power to strengthen the defence of the country.

The Samiti called upon the government to take all measures to create a suitable climate for peaceful industrial relations.

In separate statements, the AITUC, HMP and other trade union organisations have called upon all the workers to rise to the occasion and face the grim reality of Pakistani aggression.

S. A. Dange, general secretary of the AITUC, said in his statement that under the present conditions, it is the duty of the working class and trade unions to discharge their duty towards the defence of the country with all their might.

"The workers, along with all other people, will stand in the forefront of national defence", he said.

Duty of Trade Unions

The statement said: While discharging our duty to the country, we cannot forget the fact that we have to do this under a capitalist system, in which hoarders and profiteers utilise the very war of national defence to harass the people and mint more profits.

Hence, the trade unions have to combine with all the democratic popular forces to see that food scarcity, high prices, denial of just wages and bonus, closure of factories and such

aggressor, who on one side is armed by imperialists and, on the other, is boosted by China who had no business to denounce India and interfere in her internal affairs in Kashmir.

We all want peaceful relations with Pakistan and with everybody, but we shall not allow every ceasefire to become a cloak of preparations for further aggression; neither shall we allow the UN forces commanded by the Anglo-American imperialists to man the borders of our country in the name of keeping peace.

Genuine Desire

Genuine desire for peaceful coexistence and friendship backed by democratic masses on either side, democracy based on secularism and equality, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, non-interference, is the only real guarantee of peace.

Day of Protest

This day of protest has now to be observed not as a day of strikes and hartals, but as a Day of National Solidarity and Unity for Defence, as a day of communal harmony, as a day of warning to the employers, hoarders and profiteers not to exploit the nation's difficulties for their private gain, as a day to demand that all political prisoners be released to participate in the task of the defence of the country and the people. The nation must be defended and the army and the toiling people must be fed.

India's struggle against Pakistan is not a struggle of Hindus against Muslims as reactionary communalists would like to put it. Workers must strive actively to foster unity among all communities and be vigilant against all attempts at communal disruption.

Our struggle is of a peace-loving country against an

CHAGLA'S BILL NO SOLUTION FOR ALIGARH VARSITY

THE sincerity of Education Minister Chagla's efforts to ensure the healthier functioning of the Aligarh University is not in question. It is the solutions he has proposed which call for serious questioning by all democrats.

It is indeed difficult to examine the entire issue calmly. For the clamour raised by the communalists—both Hindu and Muslim—is at times so deafening that the truth about Aligarh cannot be heard above it.

A bill to amend the Aligarh University Act has just gone through the Lok Sabha and will now be debated by the Rajya Sabha. This bill seeks to place on the statute book the provisions of the Ordinance by which the Union government suspended the earlier provisions for elected university bodies and installed a totally nominated executive council and University Court.

The government argues that it is impossible to run the university efficiently under the constitution provided for in the University Act, as last amended in 1951.

It is said that this contention was conclusively "proved" by the unfortunate incidents of April 25 when Vice-Chancellor Ali Yavar Jung and some other secular-minded professors were savagely beaten by certain students and others after a meeting of the Academic Council.

Blind Eye To Red Lights

The debate in the Lok Sabha saw Chagla's bill vociferously supported by the Jan Sangh spokesman and by other Hindu communalists. This itself should have been a warning signal for the Education Minister. But he is evidently so convinced of the "righteousness" of the path he has decided upon for Aligarh, that he prefers to turn a blind eye to such red lights.

The Communist Party spokesman Renu Chakravarty voiced the serious apprehensions of the democratic forces when she castigated the totally undemocratic provisions in the bill for nomination of the university court and executive council.

Chagla, touched to the quick by this legitimate criticism, assured Parliament that the bill was only a "temporary, emergency legislation". He added with some emotion: "I would be the last person, when we bring a permanent, substantive legislation, to have a nominated court or a nominated executive council."

Questions Unanswered

But when would this permanent legislation come? How long would it take? How long would the "emergency" last? To these questions there was no clearcut answer.

Renu Chakravarty made it clear that the Communist Party and indeed other democratic forces also would not be prepared to accept "even for a short period... a bill, which takes away the fundamental rights of the supreme academic bodies like the court and the executive council."

This stand, taken on the basis of principle, is not meant to be a reflection either on the Education Minister or on the persons nominated thus far by him to serve on the executive council. As a matter of fact, some of those nominated are men with a

nationalwide reputation for their opposition to all forms of communalism.

The Communist spokesman in the Lok Sabha posed this issue sharply:

"I grant that as long as Shri Chagla is there (as Education Minister), we shall have some people nominated who are worthy to be represented on the court and the executive council of the university. But why should we legislate with the understanding that Shri Chagla will always be there or Shri Ali Yavar Jung will always be there?"

"I should say that we must legislate and give statutory powers on the principles to which we adhere. On the other hand, if we once adhere to the principle of nomination, even for short period, I am afraid we shall have to give such wide powers in future also to meet other circumstances."

The Communist Party has made it clear in a statement that its stand is totally different from that of certain Muslim communalists, who

been circulated deliberately by certain interested parties, who are always on the look out for incidents and situations, which can cause communal disharmony and conflict, and create the impression that all Indian Muslims are Pakistani agents. We deplore such irresponsible propaganda."

Unwarranted Statements

It was unfortunate that immediately after the disgraceful April 25 incident, the Education Minister made some unwarranted statements.

Chagla rightly condemned the activities of certain orthodox, revivalist and communally-minded Muslim elements in this university. But these elements are by no means more than a small minority among the teachers and students in Aligarh.

This is what the Education Minister forgot when he first made his un-

business, etc. does have its impact on Aligarh University. This does help the Muslim communal reactionaries to draw under their banner a section of frustrated Muslim youth.

The question has been raised: should the Aligarh University have a special Muslim character?

It is true that in a secular state, no educational institution should be allowed to run on a religious or communal basis. But it is one of the fundamental principles of democratic life that the culture, language and traditions of all minorities should be effectively protected.

Insofar as the Aligarh University provides educational facilities related to the specific cultural or religious life of the Muslim minority, it will have some sort of special character. Also, due to its history and past traditions, it will bear a general stamp of Indian Muslim culture.

Furthermore, it can and should be maintained as an institution where special educational facilities and concessions are given to the boys and girls belonging to the Muslim minority, who generally suffer from discrimination in a large number of educational institutions run by communally-minded Hindu elements.

Special Facilities To Muslim Minority

But all this has nothing in common with the "special character" advocated and demanded by Muslim communal reactionaries who want to put the clock back and convert the university into a centre of Muslim revivalism and orthodoxy.

The Act of 1921 which debarred non-Muslims from getting elected to the governing bodies of the university was a piece of legislation of British imperialist conception. In a democratic secular set up such an anti-democratic measure cannot possibly be re-enacted. Hence, no quarter can be given to such a demand.

The Communist Party in its statement on Aligarh has rightly pointed out that "this university has to grow and make its special contributions to the educational and cultural life of our country within the framework of modern scientific, secular thought."

What is to be done now? The Union government is using its majority in Parliament to push through its bill. The demand raised by the Communist Party for the withdrawal of the bill deserves the support of all democratic and secular forces.

At the same time, support should be given also to the suggestion of the Communist Party for the immediate appointment of a high level commission to re-examine the 1951 Aligarh University Act and submit to Parliament its recommendations for the democratic governance of the Aligarh University, within a period of three months.

The authoritarian set-up introduced by the Ordinance and now the Amendment Bill, must not be allowed to be stabilised. The university must have a full measure of real autonomy and internal democratic freedom.

This alone will guarantee the future development of the university on healthy, secular, democratic lines—continuing it as the real national asset it has always been. (Sept. 5)

**Wanted Full Autonomy
and
Democratic Set-Up
By ROMESH CHANDRA**

are opposing the bill. These communalists are campaigning against the bill, as they earlier campaigned against the Ordinance, for reasons which are essentially communal in character, notwithstanding their "democratic" coating.

As a matter of fact, the Muslim communalists have gone to the length of working up an agitation, not only against the present bill, but demanding the abolition of the amendments to the Aligarh University Act introduced after independence in 1951 and reversion to the old 1921 Act, which debarred non-Muslims from seeking election to the governing bodies of the university.

THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT CAN HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH SUCH A STAND.

Equally, no democrat can give any support to the anti-Muslim agitation of the communal Hindu parties which, taking advantage of the incidents of April 25 are demanding the closing down of Aligarh University. They argue, on the basis of fabrications and falsehoods, that the university has become a nest of Pakistani spies.

This charge, bandied about loosely by the Hindu communalists, has not an iota of truth. In the middle of May, the UP Legislators' Enquiry Committee investigated this charge carefully. It came to a definite conclusion:

"The idea that Pakistani agents had engineered this agitation has

fortunate remarks on the university following the murderous assaults on the Vice-Chancellor on April 25.

It is necessary to bear in mind always that Aligarh University has made valuable contributions to the development of India's education and culture for decades. It has produced some of the most outstanding sons of India who have stood in the forefront of the freedom movement. Among them are men like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Maulana Mohammed Ali, Shaikat Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan and M. A. Ansari.

Aligarh University has been developing as a centre of modern, scientific and secular education in the country. Those who seek to thwart this development—whether inspired by Hindu or Muslim communalism—are doing a great disservice to the nation as a whole.

Great Disservice To The Nation

While recognising that the vast majority of Aligarh teachers and students, Hindus and Muslims, are not subject to the influence of communal and reactionary forces, one should not be blind to another fact.

The discrimination which is at times practised against the Muslim intelligentsia in other educational institutions in the securing of jobs, in

message

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US-PAK MILITARY PACT IN ACTION

Comment

The US Government has thus far continued to maintain its silence on Indian protests against the use of American sabre-jets and Patton tanks by the Pakistan forces in their aggressive drive. Even worse, US spokesmen in Washington have been reported to have told correspondents that the use of American arms was of secondary importance—the question of primary significance being "how to stop the fighting." This is adding insult to injury.

THE apologists of imperialism inside this country would like to lay the responsibility for the bombing of our territory by American jets and the invasion of our Motherland by Patton tanks, solely and exclusively on the Ayub dictatorship.

They would like to suggest that the US imperialists are merely helpless lookers-on. They anxiously await a "clarification" from Washington.

The Indian people, however, are losing the last illusions, which they may have still had, about the "neutrality" of the US imperialists.

At the time of the aggression in Kutch, repeated protests to Washington by the Government of India against the use by the Pakistan army of Patton tanks were rudely ignored.

A smokescreen of so-called "investigation" by American officials kept the ball rolling for some days. But even after irrefutable proof had been produced, Washington conveniently remained silent.

The same despicable game is being played now. The same "investigation". The same insulting behaviour, spurning Indian protests.

Whatever the Government of India may have thought, Indian democratic opinion never laid any store by the so-called assurances given by President Eisenhower, regarding the use of American arms by Pakistan only in self-defence against aggression.

The democratic forces in this country again and again warned against the US-Pakistan military pact, against the

ominous significance for Indian security of Pakistan's participation in imperialist military pacts.

It is no accident that the Pakistan dictatorship has launched an open appeal to the CENTO powers for assistance. With this appeal—if not by the use of American jets and tanks—it is to be hoped that the imperialist hand behind the Pak aggression can be seen clearly even by the wishfully blind apologists of imperialism.

The CENTO powers, led by Britain, may formally refuse to respond to the Pak appeal, but their "moral" support is not without meaning, as is witnessed by Prime Minister Wilson's latest, anti-Indian statement and the US British stand in the Security Council.

The Pakistan aggression is the offspring of the sordid alliance between the Ayub dictatorship and the imperialist powers. The belligerent and defiant outpourings of the Pakistan rulers are based on the "strength" they derive from their US and British patrons.

POONA: WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

THE heroism of the Kashmiri people in fighting back the Pakistani infiltrators has given the lie, as perhaps little else could have done better, to the Hindu communalists' anti-Muslim propaganda.

Let the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh and the RSS,

who proclaim day in and day out that "every Muslim is a potential 'Pakistani agent', answer the evidence of the battle of Kashmir, where Muslim after Muslim acted in defence of our beloved Motherland.

Kashmir has given a powerful blow to communalism. But the snake has only been scotched, it has not been killed.

That Hindu communalism remains a major danger today is clear from the events in Poona. An act committed by a drunken individual was used by the communalists in such a manner as to blacken the name of Poona for years to come.

How did it happen? Because, despite efforts by the left parties and democratic forces, the communalists were able to run riot, basing themselves on rumours and lies.

Poona has shown that it is not enough to repeat without end, the mantras about the necessity for amity and unity at a time of emergency like the present.

The thief himself shouts "Stop, Thief!" And the communalists are these days themselves waxing eloquent about communal amity, while biding their time to do their worst at the earliest opportunity.

While there is not the slightest occasion for the least panic, there is equally no room for complacency on this count. Poona's scars are too deep to be wiped out so soon from our memories. Poona DID erupt, despite all the precautions, all the homilies on unity.

No sincere democrat can afford to ignore the lessons of Poona. The communalist thrives on the complacency of the democratic masses, on their hesitation to talk of the communal danger and to name those responsible for it.

A vigilant people, organised to fight the communalists

vigorously, is the only guarantee against other Poonas.

At a moment like the present when we are fighting Pakistan aggression, the fomenting of communal tension (even if it is masked behind brave words against the invaders and is carried out in the name of intensifying our defence efforts) is treachery. It must be treated as such.

FREEDOM FOR PAKHTOONS

THE hearts of the Indian people go out today to the democratic forces inside Pakistan, who are waging a deathless struggle against the Ayub dictatorship.

They have all along opposed the participation of Pakistan in CENTO and SEATO, and have been in the forefront of the movement against the American bases on Pakistani soil.

The recent courageous declarations by that outstanding freedom fighter Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan, about the intensification of the

struggle of the people of Pakhtoonistan for their liberation from the bondage imposed on them by the Ayub regime, will find a ready echo in our country.

Today from across the Himalayas, from Kabul, where Badshah Khan is receiving medical treatment, a call comes to India. Just a few weeks ago, the Pakhtoon leader met the Indian delegation, returning from the World Peace Congress in Helsinki, when his plane stooped over in Kabul.

Have you forgotten your Fathan brothers, who fought shoulder to shoulder with you for independence from British imperialism? There was anguish in his voice, as Badshah Khan spoke to the nearly hundred delegates, many of whom had worked under his leadership in the independence movement.

You left us to the wolves, he said, though the Congress had promised that if we were oppressed, India would come to our help. There were tears in the eyes of many delegates, as Badshah Khan spoke.

The democratic movement must extend its hand of solidarity to the Pakhtoon liberation movement, which has lifted up the banner of revolt against the pro-imperialist regime of Marshal Ayub.

—ROMESH CHANDRA (September 7)

Swatantra Perfidy

WHILE the nation has responded vigorously to the grim situation created by Pakistani aggression and provocations, the Swatantra Party finds itself in the unfortunate position of being out of step with the country's mood.

The crisis of armed confrontation has divided the Swatantra Party from top to bottom. This became clear from the way their top leaders reacted to the Pakistani armed challenge.

In Parliament, when the Defence Minister's pronouncement came conveying news of the Indian armed forces crossing into the Lahore sector to stop further Pakistani onslaughts into Indian territory, the Swatantraites stood on two sides of the barrier. While one section joined the general ovation, a prominent leader looked glum and benumbed.

The same Swatantra division is seen at the states level. Take Rajasthan for example. Leaders of the party in this state find themselves in a peculiar quandary.

This state has a long border with Pakistan, a 645-mile border to be precise. The mood in the state is one of militant preparedness to meet the Pakistani confrontation all along border.

Not long before, during the conflict in the Rann of Kutch, armies of India and Pakistan were poised against each other in this sector and on more than one occasion clashes were averted by a hair's breadth.

In Barmer, people could see the mobilisation of Pakistani Army on hill tops across Gadra Road with the naked eye and at Bramno-ki-dhani, Ekal and

Nayatal sound of Pakistani shelling could be heard. It is in this context that the popular mood has hardened. But the Swatantra Party finds itself unable to respond. The rank-and-file of the party is subdued and demoralised. They recall that Maharaja

SPOTLIGHT

Man Singh of Jaipur, the main source of strength to their party, had declared with great flamboyance some time ago that President Ayub Khan was a personal friend of his and "was a man of peace".

The Maharaja had also said that "Indo-Pak differences could be settled over a cup of tea". He had of course plenty of good words for Sheikh Abdullah.

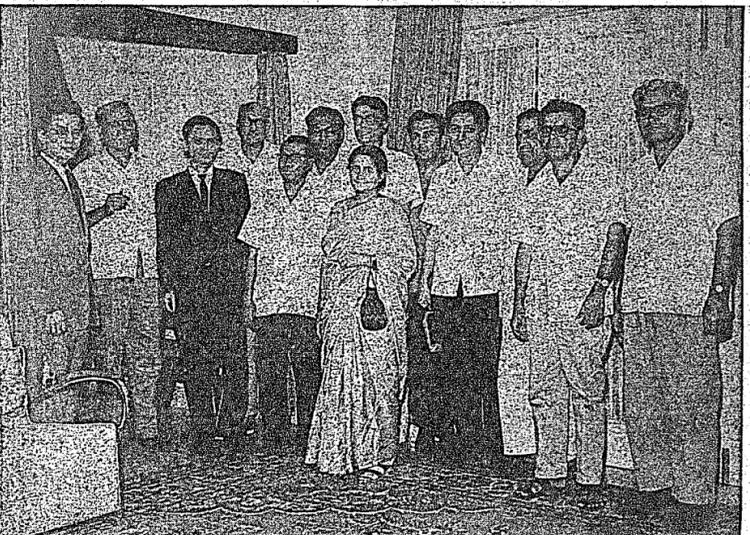
None of the Swatantra leaders in Rajasthan—the stronghold of the Swatantra party—have so far come out with any public pronouncement against the Pakistani aggression.

What is the reason for this silence, one has reason to ask? Evidently, the feeling that Pakistan is the "friend of our friend"—the United States!

The fact is that it is with the American F-104s and Sabre jets—and Patton tanks too—that Pakistani militarists are striking death at the Indian armed forces and the civil population.

Since both these weapons have been denied us by the American "friends" a ticklish situation has arisen for the Swatantra leaders. Too sharp a confrontation with Pakistan should not be encouraged since it may generate anti-American feelings.

And that would be bad for our "friendship"! —BHIMA



On the National Day of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, representatives of the All India Peace Council, the All India Trade Union Congress, the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the National Federation of Indian Women and other organisations called on the DRV Consul-General to congratulate the people of Vietnam. They sent a joint telegram of solidarity addressed to President Ho Chi-minh.

EMERGENCY ECONOMICS

THE Pakistani aggression has posed a fresh challenge to our nation. It will make serious new demands on our economy. The manner in which the government responds to the economic aspects of the challenge will greatly influence the popular mood for resistance.

In the meantime, certain interesting aspects of our economic development have been factually analysed in the past few weeks.

A quick estimate of national income growth by the CSO (roughly corresponding to the estimate independently worked out by the Economic Times) shows a 7.3 per cent rise in 1964-65, yielding the possibility of about 3.5 per cent annual or about 19 per cent over-all national income rise during the Third Plan.

The average increase of per capita income works out miserably to the low figure of 1.8 per cent or 7.2 per cent over the five years.

It will be remembered that the Third Plan had postulated that national income would go up 30 per cent and per capita income by 17 per cent. There is going to be a serious shortfall, indeed.

Against this background it should be noted that defence

expenditure over 1961-65 is likely to amount to Rs. 3,500 crores against an anticipated Rs. 1,750 crores over the entire five-year period.

The peridy of the Chinese aggression and the Pakistani attack have to be nailed down on the basis of these hard facts, while at the same time careful scrutiny of the defence budget has to be insisted upon if we are at all serious about development.

It has also been estimated that the Third Plan taxation target for the centre of Rs. 1,100 crores will be overfulfilled to the extent of 100 per cent.

It should not cause surprise if at the end of period we are informed that Rs. 2,500 crores of extra central taxes have been collected. Of this additional taxation the major and increasing portion has come from indirect taxes.

The price rise has imposed further burdens on the people. The latest report of the Reserve Bank on currency and finance has noted that in 1964-65 (i.e. up to March 1965) prices has risen by 12.9 per cent as compared to 5.8 per cent in 1963-64 and 2.2 per cent in 1962-63. The consumer price index had risen by 11.2 per cent in 1964-65.

Since then there has been a further spurt. From April to the middle of last August

prices have edged up another 11.5 per cent. In these months the major contributory factor has been the rise in the prices of food articles, especially rice (7.7 per cent), jowar and bajra (7 per cent) pulses (11.9 per cent) and edible oils (26.5 per cent).

The prices of fruits, vegetables, milk, ghee, meat, tea, coffee and chillies "showed a marked increase". (All figures are taken from the ECONOMIC TIMES of September 3).

High Rate of Inflation

The same issue of the paper points out that the 11.9 per cent wholesale price rise and 13.9 per cent consumer price rise in India over the 1964 calendar year has placed India in the unenviable position of being outstripped in the inflationary race only by three

countries in the world—Brazil, Chile and Argentine!

India has clearly entered the phase of hyper-inflation and unless immediate remedial measures are undertaken an extraordinarily serious situation will engulf our economic development.

But the Finance Minister's reply to the debate on the supplementary budget was criminally cavalier. He pleaded helplessness and placed the blame on the "federal structure of finance".

The only price control instrument available to him was "the monetary control mechanism, but this was ineffective because a large proportion of the money remained outside the ambit of monetary control".

So is the question of procurement and distribution of foodgrains. So also is the question of raising resources either through more indirect taxation or extensive nationalisation.

It concludes that "criticism in this country and abroad—seem to have gone home".

The economic offensive of the right within the government and outside appears to be mounting especially at this moment of national emergency. They want a blanket ban against nationalisation of any kind, "controlled" price rise through extensive decontrol and tax concessions for the monopolists. The government as a whole, has been retreating in face of this offensive.

FICCI Warning

On all these fundamental issues the Finance Minister or, rather the entire central cabinet has taken a retrograde stand.

TTK has said that bank nationalisation must wait and monopolistic "tall pupes" must grow.

Humayun Kabir has ruled out the nationalisation of the foreign oil companies in the name of "competition".

A little earlier Manubhai Shah had rejected the demand for the nationalisation of foreign trade.

To this failure to nationalise precisely in the interests of defence and development must be added the new trend towards decontrol. It was good that several Congress MPs joined Bhupesh Gupta in condemning cement decontrol.

Cement Decontrol

It was pointed out that the present 10 million tonnes cement production was about 25 per cent short of present demand and that the present price of Rs. 150 per ton was itself a 40 per cent increase over the price three years ago.

And now the cement manufacturers have stated that there has to be a price increase of "at least" Rs. 20 per tonne with effect from October 1.

This increase would be equivalent to the "expansion allowance of Rs. 650 a tonne originally demanded by the industry" last year.

And decontrol is not going to stop with cement. The Prime Minister is said to have circulated a note calling for as much decontrol as possible!

It is no wonder that TTK's budget has been hailed editorially by the ECONOMIC TIMES on September 2.

The decontrol measures, the increased development rebate, the withdrawal of the imports deposit scheme, the extended institutional aid by

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry have in two successive notes to the government in the last week called for scrapping of rationing and foodgrains procurement and simultaneously for exempting land growing oilseeds, cotton, tobacco, sugarcane, cashew-nuts and spices from ceiling laws.

It hails the decision reportedly taken by the Food and Agriculture Ministry to hand over wastelands reclaimed at government expense to private joint stock companies. Its additional demand is that such land should also be exempt from ceiling laws.

All this is in the name of increased national production.

One would like to know why such a major reactionary policy decision was taken by the Food Minister to assign wasteland not to the landless but to the monopolists.

It is high time the issue was raised in Parliament. And it must be asked additionally whether the government has decided to revise its land ceiling policy further in a retrograde direction.

It is evident that a big conspiracy is afoot to use the national emergency to "push through a shift to the right in economic policy.

It is precisely at this moment that all democratic forces, outside the Congress as well as within it, should boldly press for radical measures that the situation demands.

Extensive nationalisation, a minimum programme of agrarian reforms, stricter control, price reduction, steeply graded taxes on urban and rural incomes are the need of the hour. Any slackening in the offensive to compel the government to move left would be fatal at this moment of national danger.

—MOHIT SEN

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

PORTRAIT OF A SPY

HE is an innocent-looking, mild-mannered, soft-spoken intellectual, so different from the popular image of a journalist—the hardboiled and aggressive individual who shoots questions at all and sundry and dashes off weighty pronouncements with a shrug of the shoulders.

He makes his rounds in the hurly-burly world of journalism with a quiet efficiency all his own. To others he would seem to be a bit worried about his own work, but he is more anxious about the work of others around him.

But the rest is all a mask. Despite his innocent looks and mild manners, he is a wily Yankee wielding a poisonous pen. And the pen had been pretty active in recent days.

The outpourings of this Yankee agent-provocateur appeared in his paper on September 2. In a despatch datelined Srinagar he "laid to Indian Army" arson and loot. And it was faithfully reproduced by Pakistan's DAWN on the following two days.

Critchfield claimed that he had been in the Valley a few days and had interviews with Kashmir Chief Minister G. M. Sadiq and even half a dozen infiltrators!

It has since been known that most of the views attributed to Sadiq by him were pure and simple concoctions. But it is still left unsaid whether the infiltrators were just strewn around Srinagar to be conveniently interviewed by Critchfield or whether he had some undisclosed contacts with them.

He did not end there. He quoted "victims themselves, interviewed while digging in the smouldering wreckage" to say that the Indian Army was responsible for burning "hundreds of Kashmir houses". He gave "eye-witness accounts of village looting and rape".

Asked the Yankee: "Why Indian troops are being used to silence political unrest among Kashmir's 2.5 million Muslims?"

This is not the first time that Richard Critchfield has shot into notoriety. He came to India in 1960 on a three-year contract to teach journalism at the Hislop College, Nagpur. The project was financed by a US foundation, one among the many who conveniently lend their names for CIA's cloak and dagger operations.

Critchfield's activities in Nagpur were far beyond what his professional duties required. He cultivated political leaders, both of the ruling party and the opposition. He was very "sympathetic" to the trade union movement in this country, too.

One of his specialised interests was journalism—not of the classroom type but active journalism. He used to hobnob with journalists, not only around his town but even in far away Delhi. More than their work, he was interested in the political complexion of his journalist friends.

A particular fascination for him has been the border areas of Northern India. Nepal is one of his favourite spots, to which frequent trips are made.

In one of his unguarded moments, Critchfield disclosed to his friends in the Indian capital that he had carried out important assignments "on whose behalf was left unsaid" in South Korea and Yugoslavia.

He was a cartoonist as well. Once he drew a model cartoon for his students, one which depicted V. K. Krishna Menon and Indira Gandhi—which was so revolting to the students that they protested openly against it.

When his anti-Indian activities became too blatant, the Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University was compelled to ask him to resign. After being served with a notice by the police, Critchfield quietly left Nagpur in September 1962.

A few months after he surfaced in New Delhi, this time as a full-fledged journalist—as the correspondent of the Washington EVENING STAR. It was under particularly mysterious circumstances that the Government of India gave him accreditation.

He has not remained idle thereafter. He comes to India and goes away as he pleases, but you can be sure of running across him whenever and wherever there is trouble. He was in Kashmir at the time of the Holy Relic agitation and again when Sheikh Abdullah was released.

Do you need anything more to distinguish a Yankee spy?

Interestingly enough, his elder brother, James J. Critchfield, is one of the seniormost hands in the Central Intelligence Agency, specialising in South East Asian affairs.

—PARAKAL

Kerala Cries Out For Justice

Adequate Share In Fourth Plan Outlay

Agriculture, is more a mode of existence for the people than a livelihood in Kerala. The state does not produce more than half of its food requirements.

AVAILABILITY of cultivable land is the lowest in India: less than one-third of an acre per person. More than 60 per cent of the holdings are of one acre or less.

Kerala has the highest density of population in India: about 1200 per square mile. The rate of growth of population is also higher in Kerala than in other states.

Lakhs of people employed in the coir and cashew industries are near-starvation; both the industries are languishing.

NET RESULT: The per capita income in Kerala is just Rs. 240 (1961 figure) while the all-India average is Rs. 326 (1961 figures).

The reason for this is the continued neglect of Kerala by the central authorities in industrial investments. In the Third Plan, Kerala

had been promised central industrial projects worth Rs. 60 crores: Cochin Shipyard (Rs. 20 crores), oil refinery (Rs. 20 crores), Machine-tools factory (Rs. 8 crores), phyto-chemical plant (Rs. 5 crores).

Poor Performance

But actually, only the machine-tools factory has gone into production. Oil refinery is nearly complete; final agreement for the shipyard is yet to be concluded; phyto-chemical plant has been dropped.

Out of a total investment of Rs. 1,325 crores by the Centre in industrial sector, Kerala has got only Rs. 25 crores.

Not only in industrial projects, but in transport and communications also, Kerala

has been neglected. The railway mileage for every lakh population is only 3.4 in Kerala against the all-India average of 9.5 miles.

Kerala's hydro-electric potentiality is high, but even here, the Centre delays sanctioning of projects and their execution.

Similar is the fate of development of other natural resources of the state like fish, rubber, mineral sands etc.

Does Kerala deserve such a stepmotherly treatment? Certainly not, says a memorandum submitted by the Kerala state council of the Communist Party of India to Governor A. P. Jain.

The people have put in their utmost efforts for development. The highly developed cash crops sector of the Kerala economy bears ample testimony to this. The cash crops bring considerable foreign exchange to the country.

Kerala's comparative advance in the educational field and developed health services also have been achieved through self-help, without any help from the Centre.

The memorandum points out that in the Fourth Plan also, if things are allowed to proceed on normal lines, Kerala's fate would not be different.

Planning Commission seems to have decided on the criterion of doubling the Third Plan investments for the Fourth Plan. This means, Kerala's Fourth Plan outlay will be Rs. 340 crores and central sector industrial investment Rs. 50 crores.

Remedy: Industrialise!

The remedy which the memorandum suggests is rapid industrialisation—as distinct from establishing a few factories here and there—by locating a number of big industrial projects in the public sector, which would attract ancillary industries also.

The industrial licensing policy of the central government and the investment policy of central financing institutions like the LIC, the IFC and the ICICI should also be so oriented as to consciously help backward states like Kerala.

DURGAPUR WORKERS TO STRIKE FOR BONUS

DURGAPUR: Notice has been served on the general manager of the Durgapur Steel Plant for a token strike on September 15.

The strike is in support of the workers' demand for the minimum bonus guaranteed under the Bonus Ordinance.

The decision to serve the strike notice was taken at a meeting of the Hindustan Steel Employees Union, Durgapur on August 22.

It was attended by about ten thousand workers and addressed by J. B. Roy and Nihar Mukherjee of the AITUC and S. R. Sengupta of the DVC Staff Association.

On August 10 about five thousand employees of the DSP demonstrated before the general manager and Union Deputy Minister for Steel P. C. Sethi.

Other demands of the workers are ratification of wage board reports, regular supply of rice from co-operative stores and adequate accommodation facilities.

A view of the August 28 rally in Bombay which demanded judicial enquiry into Kolhapur firing



BOMBAY GARMENT WORKERS ON STRIKE

BOMBAY: Over 2,000 workers of the Garment Cleaning Works, Worli, are on strike since August 3 demanding increase in dearness allowance and revision of wage structure.

The Garment Cleaning Works is the biggest laundering company in Bombay owning three factories and 42 shops throughout the city.

The grades of the workers are between Rs. 78 to Rs. 110 per month and to that is added a paltry flat-rate DA of Rs. 4 per month.

The present grades were agreed to by a union run by the INTUC and is valid for five years. The agreement was signed behind the back of the workers and now when the workers are agitating for wage revision there is no trace of those union leaders.

Workload Increased

During the last couple of years, workload has continuously been increased by the employer. The cost of living also has steadily gone up.

But the employers refused to grant any increase in the emoluments of the workers by taking shelter behind the agreement.

On its own part, the company of course has increased its rates for the customers—a cotton shirt cleaning charge is now 85 paise instead of 50 paise.

The Maharashtra Labour Minister is reported to be looking into matter but meanwhile the strike is continuing.

An action committee of the garment workers is conducting the struggle.

Kolhapur: Who Were The Victims Of Firing?

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: Maharashtra government has been claiming that those who died in the police firing in Kolhapur were goondas. Nothing can be far from truth.

WHO were those who died from the police bullets?

● Prakash Navare, eighteen-year-old first year science student of the Rajaram College. A brilliant student who scored 79 per cent marks in his SSC examination.

● Balkrishna Desai, nineteen-year-old moulder in an engineering factory. He used to attend a night school.

● Balwant Kengale, seven-year-old, a mechanic in another engineering factory. He was compelled to give up his studies following the Gold Control Order.

● Shrikant Chaugale, 24-year-old, was a worker in a hair dressing saloon. He was noted for his quiet nature and nice manners.

● Appa Madhal, 36 was a social worker. He was employed for the last fifteen years in one of the departments of the Kolhapur municipality.

● Abdul Kadar Nazi, who died as a result of wounds suffered in the police firing

The bandh was absolutely peaceful. Yet the police resorted to indiscriminate arrests. At several places, people were lathicharged without any provocation.

Arrests of opposition leaders and trade union activists were taking place since August 20. Section 144 was clamped on the city on that day. Meetings and processions were banned.

Defying such police reign, the people demonstrated for food. They held meetings on all days from August 20 to 28.

Other towns in the district like Barsi, Pandharpur, Mo-

hol, Madha and Karmala also observed complete hartal on August 28.

All these actions for people's food took place on a call by the Janata Kriti Samiti (people's action committee)—a united body of opposition parties and trade unions.

Represented on the Samiti are the Communist Party of India, the Peasants and Workers Party, the Republican Party of India and unions of textile and handloom workers and insurance and bank employees.

Judicial Enquiry

The demand for a judicial enquiry into the Kolhapur firing is gaining daily momentum. It was echoed at a big rally at Shivaji Park in Bombay on August 28 (picture above) which was addressed by S. A. Dange, P. K. Atre and George Fernandes.

Meanwhile details of the SHOLAPUR BANDH on August 28 are available here.

All the shops, markets, hotels, factories and mills in Sholapur were closed. Business was at a standstill. It was an expression of the people's determination to get food.

IMPHAL FIRING CAUSES SPLIT IN RULING PARTY

From M. BHATTACHARYA

S HILLONG: The anti-people food policy of the Manipur government and the police brutalities against the food demonstration in Imphal on August 27 has created dissension in the Congress.

Ibotomi Singh, secretary of the Manipur Congress Legislature Party, has resigned in protest against the police firing which killed three people including a college girl.

He has issued a statement saying that he had "differences of opinion" with the leader of the party, the Chief Minister, about the way the present food situation is being tackled.

Several other Congress legislators have also expressed, though in private, their dissatisfaction about the food policy and the police repression on food marchers.

The pro-Congress news-

papers in Assam have not been satisfied with the administrative enquiry which the government has undertaken into the police firing; they have demanded a judicial probe.

An eye-witness account published in a Gauhati daily has challenged the official version of the incidents on August 27 in Imphal and alleged that it was an attempt at "mass killing".

The eye-witness said: At first, the food marchers who were mostly school and college students and women, were allowed to enter the compound of the Chief Commissioner. Then all exits were closed and tear gas shells were burst.

This led to a stampede. Many people were injured in this stampede. The college girl who died was the victim of this stampede.

It was when the people began to run helter skelter that

the police opened fire. And firing was without any warning.

The police even trampled under foot many of the demonstrators who had fallen down in the stampede.

The driver of a government vehicle was first injured by bullet and then trampled under the boot by the police. He died under this double attack. It is likely that he would have survived if the second atrocity—the trampling—had not been committed.

A partial picture of the police brutality exhibited at Imphal has been brought out in this eyewitness account. Even now, there are doubts among the public about the casualty figures.

Nothing short of a judicial enquiry would bring out the facts of the police firing in Imphal. The people are demanding it with one voice. Will the Congress rulers listen to this voice of the people?

HIGH COURT KNOCKS OUT HATED ANDHRA LAND LEVY ACT

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: Rule of law, rule of law: this is a refrain taken up on all and sundry occasions by the Congress rulers who themselves pay scant respect to the laws of the country or their interpretations by law courts.

Andhra Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy has shown that he is no exception. He has announced his decision to bring an ordinance to replace a piece of legislation which has been struck down by the Andhra Pradesh High Court.

The legislation is the Andhra Pradesh Land Revenue (Additional Assessment And Cess Revision) Act 1962 and the subsequent amendment to it.

A division bench of the High Court consisting of P. J. Reddy and E. Venkatesham has declared them unconstitutional, since they contravened Articles 14 and 19 of the Constitution.

High Court's Ruling

The court said: imposition of flat rates irrespective of the nature or grade of the soil or potential productivity of land or even actual income is irrational and discriminatory.

The government pleaded severability. But the court did not agree; it said that the invalid provisions were organically connected with the rest. And so, out went

the entire piece of legislation from the statute books. Now, Brahmananda Reddy has announced his intention to issue an ordinance to replace the impugned legislation.

Peasants all over the state will certainly oppose any such Ordinance, as they had done at the time of enacting the legislation.

Battle Of Peasants

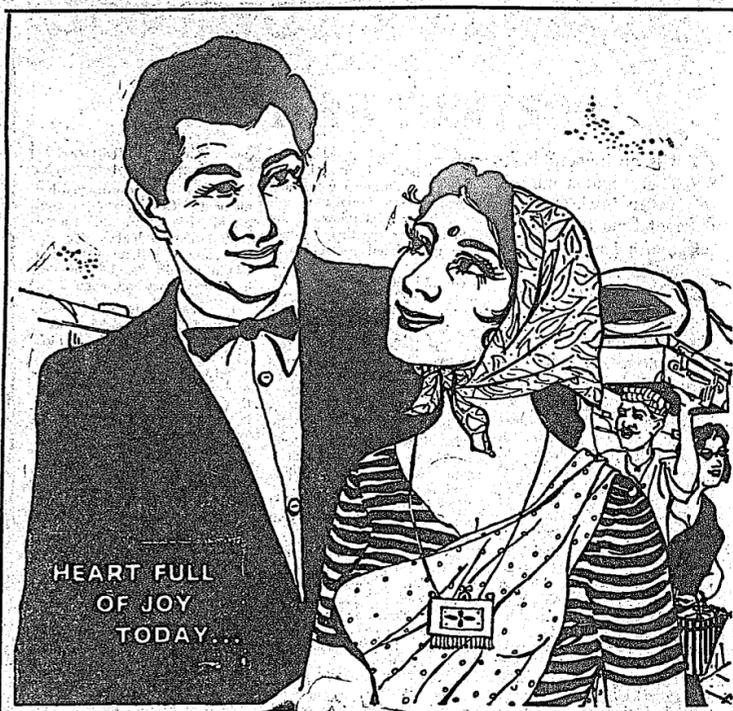
The Andhra kisans' fight against the reprehensible levy started when the government brought forward the legislation in 1962. However, it was suspended due to Chinese aggression.

In 1964, when the government sought to implement the legislation, the agitation was resumed. Twenty thousand peasants courted arrest under the banner of an all-party action committee.

The entire opposition in the Assembly was up in arms against the unsentific classification of land which flouted the traditional basis of 'taram' in Andhra area and 'annawari' in Telengana.

But the government had got it passed, utilising the ruling party's majority in the Assembly.

The High Court judgment is a sure victory for the people and the Andhra kisans in particular. It has upheld their contention that the paying capacity of the kisans should be taken into consideration when imposing any levy.



When the health is good, one looks forward travelling, with a heart full of joy to enjoy the beauty of Nature.

You too should take Sadhana's wonderful medicine, two teaspoonsful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four teaspoons of Mahadraksharista (six years old), twice a day after meals, to keep you in good health. They remove weariness, increase the appetite and digestive powers and help you get rid of cough and cold.



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SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA

BONUS BILL: AN ANALYSIS

By **SATISH LOOMBA**

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

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Kashmir is not just the Valley of Beauty to which the world's tourists and pleasure-seekers flock. The lotus blooms in the Dal Lake, the long avenues of 'chenar' trees, the springs, the gardens, the mountains—all have an added meaning today.

Story after story has come across the wires from Srinagar of the heroism of the Kashmiri people fighting the Pakistani aggressors. It was this heroism which frustrated the designs of the aggressors and their plans for a 'revolt' in Kashmir and the overthrow of the Sadiq government.

The nation salutes the Kashmiri people today with a

new fervour and a new gratitude. . . .

There is nothing surprising about the courage of the Kashmiri patriots. These are the men and women who fought for freedom again and again . . . in the days before independence against the autocracy of the Maharaja and his British masters . . . and again in 1947 against the invading hordes of Pakistani raiders. . . .

The Ayub dictatorship lives in a fool's paradise if it believes that the fighting people of Kashmir can have anything in common with the pro-imperialist gangs who run the roost in Pakistan.

1931 ACTION

AND thus in 1931, "the Kashmir people took their destiny in their own hands and launched a mass struggle to wrest their rights of civic existence from an autocratic government." (National Conference's Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission.)

It was a spontaneous movement—it was not organised, for the state allowed no organisation to exist or function at that time. And yet the movement assumed gigantic proportions and spread from city to city and on to the most remote villages.

No States' Peoples' movement has such a glorious and widespread struggle to its credit.

The women of Kashmir threw off their age-old seclusion, broke all the ancient traditions and came out on the streets in defence of their homes, of their husbands, brothers, sons, of their own honour.

There are hundreds of tales of what Kashmir's women did in 1931.

But Zoni kept the lance she broke and her name is for ever hallowed in Kashmiri hearts.

Zoni was only one of the many heroines of 1931.

The workers of Kashmir were in the forefront of the struggle. The silk factory workers were known to be fearless fighters. In their historic struggles for better wages in the early twenties, these sons of the working class had distinguished themselves by the battle they had waged against the state's soldiers and rowdies.

Now again in 1931, when a reign of unimaginable error held the whole of Kashmir in its grip, the working class came to the forefront.

1938 STRUGGLE

THUS, when finally in 1938, the Muslim Conference formally changed its name to the National Conference and drew the best elements among the minority communities into its fold, the state authorities were alarmed.

It is good to recall pages from that saga of freedom today, as the whole nation joins in hailing the glorious Kashmiri sons and daughters of India. . . .

On these pages we bring to life again glimpses from the movements of 1931, 1938 and 1946 waged by the Kashmiri freedom movement. We bring to life again the glorious story of Maqbool Sherwani, who was murdered by the Pakistani raiders in 1947 at Baramulla. . . .

Here are extracts from writings of many years ago. . . . But the saga continues. . . . new chapters are being written into it today. . . .

lawyers, journalists, doctors, businessmen—all came within the government's definition of the term "goondas", under the pretext of which they were being thrown into jail.

Ordinance raj became the rule and its application was extended to cover even the most remote villages as the movement spread.

Once again truce was declared, and the leaders came out. The movement had advanced another step forward.

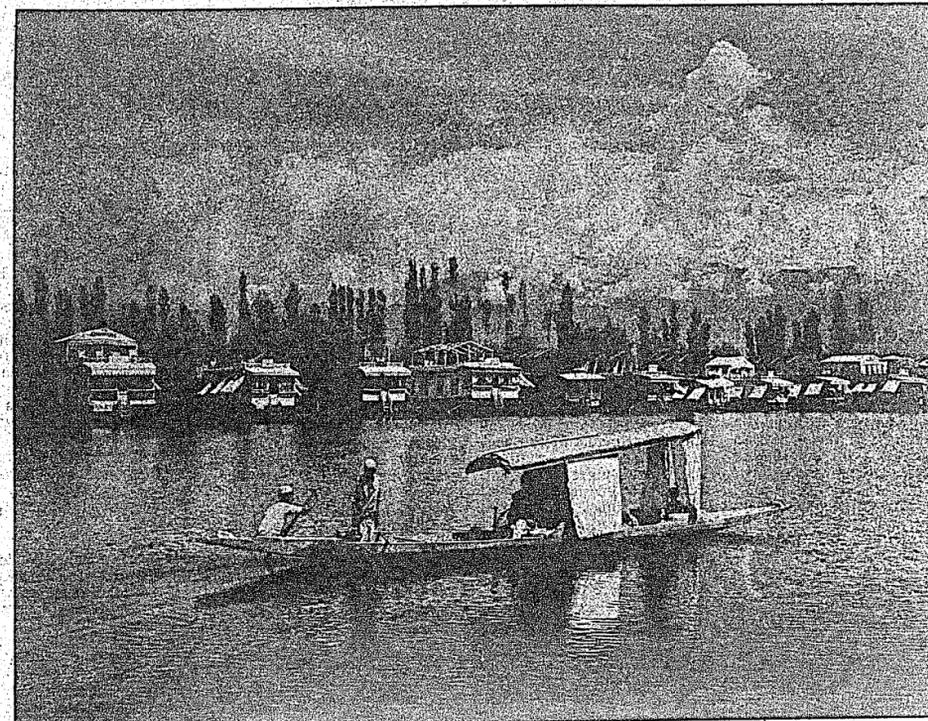
QUIT KASHMIR

AND then came the famous QUIT KASHMIR movement of 1946.

The soldiers ran amuck. They fired wherever they saw a human being—whether women and children, it did not matter. 'Kill' was their slogan, and they killed.

It was different from 1931 and 1938. Now it was no longer a medieval army on horses, it was a mechanised army trained in war.

The Kashmiris are supposed to be a 'non-martial' race. There are slander-



SAGA OF KASHMIR

There was a 25-year-old woman named Zoni—the wife of a worker-partisan—who led a procession of women against the Maharaja's autocratic rule.

The state cavalry charged, lances drawn. Zoni and her procession stood firm. The horses were upon them. The lances flashed in the air. Down they came. Kashmir's rulers make no distinction between men and women.

Down came the cruel lance. Zoni did not flinch. Instead, with a mighty twist she caught the deadly weapon, tore it from the soldier's hands and broke it on her knee.

Zoni's battalion of unarmed women fought till wounded they were dragged to hospital. Zoni herself lay many days with a foot torn by a lance.

Responsible Government Day was celebrated on August 5. On August 29, a manifesto appeared over the signatures of important leaders of the National Conference, which declared:

"Our movement has a gigantic urge behind it. It is the urge of hunger and starvation which propels it onwards in even most adverse circumstances."

"Our cause is righteous, reasonable and just. We want to be the makers of our own destinies and we want to shape the ends of things according to our choice."

The state hit back fast with another round of agonising repression. Hundreds were arrested including, of course, all the leaders. Members of the Assembly, municipal commissioners

ous tales of Kashmiri cowardice.

But those slanders were blown up on May 20, blown up on May 21 and blown up on every day since then.

The Kashmiris never ran from the brutes with the guns. They fought them back from behind barricades, from roof tops, from everywhere—with whatever weapons they could find.

The government communiques began to yell of "a planned revolt"—so wonderful was the resistance. But they knew they lied.

A new underground leadership sprang up. They ran from mohalla to mohalla, city to city, village to village—spreading the message of "Quit Kashmir" and "New Kashmir"—hunted all the time by the police and the military.

Posters appeared on the walls of Kashmir—everywhere right inside the Maharaja's palace, in the Resident's garden, everywhere. . . posters, calling for resistance, posters with the magic words "Quit Kashmir" emblazoned on them.

At night the soldiers parading the streets would be maddened by slogans of "Quit Kashmir" coming from all over the city. They would rush in the direction of one shout only to hear a dozen others.

Hundreds of dogs appeared on May 26 with "Quit Kashmir" placards round their necks. The soldiers rushed after them and shot them dead.

Processions—hundreds of them—were taken out, lathi-charged, fired on, but still they came again—shouting, fighting, never yielding. Whole new areas, where the organisation of the National Conference had hardly reached before, rose with an indomitable spirit.

THE TERROR

I have not mentioned yet what the terror had been like. All Kashmir was one big Jallianwalla Bagh in 1946. The crawling order was in force for days. Crawl like reptiles for the crime

of being Kashmiris.

Every bridge bristled with steel. You could only cross with your hands up and hopping on one leg.

At every street corner, soldiers caught Kashmiris and made them shout: "Maharaja Bahadur ki jal". How many were killed for refusing to shout this humiliating slogan, I do not know.

But I do know that thousands and thousands just did not stir out of their homes because they were determined never to utter these words.

Women's demonstrations—and there were many of these—were freely lathi-charged, freely shot up. But the women of Kashmir never flinched. . . They dispersed, formed up again and marched on.

In the shrine of Khanqah-i-Maula, there are many bullet marks, many blood stains. The brutes did not spare even the places of worship.

Lawyers and doctors were made to sweep the dirt off the streets of Srinagar with their turbans and their shirts.

Books were burnt in public places. Flogging in public squares became a common feature. The jails were death chambers.

The tortures to which the prisoners were subjected cannot be described. In their mad search for underground leaders, no one was spared and women and children were the worst victims of these "interrogations".

A collective fine of two lakhs had been imposed on Srinagar alone. And it was extorted mercilessly from the poorest.

The property of underground leaders, worth several lakhs was confiscated.

Yet, all this could not beat Kashmir. On the contrary Kashmir's fight grew more intense, more bitter than ever.

Yes, Kashmir had become a land of terror and of epic resistance both. Kashmir had won a place for ever in the book of the greatest freedom struggles in history.

HE loved his town of Baramula.

He loved his beautiful Kashmir and its people. He hated with all his heart the terrible blood-sucking autocratic rule which took the roses out of the little children's cheeks and made their bones crooked.

And because this was what he loved and this was what he hated, Mir Maqbool Sherwani, like thousands of others, joined and built the Kashmir National Conference.

Sherwani faced unflinchingly what every other National Conference leader had to face at the hands of the autocratic gangsters—harassment, persecution, imprisonment.

And the people of Baramula came to respect and obey Sherwani.

And then the tribal raiders came,

But Sherwani was not afraid of death.

One night when he had gone out scouting on a motorcycle to the area of Sumbal, something went wrong with his machine and, as he bent to put it right, he was captured by the invaders.

Sherwani was marched to his own Baramula. The raiders' chieftains realised that the capture of Sherwani was no mean victory and they decided to exploit it to the full in their own devil's way.

In a public place near the local cinema they tied him to two posts, and they drove the local population to see what they—the conquerors—would do to all who followed the National Conference.

And then began the torture which will remain for always written in letters of fire in Kashmir's history—no, not only Kashmir's history but in India's history, for Sherwani was tortured not for Kash-

REMEMBER!

rushing headlong over the roads, left totally undefended by the corrupt and decadent administration, right upto Baramula.

Sherwani had just been released from the Maharaja's prison, into which he had been hauled for his part in the Quit Kashmir movement. He rushed to Srinagar to discuss how best he could liberate his beloved Baramula.

The situation daily grew worse. The Indian Union troops had come, they would fight hard and with courage, but they did not know the land.

They needed scouts—Kashmiris who would go out and secure information of the 'strength', the whereabouts of the enemy. On such accounts depended almost entirely the hopes of a successful offensive against the invaders.

Baramula could be liberated only if the scouts were good, brave, efficient, imbued with a death-defying zeal.

Who could be better than Maqbool Sherwani? He threw himself into this vital, but dreadfully dangerous task.

For a man as well known as he, it meant certain death if he were caught.

mir's freedom alone but all India's freedom, yours and mine.

The gangsters whipped Sherwani. . . the pain did not matter to him. . . he kept his lips sealed and did not cry out.

Then they shouted at him to repeat after them the words, "National Conference Murdabad".

The beating became harder. . . "Say 'National Conference Murdabad' and you are free. . . Only a few words."

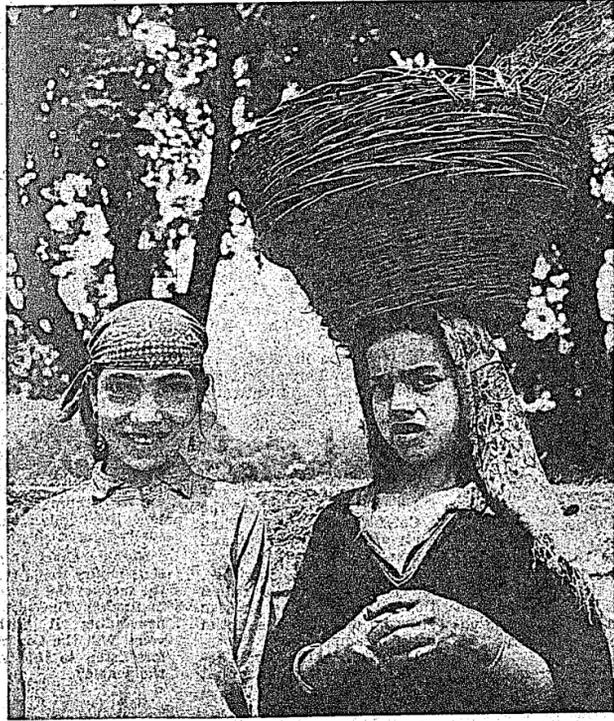
The ignorant louts did not know what patriotism is; they did not know of what stuff a Kashmiri patriot is made.

In all his pain, Sherwani hurled defiance at his tormentors. They shut his mouth with a bullet. And then another one. . . two. . . four. . . eight. . . ten. . . fourteen bullets through his body.

And then they cut off his nose and disfigured his face and strung his body up on a tree.

A notice was nailed to his forehead: "This is a traitor. His name is Sherwani. This is the fate all traitors will meet."

But only Sherwani's body was dead—his name lived.



INTO ACTION—FOR NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

* FROM BACK PAGE

The statements issued in support of the defence of the country emphasise the necessity for steps "to ensure that the entire strength of the nation can be mobilised for the supreme task of national defence". Among these steps, on which the Communist Party has laid special emphasis are:

"To meet the legitimate and most urgent demands of the people, provide food and other necessities at prices within the reach of the vast masses, penalise blackmarketing and strictly control prices."

"To pass immediate orders for the release of the thousands of political prisoners belonging to the Communist Party of India, the Mar-

xist Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Peasants & Workers Party, the Republican Party and other parties, who are either detained under the DIR or imprisoned under other laws; many of them have been in prison since December 1964; thousands more have been thrown into jail more recently for their part in the food movements in Bihar, West Bengal, Maharashtra and other States."

"To take a positive stand in regard to the acceptance in principle of the just demand for the reorganisation of the present Punjab State on a linguistic basis." (The Communist Party has strongly urged upon Sant Fateh Singh to abandon his proposed fast, in the light of the latest developments.)

"The communal forces have launched their offensive. Poona is a danger signal. It is only a vigilant people who can defeat the communalist conspiracy."

The Communist Party has taken a serious view of the support being extended to the Pakistani aggression by the Chinese Government.

"The visit of Marshal Chen-Yi to Rawalpindi and his statements of full support to the Pakistani aggression are ominous developments. The Chinese leaders' opportunism evidently knows no bounds. They are willingly throwing themselves in support of the Ayub dictatorship and consequently in support of the imperialist hand behind that dictatorship—a hand which is so blatantly

WHAT IS AMERICAN EMBASSY DOING?

NEW DELHI: did the US government know in advance the Pakistani plan of attack against India?

There is a strong suspicion that the US government did know about the impending attack.

The United States Embassy in New Delhi is stated to have issued a circular instructing all American visitors to Kashmir not to make purchases from Kashmiri traders while on holiday to the Valley.

The circular, copies of which were sent to other

US consulates in the country, coincided with the massive Pakistani infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir.

The pretext for issuing the circular was the alleged "failure" of some Kashmiri traders to honour their commitment.

In reality the objective was to stop the purchase altogether so that an economic stridency will be created in Jammu and Kashmir and lead to disunion, bitterness and strife among the people there.

evident in the use of American planes and tanks".

Regarding the attitude of the Communist Party towards the proposals for a ceasefire made by the Security Council, this is what was said immediately after the adoption of the first resolution of September 4:

"Indian people have always stood for a peaceful settlement of all problems. They, therefore, earnestly desire an end to the fighting which is now taking place.

"But an unconditional ceasefire, which ignores the fact of Pakistani aggression, which enables Pakistan to maintain its infiltrators inside Indian terri-

tory and to send in more of them at will, would not be a contribution to peace. Such a ceasefire would only enable the aggressors to continue their aggressive infiltration, while depriving India of the means to defend itself.

"The Indian people are not prepared to accept any longer such ceasefire agreements which are only a mask for the intensification of Pakistan rulers' aggressive activities. A ceasefire can have meaning only when there is an effective guarantee that Pakistani aggression will be vacated, all infiltrators removed from the Indian soil of Kashmir and provision made to ensure that no further infiltration or aggression is possible."

Employers Flout Code

MANGALORE CASHEW WORKERS SERVE NOTICE OF STRIKE

BANGALORE: Seven thousand cashew workers of Mangalore, employed in the eight cashew factories have served strike notice on their employers.

They have said that unless the writ petition filed by the employers is withdrawn and dearness allowance of 50 paise a day as awarded by the industrial tribunal is paid before September 13, they would go on strike.

Joint Action

The agitation for dearness allowance is being conducted jointly by unions affiliated to the AITUC, the INTUC and the HMS.

The industrial tribunal, Bangalore, had given its award on July 21 granting 50 paise as dearness allowance to the cashew workers. The award was to have come into operation from August 21.

However, the managements of three cashew factories filed writ petitions and obtained stay orders—a step in

violation of the code of discipline in industry and the industrial truce resolution of 1962.

Only one employer with two cashew factories has paid the dearness allowance granted by the industrial tribunal.

On September 2, women workers held a big demonstration to demand dearness allowance. Workers from all the factories converged on the Nehru Maidan.

A public meeting held thereafter was addressed by A. Shantharam Pai, president of the Cashew Workers' Union and B. V. Kakklaya, secretary of the Karnataka state council of the CPI.

From September 3, batches of women workers have begun hungerstrike before the factory gates. Meetings and demonstrations are being held daily.

The three unions have sent a memorandum to the Mysore Labour Minister asking him to intervene in the dispute and persuade the managements to withdraw the writ petition and pay dearness allowance to the workers.

ARRESTED BIHAR MLAs' OPEN LETTER TO PM Point by Point Rebuttal of Sahay's Canard

A most effective rebuttal of Bihar Chief Minister Sahay's wild charges in connection with the PATNA BANDH of August 9 and the subsequent developments, has come from the arrested Bihar legislators.

FOUR legislators, Sunil Mukherjee MLA (Com), Indradeep Sinha MLC (Com), Ramanand Tiwari MLA (SSP) and Karpuri Thakur MLA (SSP) in a joint open letter to the Prime Minister have exposed the hallowness of Sahay's claims.

The letter was sent on August 22 from Hazaribagh central jail and the SSP MLAs have since been released on bail.

Attack Against NGOs

The letter gives a detailed stage by stage account of the developments and describes how the police swooped on the peaceful students demonstrating for reduction in tuition fees, and brutally attacked them.

Chasing the students, the police entered the office of the statistical department and began beating up the employees there. They also entered the Assembly premises and assaulted a number of persons including the Swatantra MLA Parganait.

Masses

The letter points out that despite all this provocation, the PATNA BANDH went off most peacefully. At the mass meeting held in the evening speakers cautioned the people against restiveness and called for a BIHAR BANDH on August 11 to peacefully protest against the police atrocity.

On the night of August 9 itself important leaders of the SSP, CPI and other parties were arrested. From next morning onwards arrests were followed by brutal assaults. Several MLAs sustained serious injuries.

The legislators who raised their voice of protest in the Assembly against this draconian step were detained under the DIR. Even political leaders who came from outside for on-the-spot study of the situation, like Yogindra Sharma, member of the central secretariat of the CPI, were hauled up under the DIR and detained.

Attack Against NGOs

The letter draws the attention of the Prime Minister particularly to the police repression to which the non-gazetted government employees were subjected. Sahay seemed to be particularly wrathful against them, perhaps, due to the fact that they had been agitating for wage-rise and increase in dearness allowance.

The extent of his ire can be seen in the number of false cases instituted against the NGOs. One assistant in the Revenue Department has been prosecuted on a charge of attempting to set fire to the Secretariat at 5 p.m. on August 9. But in fact this particular employee was on the same day in the office of the Revenue Board at Ranchi!

The letter asserts that there is concrete proof that it was the police who put the motor cycle of a journalist on fire in the Bihar Assembly compound. Similarly there is proof of police setting fire to a thatched hut near the Secretariat. Proof is also available that the police organised the looting of the godown near the Patna station.

The letter goes on to say that in order to hide his own black deeds Chief Minister Sahay has spread the stories of "overthrow" and "sabotage" hatched in a "deep

conspiracy" in accordance with a "predetermined plan" by the left parties, particularly the CPI.

For example, the letter points out, Sahay has told the STATESMAN correspondent (August 17 dak edition) that the attempt on August 9 to capture the Secretariat, "attacks" on police stations and railway stations, "attempts" to cut railway, telephone and telegraph lines etc., were "part of a conspiracy" hatched by the Communists.

The other left parties and groups fell victims to this Communist conspiracy and took to this programme, Sahay has claimed.

The letter also says that Krishnaballav Sahay has written to the Prime Minister (according to HINDUSTAN, August 18) that the similarity and direction of happenings in various districts following the Patna Bandh indicate that behind these anti-social acts were the hands of the Communists.

We would like to ask you and Sahay, the letter says, that if this really was the situation that why did police shoot a college student dead in the Palamau district where there is not a single unit of the Communist Party? Why did the masses in several centres spontaneously took to demonstrations where there as not a single unit of any left party?

Sahay's Own Making

The letter emphasises: Why does not Krishnaballav Sahay consider this question that the similarity and direction of brute repression on small children and his policy of terror all round have brought about the spontaneous upsurge of mass resistance?

The powerblindness and lack of sense on the part of Sahay are proved by the facts that he arrested the editor of SEARCHLIGHT, correspondent of HINDUSTAN SAMAHAR at Sultanganj (Bhagalpur), proprietor of Katihar Maheswari Academy and Dwarkanath Kapoor, lawyer of Muzaffarpur.

It is quite clear that police actions stemmed from angry reaction of Sahay to the popular protest. There are other examples of Sahay's unbalanced sense also.

For example, immediately after the events of August 9 he declared that behind these incidents were the gundas and anti-social elements. Next day he changed his tune and said that the hands of Pakistani and Chinese agents were clearly discernible in these actions.

Now he is claiming, the letter says, that only Communists are behind these actions.

"Pakistani agents" in Sahay's indication perhaps mean those educated and aristocratic Muslims whom the former deputy minister Ahad Mohammed Noor termed as "communalists". Some such Muslims, among whom are notable Congressmen, were arrested on August 8-9 because they had dared to show black flag to Sahay on August 7.

CPI-SSP MPs CONDEMN

FOUR opposition MPs, M. N. Govindan Nair and Homi Daji (Communists), and Kishan Patnalk and Madhu Limaye (SSP) have severely condemned the Bihar government in a joint statement issued in Patna on September 5.

The statement points out that government has refused to allow them address a public meeting at Gandhi Maidan and also to interview the legislators now in jail in connection with the agitation last month.

The refusal to extend this courtesy, the statement emphasises, shows the vindictive attitude of the Sahay government.

They have asked Bihar government to reverse "its anti-people policies", declare a general amnesty by releasing all political prisoners, and withdraw all cases in connection with the food agitation, bring down prices and ensure supply of foodgrains.

Failure to do this would mean that the government was neither serious about the defence of the country nor about securing the people's cooperation, the statement pointed out.

Among such arrested persons are the son of a minister in the Sahay cabinet; the son of a former minister and vice-chancellor of Magadh University; a Congress legislator and a senator. It is surprising that the son of the senior SP of Patna is still absconding.

The letter points out that the story of Pakistani agents was thus started by Sahay to slander his political opponents.

As regards Chinese agents, the letter says, Sahay perhaps was referring to the left Communists. But it has to be noted that their number is extremely small in Bihar and most of their leaders are already in jail. That is why Sahay claimed that left Communists from West Bengal had come for sabotage work in Bihar.

Bankruptcy of Wisdom

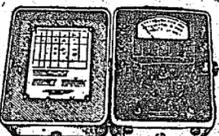
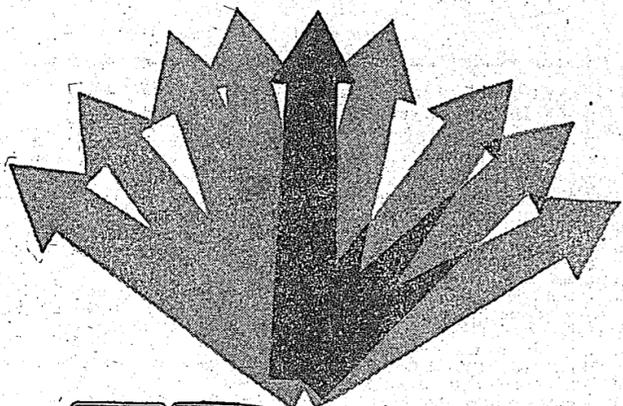
In Sahay's wisdom, even the division in the CPI was nothing but "a political move" adopted "for convenience". This shows the bankruptcy of Sahay's political acumen.

The letter adds that not merely now but even earlier Sahay was "never known for his truthfulness". It then goes on to cite several examples which substantiate this statement.

Finally the letter demands nine-point steps by the Prime Minister to help normalise the situation in Bihar and to ameliorate the conditions of people who are victims of price-rise and artificial shortage of foodgrains.

It also demands an open enquiry by a high level independent commission to arrive at the real truth about the situation.

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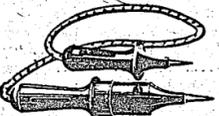
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STARVATION DEATH IN MADHYA PRADESH

BHOPAL: Two starvation deaths have been reported from the Vidhya region of Madhya Pradesh. The worst affected in the region are the poor peasants and agricultural labourers. They have no employment and there is practically very little for them to eat.

There are some cheap foodgrains shops, but no cereals are available. Similar reports are being received from the Chhatishgarh area (see last week's NEW AGE).

The condition of the tribal people and the agricultural labourers is critical.

The scanty rainfall in the area has added to the gravity of the situation, and even government officials

are demanding that the affected areas be declared famine areas.

On August 29, Communist Party volunteers resorted to picketing in Rajnandgaon, demanding "rice at government price".

This campaign succeeded in compelling several retailers to sell large stocks with them at the fixed prices.

Earlier, dealers were profiteering, charging higher prices recklessly.

Similar demonstrations were organised at the Rajhara mines, at Balod tehsil headquarters and at Churiya.



Karl Marx, the brilliant theoretician and leader of the proletariat is one of the greatest thinker and scholar whose name will live through the ages.

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YANKS IN BASTI

LETTERS

CHALLENGE TO SAHAY

CHIEF Minister K. B. Sahay has once again repeated the slander that "anti-national elements, including pro-Pakistanis and Communists" were behind the recent "disturbances" in Bihar.

Instead of repeating this puerile slander ad nauseam, let K. B. Sahay order a judicial probe to find out who engineered the disturbances.

Every man in the street knows that the events in Bihar were sparked off by the provocative charge by mounted police against school children, by unwarranted police firings, by murderous attacks by police on opposition leaders and by other forms of vandalism committed by the police.

Instead of repeating this ridiculous slander about the conspiracy of anti-national elements, why does he not implement his solemn promise made on August 15, that he would use the same force as was used against the food movement, to break the ring of hoarders and black-marketeers.

Whom does Sahay seek to bamboozle by bragging about the people "rising" to deal with "anti-national elements"? If he is so sure of the support of the people, let him resign his seat in the Assembly and face any of the "anti-national elements" detained by him, in a by-election.

RAMANAND TEWARY, MLA (SSP)
RAMAVTAR SHASTRI (CPI)
Patna

NEW AGE IN TALLINN

It was only by chance that I came to know that I can buy here in Tallinn (capital of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic), copies of NEW AGE. As I am greatly interested in the Orient, and especially in India, I was pleasantly surprised and very glad indeed.

I now purchase two copies of NEW AGE every week—one for myself and the other for the Oriental Department of Tartu State University. I am also circulating NEW AGE among those of my friends who are interested in India, its culture and peoples.

The political and economic problems discussed by you in your paper are useful. But we here are also interested in the inexhaustible treasures of Indian spiritual and material culture (history, philosophy, literature, art etc). Can you publish such materials in NEW AGE?

With all my heart I wish you and all the people of India success in the struggle for the prosperity of your country.

Rae Bareilly Md. SHAFIQ Tallinn, USSR O. LANGSEPP

receiving these dole coupons, as though they were beggars and not men who work with their own hands.

It is also necessary to take note of the high cost to India's dignity (AND security), which this scheme involves.

First of all, there is constant interference in the district affairs by American officials supposed to be inspecting the "progress" of the programme.

On July 29, for instance, one KEN LYVERS, along with a party of other American "experts", paid a visit to the district. Lyvers and another American boss called STEELWELL made themselves felt, patronisingly patting the District Magistrate and other district officials on the back, and making proposals for further publicity for American "beneficence".

Lyvers is now reported to have written to the District Magistrate demanding monthly reports from him.

WHO RUNS THIS COUNTRY ANYWAY. THAT ANY BLUSTERING YANK CAN DEMAND REPORTS FROM THE HEAD OF THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION?

Apart from these visits by the big shots from Delhi, there are four Peace Corps volunteers, permanently stationed in the district, at Khalilabad and Mehdawal. These gentlemen are interfering in the affairs of the villages where the "wonderful" Rural Manpower Utilisation Programme is in force.

Needless to say, the local village vested interests and bosses are making money also out of the wheat, with false registers and all the usual corrupt practices. But that is not the point I am making here.

The American imperialists openly say that their PL 480 Food for Peace is meant to help their so-called struggle "against communism". Presumably that is why they have chosen the Eastern U.P. districts for their operations.

Fortunately for India, our people are not so easily bought. And all the publicity for the American wheat is not yielding much returns for the "benefactors".

The question, however, remains: how does the government of India enter into such a humiliating agreement with the USA—an agreement which any self respecting government would turn down without a second thought.

Khalilabad. N. H. ANSARI

VERBAL JUGGLERY BY 'MARXIST' LEADER

E. M. S. Nambudiripad has issued a "rejoinder" to the CPI Central Secretariat's answer to his slanderous attack. This "rejoinder", published in 'People's Democracy' of August 29, is evoking much amusement among persons like us.

NEW AGE has ruthlessly exposed EMS's claim that his party is not anti-Soviet, by quoting from a small selection of EMS's party journals' voluminous tirades against the Soviet Union. Now EMS has spoken again. But he completely fails to answer NEW AGE's factual evidence.

Instead we have more verbal jugglery. EMS repeats: "our party has not taken any position on the questions in dispute within the international Communist movement". And then comes the GEM OF GEMS:

"Whatever views are expressed by individual leaders and members of the party are their own."

This is indeed another piece of "revolutionary Marxism-Leninism": individual leaders are at liberty to express views of their own in party journals on as important a question as that of attitude towards the Soviet Union, when the party has "not taken any position" on the question!

EMS does not "explain" how it is that ALL the journals of the Marxist party have been carrying anti-Soviet materials. This is rare unanimity on a question on which there is no official standpoint!

If you fail to understand the wonderful "formulations" of the acting General Secretary of the Marxist party, then of course it is because you are a "reformist", "revisionist", "class collaborator", and what-not...

Calcutta 17. AMAR MANNA

CPI MEMBERSHIP A CRIME?

AS Secretary of the Rae Bareilly District Council of the Communist Party of India, I met the Commissioner at the PWD Inspection House in this town on August 25.

I had been invited to do so by the City Magistrate, in connection with the request made by Chhotu Bux (the Communist Sabhapati of Gaon Samaj, Tikari) for a gun license, as his life is in danger there.

Instead of considering the application on its merits, the Commissioner started to condemn the Communist Party; he went on to say it was a crime to join the CPI!

This was an amazing statement from a responsible official. Is the CPI banned and illegal, that the Commissioner could say that it is a crime to join it?

Incidentally, the applicant for the gun license had himself collected no less than Rs. 1750 for the National Defence Fund at the time of the Chinese aggression was this also a "crime"?

Rae Bareilly Md. SHAFIQ

MOSCOW: With the escalation of conflict between India and Pakistan, Soviet anxiety over the serious situation has also grown.

THE tragic consequences for the people of the two countries and for peace in Asia and the world if the fighting were not stopped and were to grow, were the great gain to world imperialism and reaction and consequential weakening of the forces of peace and progress and anti-imperialism. There will be strong thing of American hand in Vietnam as a result of this diversion. These and other serious and grim consequences of India-Pakistan fighting are being repeatedly pointed out here.

Soviet papers anxiously report the news of the armed conflict and Sunday's PRAVDA headline says with concern "Bloodshed is continuing". The Soviet stand continues to be that first a way must be found for an immediate cessation of this bloodshed and armed conflict.

Soviet Stand

Soviet representative P. D. Morozov again pointed out in the United Nations Security Council on Sunday that the conflict was a legacy of the colonial past; that imperialism always sought to exploit the Kashmir issue to fan strife and to set the people of the two countries at loggerheads and thus use the situation to its own ends.

The conflict should be settled peacefully with due consideration of the mutual interests of the two countries,

PAKISTAN'S WAR OF AGGRESSION

USSR'S Anxiety Over Continued Blood-Shed

the Soviet representative said. The Soviet Union is very much against third parties exploiting the situation and giving encouragement to aggression, violence and discord. The way certain imperialist powers are trying to get in and exploit the situation has been pointed out here.

There is also no "admiration" here at the way China is trying to use the situation for anti-Indian ends by giving all encouragement to Pakistan.

Unlike Chinese declarations the latest being the pronouncement of Chen Yi in Karachi, the Soviet Union does not consider that the people of Kashmir are under the tyranny of India and have to be relieved of this situation. On the contrary the Soviet Union, as is well known, regards Kashmir to be an integral part of India and the PRAVDA article of August 24 which has been widely reported described Jammu and Kashmir in its very first sentence as "Indian state".

The Soviet Union is also concretely helping to strengthen India's defences and the Indian government mission which negotiated the pur-

chase of submarines and other equipment here has, it is understood, gone completely satisfied.

PRAVDA pointed out that the efforts to improve relations with Pakistan were not to be at the cost of friendship with India. Soviet-Indian friendship was traditional and "a stabilising factor for the situation in Asia". The Soviet Union would like to see Soviet-Pak relations to come up to the same standard.

USSR Not Indifferent

It has been pointed out here that the Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to the development regarding Kashmir and cannot regard the bloodshed calmly.

While the Soviet Union would not like to interfere and pronounce judgements, it would like the two countries concerned to settle the question by direct talks.

The Soviet Union has neither supported the idea of an independent Kashmir nor does it support the principle of national boundaries drawn

on the basis of religion.

But it has pointed out that a way out of the complex problem can be found if it is "approached realistically". This could be only interpreted (along with Morozov's reference to peaceful settlement with consideration of mutual interests) that the realities of the situation as it has obtained for so many years could be the basis of settlement.

Those commentators who in the bourgeois Indian press tried to interpret the PRAVDA article on Kashmir situation as an attempt at wooing Pakistan at the cost of India or as an effort at standing aloof etc., are certainly wrong.

The article very clearly lauds India's policies of peace, coexistence and nonalignment and its role in international field. The article displays much more closeness and understanding on India's general policies.

PRAVDA on Saturday prominently highlighted the

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

decisions of the recent session of national council of the CPI as resolutions of a fraternal party. PRAVDA quoted extensively from the resolution on Kashmir.

Internal Situation

The paper also gave extracts from resolutions on people's struggles and government repression and demand for release of Communist political prisoners and special resolution demanding release of Gopalan and Ranadive.

PRAVDA also gave long extracts of the Communist Party of India's resolution on Vietnam and mentioned the part expressing anxiety at the government's statements watering down the demand for immediate halting of American bombing of North Vietnam and also at attempts placing the aggressors and the victims on the same footing.

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AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

Mauritius's Declaration

RAMGOOLAM, the Chief Minister of Mauritius, the British colony in the Indian Ocean, has demanded from Britain steps to put an end to the present political vagueness and grant the colony its independence and sovereignty at an early date.

Ramgoolam declared that after having gained independence the Government of Mauritius will forge close links with the African states and join the brotherhood of the Organisation of African Unity.

After the happenings in Singapore and Aden, the island-colony of Mauritius has begun to figure quite prominently in the defence plans of the United States and Britain.

To have a dominant position in the Indian Ocean, they wish to retain Mauritius as a link of the chain of their island air and naval bases in this area.

British and American experts are already there for initial probes and prospecting. London hopes that it would not be difficult to get things done with the help of parties and elements nursed and sustained by it for such contingencies.

For example, the second biggest political organisation in the colony, the planter's hand-maid Mauritius Party, will lend it its enthusiastic support.

Monopolies Cambodia's Bold Stand

JAPANESE monopolies are breaking fresh ground in setting up new patterns of "economic co-operation" in South Korea.

One of the interesting results produced by these attempts is that the Japanese companies are going ahead with setting up new cement mills in South Korea while it has already a surplus of this building material.

Japanese monopolists call themselves "equal partners" of their South Korean counterparts. This "equal partnership" involves unrestrained penetration by the Japanese monopolies of South Korean economy.

There is regular onslaught upon it, by Japanese consumer goods, industrial equipment, military vehicles and tanks. South Korean enterprises are being directly sucked into large Japanese companies.

South Korean firms, which still remain somewhat free from such a process, receive loans and consequent interference with production plans and Japanese participation in the sale of goods.

CAMBODIA has always believed and believes now that the National Liberation Front is the sole representative of the South Vietnamese people and it has the right to represent South Vietnam at the international conferences and talks, declared Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the head of Cambodian state while handing over a consignment of medical supplies, a gift of his government, to a representative of the Front, a few days ago.

The Prince left no doubt about what his government had to say about the positions adopted by the Front and the government of the DRV.

He added with the emphasis: "We back their demands for a complete and unconditional withdrawal of all troops of the American invaders, their allies and satellites from Vietnam. It is for the people of South Vietnam to choose a political system and government bodies without any foreign interference. Reunification of Vietnam is a matter for the Vietnamese people alone to handle."

—Darshak



The world's first cosmonaut tells in this book of his childhood, his school years, his training at the flying club and his service in the Air Force.

He also describes in details the extensive training he had undergone for the great day, April 12, the first flight of the manned spaceship Vostok.

The book contains a large number of illustrations. pp 198

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American Scene

'BATTLE OF WATTS' RIPS MASK OFF THE 'GREAT SOCIETY'

From JAMES WEST

CHICAGO: The "Battle of Watts"—the uprising of the Negro ghetto in Los Angeles—was like a brilliant flash of lightning illuminating the entire landscape. It revealed in stark relief the naked truth behind the claims of a "Great Society".

WHEN the smoke of this civil revolt had cleared away, there were left only the hideous result of brutality with which the mayor and the chief of police answered the angry demands and pleas of the ghetto for jobs, decent housing and adequate education.

The dead, the maimed and the arrested bear testimony to the Savage actions of 15,000 National Guardsmen and 1,000 city police. Against these armed-to-the-teeth marauders were ranged tens of thousands of protesting Negroes who defended themselves with bare hands and whatever else could be found in the streets.

Los Angeles was followed by other cities, on small scale and for briefer time. All these eruptions proved that the civil rights grievances in the US are truly deep-rooted and part of the world-wide awakening of imperialism's victims everywhere; and not, as the white supremacist Ku Klux Klan and racist reactionaries have claimed merely the "fomentation" of a "few civil rights leaders".

The smoke of the civil revolt has passed away for the time being but the fire has not died down. The cinders might yet spark off further revolt. It is in this context the Battle of Watts has to be understood.

The Battle of Watts exposed the utter inadequacy of the much-vaunted Johnson War on Poverty, a highly-publicised phase of the "Great Society" programme. While billions have been poured into the slaughter of Vietnamese

of most local administrations for the problems of the ghetto. Reactions of prominent individuals to the events in Watts revealed to the Negro people and the working-class who are their friends and who are their enemies. One such from whom the fig-leaf of virtue has been partially stripped is the highly advertised Reverend Billy Graham who has toured the ghetto selling the gospel like Coca-Cola soft drinks.

Graham called the Watts explosion a "dress rehearsal for revolution", placed responsibility not upon the outrageous ghetto conditions but upon "Negro civil rights radicals and Communists", and blessed the guns of the police for crushing it lest it spread to other cities and "require the nation's armed might to quell it."

Awareness is dawning that more meaningful basic solutions are needed than have been provided by Johnson's "Great Society" programme. Demands are

insistently arising for greater and more immediate action. How urgent such action is can be seen from the recently-revealed sharp increase in the mortality rate of Negro infants in the Chicago ghetto. In the last decade, the rate jumped from 37.8 per thousand to 42.8, an increase that is twice as high as the increase for white babies.

This tragic development in the wealthiest capitalist country is typical of all the Negro ghettos, and helps explain the conditions giving rise to the upheavals like Watts.

Gus Hall, Henry Winston and Claude Lightfoot, national Communist spokesmen, issued a statement on behalf of American Communists in which they said: "...These explosions are a consequence of the inhuman poverty and mass unemploy-

ment to which the Negro residents of these unspeakable ghettos are subjected, for the sake of extra billions in profits extorted by the big corporations out of the Jim Crow oppression of the Negro. They are a consequence of the fact that despite all the talk of a war on poverty, literally nothing has been done to relieve these conditions...

"In the Watts area, more than 30 per cent are unemployed according to even the official figures. In this and other ghetto areas... some 60-70 per cent of Negro youth remain jobless. This is what must be remedied if these outbreaks against hunger, degradation and demoralisation are to be ended.

Repression Must End

"The policy of brutal repression must be ended at once. What is needed instead is a massive emergency program of jobs and assistance, far exceeding the grossly inadequate sums now allotted. At this moment \$300,000 a day is being spent to maintain the murderous National Guard units in the Watts area. As a beginning, the Guards should be removed and this sum spent instead for the relief of its victims. Further, the Watts community must be declared a disaster area and immediate re-

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London Letter

MAD WORLD OF CAPITALIST PROFITEERS

From KAY BEAUCHAMP

LONDON: One sometimes forgets what an utterly mad world is created by the profit urge of the capitalist class. We in Britain are now in the midst of an Alice in Wonderland type of situation due to the efforts of the Labour government to prove that they can run capitalism better than the Tories.

ON this one hand, George Brown is trying to force through his incomes policy, restraint of wage increases to

3 1/2 per cent and at the same time increase exports and push production up by 25 per cent by 1970.

On the other hand, Frank Soskice is limiting the number of Commonwealth immigrants to a trickle although for George Brown's policy to succeed 300,000 more workers are needed by 1970.

On the third hand (why should there not be a third hand in such a mad world) the Callaghan cuts and standstill on capital expenditure are calculated to slow down production to the point of stagnation of the economy. Hoovers and Fords have already put large numbers of workers on short time and Vauxhalls and cut out overtime.

Crisis Of Economy

The background to all this is the critical position of British imperialism and the U.S. drive for economic domination and the intense competition from the German and French monopolists.

In order to maintain a war economy and the East of Suez

policy, the vast expenditure on troops in Malaysia and Aden and on commitments to NATO and SEATO, the government is trying to carry through a new attack on the trade unions, to prevent any extension of the social services and to reduce the standard of living of the people.

Of course it is true that the nationalised industries are handicapped by the colossal sums they are forced to pay in compensation to former shareholders, by the fact that many of those in responsible positions want to prove that nationalisation is a failure and because they often have

Control Of Wages

A new threat of compulsory control of wages is developing. In view of the increases in prices, rents, profits and dividends, George Brown has found it impossible to persuade the British workers voluntarily to refrain from struggling for higher wages.

He and another minister, Ray Gunter, are throwing out warnings that if the workers do not voluntarily agree to wage restraint there will have to be compulsion.

Now, a permanent member of the Prices and Incomes Board, Lord Peddle speaking to miners in Rotherham declared that if the trade unions persisted in making claims which were not consistent with the incomes policy then "some sort of imposed discipline, whether through rising levels of unemployment or through actual physical controls, will be necessary." This is a most serious threat to the trade unions.

A myth is constantly being spread in Britain that the nationalised industries are failures and are losing money and cannot afford wage increases.

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TRIBUTE TO GALLACHER

THE funeral of the beloved Communist leader Willie Gallacher was an unprecedented tribute to a great champion of the British working class. In the small Scottish town of Paisley, 46,000 men and women left their ordinary Saturday occupations to pay silent homage to their "greatest citizen" as the funeral cortege went by.

In the procession of 6,000 people who marched the two miles to the crematorium were his comrades, relatives, fellow trade unionists, Communist leaders from many lands as well as Members of Parliament, town councillors and other prominent people.

Tributes to him came not only from leaders and rank and file of the British Communist Party, from communist parties of many lands but from many who had often differed from him on political questions.

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U.S. Prepares For Long Battle In Vietnam

The United States government is obviously preparing for a long war in Vietnam. Behind the talk of "peace" in Vietnam, it is making all attempts to bolster its military strength in South Vietnam.

ACCORDING to reports appearing in Japanese papers, it seems that the US has already begun the construction of a huge military supply base at Cam-Ranh Bay, about 300 km off Saigon in the north east.

In this year alone seven million dollars have been appropriated for construction of this base which stores large quantities of arms and ammunitions. Four thousand men are reported to be working round the clock.

Simultaneously, the US is trying to acquire military assistance from other countries in its savage depredation in Vietnam. Australia and South

Korea have already sent in their troops. Meanwhile, the Japanese government has ordered its troops to take to "exercises" in the mountainous region of the country where the conditions obtained are similar to Vietnam.

There is strong suspicion that the Sato government is preparing the troops to take part in the Vietnamese war. Massive protest actions have already taken place in Tokyo and other Japanese cities against this possible move.

The Japanese industrialists on their part want involvement of Japanese troops in the Vietnamese war. At least 90 per cent of the napalm bombs dropped by US planes over Vietnam have been supplied by two Japanese corporations. Other industries are also reaping profits from the delivery of trucks and other equipments.

The revanchist West German government is also not lagging behind. There are very strong rumours of West German pilots taking part in the Vietnamese war.

It has been reported that West German military pilots took part in the Vietnamese war between February to April 1965 and fresh batches of pilots were sent there during early June.

This charge cannot be brushed aside because Josef Weber, chairman of the

across the skies that all the big cities of the country are in the throes of a deep-going crisis, a crisis of rapid deterioration in employment, housing, education, health-care, transportation and public services in general.

This increasingly acute Crisis-of-the-Cities is aggravated by the ever-growing growth of the local tax burdens as well as the relative decrease in funds available to the municipalities out of federal and state revenues.

The effort to save the great urban centres from the manifold oppression of big monopoly will take more, far more than the piddling surface-scratching of the Johnson administration. It will take a policy of peace and a redirection of federal spending to primarily peaceful purposes; and it will take a veritable reformation of the direction of the economy itself. Only a grand alliance of labour, the Negro People and the other victims of monopoly can bring this about.

The Watts uprising signalled something more than revolt in the ghettos of America—they flashed a warning

obtain food and other necessities of life...

"...Above all, end can be put to the violence by abolishing the ghettos, by doing away with the oppression and segregation of human beings that so disgrace our country today."

Federal, state and local "commissions of inquiry" have been established to probe the causes and find the cures for the ghetto uprising in Watts. If these probes are really desirous of getting at the truth they would best pay heed to the words of a man in Watts who said in a television interview:

"We are never going back to letting anybody run over us anymore. We ain't going to just stand and look while they beat us, we ain't going hungry and ragged when they got more'n they can eat and wear either. Those fires lit something inside my soul too."

The Watts uprising signalled something more than revolt in the ghettos of America—they flashed a warning

Germany's Union Party in a letter to Von Hassel, Bonn's defence minister, has demanded a clear answer on this point, Hassel has not yet chosen to answer this query which hardens the doubt.

The deployment of troops of other countries, besides the enlargement of the size of combat personnel from the US itself, and the arms build-up, etc., by the US prove undoubtedly that it has no intention of settling the Vietnam issue and bring about peace in this area in the near future.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

ON August 31 Garcia Godoy has been appointed President of the provisional government of the Dominican Republic.

The serious national crisis which broke out there on April 24 and was later intensified and whipped up by the American occupation troops, has been theoretically brought to an end.

Whether this change-over will bring about a state of peace is yet to be seen to be believed.

The junta general Imbert and his lieutenants have resigned but they have not given up their designs. They still claim that they would maintain their position until the provisional president "fully" takes over. What can be the interpretation of this "fully" taking-over is anybody's guess.

The head of the constitutionalists Casamano has accepted the OAS solution with reservations. He has objected to the way the withdrawal of the occupation troops is to be effected.

The US maintains that the withdrawal as and when necessary would be carried out by the OAS, which is the handmaid of US State Department.

Thus the danger of Yankee control in the Dominican Republic persists and complete peace and self-determination of the people in this troubled island are yet way off.

MALAYSIA: WHAT NEXT ?

AFTER the secession of Singapore from Malaysia, British imperialists' worry has increased to a great extent.

Although Singapore has agreed to allow the British Base to continue there, there are unmistakable signs that the people of Singapore do not favour such a decision.

The two other parts of Malaysia (excluding Tunjku's Malaya) — Sarawak and Sabah—are already smouldering. OBSERVER reports that the road from Kuching towards the border "is unsafe".

On August 25 Wayne Morse charged on the Senate floor



The Sarawak United People's Party has already become active pressing for the demand of greater freedom and control of Sarawak by the people. The demand for a secession from Malaysia has also been voiced quite powerfully.

Morse disclosed that handbooks have already been prepared for counter-revolutionary warfare in Ethiopia, Japan, Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, Guinea, Brazil, Cyprus, Liberia, Egypt, Indonesia, Korea, Panama, Cuba, Germany and Venezuela.

Morse actually exhibited two such "Special Warfare Area Handbooks"—one relating to Ethiopia and the other to Japan.

Recently, the Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew announced at a press conference that American CIA agents had offered him three million dollars so that he would take steps to prevent the disclosure of a CIA agent who was arrested while attempting to buy secret information.

As is usual with the State Department, immediately after Yew's disclosure, it vehemently denied that there was at any time any such offer.

But when further proof was adduced the State Department had to eat its words and Dean Rusk rushed in with a statement apologising for the CIA offer.

This is just one example of the CIA activities but it discloses the wide ramifications of the American intelligence service and the danger it poses to the newly-liberated developing countries.

(September 6)

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE

RACIALISM UNABATED

BEFORE the echoes of Los Angeles, Chicago and other cities faded, fresh eruptions of racial violence have taken place in the land of dollar.

Two persons have been injured in a racial shooting in Plymouth on September 1. Natchez in Mississippi was almost on the point of a race riot.

Civil rights workers have been arrested in Chicago when they demonstrated against segregation in schools.

In the southern states the notorious Ku Klux Klan continues to terrorise the Negro population through acts of violence, arson and loot.

In Alabama, the white racists picketed a school demanding ban on the entry of Negro students.

All this indicates that the civil rights granted to the Negroes are still on paper and it will be a protracted struggle to secure their implementation.

The profit per worker employed varied from 217.10 per week in electricity, and 28 per week in British European Airways to 22.3 in coal mining. If all the eleven industries, profitable and unprofitable were taken together, the capital employed is 27,530 million and a profit of 5 per cent is made on the capital employed.

The number of employees is nearly two million and the average profit per employee was 237.6 per week. These figures prove that even under present conditions nationalisation is by no means a failure and that given favourable conditions and properly run they would be an outstanding success.

US ESPIONAGE WORLD OVER

THE US propaganda and espionage machineries have been strengthened manifold in the countries of Asia and Africa.

During the last couple of years US espionage has been particularly intensified. In Africa alone the number of USIA centres has risen to 66.

Attempts are on to subvert Africa's political leaders and intellectuals etc.

On August 25 Wayne Morse charged on the Senate floor

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. They are of living interest in the present day situation.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PHRASE, 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, and of building socialism in one country in the condition of capitalist encirclement. These speeches and writings are of immense contemporary interest.

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INTO ACTION—FOR NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

CPI's Call To The People

The Communist Party of India has called on the Indian people to observe the period from September 10 to 21 (earlier fixed for the launching of a nationwide food movement) as a period of action "in the defence of the Motherland, for communal harmony, national unity and people's interests."

In two statements issued by the Central Secretariat of the Party on September 3 and 6, the point of the view of the Party on the latest developments has been expressed.

The Communist Party has called on the Indian people "to throw their might into the efforts to defend the Motherland against aggression". The September 6 statement says:

PEOPLE BACK ARMED FORCES

"The Indian armed forces have the backing of the entire people in their heroic battle against the invaders. Every day new chapters of glory are being added to Indian history as the officers and men of our army and air force acquit themselves with honour in performing their sacred duty of driving out the aggressors."

Nailing down the part played by the imperialists, the Communist Party says:

"The Anglo-US imperialists want continued hostilities between India and Pakistan for furthering their evil designs, not only against the peoples of these two neighbouring countries, but against all freedom-loving Afro-Asian peoples."

"The Pakistani aggression has, therefore, to be viewed in this larger context of the Anglo-American strategy for the carrying out of which, on this sub-continent, the Ayub regime is backed militarily and in every other way."

The Communist Party has made special mention of the democratic forces in Pakistan. It says:

"The Communist Party wishes to make it clear that the fight of the Indian people is directed only against the aggressive policies of the Ayub dictatorship and not against the peaceloving,

democratic people of Pakistan.

"The Communist Party is happy to note that the secular and democratic forces in Pakistan are steadily asserting themselves, despite all terrorism of the Ayub regime. The Communist Party warmly greets the heroic Pakhtoon people and their rising struggle for freedom.

SUPPORT TO STRUGGLE

"At this critical hour, the Communist Party of India extends its warmest solidarity with the democratic forces of Pakistan struggling against the tyrannical Ayub regime."



* ON PAGE 10

Indian Army personnel reconnoitering near Bedori Post

USSR OFFERS GOOD OFFICES

From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW: The Soviet, Indian and world press widely published on Wednesday the official TASS statement on the India-Pakistan conflict issued here the previous night.

Indian Ambassador Kaul had one hour meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on Tuesday.

A meeting of Indian students and other Indian citizens was held at the Indian Embassy in Moscow where the Ambassador informed the Indians of the latest situation.

Answering a question of a student about the Soviet attitude, Kaul said that the Soviet attitude was constructive and helpful and unlike some other powers the Soviet Union has no axe to grind in this conflict. The proposals it was making were being made in good faith and sincerity and the Soviet Union was a friend.

Serious and growing Soviet anxiety has been expressed here at the turn of events over Kashmir. It is understood that the Soviet Union has again told India that on Kashmir the Soviet position is unchanged.

In the TASS statement also it is said that the Pakistani forces crossed several dozen kilometres "into the depth of Indian territory". The earlier PRAVDA editorial had also called Jammu and Kashmir "the Indian state".

RIGHT TO DEFEND

It is also recognised here that if foreign armed infiltrators or armed forces cross into Indian territory, India like any other state had a right to defend its territorial integrity. And India's position in this respect is understood here and appreciated.

But the escalation of conflict with great rapidity has caused grave concern here and this has been conveyed to Indian representatives in all seriousness and sincerity.

As a friend the Soviet Union has not given up hope that the two sides will agree to a ceasefire and that is why the Government of the USSR has stated that "both sides could rely on the good offices of the Soviet Union if they deem it useful".

MILITANT MOOD

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

THE salvos of the guns fired by the advancing Indian troops across the far-flung frontiers of India and Pakistan have been reflected in Parliament in a resounding manner this week.

The opening of the West Punjab fronts, and subsequently of the Rajasthan-Sind sector, the reversal of the Pakistani thrusts into the Chhamb-Jaurian sector in the Jammu area, the grim air battles which have been fought between the air forces of India and Pakistan over the past few days—all these events have been unfolded before Parliament in successive days by Defence Minister Chavan, who has kept both Houses fully informed about the course of events.

The mood of Parliament amidst the fateful events on the Indo-Pakistan borders has been a militant one. Over many a year the two Houses have not seen anything which has drawn a deafening ovation as the news of Indian military initiative on the Lahore sector. It was as if a storm had burst out.

It was the consequence of the heaping of indignities and provocations from Pakistan over this country which had for some time become a recurring phenomenon, and of which the armed raiders' incursion last month followed by the march of Pakistani armoured columns into the Jammu region, was the climax.

The new feature that one noticed was that all sections of Parliament tacitly treated the developments on the Indo-Pakistan front as being

something more than a party issue. The consequent result was a new restraint from members.

There were no such tactless questionings or attempts to force the government to enter a debate on matters which may be of strategic value. What should be divulged and discussed was a choice for the government to make.

And yet Lok Sabha continued overall functions refusing even to curtail a single hour of its daily sessions despite the rigours enforced by Pak air-raids.

In fact, a glance at the days gone by brings out strongly the resilience shown by the two Houses in continuing their critical examination of official actions over a wide field in the midst of an unparalleled emergency.

PUNJABI SUBA, BONUS BILL

Thus, during the outgoing week Parliament dealt with such controversial issues as the proposed fast by Sant Fateh Singh over the Punjabi Suba issue and the Bonus Bill.

Home Minister Nanda who had been repeatedly postponing his statement on the proposed fast by Sant Fateh Singh eventually did come out with a declaration this Monday.

The fact that the two Houses had to tackle the Punjabi Suba issue side by side with the grim emergency of an undeclared war with neighbouring Pakistan was both disconcerting and hope-giving.

It was however a middle

course which Nanda sought to steer—no final stand on the basic question of Punjabi Suba was taken by him, but at the same time he offered to "examine afresh" with an open mind the Suba demand.

There was scope for fresh talks and, as he put it, "a cooperative solution based on goodwill and a reasoned approach".

The most important legislative business which Parliament tackled was the Bonus Bill which was debated in the Lok Sabha.

There was a sharp distinction between the positions taken by the Communist members and the Swatantra leaders Masani and Dandekar who wanted the bill to be oriented even more in favour of the employers than it actually was.

Communist members: Indrajit Gupta, Homi Daji, Ranen Sen, Prabhat Kar and S. M. Banerji were in the forefront of the assault on the measure.

Most picturesque was the description of Homi Daji of this measure. We asked for a horse to ride but instead a mule has been mounted on our shoulders for carrying along—that was how he described the official bill.

A large number of amendments were pressed by the Communist Members, including those which sought to give retrospective effect of the bill from 1962 and to bring within its purview all public sector enterprises as well as contract labour.

They also sought to knock out development rebate prior charges in calculating profits and to reduce the rate of return to companies on their paid-up capital for purposes of calculating bonus for employees.