

Chinese Leaders' Splittism

Reaches New Climax

WILL EMS SPEAK UP

AGAINST ANTI-SOVIET SLANDERS?

NEW AGE sincerely seeks clarifications from the General Secretary of the Marxist Communist Party regarding certain matters which are of vital concern to the international Communist movement at this time. The silence of Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad on these vital issues does him no credit and can only weaken the common struggle for communist unity.

On November 11, the Chinese Communist Party leaders published a long authoritative article titled "Refutation of the New Soviet Leaders' Plea for United Action". Detailed reports of this article have appeared in the Indian press. The entire world Communist movement is seriously concerned at this article, which as we said editorially last week, is "an ominous development" and "a new record in the disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders".

AN article of the greatest importance titled "International Duty of Communists of All Countries" was published in the Soviet Communist Party's organ PRAVDA on November 28. This was a principled answer to the anti-Soviet slanders poured out in the Peking article. Here are extracts from this article:

"The policy of subverting unity of action, the line of intensifying attacks on the Marxist-Leninist parties is harmful to the entire international Communist and liberation movement. It also had an adverse effect on the activities of the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries which are fighting in difficult conditions against the class enemy

"To undermine the unity of Socialist countries in face of the growing activity of the imperialist forces means in effect to weaken deliberately the revolutionary front, to encourage deliberately the enemies of peace, democracy and socialism."

These are indeed hard words, and one can be sure that they are not used in anger or in haste. A time has come when a grave situation is faced by the international Communist movement, and it is necessary to speak out clearly and without mincing matters.

Obviously referring to the Chinese declaration that it is necessary to make ideological and organisational demarcation between the genuine "Marxist-Leninists" and the "revisionists", PRAVDA says:

Worst Anti-Communism

"A line of political and organisational division, a line of splitting the Communist movement is now actually counterposed to the clearcut position of Marxist-Leninist parties which come out for unity of action. The declaration of this course is accompanied by fierce attacks on the Soviet Union in the spirit of the worst examples of anti-Communist propaganda."

Regarding the struggle in Vietnam, PRAVDA makes no bones either. It says:

"Those who refuse to cooperate and turn down proposals for joint actions

against the aggressors are hampering the struggle of the Vietnamese people and help the aggressors."

In this connection, an important commentary has appeared in Neues Deutschland, organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic on November 20. These are relevant quotations, which make grim reading:

"However, it is clear the American imperialists are feeling encouraged in their hopeless undertaking of intensifying the aggression against the Vietnamese people. Basing themselves on Chinese documents, the Western Press is asserting that the People's Republic of China obstructed or even banned the transit of the Soviet assistance being sent to the DRV. The Western despatches state that the PRC has declared never to lend a helping hand to increase the influence of the Soviet Union in South East Asia. . . .

"Simultaneously, the Chinese newspapers are slanderously accusing the Soviet Union of entering into a pact with the USA.

"These vicious attacks on the leadership of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist States are continuing. From these facts, the Western commentators are drawing the conclusion that the Chinese side is clearly pursuing the aim of confronting the Soviet Union with a military conflict with the USA in such a way that the Chinese side would itself keep out of the same and thus play the role of the third party who can afford to laugh.

"It is not easy to dismiss the fact that this type of Western calculations have always been fed by various Chinese declarations. The ideological differences are first drawn out in a public controversy and then made the excuse for refusing the necessary unity of action against imperialism. All this amounts to placing the differences above the struggle against imperialism."

Last week, NEW AGE wrote editorially of the "High Cost of Splittism". The world Communist press is forced to take urgent note of the latest

statements of the Chinese leadership.

How dangerous the line of splittism has become has been underlined in a recent statement of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party, widely published in the Soviet press. This statement on the recent attack on the democratic movement, condemns the reactionary forces sharply, and explains how the enemies of democracy and freedom utilised the ad-

By

THE EDITOR

venturist activities of certain splitters. The APN report of the Sudanese Communist Party statement reads as follows:

"The statement points out that the enemies of democracy and freedom used for fanning the anti-Communist campaign the statement of one man, who is not at all a member of the SCP but a member of the "Revolutionary Leadership of the Communist Party," a group of corrupt people selling the interests of the nation and pursuing the aim of waging an unprincipled struggle against Communists all over the world.

"These people are agents of the Communist Party of China, the statement stresses. We were right when in the middle of 1964 we expelled this group from the SCP. We believe that any party which has sold its independence and become an agent of other forces does not deserve any respect. "The revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party" is a group which directs all its efforts to undermine the SCP.

"We condemn this undermining organisation; we condemn a rude interference in the affairs of our country on the part of the Communist Party of China." We have mentioned this to indicate how serious a blow to the democratic movement inside a country like Sudan have been the results of splittism.

The entire world Communist movement is deeply worried at the turn which the differences in the international Communist move-

new age

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XIII No. 49 New Delhi December 5, 1965 25 paise

ment are now taking. All those who sincerely desire unity must direct their attention towards putting a stop to the line of splittism and anti-Soviet slanders.

Unfortunately, there is complete silence on this vital issue on the part of Comrade Namboodiripad. He is by no means tongue-tied on other questions. His speeches are reported in the press every day, and yet he has not said a word on this subject.

'People's Democracy' Article

What is worse is that his party's central organ PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY (November 28) has not only not condemned the Chinese slanders against the Soviet Union, but has taken special pains to enter the fray with an article on the nuclear menace, which despite a pretence of camouflage, is an outright attack on the Soviet Union's proposal for a treaty against nuclear proliferation. PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY titles its article "Not Non-Proliferation Agreements But Total Ban is the Answer". It is not necessary to quote the article, but it is a clear, though veiled, attack on the Soviet position.

If this is the Marxist Communist Party's contribution to the debate, it is unfortunate, to say the least.

Comrade EMS has again and again expressed himself

against the ideological positions of the Chinese leaders, and stated that he himself is a supporter of the ideological positions of the majority of the Communist Parties. If this is so, why is he silent at this moment?

Does EMS think the Chinese are right when they describe the leaders of the CPSU as "political representatives of the privileged stratum of the Soviet bourgeoisie"?

Does he believe with the Chinese leaders that the leaders of the CPSU have interests which have an "antagonistic contradiction" with those of the Soviet people?

Has EMS anything to say about the high cost for the Vietnamese people of the Chinese leaders' splittism? Does he agree with PRAVDA? Does he agree with the comment in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND?

The argument that the Marxist Communist Party has a neutral position on the ideological differences cannot hold any longer. The situation is far too grave for such luxuries to be indulged in any longer.

In the interests of Communist unity, of the entire cause of the national liberation struggles, of the battles for democracy and socialism, it is necessary to speak out, clearly and unmistakably.

Will Comrade EMS do so? And when?

(November 30)

TASHKENT IT IS

From all indications at the moment of going to press, the Tashkent talks are to take place at the beginning of January. The Government of India has decided to accept the suggestion made by Prime Minister Kosygin regarding the dates, and has agreed to the first week of the new year.

THIS decision has been taken in the teeth of the opposition of the American lobby, which insisted on its slogan of "Washington First".

The powerful campaign against American blackmail, which received a new impetus through the nationwide meetings held in connection with the National Protest Day of November 27, has made itself felt, and has scored a preliminary victory.

It would however be dangerous to be complacent. The forces which want to sabotage the Tashkent meeting even now, continue to be active. The pressure from Washington is being stepped up. The campaign against American blackmail must continue with ever greater vigour in the coming days.

Will Tashkent be a success? The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party, in a statement, has put the issue squarely:

"If the Tashkent meeting can help to lift the question of Indo-Pakistan relations out of the reach of imperialist interference, it can be a positive step towards a solution. . . .

"The Indian people believe that the atmosphere in Tashkent is the best possible for talks for a peaceful settlement.

"While not underestimating the grave difficulties which obstruct a settlement—above all, those arising from Pakistan's participation in military pacts and constant imperialist interference and blackmail—the Communist Party hopes that the Tashkent meeting can lead to a lessening of tension and first steps towards a peaceful solution."

(December 1)

TIBET & FOREIGN POLICY

editorial

THE RIGHT REACTIONARY forces in the country have seized on the question of Tibet as a

lever, which they seek to use to give a turn to Indian foreign policy in a pro-imperialist direction. This is the reason for the clamour they are raising, demanding "recognition" of an "independent" Tibet government, led by the Dalai Lama. These reactionary forces, mouthpieces of imperialism and the Indian monopolists, are as little concerned about the rights and well-being of the Tibetan masses, for whom they are shedding an unending stream of crocodile tears, as they are for the rights and well-being of the Indian masses.

In this context, the latest statements by the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on the floor of Parliament, are welcome. The Government they have solemnly declared, will continue to recognise Tibet as a part of the Chinese People's Republic, and will not support any so-called "independent" Tibetan government. This is a valuable reaffirmation of the basic Indian position on Tibet.

It must, however, be noted sharply that prior to these statements, there were a number of dubious speeches and actions by government spokesmen regarding Tibet, all of which damaged India's reputation for adherence to principle.

Worst of all, the Government of India lined up wholeheartedly with the imperialists in the United Nations to support the attempt to raise the question of Tibet in the General Assembly and elsewhere, as a matter of violation of "human rights". All the usual anti-Communist hysteria was used for this purpose by the imperialists.

It has been rightly pointed out that for India to take part in this sort of interference in the internal affairs of China, is to deprive it of the perfectly valid argument that Kashmir is an integral part of India and, therefore, we cannot allow any outside interference in regard to matters which take place inside Kashmir.

But this is not the only or the principal reason why it is utterly wrong and against Indian interests themselves, for the Government of India to join hands with the imperialists in their Tibet "crusade", directly or indirectly.

There is, of course, first and foremost, the question of principle. India has clearly recognised the suzerainty of China over Tibet. It would be completely unprincipled to attempt to deny this suzerainty, merely because the Chinese leadership has acted in a hostile manner against India and supported the Pakistani aggression. Even after the Chinese aggression of 1962, Prime Minister Nehru refused to succumb to the pressures of right reaction, which demanded a reversal of our policy regarding Tibet.

This principled stand taken by the late Prime Minister and equally by the democratic movement as a whole, has paid valuable dividends to India, in the form of the respect and regard of anti-imperialists the world over.

It is argued by some, that since the Chinese leaders are interfering in our internal affairs by championing the Ayub dictatorship's frenzied demands for Kashmir, India should answer in the same coin, by jumping on reaction's Tibet bandwagon. This is disastrous counsel—disastrous for India's prestige and influence—and must be rejected out of hand.

It is necessary above all to understand clearly that inside the new Tibet, the central fact is that the old slavery and serfdom imposed on the mass of the Tibetan people by the Lama regime has been ended.

The Government of India must not allow itself to be pressurised by imperialism and reaction into taking an unprincipled and false position regarding Tibet, despite the dangerously provocative and aggressive actions of the Chinese leadership. Tibet is the thin end of the wedge with which reaction seeks to subvert Indian foreign policy today.

(November 30)

Prospects for Tashkent Talks

NEW Delhi is full of talk about the Prime Minister's projected visit to Washington and the proposed Shastri-Ayub summit at Tashkent on the basis of the Soviet offer of good offices.

Little doubt is now left of the Prime Minister having made up his mind to undertake both programmes. But speculation is still rife about their timing.

By now Prime Minister Shastri's peculiar way of handling such situations, saying different things at different places and postponing decisions till the last while the guessing game goes on, has become quite familiar.

It has caused not a little confusion in the public mind and even among his colleagues, but he seems to be persisting in it. However, Premier Kosygin by taking the initiative to suggest December-end or January-beginning as the time for the Tashkent summit clinched the matters.

A strong lobby has been working within the government, specially in the Ministry of External Affairs, in favour of Washington coming before Tashkent. Counselor Banerjee of our Embassy in Washington, had specially come to New Delhi to press for Shastri's visit to USA to precede the Tashkent summit.

All these have been scotched by the initiative taken by Premier Kosygin. Shastri is now ready to go to Tashkent in the first week of January, much ahead of his programme to go to Washington.

A big case had been built by some in the government that the Tashkent meeting would require largescale prior preparations if it was to be fruitful.

This seemed to suggest that preparations had been completed or were in an advanced stage for the Washington visit. Evidently, S. K. Patil did a good job of his mission as the

Prime Minister's special envoy to the USA.

It was also argued that Tashkent in prospect will be a good shield against pressures that Prime Minister will have to encounter in Washington on the issue of Kashmir settlement with Pakistan.

Both USA singly and as a big power functioning through the Security Council can be asked to hold back till the results of direct talks between Indian Prime Minister and Pakistan President at Tashkent can be known.

Meanwhile, India's case for resumption of economic aid and freeze on arms aid to Pakistan can be pressed with President Johnson.

Incidentally, the long controversy in this country about S. K. Patil's visit to USA and Britain and his discussions both countries has now quietened.

But it might be of interest that S. K. Patil, at the height of the controversy, had sent a

New Delhi Letter

report from abroad to the Prime Minister on his doings. This was disclosed in a written reply by the Prime Minister on Monday in the Lok Sabha, which has escaped much notice.

In his final short written report, in addition to his oral report which he made on his return, he has stated that his main pleading with "these friendly countries" was to stop arms supply to Pakistan "until durable peace could be guaranteed" between India and Pakistan.

Economic aid and long term supplies under PL 480 to India should be resumed Patil has demanded. He has also clearly stated that he had gone on

his mission "as desired" by the Prime Minister.

In his oral report, Patil was more blunt. He suggested that the Prime Minister should be ready, when he went to Washington to make substantial concessions for a Kashmir settlement and give an explanation for getting Soviet help in defence equipment if he was to win the good graces of Johnson.

From an apostle of PL 480 imports, the Food and Agriculture Minister is fast making progress towards becoming a great advocate for long-term foreign aid for the entire programme of agricultural development.

In the latest reoriented production plan, he has come forward with the demand for foreign exchange equivalent to Rs. 1,114 crores. This is about half the total foreign exchange component of the Fourth Plan as a whole, as drawn up by the Planning Commission before the conflict with Pakistan and when expectations about foreign aid were still very high.

He has also pleaded planning of assistance for needed inputs for agriculture as the mainstay of his production plan. This would be in the form of imports for inputs as well as plants and factories to produce them.

But the most significant part of his "new thinking", in the current talk on self-reliance is to explore the "possibility of foreign collaboration with Indian partners" in the production of improved seeds and setting up of large farms on which he relies a great deal for the success of his production programme.

The proposals about setting up big mechanised farms by Indian joint stock companies was heard sometimes ago. The latest improvement on it is to arrange foreign collaboration in the venture.

—B. M.



A large number of people, including CPI leaders paid last respects to Comrade Karyanand Sharma as his body was kept in Delhi for a few hours en route Lakhisarai.

HINDU COMMUNALISM ON OFFENSIVE IN BANARAS

A wave of communal sentiment has gripped the city of Banaras following the decision of the Rajya Sabha to change the name of the Banaras Hindu University into Madan Mohan Malaviya Kashi Vishwavidyalaya. The most unfortunate aspect of the development is that students are acting as the spearhead of the agitation against any change in the name. Gradually, the agitation is being spread out all over Uttar Pradesh.

In the Rajya Sabha, the amendment to the Bill seeking to rename the BHU after its founder, the late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, found support from all political parties except the Jan Sangh. Seeing the offensive being taken by the communal forces in the country, some individuals who supported the move to change the name seem to have had second thoughts too.

Ever since the Rajya Sabha passed the Bill, the BHU students are on continuous strike. They have been bringing out processions, burning copies of the Bill, holding meetings, wearing black badges and resorting to coercion to prevent all traffic in the city and stop people from entering the university premises. They have even occupied the Proctor's office.

Under the initiative of the communal parties and organisations, Jan Sangh in particular, three hartals have already been observed in Banaras city.

The government has shamefully retreated in the face of this communal offensive and adjourned the debate on the Bill indefinitely. But the student strike is continuing and the Jan Sangh is calling more hartals. They are not satisfied with adjournment of discussion on the Bill; they want the complete withdrawal of it so that the "Hindu" appellation to the Banaras University is retained.

Ultimatum To Government

The communal forces have given an ultimatum to the government to withdraw the Bill by November 30 or face more violent forms of agitation.

There is only one demand in this agitation and that is that the word "Hindu" should not be removed from the name of the university. Peculiar arguments are given in defence of this demand. During my visit to Banaras I heard a gentleman, who is supposed to be the ideologue behind the agitation, arguing in a meeting that the word "Hindu" should be viewed in a broader sense; it signified the civilization of the entire people of India and that whoever lived in India was a Hindu.

At this stage, an interesting intervention took place in the meeting, which showed how untenable this argument was. A Muslim student got up and said that he could not accept himself as a Hindu though he fully supported the movement against the bill. How Muslim students get involved in this Hindu communal agitation, I shall deal later.

This theme of argument is not confined to the minor fries like the particular gentleman who spoke at the meeting. Even people like Sampurnanand are pleading against any change in the name of the university on the same lines.

Whatever may be the explanation, the communal nature of the whole agitation cannot be covered at all, despite the fact that almost all the speakers in all the meetings shout at the top of their voice that their movement is secular. The hollowness of the claim is exposed when in the same speeches they call Union Education Minister M. C. Chagla a Pakistani agent by heart and Indian only in words.

The leaders of the agitation always assert that Chagla wants to erase the name "Hindu" from the land of the Hindus. He would never remove the word "Muslim" from the name of the Allgarh University; he is trying to destroy the BHU by subterfuge, they add.

Some speakers even go to the extent of demanding that there must be a university exclusively for the Hindus. This demand was made unambiguously at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Jan Sangh on November 17.

The entire ire of the communal forces seems to be directed against Chagla. At one meeting a girl who was vociferously supporting the agitation said that the attack should not be against Chagla alone because the government and almost all the political parties were behind the move to change the name. She was immediately hooted down as an agent of Chagla.

The usual slogans in the demonstrations are "Har Har Mahadev", "If you are a Hindu, join this movement"; "Down with Chagla, withdraw the BHU Bill". Twist and rock-and-roll are not infrequent sights at these demonstrations supposedly held to uphold the traditions of Hinduism.

For the first week of this agitation, the lone demand and slogan was for

DUBIOUS ROLE PLAYED BY GOVERNMENT, UNIVERSITY AUTHORITIES

retaining the word "Hindu" in the name of the university. But when student delegates from the other colleges and universities in Uttar Pradesh arrived in Banaras, they advised the action committee to include two more demands: (1) restoration of the students union which was dissolved in 1958 and (2) scrapping of the arbitrary right given to the Vice-Chancellor to withdraw degrees from students whenever he deemed it necessary.

These two are long-standing and genuine demands of the students. The democratic and progressive student movement and the people will support these two demands. But unfortunately, the organisers and forces behind the present agitation in Banaras are not serious about them.

Otherwise, the movement for the restoration of the students union ought to have started much earlier. In meetings now, the latter two demands are generally voiced by the student speakers who have come from outside while the local leaders of the movement, who are undoubtedly influenced by the Jan Sangh, talk only of the problems of retaining the

by
HIREN DAS GUPTA
General Secretary, All India Students Federation

word "Hindu" in the name of the university.

Another dangerous feature of the movement is that in almost all the meetings, speakers accuse Chagla of disrupting national unity by the present move to delete the word "Hindu" from the name of the university. He is being accused of thereby helping Pakistan in its aggressive designs against India. This indeed is a vicious piece of slanderous propaganda.

Very often exhortations are made that since in Parliament no party except the Jan Sangh had supported the agitation, in the coming elections those who stood for a change in the name should be defeated and those who opposed it helped. And who would benefit from this? The Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and such other avowed-

ly communal parties, who are the main props of the agitation.

A visit to Banaras would convince anyone that authorities, both of the university and of the government, are playing an extremely dubious role in this agitation. Nay, it looks like that it was started with the tacit support of the authorities.

At a meeting of student representatives in the university, where the Vice-Chancellor was present, a student from Kashi Vidyapeeth raised the question why there is so much insistence on retaining "the word "Hindu". Even before the "Hindu University" was established we were Hindus and even if the word is removed from the university's name, we would remain Hindus, he said. The Vice-Chancellor is reported to have become very angry and retorted that "before the establishment of the 'Hindu University' we were called 'Jantus'".

The treasurer of the BHU, Jyoti Bhusan Gupta made a public statement against the BHU Bill.

It is indeed strange that the Banaras University, where in 1958 to crush a just student movement untold repression was let loose—more than 200 students were expelled, the whole university was handed over to the police; a police post was set up at the university gate and continued for several years, photos of student leaders were stuck on the gates so that the police could recognise them if they tried to enter the university premises—the present communal agitation should be allowed to be conducted with complete impunity.

Since 1958 till the present agitation, no student meeting could be held without the permission of the Vice-Chancellor. The use of microphone and taking out processions were strictly prohibited. It seems some miracle has happened, for the students are today enjoying absolute freedom in holding meetings within the university campus, taking out processions and making inflammatory speeches.

More, the students have "occupied" the gates of the university campus and are obstructing people from entering the premises; they are frequently "storming" the rooms of the officials and taking possession of them.

It is really difficult to understand how the BHU authorities have suddenly become so generous to the students. We are all for democratic rights of the students to hold meetings and processions within the university campus and other democratic rights. But will the BHU authorities allow the students the selfsame privileges they are enjoying now if the demand and the movement are for

with Muslim communal elements. Some of the Muslim students of Allgarh University have sent a telegram to the BHU students supporting the latter's struggle against dropping the word "Hindu" from the name of the university. Two extremely hostile communal forces joining hands against secularism!

Of course, it is also a hint that the Muslim communalists will kick up an agitation in Allgarh when the word "Muslim" is sought to be dropped from the name of the Allgarh University. The newly-constituted Executive Committee of the AMU has already recommended the dropping of the word "Muslim" from the name of the university. Perhaps the Muslim communalists are hoping to get support from their Hindu counterparts when their agitation is launched.

The saddest part of the whole affair is that students who should normally be in the forefront of all progressive and secular movements are in Banaras furthering the cause of the greatest evil of the present century which stands in the way of progress towards a secular, socialist and democratic India—communalism.

Mean Tricks To Confuse People

The communal forces are resorting to mean tricks to confuse people and students in other parts of the country. A fake statement was issued by them purporting to be that of the Banaras branch of the All India Students Federation and supporting this movement. On behalf of the AISF, I would like to categorically declare that no member of the Students Federation has any sympathy for this communal movement.

On the other hand, the AISF is against the present Banaras agitation. If however, the movement drops its demand to retain the word "Hindu" in the name of the university and takes up only such demands as the restoration of the Students Union and such other democratic rights of the students, the AISF will extend all help and cooperate with it.

The reactionary forces led by Jan Sangh have been able to rally and consolidate a considerable backing to their demand due to the weakness of the progressive and democratic movement there. It seems that the progressive and democratic forces are feeling helpless before the communal offensive.

There are however rays of hope too. The workers did not respond to the call of the Jan Sangh to observe hartal. They went about their work as usual. TU leader Bisu Mukherjee had issued a statement opposing the agitation—a lone voice of sanity in the welter of blind communal outpourings.

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has appealed to the students of Banaras not to be moved by communal sentiments but uphold the secular traditions of these great patriots who were educated in Banaras during the days of the freedom movement. It is for secular and democratic Indians, irrespective of party and political affiliations to join hands in a vigorous campaign to ensure the adoption of the Bill before the Lok Sabha as amended by the Rajya Sabha. The government should make it clear that the Bill would not be withdrawn and would be placed for adoption at the earliest opportunity. Otherwise, the public will rightly assume that the influence of Hindu communalism has made dangerous inroads into the Congress Party and the government itself.

(NOVEMBER 27)

FRIVOLOUS ATTITUDE TO FOOD CRISIS

The grim contours of a formidable food crisis are already visible from the heights of the Krishi Bhavan, where many a scheme for increasing food production was grown on paper in the past and allowed to wither without fuss or regret. But the crisis is one for the people and another for the administration.

THE wayward monsoon and PL 480 have both cheated the wizards in the Food Ministry and shaken them out of their complacency, but this, however, has not resulted in a discarding of their old habits and policies. As for the nature of the crisis, even before Authority could wake up to its challenge, it has already hit the states with full force.

Severe drought conditions in several parts of the country have caused largescale failure of crops and acute scarcity is felt even in the surplus states. Practically every state is facing shortage and the people's distress has forced authorities to adopt some measures like procurement and levy in some of the states and certain curbs on private trade.

Rationing is considered unavoidable, but the states—particularly surplus states—have been extremely reluctant to implement the policy. Meanwhile, there is demand

assistance to tide over the crisis". While radical measures are called for to deal with such a situation, the reality however is that New Delhi is still hoping that with more PL 480 and small doses of administrative action it can tide over the crisis.

Speaking to the conference of state irrigation ministers last week, the Prime Minister, while admitting that the food situation was difficult, however hopefully suggested that it could be eased considerably by concentrating attention on quick production and through imports.

In the same speech he also hinted at the possibility of more imports from the US and declared that PL 480 had never any political strings attached to it.

"It has been coming so far without any strings and I do not think they contemplate attaching any condition to the supply of food". It was good of the US to think of supplying perhaps larger quantities of foodgrains to us, Mr. Shastri said. (HINDUSTAN TIMES, Nov. 27)

But this optimism of the Prime Minister or his repre-

ciation of PL 480 is not shared even by the Congress President as Kamaraj's circular to the PCCs show. In his circular, the Congress President has emphasised the gravity of the food situation and urged his partymen to do all they can to ameliorate it. How they would respond to this is a different matter.

What was interesting was his observation: "We are also faced with uncertainties regarding foodgrains from the USA. Obviously, we cannot stoop to accept aid if it comes with any political strings. In the circumstances, we are in for a year of acute shortage and difficulties about availability of food".

Despite this assessment by the Congress President, the administration feels that the country has to be more re-

played the trick on the government.

The big business, the black-marketers and hoarders of black money, got all the concessions from the government in the nature of gold bonds and defence loans. The poor people, on the other hand, are getting more taxes imposed on them, as steps already taken in several states show. Still, big business has not smiled upon these concessions. They have not forgone their wealth. The response to gold bonds has been poor and the major portion of gold contributed is by the middle class.

As for contributions to NDF, the collections have come to only Rs. 6.6 crores this time, while in 1962 it was Rs. 66.11 crores. The money bags are not obliging.

When Punjab was attacked

Comment

liant on PL 480 if it is to get out of the crisis. The hold of vested interests in the states, which has sabotaged and delayed measures like monopoly procurement and statutory rationing—not to speak of curbs on profiteers and hoarders—has only strengthened this trend.

The very crisis on the food front, which has developed out of dependence on US food imports at the cost of self-reliance and growth of Indian agriculture, is now made an excuse for more reliance on PL 480, the government's talk of a "crash" agricultural production programme notwithstanding. Meanwhile, S. K. Patil, who outwitted Subramaniam and made him eat his own words in Parliament, has boldly come out again for larger PL 480 imports.

"Whatever we might do in future, the present difficulties in Maharashtra and most other states cannot be overcome unless we have large supplies of foodgrains under PL 480", he has said in an interview to SUNDAY STANDARD.

With the same reactionary aim, he has also opposed statutory rationing. "I have always opposed regimentation like statutory rationing and control", he says. The present crisis is a tribute to his wisdom, which Shastri seems to rate high.

Defence Fund Collections

THE Prime Minister's admission in the Rajya Sabha last week that contributions to the National Defence Fund have been more from the workers than from the industrialists only corroborates what others have been saying before him, that for the tycoons profit comes before patriotism.

The recent India-Pakistan conflict showed how the common people in every walk of life would come forward to defend the country from aggression and bear sacrifices, unmindful of their hard living conditions. But the profiteering private sector has

by Pakistani forces, the workers stood their ground and organised themselves to help the jawans. The industrialists ran away, closing down their factories and even without paying the workers.

In spite of this lesson, the government has not acted to protect the interests of the workers in this emergency. The employers, taking advantage of the emergency, have denied bonus to workers, created industrial unrest, hampered production, closed down units.

What the state governments have done is not to punish them but to shield them.

On top of all this, the reports of coercion used by officials to collect money for the NDF from common people show an extremely lop-sided view of things on the part of the bureaucracy and those who issue orders to the bureaucracy.

How serious is this complaint is evident from the fact that in a state like UP, the Pradesh Congress Committee President himself has issued a statement that the National Defence Fund is being collected by force.

It is these practices and the failure of the government to deal strongly with the richer sections of society that lead to dampening of the people's enthusiasm and morale.

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India has in a statement drawn attention to this and pointed out that the quotas taken by different government departments at the state and district levels are sought to be fulfilled in various undesirable ways.

"While no pressure is exercised on the better-off sections to contribute more, attempts are made to squeeze as much as possible from the poorer sections. This is bound to act as a drag on the people's enthusiasm for national defence and subject them to undue harassment and hardships".

The CPI secretariat has therefore demanded that the National Defence Fund should be collected strictly on a voluntary basis and the collection of the fund through government officials should be stopped forthwith. (November 29)

—K. U. Warier

FOR AN INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY

Nationalise Foreign Trade, Curtail Imports

IF self-reliance in food production requires radical change in the Indian agrarian structure, the solving of our foreign exchange problem—the clearest manifestation of our lack of complete economic independence—requires resolute anti-imperialism and extensive nationalisation.

The foreign exchange crisis today is not only the most difficult India has had to face but unless there are very substantial changes in government policy it is likely to get very much worse in the near future.

The Reserve Bank's external reserves (excluding gold and bullion and government balances abroad) now stand at less than Rs. 85 crores or about Rs. 10 crores less than a year ago. Adding gold, bullion and government balances abroad, the reserves, despite the drawing of Rs. 41 crores from the IMF, have declined by rupees nine crores since the beginning of the current fiscal year to Rs. 241 crores as against Rs. 305 crores at the end of 1963-64. The Reserve Bank's reserves can barely finance three weeks of imports at the current level.

This extraordinarily grave situation has to be met by emergency measures. The first prerequisite is the na-

tionalisation of the export-import trade. Without this strategic lever firmly in the hands of the state any worthwhile crash programme on this vital front will only be a crashing failure.

It is no exaggeration to say that it is as criminal to leave India's foreign trade in private hands as it would be to hand over the armed forces to the command of private companies. This is borne out by the experience not only of all socialist states but also UAR, Burma, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and such other countries. State monopoly of foreign trade is inescapable if economic independence is to be attained rapidly.

The Finance Ministry reckons that even on a conser-

vative basis, the country has been deprived of not less than Rs. 70 crores in foreign exchange during 1964-65—the actual figure, it is said, may be even larger through foreign trade leakages.

Earlier estimates had put the cost of the under-invo-

by
MOHIT SEN

ing and over-invoicing of exports and imports at anything between Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 crores annually. At no time can any nation afford such a drain, least of all India today. Without nationalisation of foreign trade this drain cannot be stopped. If the govern-

ment refuses to nationalise, out of dogmatic adherence to its so-called mixed economy theory, it is demonstrating a criminal lack of will.

The next step would be to work out a completely changed foreign trade policy both as regards the destination of our imports and exports as also in the tie-up between trade and aid.

There is no escaping a vigorous drive, first and foremost, to increase immensely our foreign trade with friendly socialist countries. Healthy trends have already developed in this direction but these need to be intensified without any inhibitions.

It is worth recalling that as late as 1955-56, our total trade with the USSR came to Rs. 0.95 crores (Rs. 0.62 crores

imports and Rs. 0.33 crores exports). In 1964-65, that is, in nine years this has increased to Rs. 169.4 crores (Rs. 78 crores imports and Rs. 82.4 crores exports).

In more recent years, taking Eastern Europe as a whole, India's trade had gone up from Rs. 93.8 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 292.3 crores in 1964-65. Percentagewise, in this period imports had increased from 3.9 to 11.4 and exports from 7.5 to 17.7.

The Commerce Ministry has pointed out (October 23) that this trade enables India to buy goods which would have cost us free foreign exchange, enables India to export certain items which it has not been possible to export to the "general currency area"; India is able to import on easy credit terms and to obtain technical know-how very cheaply; India is able, as a result, to obtain better prices in the world market even for its so-called traditional exports like tea, coffee, hides and skins and other items. It discounted the re-export scandal as "very much exaggerated".

It further pointed out that "Soviet authorities were even willing to honour their commitments in respect of items like ammonium sulphate and newsprint where they themselves were facing a great shortage". What a contrast to imperialist browbeating!

Against Blackmail

In addition, it needs to be underlined that trade with the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, time and again has helped India to beat back imperialist blackmail. Oil is a case in point.

As Humayun Kabir pointed out on October 17: "But for the ready help of the Soviet Union, a very grave situation would have been created in this country with regard to oil products. In fact, the Soviet Union accounts for almost the total quantity of imported diesel and kerosene today". Soviet oil prices, remarkably low, have been used to extract some concessions from the Western monopolists.

Another feature of this trade is the great saving in freight cost thanks to the widest possible use of Indian ships as well as the low transportation charges for such cargo as comes in the ships of socialist countries.

It might seem that the government is well aware of these advantages and is doing all it can in this sphere. But this is far from the truth. The government's attitude still is first to maintain its traditional trade links with Britain and the United States and where this is not possible to turn to Eastern Europe.

A complete reversal of this attitude is required in the

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

CHESTER BOWLS ALL FOUL

CHESTER Bowles, United States Ambassador in India, is a super-salesman. And he is trying hard to sell the American line in India.

Thanks to the USIS, we have before us the full text of a speech made by Chester Bowles at the Laski Institute, Ahmedabad, on November 17. It is a nicely produced booklet, which the USIS claims to be the thirtyfirst in a series of American policy statements, under the title VIEWPOINT USA.

This means that the speech of the US Ambassador can be taken as part of official US policy. And this is as it should be, for it is the job of the ambassadors to project the policy of their governments in the countries they are stationed.

Ambassador Bowles prefaced his speech by saying that it was "important that I speak to you today frankly and fully" and he wanted his listeners to consider "with total frankness some of the political questions which have divided" the United States and India.

In other words, Bowles was spelling out what the Americans want India to do so as to earn the "aid" which they are just now withholding from India. Listen to the points he is making:

"In 1950, in collaboration with Joseph Stalin, the Chinese mounted a major attack on the UN forces which were defending South Korea. The ultimate target of this aggression was Japan, which, as the most advanced industrial nation in Asia, was a tempting target for Chinese ambitions. In the

crucial struggle which followed, India assumed a neutral position, as it did in the periods when free Berlin has been under heavy pressure."

But to the chagrin of the American imperialists, Japan herself, whom they said was the main target of China, did not react as the imperialists wanted. Hear Chester Bowles accuse:

"On numerous occasions during the following years the United States government warned India and our other Asian friends that the Chinese Communist leadership had massive expansionist ambitions. HOW-EVER, WAR-WEARY JAPAN HELD ITSELF ALOOF as did the other three major Asian nations—India, Indonesia, and Pakistan." (Emphasis added)

The disappointment of the US imperialists were all the more acute because "five years after Tibet fell to China's aggressiveness, many Indians were still chanting 'Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai' in the vain".

There can be no more blatant attack on India's policy of nonalignment and peace than this.

The selfrighteousness taken on by Bowles did not stop there. He was critical of the fact that India did not get herself sunk in the web of military pacts which the US imperialists have spun around the world.

"India refused in the hope that your government could be a more effective force for peace by attempting to moderate Chinese aggressiveness...admittedly a worthy objective". But see what has happened, Bowles was baiting.

What happened ultimately? In his own words, "when the US arms and equipment which we gave Pakistan were used against you, there was inevitable resentment. Under the circumstances, we felt that the most effective contribution we could make toward a ceasefire was to cut off all American military aid to both countries. This we promptly did."

What logic! What fair-mindedness!! If Pakistan attacks India with US arms, cut off off arms supply to the aggressor Pakistan and the aggressed India!

Bowles has been also exercised over reports in the Indian press that the United States has been using PL 480 foodgrains to shape Indian political thinking. This he termed as "unadulterated nonsense", and listed all the foodgrains shipments which have come to India in September and October—of course, it was not politic to mention that these ships had left American shores long before the actual conflict started.

But in the next breath, Bowles let the cat out of the bag. He declared that though there are "no political strings on US aid to India," "the American people and the American Congress need to be convinced that our aid money is well used." In other words, it is for the Americans to decide how to use the "aid" they give; not for India to decide

how best to use it in her interests.

Bowles spelt it out very categorically: "We agree with those Indian economists and political leaders who think it can, and must be better (that is, the economic performance as per the free enterprise dictums—PVP).

"We also agree with those Indian experts who believe that it is essential to facilitate the import of spare parts and raw materials, the lack of which are now causing thousands of plants in India to run far below their capacity.

"Finally, we are convinced that the Indian economy will grow faster if India borrows from the experience of Japan, Italy and other fast-growing democratic countries which give greater encouragement to private industries, large and small, domestic and foreign."

In other words, grant free play to domestic and foreign private capital monopolies; otherwise, the US "would not give any aid".

In sum total Ambassador Bowles' speech is a manifesto of revolt against both the external and internal policies which the country has been following. I don't know whether it is diplomatic etiquette to indulge in criticism of the accepted policies of the country to which one is accredited.

—P.V. PARAKAL

HAPPY FAMILY

Regular use of "Sadhana Dasan" made of Indian herbs and plants, according to Ayurvedic method, removes foul smell emanating from the mouth, cures all kinds of dental diseases, strengthens the 'Enamels' of teeth. Teeth become healthy, strong and bright, the face also glows with smile. That is why, we use the wonderful dental powder

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACC
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 49

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

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Naras Chandra Ghose, M.B.
B.S. (Cal.) Ayurvedacharya.

SADHANA DASAN

FOOD IS SCARCE IN MADHYA PRADESH

From B. K. GUPTA

BHOPAL: Serious food scarcity is felt in several parts of Madhya Pradesh.

As foodgrains continue to disappear from the open market, the decision of the government drastically curtailing the supplies to the fair price shops has aggravated the situation for the common man.

The failure of monsoon has also resulted in a power cut creating a serious situation for industry in the state.

There is also shortage of drinking water in large regions of Madhya Pradesh and both rural and urban population are affected.

The state executive of the CPI which met last week considered the situation and demanded that Rewa, Satna, Sidhi and the districts of

Chattisgarh should be declared as famine areas and relief work begun.

The Party and the Kisan Sabha will launch a campaign in these areas to achieve this.

While fighting for extending relief, the Party will mobilise the peasantry for speedy and easy grants of loan and taccavi, for irrigation wells and for installation of pumps to overcome the drought and increase agricultural production.

In other areas, district units have been directed to campaign for introduction of rationing and state trading in foodgrains.

The executive welcomed the government's decision to allot five acres of land per family in rice-growing areas and ten acres per family in wheat and jowar areas to the landless and poor peasantry out of the surplus land at its disposal. It however urged government to cut red tape and ensure speedy distribution of all arable land to the adivasis, poor and landless peasants and give them loans on easy terms.

A view of the mass meeting in Calcutta on November 14 to mark the 48th anniversary of the Great October Revolution



SAHAY GOVT EXCELS IN MISUSE OF DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: Widespread misuse of DIR and violation of legal procedures by the Bihar Government have come to light, following a statewide scrutiny of actions taken by government to put down the massive food movement in August last.

THE state government had used the Defence of India rules not to meet any threat to the security of the country, but to suppress a popular agitation and to attack the opposition parties.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Habeas Corpus petition of SSP leader Rammanohar Lohia conclusively proved that the government had even violated the provisions of DIR by detaining a large number of people to maintain "law and order."

It was then forced to release these people, but many of them were rearrested under

new amended detention orders.

The Defence of India rules, as many cases show, have been misused by the Sahay Government to suppress political opponents, including dissident Congressmen.

While the August food movement was organised by the left parties like the CPI, SSP, RSP and Marxist CP, among the arrested and detained are large number of

people who had no relation with this agitation. There are teachers, doctors, lawyers etc. among the detained.

The most glaring example of misuse of DIR has been in the case of NGOs. A large number of them were detained under DIR following the Patna Bandh. Twentytwo NGO leaders are still in detention.

The only fault of the NGOs, for which the Defence of India Rules were used against them, was that they agitated for a higher pay and better living conditions.

Yet another aspect of illegal arrests and detentions in the state is that even officials who are not empowered under the law to issue detention

orders have done so with impunity—not in a few cases, but on a wide scale.

Thus in a number of places, persons were detained under section 30(1) (b) of the DIR on the orders issued by Sub Divisional Officers. Such cases are cited from Jautara, Jamul, Begusaral and Khagaria. Persons were detained for more than two months on the strength of such illegal orders.

In one case, when a Sub-Inspector of Police issued a detention order under section 30(1) (b) of DIR, Yogendra Shukla of Motihari was thus arrested and detained. Subsequently another order under the same section was issued by the District Magistrate and served on him inside jail.

Contrary to the ruling of the High Court that no detention order could be served on a person inside jail, who was already confined under any other section, a large number of such orders have been served inside jails on persons who had been arrested and confined in jails under different sections.

Then there has been the glaring example of misuse of Section 151 IPC by the police. Large number of workers were arrested under Section 151 IPC and detained for indefinite period. In some cases they were later served with detention orders under DIR.

Now the Patna High Court has ruled that the police could only arrest a person under Section 151 IPC without a warrant but cannot keep him in jail under the same section.

He has to be produced before a magistrate within 24 hours of his arrest and the magistrate could order his remand only if he was charged under any other section. But recently the law in Bihar has not been the law elsewhere!

PUNJAB GOVT. GOES BACK ON COMMITMENT

From B. S. SARAO

CHANDIGARH: More burdens on the already groaning peasants—that is how the Punjab Government under Ram Kishen seems to be helping the campaign to increase agricultural production.

The government has got passed the Commercial Crops Cess Amendment Bill in the face of a round opposition. Even the sharp criticism of Congress members in the Assembly was ignored.

The bill seeks to continue the cess on commercial crops like chillies, sugarcane and cotton, which was imposed in 1963 for a period of three years, till the end of the Fourth Plan.

At the time the cess was originally levied, the government had given a sol-

emn undertaking that it would not be extended beyond the three years provided in the enactment.

Now, Ram Kishen has refused to honour the commitment made by the predecessor government. He had also coolly brushed aside opposition even from his own partymen.

The Congress MLAs could not vote against the bill because of the party whip which was ruthlessly applied in support of the oppressive cess. But they registered their protest by speaking against it and wearing black badges on the day it was passed.

The Punjab peasants are wondering whether this is the Congress model implementation of the slogan given by Prime Minister Shastri, "Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan".

NEW LAND LEVY IN MADRAS

From D. PONNIVALAVAN

MADRAS: The monsoon session of the Madras Assembly has passed into an Act the bill seeking to add an additional levy of 25 per cent on land revenue.

The government hopes to raise at least one crore rupees by this additional burden on the peasants.

It was only in 1963 that the land revenue was increased by 45 per cent for wet lands irrigated from first and second class sources and 30 per cent on other lands.

That time, it was under the plea of meeting the Chinese challenge. Now, this additional burden is in the name of meeting the Pakistani challenge.

That land revenue impost is notorious for its lack of equity and sliding scales is a well-known fact. Even the Chief Minister had to agree that the tax has to be rationalised, but he has shelved the job for "after-the-emergency".

The new levy would certainly hit the small and medium peasants most adversely. They would still further be driven into the clutches of the money-lenders and big traders.

LENIN AGAINST LEFT OPPORTUNISTS

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

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

This classical work of the great leader and teacher of the International Communist movement and the founder of the Soviet State is an outspoken denunciation of the left-sectarian, adventurist trend affecting a number of Communist Parties at that time.

It is also a brilliant exposition of correct Marxist strategy and tactics and remains today a work of contemporary and living interest.

Postage extra. Order from: PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, New Delhi; P.P.H. BOOKSTALL, Bombay 4; NEW CENTURY BOOK HOUSE, Madras 2; MANISHA GRANTHALAYA, Calcutta 12; NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY, Calcutta 12.

PROTEST AGAINST U.S. BLACKMAIL

TRIPURA: LEFT UNITY TO OPPOSE IMPERIALISTS

From ATIQUIL ISLAM

AGARTALA: The campaign for "Quit Commonwealth" reached a new stage in Tripura with the meeting in Agartala held under the auspices of the Progressive Front.

The Progressive Front is a united organisation of the Communist Party of India, the Marxist Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Tribal Union and other non-party democrats.

More than five thousand people attended the Agartala meeting. Among them were peasants and non-peasants, tribals and non-tribals.

Resolutions were also passed, besides the Quit Commonwealth resolution, demanding nationalisation of banks, nationalisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains and release of all political detenus.

Speakers at the meeting included Aghore Deb Barma MLA, secretary of the Tripura state council of the CPI, Sudhina Debabarma MLA of the Marxist CP, Jiten Paul of the SSP, Snehakumar Chakma of the Tribal Union, Dwijen Dey, a trade union leader, presided.

Similar meetings have been held at Halhati and Kulab Bazar in Kamalpur division, respectively. Mohan Chowdhury was the main speaker at both the meetings.

These meetings were organised by the CPI and the Marxist CP and resolutions were passed demanding Quit Commonwealth, nationalisation of banks, and foreign capital and release of detenus.

MILITANT DEMONSTRATION IN INDIAN CAPITAL

DELHI: The capital witnessed an impressive demonstration organised by All India Peace Council and the Delhi State Peace Council outside the USIS office, on the occasion of the National Protest Day Against US Blackmail. Preceded by a procession participated in by representatives of trade unions and other mass organisations, the demonstration was a stirring protest against American pressures.

THE main slogans, which were prominently displayed in numerous posters and placards, and were also vociferously shouted by the demonstrators were: "No Surrender of Kashmir under US Pressure", "Stop Blackmail with PL 480 Food", "India will not give up Nonalignment, Peace and Anti-imperialism". Together with these were placards demanding that the US imperialists quit Vietnam, and expressing solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

Speakers at the demonstration, who included trade union leaders D. D. Joshi and Y. D. Sharma, Congress Corporator Sumer Chand, Kashmir Committee secretary Gopal Ghosh and Peace Council leaders Romesh Chandra and Ram Chander Sharma stressed the unity of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the whole world.

The demonstrators later took a memorandum to the US Embassy to be sent to the US Government, condemning both their blackmail against India and

their aggression against Vietnam. A telegram of solidarity was sent to the American people's Washington March against Johnson's Vietnam aggression.

AMRITSAR MEETING

AMRITSAR: A public meeting was held at Putlighar to observe the National Protest Day Against American Blackmail on November 27, under the presidentship of Raghunath Chopra.

A resolution condemning Anglo-American conspiracy against India was moved by S. N. Khanna, president of the Amritsar Peace Council and seconded by Tulsi Ram, secretary of the Amritsar district council of the CPI.

The resolution expressed appreciation of the Soviet efforts to bring India and Pakistan to the negotiating table and also commended the support which the USSR has been giving India.

Speakers included Vimla Dang, general secretary of the Punjab Istri Sabha, Parduman Singh, general secretary of the Textile Ekta Union, D. D. Bhatia, president of the Amritsar Municipal Committee.

CONGRESSMEN JOIN PROTEST IN BANGALORE

From G. SATTYANARAYANA

BANGALORE: The National Protest Day Against US Blackmail was observed in many parts of Mysore including Bangalore by organising meetings and processions on November 27.

Two well-attended meetings were held in Bangalore—one in the city and the other in the cantonment. They were held under the auspices of the Karnataka State Peace Council.

A procession was taken out in the city area before the meeting, where slogans against American blackmail were shouted.

The city meeting was addressed by Sarvodaya leader E. P. Menon, B. T. Parthasarathi and Communist leader M. S. Krishnan. A. T. Shamachar presided.

The meeting in the cantonment was presided by V. Ramanujulu, veteran Congress leader. Among the speakers were N. R. Murthy, M. Palaniyeli, D. S. Sriramulu and Hamid Shah.

Resolutions were passed at both the meetings demanding effective measures against US blackmail and for that, ending dependence on PL 480 food imports. Reports of similar meetings have also come from Belgaum and Harihar.



A view of the New Delhi demonstration

MEETINGS IN MANY TOWNS

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Kerala observed the National Protest Day against American Blackmail on November 27 on a large scale. Meetings were held in several towns in the state to mark the day.

A mammoth public meeting was jointly organised by the Peace Council, trade unions, youth and student organisations.

The meeting was presided by M. S. Devadas. It was addressed by playwright and author Valkom Chandrashekhara Nair and former Law Minister V. R. Krishna Iyer, TU leader N. Karthikeyan and Kisan leader P. R. Madhav Pillai.

At the meeting, Krishna Iyer released a pamphlet on PL 480, written by TVK and published by the Kerala State Peace Council. Krishna Iyer said that it in

Vietnam it was with open war and napalm bombs that the US imperialists were trying to suppress the people, in India it was the PL 480 they were using to put pressure on the country to give up Kashmir.

In Calcutta a meeting was called by the Peace Council. The resolution adopted said that a visit to the US by Prime Minister Shastri in the present context "would be detrimental to the prestige and fair name of our country and as such should be given up".

The speakers were Jounalists N. V. Krishna Warier, N. Chandrashekhar Kurup, T. B.

K. G. Nair and Kallat Krishnan.

In Trichur a public rally was held on November 28. V. T. Induchoodan presided and C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the Kerala state council of the CPI, V. R. Krishna Iyer and Farakode N. R. Kurup addressed.

Reports of meetings held on November 27 at Kothamangalam, Parali, Kakkat, Cannanore, Azhikkode, Maripatta and other centres under the auspices of the CPI and the trade unions to protest against US blackmail have been received.

On November 28, more than 270 delegates from 17 textile unions in Kerala belonging to the AITUC, HMS, UTUC and independent affiliation, adopted a resolution protesting against American blackmail when they began a special conference.

MAHARASHTRA: BOYCOTT OF BRITISH DELEGATION

From S. KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: The ruling circles may be still chummy with the American and British imperialists, but the people are certainly protesting against their evil aims and actions.

The entire opposition in the Maharashtra Legislature boycotted the functions which the government had arranged for the British parliamentary delegation which visited Nagpur on November 24.

The Legislature began its winter session in Nagpur on November 22. And so, the delegation's programme in Maharashtra included a visit to Nagpur also.

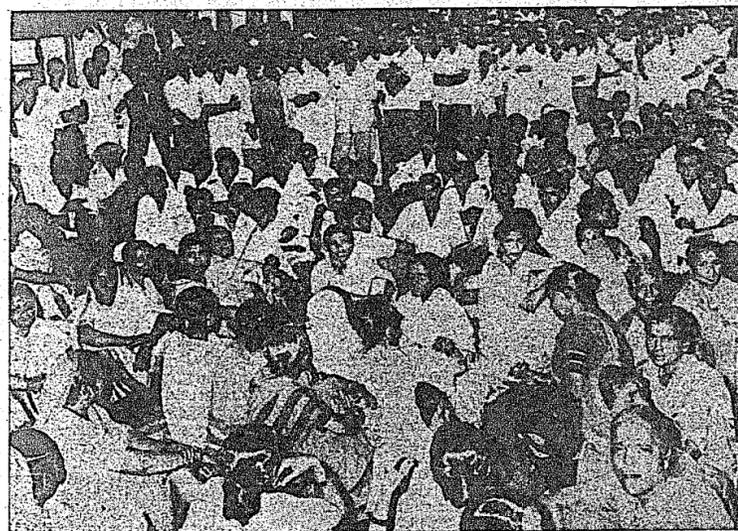
The students and youth of Nagpur also protested against the US-British blackmail against India by holding a black flag demonstration during the delegation's visit to the city.

The Communist Party has been holding meetings all over the state to condemn the Anglo-American conspiracy against India and her policy of peace and nonalignment.

A mass rally at Shivaji Park in Bombay on November 21 was addressed by S. A. Dange, chairman of the CPI, among others. P. B. Vaidya presided.

The meeting in Poona on the same day was attended by 10 thousand people. S. C. Sardesai addressed the meeting which was presided by Nana Patil.

A view of the fasting workers of the Indo-Group Mills (November 20-22)



DANGE-KRISHNAN STATEMENT ON THEIR EUROPEAN TOUR

NEW DELHI: If India sticks to her policy of peace, nonalignment and secular democracy, she will have the goodwill and help of all people in socialist and newly liberated countries; this is the impression that S. A. Dange, chairman, and N. K. Krishnan, member of the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India, have brought back from a tour of European countries.

In a statement issued on their return to New Delhi, they said:

We recently returned from a tour of Europe where we had gone first to attend the World Congress of Trade Unions. Incidentally, we also utilised the occasion to meet some of the leaders of the socialist countries and also from the countries of Africa and Latin America.

People from all over the world whom we met deplored the war between India and Pakistan and were strongly working for peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries, as such conflicts are used by imperialism and reaction to weaken democracy and the gains of the toiling people.

We found that facts about Kashmir were not much known and the influence of the BBC and the British papers was visible in many circles.

The leadership of the socialist countries and many Communist Parties were, however, clear in their view that Kashmir is a part of India and that the slogan of self-determination in this case is a manoeuvre to dismember India, whose results would only benefit reaction.

In our interviews with some leaders of the Communist Parties, we discussed the economic and political situation in India as our Party sees it.

We discussed the perspectives of the Fourth Five Year Plan from the point of view of the workers and the needs of India in the matter of building heavy engineering industries and the tremendous role that the socialist countries had already played in this development, particularly in building the state sector.

In all our talks we found great appreciation of India's policy of peace and peaceful co-existence, non-alignment and secularism.

It has been brought to our notice that some news agency has stated that we discussed, particularly with the leaders in Czechoslovakia, the question of defence aid. We wish to state

that the news of the interview is unfounded and misleading. We had no such discussions anywhere.

We, however, congratulated the Czechoslovak leaders for their aid in giving the giant Ranchi complex, whose growth was sabotaged two years ago by some hostile elements, causing a setback to our economy.

Our tour has convinced us that if India sticks to her policy of peace, non-alignment and secular democracy, she will have all the goodwill and help of all people in the socialist and newly-liberated countries, to build an independent, strong economy for the benefit of the people.

UTTAR PRADESH : RISING PROTEST AGAINST FOOD AND TAX POLICIES

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: UP Government's food and tax policies were severely criticised at a two-day zonal conference held last week of leading Communist workers drawn from ten central districts of the state.

The conference also condemned the coercive methods being employed by authorities in collecting the National Defence Fund.

The resolution of the conference on the subject referred to statements by the President and the General Secretary of the UP Congress and said that the "forcible means employed for these collections have become such a scandal that even these Congress leaders have been forced to speak out against them publicly."

Satisfaction was expressed by the conference at the way the whole Party had rallied to contribute its maximum to the national defence effort.

At the same time there was vehement criticism of the UP Ministry's anti-people policies

and its attempt to utilise the national emergency to levy unconscionable taxes and heavy more burdens on the common people.

The food policy of the state government, particularly the cut in the quantum of ration and the increase in the price of wheat, have hit the common man. On the other hand, the government's attempt has been to shield hoarders and landlords.

The price of wheat issued from the ration shops has been raised by nearly 50 per cent—from 41 paise to 60 paise per kilo—during the course of this year.

The levy of new taxes and increased taxes, like the land surcharge tax, the house and land tax, the entertainment

tax etc. has further aggravated the situation. The conference demanded the withdrawal of these measures.

It also demanded increased rations, more fair price shops and rationing in all towns with a population of one lakh and above.

It appealed to the people to intensify the "Quit Commonwealth" campaign and supported the declaration of the Bangalore conference for the "Defence of the Motherland and World Peace".

It welcomed the Government of India's stand against the racist Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia and called for firm opposition to the Anglo-American attempt to set up war bases in the Indian Ocean.

Earlier, a two-day zonal conference of Communist workers of the eastern districts of UP had been held in the last week of October in Varanasi. G. Adhikari, member of the central secretariat of the CPI attended the conference, which also reviewed the work of the Party in the region during the national emergency.



S. A. Dange addressing the Kamgar Maidan meeting

BOMBAY WORKERS WIN CONCESSIONS

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: Working class in Maharashtra have won some concessions. The biggest of them is the government decision to take over the India United Mills (Indu Group).

About 22,000 workers of this group have been carrying on a struggle against mismanagement. They had not been paid the wages for October and the managers of two out of the six mills in the group had run away.

The workers observed a three-day fast while on duty, from November 20 to 22, demanding government takeover of the mills and better service conditions for the workers.

The announcement of the government takeover came from New Delhi on November 29. It has helped the workers to heave a sigh of relief.

Even otherwise, the Maharashtra Labour Minister made some announcements on the opening day of the State Assembly in Nagpur which conceded some of the demands of the workers.

They were: the government will take over all textile mills which faced closure. The government will restore the cut made in the wages in Model Mills, Nagpur, now run by the government. Also, those still detained in the anti-starvation agitation would be released soon.

Labour Minister Tidke admitted that eight textile mills had closed down in Maharashtra, six mills are about to be closed. About 50 thousand workers are thus facing unemployment.

In addition, seven thousand casual workers have also been thrown out on the streets. The textile workers held a meeting at Kamgar Maidan on November 22. It was addressed by S. A. Dange, who congratulated the workers on their united action which had compelled the government to move in the matter.

People in Maharashtra are watching to see what further steps the government is prepared to take to protect the interests of the workers and curb the profit-greedy monopolists from launching onslaughts against the workers.

Two MLAs belonging to the Marxist CP, N. Srinivas Reddy of Nalgonda district and Mohmed Tahsil from Kamman district have resigned from the Marxist Communist Party.

D. Govindarajulu MLC from Srikakulam district has also resigned from the Marxist CP. The secretary of the Mahabubnagar district committee of the Marxist CP, Shihari, has resigned from that party.

In Mahabubnagar, Nagalingam, secretary of the Nagalingam town committee and three others, Ramaswamy, Laxmiiah and Kishan, have also resigned.

Andhra: Marxist CP Ranks Disillusioned

HYDERABAD: There is a veritable revolt in the ranks of the Marxist Communist Party against the wrong attitude of the leadership on the various issues facing the country and the people.

Several of them are resigning from the Marxist CP in utter disgust. Many are coming back to the ranks of the Communist Party of India, seeing that it is the only Party which is standing four-square for the people of this country.

Among those who have resigned from the Marxist CP, according to reports appearing in the Visalandhra daily, are MLAs, MLCs and secretaries of district committees.

Following are some of the resignations reported: Two MLAs belonging to the Marxist CP, N. Srinivas Reddy of Nalgonda district and Mohmed Tahsil from Kamman district have resigned from the Marxist Communist Party.

D. Govindarajulu MLC from Srikakulam district has also resigned from the Marxist CP. The secretary of the Mahabubnagar district committee of the Marxist CP, Shihari, has resigned from that party.

In Mahabubnagar, Nagalingam, secretary of the Nagalingam town committee and three others, Ramaswamy, Laxmiiah and Kishan, have also resigned.

Another resignation is that of Devayya, secretary of the Karimnagar district committee of the Marxist CP. Devayya is also a municipal councillor.

Nalgonda district can be said to be leading in the desertions. Some more, besides Srinivas Reddy, MLA, the following have resigned in that district:

Uppal Ranga Reddy, a prominent member of the Marxist CP. He is the vice-president of the Nalgonda Zilla Parishad. Three members of the executive of the Ramannapet taluk committee (Nalgonda) of the Marxist CP, Vishwanatham, Madanchari and Rajamalla Reddi. Madanchari is the secretary of the Patipatla village committee of the Marxist CP.

In a statement announcing their resignations they said that they could not agree with the refusal of their party to condemn the attitude of China towards India and therefore they were resigning from the Marxist CP.

Kallu Ramachandra Reddy, president of the Nakrekal Panchayat Samiti in Nalgonda district, had already resigned from the Marxist Party some time back.

In Anantpur district, M.A. Mayana, G.M. Bhasna and R. Ismail of Kadiri town have resigned from the Marxist CP and joined the Communist Party of India.

In a statement these comrades said: "We have been members of the Communist Party for the last ten years. The policies of the Marxist Communist Party are in reality anti-Marxist. They are following an anti-Soviet policy. We have held discussions with other members in our taluk and we have decided to join the Communist Party of India, which is the real Communist Party."

Kamaraj Fails to Stop Congress Rot in Kerala

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: The four-day visit of Congress President Kamaraj to Kerala has brought to the fore the crisis of isolation from which the Pradesh Congress has been suffering since its debacle in the last elections. The Pradesh Congress leaders are also not happy with the result of Kamaraj's visit.

In a desperate effort to come to the fore in the political picture of the state, the KPCC meeting at Ernakulam adopted resolutions touching the problems of kisans, the cut in ration cards and the difficulties regarding levy etc.

It also raised a hullabaloo against the bureaucracy and the corruption stalking the state under the Advisor regime. This has brought them into conflict with the Governor, A. P. Jain who is responsible for the administration of the state under President's rule.

The KPCC is not happy with the Governor's attempt to seek the support of all parties for the defence effort by including their representatives in the state citizens council, instead of leaving it to the Congress as its own preserve.

The inclusion of the Communist Party, Kerala Congress and the Muslim League in the citizens council has not been to the liking of Congress leaders.

They therefore adopted a resolution protesting against inclusion of "anti-national" elements like "Left Communists" in defence committees. Kamaraj is reported to have

He said that the policies of the government on the labour and food fronts have caused increasing hardship to the people and unless these are given up, no amount of calls for national unity and increase in production can enthrone the people.

The increase in the price of ration rice and wheat, by three paise and two paise respectively, could only help blackmarket in the context of spiralling prices of all cereals, oil and even tapioca.

The majority of people, including the middle class, are finding it difficult to carry on as things are today in the state.

Achutha Menon pointed out that the Food Minister's statements in Parliament have failed to clear the air, why there was hesitation in ensuring just distribution of internally available rice supplies. There is discrimination between Kerala and other states even in the matter of rationing.

KAMARAJ LETS DOWN

He further let them down by saying that the corruption and bureaucratic ways of the present administration were no worse than what they were under popular governments in the state. This was a slap in the face of Congressmen here.

Former KPCC secretary Henry Austin has lost no time in coming out with a plan of his own to organise a front of "democratic forces" to agitate against the ills caused by the President's rule and for early elections in the state.

Kamaraj and the Congress High Command appear to hold the view that elections need be held only in 1967. But the KPCC hopes that if elections are held in 1966 under the shadow of emergency, they could fare better.

Commenting on these developments in the state, C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the Kerala state council of the CPI told a press conference that both Kamaraj and the Pradesh Congress have failed to underline the basic problems of the people and show the way for their solution.

THANK RAM KISHEN FOR HIS SMALL MERCIES TO WORKERS

AMRITSAR: These are days when workers have to be thankful for small mercies. And so, the Amritsar workers, jobless and starving as they are, have to be thankful to the Punjab government.

The government has decided to give interest-free loans to the workers of Amritsar directly because it had failed to persuade the employers to channel the loans through them.

At a tripartite meeting at

Chandigarh on November 24, the conditions of the loan scheme were finalised. They are:

All workers who had to suffer lay-off, retrenchment or closures resulting from the Indo-Pak hostilities or are likely to suffer due to power cut, and who were on the rolls on September 5 with one month's continuous service, are entitled to the loan.

The government agreed to waive its earlier insistence that only those workers who were employed in factories with less than 50 workers

would be entitled to get the loan.

The workers will get the loans. The amount will be Rs. 200 or one and a half months' wages, whichever is less. The loan would be repayable after 27 months in 20 instalments.

Even this concession the workers were able to wrench from the government only after a sustained struggle. As part of struggle, Satyapal Dang, president of the Chheharta Municipal Committee, and three workers, Bihwani Singh, Raja Ram and Lalq Ahmad, had to undertake a five-day protest hungerstrike.

The hungerstrike ended on November 25 with a public meeting at Puthlighar Chowk. Several processions of workers converged on the chowk before the meeting.

Addressing the meeting Indrajit Gupta MP deplored the apathy of the central and state government in giving adequate relief to the war-hit people.

He said that it was decided in the Indian Labour Conference that an inter-ministerial committee would be set up to solve expeditiously the problems of war-hit industries and workers. But so far, even the committee has not been set up.



They undertook the five-day hungerstrike.

Five Crores for Rajas !

NEW DELHI: How much does the government pay the rajas and raris of the bygone days as privy purse?

The Minister of State for Home Affairs, J.L. Hathi disclosed in the Rajya Sabha that in 1964-65 it was as much as Rs. 510 lakhs. In 1950-51 it was Rs. 573 lakhs.

Hathi said in 1962 about 165 rulers agreed to cuts in privy purses as contributions to national defence fund.

The total number of former rulers in India is 566. And the total contribution they made to NDF in 1962 is Rs. 24 lakhs! This time, zero!! (This was of course not said by Hathi.)



"If we want to earn money by export, we must do without things here and export them. It is not a question of surpluses. I want to lay stress that we must starve ourselves of goods and things and export them to get foreign exchange."

Jawaharlal Nehru

We export Silk Scarves, Precious and Semi-Precious Stones, Synthetic Stones Handicrafts to U. K., Italy, Switzerland, G.D.R., Czechoslovakia, Canada.

BHARAT BANIDYA (P) LTD.

ADMARK

NEW DELHI

FIFTEEN DAYS IN KASHMIR VALLEY

It is a fact that Kashmir is economically and industrially the least developed state in India. There is hardly any local capital which can build big or medium industry. Capital from other parts of the country is shy and does not flow into Kashmir Valley for political reasons. In the public sector, there are three or four factories (a woollen mill, a silk mill and a plywood factory) which in total employ about 1,000 workers. The Jammu and Kashmir Mineral Corporation owned by the state is trying to develop some mines, but the work is still in its initial stages. The handicrafts are languishing due to lack of capital in the hands of the artisans, inefficient and badly organised marketing and bureaucratically run state emporia.

Besides, for nearly six months in a year the Valley is snow-bound and trade and commerce is more or less at a standstill. The dependence of a very large section of the urban population on tourist traffic is another complicating factor which makes the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of persons completely uncertain and unstable. The ghost of unemployment therefore haunts every middle-class home.

A bright young Muslim boy told me frankly: "I dislike Pakistan and I have not much faith in Sheikh Abdullah. But I want a plebiscite to be held. 'Why', I asked him. He replied indignantly: "But things should change and perhaps... perhaps..." And he stopped there. I looked into his eyes. There was despair and gloom in them.

The point about which the educated Muslim young men feel most acutely is the virtual denial to them of openings in government services and other avenues of employment in other parts of the country. Even the Hindu youth now complains bitterly about this.

A big educated middle class has now come into existence in the Valley. Each year its ranks are being replenished by the science and arts colleges, the Engineering College and the Medical College. The question is: where are they going to be absorbed? The undeveloped state of Kashmir obviously cannot provide all of them with livelihood. They have to be found employment outside Kashmir.

Unfortunately, neither the central government nor the state government has so far paid any attention to this aspect of the problem, with the result that a growing army of educated middle class men falls victim to the disruptive political propaganda of the Plebiscite Front.

MEETING WITH WORKERS

One evening, we were, told that a group of factory workers would like to meet us. We invited them. Eight or ten of them, sturdy young Muslim boys with strong hands and powerful muscles, turned up. It was exhilarating to talk to them. They were all against Pakistan, against the Plebiscite Front, pro-India. From them, we learnt about the life and labour of the industrial workers.

All the trade unions of Kashmir are affiliated to a central labour organisation, which is indirectly controlled by the government. Strangely enough, the labour laws that obtain in Kashmir today are of the pre-independence period, of the days of the rajahs. The vast complex of post-independence labour legislation in India has not been applied to Kashmir because of its special status under Section 370 of the Constitution.

To us this was an outstanding case of how the so-called "special status" has actually worked against the interests of the toiling people of Kashmir.

A week-long political contacting in Srinagar was tiring enough. We were yearning to go to the countryside and get the feel of the soil there. So one fine sunny morning, with our baggages in the jeep and the grand old Khela Singh at the steering wheel, we started our trek through the Valley.

THROUGH RURAL AREAS

As we proceeded along the clean roads guarded by those tall majestic sentinels, the cedars, the hum and bustle of the town began to appear remote and almost unreal. For, the birds of Nature stood before us exquisitely adorned. In the landscape, the blazing chinar interwove its red with the soft yellows of the apple and the whites and greens of the willows and there was a veritable riot of colours.

We passed through Pampour where the saffron was in full bloom. It was here that Habba Khatoon, the great poetess of Kashmir, lived. She was a poor peasant girl, but she was so beautiful that Prince Yusuf Shah married her. But Yusuf was called to the Moghul Court; there were intrigues and he was murdered there. The pretty Habba could not understand why Yusuf would not return. She waited and

then she began singing her immortal songs of love, which every Kashmiri maiden has sung for generations. Legend has it that on a full moon night, when the saffron is in bloom, Habba walks the fields of Pampour and the echoes of her songs are heard—"Oh Yusuf, where are you, why have you left me; come back, Yusuf. I will live for you till eternity." And the peasant women close their doors and weep.

From this world of fantasy we were soon brought down to the earth by the hard realities of life. The paddy crop had failed this year due to shortage of rains. There was oncoming distress and the peasants knew not what to do.

We travelled far and wide into the Valley, touching some of the remotest villages. And we heard wonderful stories of how the peasants had felled the designs of the Pakistani infiltrators. The mass of peasantry gave no help whatsoever to them. On the contrary, in many villages, the infiltrators were put on wrong tracks by them or made to quit immediately.

We were told of many instances where even at the risk of their lives the peasants carried information about the movements of the infiltrators to the local authorities and some of them were actually killed by infiltrators.

The peasants of Kashmir have decisively given the lie to Pakistan's propaganda that the Kashmiri people are for accession to Pakistan. The infiltrators left no stone unturned in trying to rouse the peasantry to revolt, through appeals in the name of Islam, through false promises and reports about the might of the Pakistani army poised on the border. Yet there was hardly any response. In the villages of the Valley, they could not

enlist the active support of even a hundred persons.

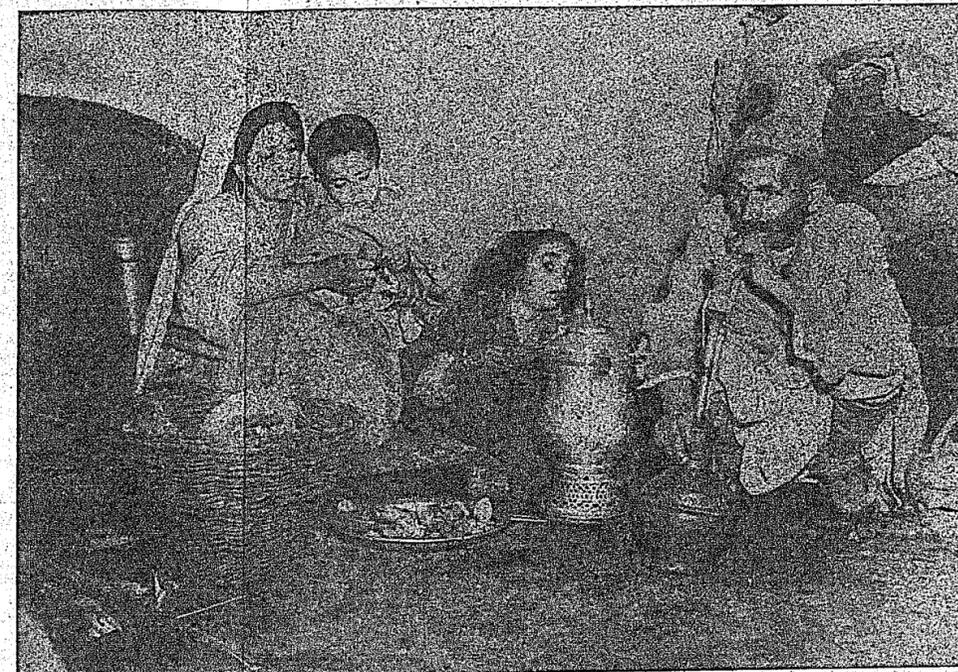
I am convinced that if Pakistan repeats its adventure in future, it will suffer a much greater defeat and humiliation.

Travelling through the countryside, we learnt about the multifarious problems facing the peasantry. Landlordism was abolished without compensation in Kashmir in 1952. But since then, the population has grown, fragmentation of land has gone apace and the holdings have become smaller and smaller. The agrarian economy of Kashmir is a poor peasant economy with the added handicap that there is only one crop in the year.

POVERTY OF PEASANTS

The extreme poverty of the Kashmiri peasant is further accentuated by the fact that there are no alternative avenues of employment. There are no medium, small scale or cottage industries in the countryside. For nearly six months in winter the peasants have no work to do. Even the most unskilled of jobs are not available.

The average production of paddy per acre is much lower than in other parts of India. Irrigation facilities are poorly developed and the soil, though intrinsically rich, has been exhausted. Horticulture is paying, but only the comparatively well-to-do sections can take to it. The mass of peasants with tiny plots and no capital in hand cannot afford to resort to horticulture. Large areas are inundated annually by overflowing lakes and rivers, but there are hardly any arrangements to



The one-room palace of the Kashmir house-boat-man

projects has now to shift decisively from the urban to the rural areas. The toiling peasantry has to be roused to a new consciousness; it has to be given the confidence that it has a stake and a future in a democratic and secular India.

On our return to Srinagar, the usual round of interviews with political workers restricted. Our main concern now was to find out what role the

unminded administration has to be evolved. The existing administration has been nursed in authoritarian, undemocratic and corrupt traditions. Besides, there are groups of communal-minded officials, both among Hindus and Muslims, who in some cases are holding important positions. A clean break has to be made from the past in this respect and firmly and steadily a new

the soil who in their life-time have twice felled the designs of the invaders from Pakistan and who alone will be the backbone of a real democratic people's upsurge in Kashmir.

The interests of the industrial working class, however small it may be at present, also demand adequate protection. In the towns, this class is politically a very effective and organised section of the population.

great possibilities for this. The Government of India, in not allotting any major industrial projects to Kashmir in the public sector seems itself to have been a victim of a feeling of political uncertainty about this area. That hesitation should now go. The Kashmiri people cannot be denied their legitimate share in the general industrial and economic development of the country just because Pakistan unjustifiably claims the Valley.

EXTEND ALL LABOUR LAWS

All labour laws which protect the interests of the workingclass in India should ipso facto apply to Kashmir. Besides, the situation about wages, hours of work, bonus, retrenchment, lay-off, etc., in the existing industrial concerns should be re-examined with a view to ensuring better conditions. All trade union rights, including the right to organise unions independent of governmental control, should be guaranteed.

The problem of acute middle class unemployment is connected with general economic backwardness of the state as a whole. The central government has spent crores of rupees on Kashmir during the last 17 years, but without a plan and without a perspective. The manner in which this money has been mispent and has gone to line the pockets of certain top people in authority and a host of contractors is well known.

No systematic efforts have yet been made by the centre or the state government to build and develop Kashmir Valley industrially and economically, although there are

The Government of India and the Jammu and Kashmir Government should now, in an organised manner, foster and promote the development of industry in the Valley both in the public and private sectors. Kashmir should get some big projects under the Fourth plan, and medium and light industry should be developed by giving special concessions to private capital.

By
Z. A. AHMAD

The Kashmir handicrafts, which can have a big national and international sale should be reorganised mainly on a cooperative basis, and a strong efficient mechanism for marketing should be set up. The present government emporia are so badly managed and so bureaucratically run that far from being of any help to the handicraftsmen, they have become an obstruction in the way of development of sales.

Positive measures have to be taken by the Government of India to absorb a section of the educated middle class youth of Kashmir, both Muslim and Hindu, in government

This is the second and concluding part of the article by Z. A. Ahmad, member of the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India, on his recent visit to Kashmir. The first part appeared in the NEW AGE dated November 28 and dealt with some of the political aspects of the situation in Kashmir. This part deals mainly with some of the economic problems of the state and ways and means to solve them.

services of various types in other parts of the country. Even if about 5,000 young men can thus be absorbed annually in the country as a whole, it would very effectively mitigate the rigours of mass middle class unemployment in Kashmir.

This can be done only if the Government of India gives, as a matter of policy, certain concessions or priorities to qualified persons from Kashmir in administrative appointments, just as is done in the case of backward or scheduled castes. Kashmir has to be treated as a backward and depressed area which needs special support for the time being in this respect.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Lastly, the biggest task facing the Sadiq regime is the task of winning over the mass of Kashmiri people politically and giving them a new, democratic, secular consciousness and self-confidence. We are convinced that neither imperialist powers nor Pakistan can beguile and delude forever



same time, recognise the fact that for the last so many years the image of India has been badly projected in Kashmir. Experience of history shows that certain border regions, with their peculiar characteristics and problems often fall victim to separatist intrigues, sponsored by foreign powers and local reactionaries, unless concerted and special attention is paid to the welfare of the people there and the disruptors beaten back politically.

The Sadiq regime will have to forge powerful and effective political instruments, which can become levers for developing a new democratic mass upsurge in the Valley. The democratic movement in Kashmir has, during the last few decades, produced a host of honest, hard working political workers who in the past have doggedly resisted reactionary intrigues and offensives and given a radical and progressive orientation to the movement. This cadre has to be mobilised, unified and roused to action.

The problems of the common people have to be taken up in right earnest and solved. Organisations of the peasantry, the working class, the artisans and the middle classes have to be consciously built on a mass democratic basis so that they serve as mobilisers and unifiers of the common people for the successful implementation of a new people's programme.

ISOLATE REACTION

The Sadiq regime will also have to exercise maximum vigilance against the penetration of reactionary, opportunist elements into the ruling party inside Kashmir and the impact on it of such forces from outside the state. The purity and integrity of the political set-up will have to be closely preserved and developed.

The sands of time of our stay in Kashmir were running fast. And so, Avtar Singh and I started our trekback. On a full moon night, we passed by the ruins of Avantipur—Avantipur of Kalidasa's Meghadoot—and the saffron fields of Pampour, where the love-jorn Habba had poured out her heart. And our hearts were heavy.

But we came back full of conviction that, whatever may be the political complications today, the immortal Kashmiri people will ultimately stand shoulder to shoulder with the sons and daughters of the soil in the rest of the country to build a new happy, secular and democratic India.

Let us do our duty towards them.

(CONCLUDED)

Economic Distress Causes Discontent

protect them. Thus, the average peasant ekes out a miserable living from land.

In totality, our impression is that the agrarian problems have been badly neglected by the state ever since the abolition of landlordism. Towns, being the storm-centres of political agitation, have received greater attention.

As we met and talked to more and more people in the villages, we were convinced that it is only through a positive and energetically pursued policy of ameliorating the condition of the mass of peasantry that a major shift in the balance of political forces in Kashmir Valley can be brought about, and the Plebiscite Front isolated in the countryside.

The emphasis on development and relief plans and

administration was playing in the whole set-up.

One thing that stands out in bold relief in this connection is the personality of G. M. Sadiq. A man of great intellectual and moral calibre, he has stood firm as a rock and given courage and confidence to everyone around him in this crisis. His government has on the whole rendered an excellent account of itself, and there could be no better government in Kashmir at this critical moment.

The Sadiq government has, however, inherited from the earlier regime a huge backlog of problems and an inefficient and bad administration, which it has not had the time to purge and purify.

The problems facing the Sadiq regime are complex and manifold. First of all, a clean, efficient and secular

administrative set-up has to be developed which would be in tune with the exigencies of the political situation in Kashmir.

Then there is the big agrarian problem which clamours for solution. The whole agrarian set-up has to be re-examined. It is essential that radical and effective measures be adopted to ensure the economic uplift of the mass of the toiling peasantry, bring about increase in food production, introduce improved and better methods of intensive cultivation, provide the peasants with cheap and adequate credit and proper irrigation facilities and finally develop avenues of subsidiary employment in the countryside.

Nothing short of this can bring relief to and rehabilitate those sons and daughters of



There is gloom writ large on her face

Twenty Years of New Yugoslavia

The Yugoslavs celebrate their national holiday or the Republic Day on November 29 when the new Yugoslav state was proclaimed in 1943 during the Second World War. The act of proclaiming the new state was performed by the People's Anti-Fascist Liberation Council of Yugoslavia in the liberated town of Jajce, in the central part of the country. The Anti-Fascist Council, the first parliament of new Yugoslavia, was composed of 268 elected representatives of the people and the liberation army which was already for two and a half years had been fighting the fascist invaders in the very heart of occupied Europe. These people belonged to various political currents and beliefs, for the unified liberation movement, organised on the initiative of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, rallied all patriots regardless of political considerations and their religion.

At the meeting in Jajce the People's Anti-Fascist Liberation Council took a series of decisions of historic significance for the Yugoslavs.

The first government of new Yugoslavia was formed under the leadership of the Supreme Commander of the Liberation Army Josip Broz Tito. It was decided to set up the future state on a democratic basis as a federal community of five Yugoslav peoples, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins. National and social equality was defined as the basic principle of the new state order.

Thus on November 29, 1943 the foundations of the first new state based on the people's authority was formed in occupied Europe. Bodies having the functions of parliament and government were formed, which were based on the national soil in the midst of their people and a regular army was waging a struggle for the final and complete liberation of the country.

The creation of the new Yugoslav state was acclaimed throughout the freedom-loving world. This was the decisive step towards international recognition and affirmation of the Yugoslav liberation movement which developed as a genuine national revolution that was born in the fire of the liberation war and which brought with it radical political, economic and social changes in Yugoslav society.

Two years later, on November 29, 1945, after the Yugo-

slavs declared themselves in a nation-wide plebiscite in favour of a republic, the Yugoslav Assembly also formally proclaimed the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, as a community of free and equal nations united in a federal state composed of six independent republics.

November 29 has thus come to mark a date on which the turbulent course of the revo-



Titovo Užice, Serbia, has been transformed into a modern city from the prewar market town

Marshal Tito with a close associate in 1942 leading partisan struggle



lution of the Yugoslav peoples began to converge into the new socio-political system of present-day Yugoslavia.

A foreigner visiting Yugoslavia now can hardly visualise what that country looked like twenty years ago just after the end of the war. Everyone of the thousand or so large factories in existence in the country today has been built since the war.

Entire industrial branches, dozens of hydro- and thermo-electric power plants, new towns, modern roads and railway lines nonexistent in the

cracy, which the Yugoslavs simply call self-government. The foundation of this system is the principle that every

best act in favour of peace and international equality by jointly-defined stands and commonly agreed actions. This kind of international cooperation has been particularly fruitful this year between India and Yugoslavia, two of the most active and leading protagonists of a non-aligned policy in the world.

There were two important events in Yugoslav-Indian relations this year, the visits of the Indian Prime Minister Shastri and President Radhakrishnan to Yugoslavia. Both in New Delhi and Belgrade these visits were assessed as significant stages in the bilateral cooperation which has been steadily developing during the last ten years or so.

Direct and personal contact between statesmen have always played an important role in bilateral relations. Out of the personal friendship, and contacts between the late Indian Prime Minister Nehru and Yugoslav President Tito there emerged in the past many useful initiatives and suggestions, concepts and ideas which not only influenced the development of Indian and Yugoslav relations and helped to coordinate the two countries' foreign policies, but which, also had a bearing on international relations and contributed towards the mobilisation of the peace-loving forces in the world.

India and Yugoslavia are strong champions of the policy of active peaceful co-existence and nonalignment. The two latest meetings between the Yugoslav and Indian statesmen took place in the spirit of traditional friendship and in an atmosphere of sincerity and mutual understanding, revealing a high degree of similarity of views both in regard to matters of bilateral interest and in regard to the development of the international situation and current world problems.

The visits of Prime Minister Shastri and President Radhakrishnan to Yugoslavia this year gave fresh incentives to the development of fruitful bilateral cooperation in all spheres of activity—political, economic and cultural.

The contacts between the two countries this year have surely proved once again that the friendly Indo-Yugoslav relations, have been based right from the beginning on such foundations which offer the greatest prospects for their further development and for many a joint initiative in the international field by the two countries.

matter is decided upon independently and collectively by the working people in their self-governing bodies in factories, enterprises and other

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

pre-war Yugoslavia have sprung up during this period. The appearance of the country as a whole has been changed, thanks to the efforts and

conscience of the entire people during this period of exceptionally dynamic economic development.

Last year for instance the Yugoslav industry turned out about 1 million 700 thousand tons of steel, over two million tons of crude oil, one million tons of artificial fertilizers, 40,000 passenger cars, lorries and buses, 10,000 tractors, 250,000 television sets, over half a million wireless sets.

The initiative and effort of the Yugoslavs bore fruit because together with the industrial and economic developments the social relations developed as well. The new social system in Yugoslavia developed on the basis of affirmation of the rights of the citizens giving rise to a specific form of democracy, political and economic demo-

working institutions, communes and the assemblies of the Republics (States) and the Federation.

This means that wherever matters essential to contemporary Yugoslav society and its further development are being decided upon, this is done collectively and publicly by way of a specific parliamentary system based on self-government.

This progressive development in Yugoslavia could be achieved only under conditions of complete independence and peace. With all countries channelling their development towards progressive social and political solutions Yugoslavia naturally shares a common language in international activities.

Yugoslavia is one of the non-aligned countries which have realised that they can

JAIPUR: The Fourth Conference of the Rajasthan State TUC was held in Jaipur on November 21 and 22 amidst great enthusiasm and mobilisation of workers.

Despite the fact that the preparations for the conference had begun late and were completed in a hurry, the conference witnessed excellent mobilisation. In all, 450 delegates attended, of whom 300 came from different centres in the state.

Unions of textile, engineering, electricity and water works employees, workers of state roadways

Rajasthan TUC Meet Ends On Optimistic Note

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

and private transport, building construction, mines, municipal workers and PWD workers were all represented in the conference. Satish Loomba, secretary of the AITUC, inaugurated the conference on November 21. Swami Kumaranand presided. One of the highlights of

the delegates session was a lively discussion on the report placed before the conference which outlined the main features of the present political situation and the tasks of the working class.

The report focussed on the twin tasks of the working class in fighting for national

defence and defence of its own rights against attacks by capitalists and monopolists. Many suggestions came from the delegates to improve the report which were accepted by the steering committee.

However, there were some speeches which sought to challenge the whole line of the report. Among other things, these wanted to attack the report by saying that too much stress has been laid on national defence tasks in the report.

This and other similar criticisms of the report were however rejected by the steering committee and the conference.

The conference adopted resolutions touching upon the immediate problems of the working class like bonus, linking DA with cost of living, full implementation of the reports of minimum wages boards, no imposition of fresh taxes etc.

The conference demanded Quit Commonwealth and resistance to American Black-mall.

The conference elected a new working committee with Swami Kumaranand as president and H. K. Vyas as general secretary. The elections were unanimous.

In the discussions on the report and on the question of election of new office bearers, the sympathisers of the Marxist CP tried to create difficulties. Numbering about

Swami Kumaranand



70 among the delegates, they tried to create a scene in the discussions and to insist that their leader Mohan Pooma-miya be retained as general secretary.

But due to the accommodation and conciliation shown by the majority which found a response in the leaders of the "Marxists" themselves, these difficulties were finally overcome and it became possible for the conference to preserve trade union unity.

In spite of that, an insignificant minority of about 10 to 15 belonging to the Marxist CP group, who probably could not be controlled even by their own leaders, tried to create a scene. Their attempt however died as soon as it had started and nobody paid any heed to their antics.

On November 22, the conference concluded with a mass rally in the Ramilla maidan, preceded by a 3,000 strong workers' demonstration in the city.



A view of the demonstration of Rajasthan TUC conference

TTK—TOPIC FOR TODAY



THE subject which currently dominates talk in the political lobbies in the capital is "TTK"

It is spoken in whispers and in loud conversation. The conversation is about the familiar charges of corruption. But the whispers are meant to create a more dramatic story.

Whispers have it that the Finance Minister and the Home Minister are not on talking terms. TTK is also in a far from cordial relationship with a number of other senior colleagues in the Cabinet. Food Minister Subramaniam is among them.

TTK is credited with the belief that much of the current campaigning going on against him is being "engineered"—and the Home Minister is one of its architects.

The whole affair is reported to have become all the more acute after a recent meeting of the Cabinet which, it is stated, adopted an important decision on fiscal procedures in the Ministries against the Finance Minister's decision. Subramaniam was the initiator of the move, and so evidently ranged against TTK.

But Nanda chose to remain neutral, which all the more came in for caustic comments subsequently, and added some more bitterness to the Nanda-TTK relationship.

To lend the whole affair the real touch of high-power lobbying, comes the report that some of the big business houses are taking an active interest in the episode. One of financial-industrial sharks is given the credit of lending all they have—money, power and press—to

an all-out dissemination of the campaign against TTK. Another big business giant is stated to be sitting on the fence waiting to take the plunge for the last stab—in true *et tu Brute* style—against the sagging Finance Minister.

But of course, it is argued that TTK is not all alone, and that he too has his share of big business at his beck and call.

Rumours and inner-Cabinet differences notwithstanding, it is a fact that the parties of the Right gave their memorandum to the President, only after TTK returned from his successful trip to the Soviet Union. Political circles are not inclined to dismiss this fact, as a mere accident.

The Communist Party in Parliament has consistently refused to be drawn into the campaign being run by the right-wing parties.

Morarji's New Job

Word has gone round that the government is determined to launch through-going "administrative reforms"; to streamline the administrative machinery of the Government of India, and make it efficient.

The great Morarji Desai has, consequently, been put in charge of the operation which is to be carried out through a high-powered Administrative Reforms Commission.

But what is the conception of these administrative reforms? Just the first touches which are now being given to the composition of the Commission bear out the government's vision.

One of the first proposals

which Morarjibhai is learnt to have made about the composition of this august body was the inclusion of industrial magnate G. D. BIRLA.

This clears up a lot of things. Streamline the administration, make the bureaucracy more efficient—for whose benefit? Not for the sake of the common man, not to bring the administration nearer the people. But nearer to the big business interests.

Efficiency means quick response to the industrial sharks, to the capitalists. The gaps between capital and bureaucracy must be narrowed.

However, G. D. is too big a man to be on a commission of this sort, even if it is supposed to be a high-powered one. He politely refused. So another such tycoon had to be found.

The next proposal was for Bharat Ram (of Hare Ram fame). But this time too Morarjibhai is reported to have wrongly calculated. Bharat Ram's consent should not have been taken for granted.

So the search still goes on. It is learnt that now a more realistic view of the situation is being taken, and the name of a suitable business expert is being proposed.

K. T. Chandi, Head of Institute of Business Management, Calcutta, is the new name reported to be under consideration for the commission along with a galaxy of MPs and other eminent figures.

—BHIMA

ISCUS Outlines Programme Of Work

NEW DELHI: "The vast masses of our people have understood as never before, the fact that Indo-Soviet friendship is a vital necessity for India's progress and indeed for the defence of this country's integrity and sovereignty"

SO reads the main resolution adopted at an important meeting of the National Council of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, which concluded its deliberations here on November 28, under the chairmanship of its President K. P. S. Menon.

This was indeed the main theme of the entire work of the session. Three seminars were the high point of the Council meeting.

Foreign Minister Swaran Singh was the main speaker at a seminar on "Indo-Soviet Cooperation for World Peace", and his full-scale praise of the Soviet Union's friendship for India was widely reported all over the country.

Of special significance was the Foreign Minister's sharp denunciation of those who were making subtle attempts to deny the Soviet Union's friendship and spread all types of canards. Two other seminars—one on Cultural Cooperation and the other on Economic Cooperation—were also organised and addressed by important Indian and Soviet speakers.

Among Indians who spoke at the three seminars were Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao (Member,

Planning Commission) Aruna Asaf Ali, G. Ramachandran MP, Rajni Patel, General S. S. Sokhey, Romesh Chandra, Cultural Society, which concluded its deliberations here on November 28, under the chairmanship of its President K. P. S. Menon.

The Soviet speakers were headed by Ambassador Benedictov and included Cultural Department head Rumyantsev and economists Yurlov and Cherkasov.

The ISCUS has decided on an intensive campaign to enrol new members and affiliate associate organisations during the three months December 1965 to February 1966. Special efforts are to be made to enrol workers, peasants, youth and women, both directly and through their organisations during this period.

An inspiring report of work was presented by ISCUS General Secretaries, Arjun Arora and Delshad Charl.

An Indo-Soviet Cultural Festival is being organised on a big scale in March-April of next year. Detailed decisions have been taken for improving the work of the society in universities and among medical men.

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATIONS

WHY THIS FOOD CRISIS ?

by Bhupesh Gupta

DEFENCE, DEMOCRACY, SECULARISM

—KASHMIR

by S. G. Sardesai

QUIT COMMONWEALTH

by Bhupesh Gupta

SELF RELIANCE IN DEFENCE

by Indrajit Gupta

Order from:

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
Rani Jhansi Road
New Delhi

Big Business Link Up With Politicians In Corruption

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

THE issue which has been simmering for a long time in the lobbies has spilled out—the question of corruption and politicians in power.

Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari's name got involved in the debate on corruption as a result of a high-pressure campaign and the memorandum recently presented to the President level in charges against him.

The occasion was provided by a two-hour discussion on the first annual report of the Central Vigilance Commission which was presented to the Lok Sabha on August 30.

One of the highlights of the discussion was a powerful contribution from Communist spokesman Homi Daji, who went all out to hold the bull by both horns.

Daji sharply brought out the fact that it was big business which was at the root of all corruption. It was the wedlock of big business with politicians in power which made the question of rooting out corruption such a tough nut to crack.

All drives directed against "corruption" were rendered infructuous because of the protective shield of the men in power, who were hand in glove with big business, he said.

Therefore Daji proposed that there should be a general probe into the affairs of big business, which was at the root of all corruption. At one time such a move was made,

but it was frustrated by big business under cover of "fundamental rights".

The government could now certainly take up this probe in right earnest with the powers vested in it under the Defence of India Rules. When the DIR could be used against the people, what precluded its effective use against big business and corrupt black money, he asked.

It was only through strong steps in this direction that the roots of corruption could be detected and its cantankerous hold on the body politic of the nation loosened he asserted.

The demand eloquently put forward by Daji to end political corruption and the wedlock between politician in power and big business received wide support during the discussion in the House.

It was perhaps the most clear indictment of the role of the power groups in harbouring the big business interests' corrupting influence.

BHU Affair

Was it merely a name which created such convulsions and confusion in Ministerial ranks when the Banaras University Amending bill came up in the Lok Sabha? Oh, no—there was something far more important than that. If a demonstration was needed to reveal the powerful pull which communal reaction has on the topmost circles of the ruling party, here it was.

The way the Congress Party handled the BHU affair in the Lok Sabha was a rare sight to behold.

Presumably eager to have quickly done away with the matter, it rushed headlong in introducing the bill. Prime Minister Shastri even sought priority for the measure by having the Patents Bill put off.

But when the communal forces and citadels of reaction began their offensive in right earnest, the government rushed about seeking a saviour.

And the saviour did come. It was PSP's H. V. Kamath—and no Congress MP—who arrived on the scene to pull the Congress chestnuts out of the fire. His motion for adjournment of the debate on the bill, which was only one day earlier rejected by the House, was adopted by a big majority, thanks to the Congress Party's support.

So the Lok Sabha did get a "free vote" on the bill, as Education Minister Chagla had promised; only it was not on the substance of the measure, but on the procedural issue of postponing debate!

While there was a big majority to carry through the motion for postponement, the temper of the

House was not entirely reflected in the count—since there were many on the Congress benches who sympathised with the Communists and left parties when they shouted "shame, shame" as the motion was put to vote.

The question everyone was asking was: why and when did the government shift its position? Inside the House there was not much evidence to provide a satisfactory answer.

True, the first day's debate on the bill was stormy and emotion-packed. There was punch in the speeches of members who spoke for and against the bill. The Congress Party, in fact most of the parties except the Communist Party were divided on the measure.

And yet even this emotional display in the Lok Sabha's discussions did not warrant the government's shifting attitude.

The transformation evidently could be explained by factors working outside the precincts of the House—unseen pressures at work, strong enough to produce convulsions in ministerial ranks. This resulted in at least one Cabinet Minister reportedly opting out against the bill.

SALES TAX INCREASED IN ANDHRA

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: The Andhra Government has resorted to legislation to raise general sales tax by 50 per cent—from the present 20 per cent to 30 per cent.

This at a time when there is widespread distress due to severe drought and near-famine conditions in the state would be another burden to the common people.

The Communist opposition in the Legislature walked out when last week the bill to amend the Andhra Pradesh General Sales Tax Act was rushed through without giving an opportunity to study the bill.

An amendment moved from the Communist benches for circulating the bill to elicit public opinion was rejected.

Speaking on the bill, P. Venkateswarulu pointed out that if the government had not failed to prevent tax evasion, there would not have been an occasion to bring about a bill like this which will aggravate the plight of the common man.

Among the alternatives suggested by the opposition was scrapping of prohibition, which anyhow is a failure and a costly fad causing heavy loss to the exchequer.

NATIONALISE FOREIGN TRADE, CURTAIL IMPORTS

*FROM PAGE 5

national interests. India should first try to import and export from the friendly socialist countries and where this proves impossible the other markets can be explored. It is this reorientation that is still being resisted purely out of ideological inhibitions of the diehard sections of the ruling capitalist class and its bureaucracy.

Next to the socialist countries, we need to strengthen our trade links with the newly independent Afro-Asian states.

The trade agreement with Sudan and the successful East African tour of Manubhai Shah are encouraging signs, especially since in the Third Plan period our total trade with Africa declined both in total value and percentage—from Rs. 119.7 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 115 crores in 1964-65, imports declining from 6.2 per cent to 5.2 per cent and exports from 7.4 per cent to 5.9 per cent. It has been estimated that India today accounts for only one per cent of Africa's total trade.

The same static or even stagnant trend is to be observed in the case of Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon and the UAR. Apart from Japan, our trade with other Asian countries is not increasing and is quite insignificant.

Destination apart, it is essential to try to increasingly pattern our foreign trade and relations on the model of our agreements with friendly

socialist countries i.e., a modified form of barter, helped out by necessary credits. While this is mutually beneficial, it is especially favourable to India considering her development needs.

As a matter of fact, India could well emulate the socialist countries' attitude towards her and help the underdeveloped African states with machines, know-how and the building of various projects in return for commodities she requires. Indeed, she could collaborate with socialist countries in such ventures. The recent trade agreement with Yugoslavia is a good start in this sphere and should be tried out with as many countries as possible.

But the crucial point is to insist that the imperialist countries should also link their "aid" and trade, that they too should make trade package deals with India. It could be that this suggestion would cause apoplexy in Whitehall and the White House but this should not deter our government. Indeed, it is a matter of shame that it has not tried to do anything in this direction at all. Better late than never, however.

Finally, a strenuous effort must be made to further cut out imports, at least for the coming five years.

Narottam Shah has pointed out in a series of articles in THE ECONOMIC TIMES that "as regards our imports, one of the most widespread and

harmful misconceptions is that we have made the maximum possible cut in our imports."

He notes that actually machinery imports come only to Rs. 520 crores in 1964-65 or 37 per cent of our total imports. If we cut our food (Rs. 300 crores), cotton (Rs. 44 crores), rayon (Rs. 10.6 crores) and some other miscellaneous items (Rs. 50 crores) we would make a total cut of Rs. 400 crores.

Another item to be closely looked into, in his opinion is the maintenance imports which came to Rs. 512.3 crores in 1964-65. Along with food, this comes to more than our total export earning. Here, too, in a comparatively short time considerable savings could be effected.

Agriculture-based maintenance imports eat up Rs. 131 crores, petroleum products Rs. 68.66 crores, chemicals Rs. 90.75 crores and manufactured goods Rs. 221.81 crores. With a minimum effort this could all be slashed to negligible quantities.

Shah rightly says: "given a very modest sacrifice by every Indian and the requisite measures outlined above, at least in the short run, i.e., say about a year or so, pressurisation by our creditors cannot do any great harm to us". (ECONOMIC TIMES, October 14).

It is this bold and self-respecting attitude that the government has so far refused to adopt.

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE MEET—SOFIA NOV 20-22

SOFIA: The highest body of the World Council of Peace, its Presidium (Presidential Committee), has unanimously taken a clear-cut stand on the Indo-Pakistan conflict, which fully conforms to that of the democratic movement in India. Over 50 representatives of 22 countries of all the continents took part in this important meeting in Bulgaria's beautiful capital. Among them were the topmost figures in the World Peace Council, headed by the members of the collective body which has replaced Professor J. D. Bernal.

MANY of the names are familiar in India. Present were Isabelle Blume (Belgium) who is the coordinating president of the executive, Reverend James Endicott (Canada), Lucio Luzzatto (Italian Socialist leader and M.P.), Ilya Ehrenburg (USSR), Abdoulaye Diallo (Guinea, who came carrying a personal message to the Presidium from President Sekou Toure), Khalef

CLEAR-CUT STAND ON INDO-PAK CONFLICT

Mohiuddin (UAR), Farouk Massarani (Lebanon), Mohamed Chebiba and Ahmed Zemerline (Algeria), Gordon Schaffer (Great Britain), Raymond Guyot (France), Alfredo Varela (Argentine), Marian Renke (Poland), Knolbloch (Czechoslovakia), Heinz Willmann (DDR), Carlton Goodlett and Mary Clarke (USA), Welter Diehl (West Germany), Yves Choliere (France), Enrique Lister (Spain) and several others.

Of the greatest significance was the presence and active participation of two representatives each from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Their presence and their excellent reports helped to focus special attention on the most urgent question of the American aggression in Vietnam.

A short but detailed report on the Indo-Pakistan conflict was presented during the discussion on the international developments by Romesh Chandra, Indian member of the Presidium and Executive. There appeared to be general

agreement with the sharp anti-imperialist and principled position which had been taken earlier by the Executive Committee, when it met in Malmo last month (see New Age, October 31).

Several members asked questions of the Indians present at the meeting (Romesh Chandra, Chitta Biswas and Om Prakash Palival), during intensive talks held between sessions and far into the night. The facts had to be explained at some length, for they are insufficiently known in most parts of the world.

The unanimous endorsement of the excellent stand taken earlier by the WPC Executive is a powerful blow in favour of peace and against the imperialists and war-makers. With the unanimous approval of this highest body and in the presence of so many leaders of the movement, the stand of the World Peace Council on the Indo-Pakistan conflict is now definite and clear.

cease-fire is indispensable and urgent; when it is strictly implemented, steps should be taken for the withdrawal of all troops and other armed personnel".

The Presidential Committee has pronounced itself strongly against imperialist interference, and has called "on the governments of India and Pakistan to settle all unsettled problems by peaceful and direct negotiations without any foreign interference".

The World Peace Council has also supported the proposal for a No War (non-aggression) pact between India and Pakistan, which "can create a favourable atmosphere for a peaceful settlement".

The support of the Peace has been extended to the democratic movement in Pakistan "above all in East Pakistan, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier region".

The World Council has also gone on record in support of the Quit Commonwealth campaign in India.

The most important political questions discussed by the meeting in Sofia were those of Vietnam, Rhodesia, Aden, European Security and Latin America. Very significant statements and resolutions were adopted on these questions, which call for intensified action in solidarity with the peoples fighting against imperialism everywhere in the world.

The next session of the World Peace Council will be held in the beginning of March 1966, where the key question under discussion will be that of the structure of the World Council and its various bodies. In the meanwhile, the Presidential Committee has taken important steps to strengthen the work of the World Council centre, improve its publications and other essential activities.

CHINESE ABSENCE

SOFIA: There is great regret here that the Chinese representatives did not come to take part in the session of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council. No reason was given for their absence. A cable received by the Council Executive merely stated that they would not take part in the Sofia meeting.

This is the first time that the Chinese Peace Committee has not sent representatives to an important meeting such as this one.

The Executive Committee sent another cable to the Chinese Peace Committee, requesting their presence, specially in view of the important agenda, including Vietnam and Rhodesia. There was no reply.

KANPUR-VENUE OF A-A CONFERENCE

The Fifth National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity will take place in Kanpur from December 17 to 19, 1965. Brisk preparations are already afoot to make it a striking demonstration of the united will of patriotic India for peace and national independence.

THE Appeal for the Conference, issued by the President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, Dr. Tara Chand, says that the Conference will "affirm once again the basic principles and policies of our country". The Appeal lists these principles as those of "anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, world peace, non-alignment, democracy, socialism, secularism and defence of our integrity and solidarity".

The Conference programme shows that subjects of the most urgent importance will be discussed. The most burning issues in Afro-Asian like those of Vietnam, Rhodesia, Aden, the Portuguese Colonies, South Africa are naturally among those at the head of the agenda. The Conference is expected to give its full support to the peoples struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. A seminar is scheduled to be held to discuss the ques-

Military Pacts—Conflicts-Makers

The World Peace Council has categorically declared that:

"Military treaties such as CENTO and SEATO, military bases and continued interference by the American and British imperialists are the main reason for the continued tension in this part of the world."

On the cease-fire, the Council's stand is again based on principle:

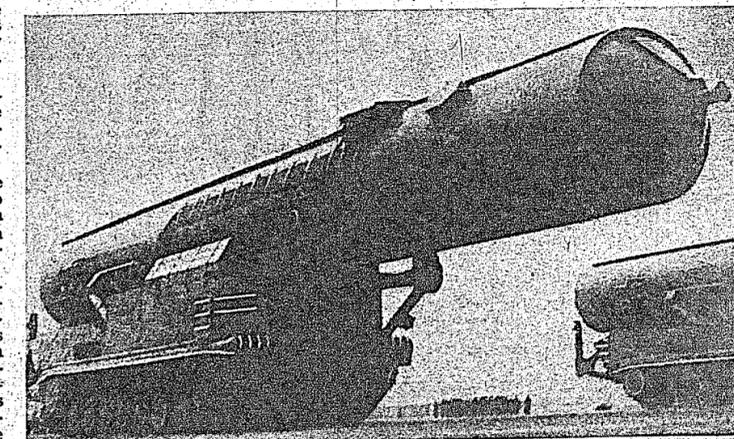
"... complete and absolute observance of the

Joliot Curie Gold Medals

THE Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace at its Sofia meeting, decided to award the Joliot Curie Gold Medal for the coming year to a number of distinguished peace workers from all over the world. Among them are Professor Linus Pauling (USA), Valentina Tereshkova (the Soviet woman cosmonaut), Reverend Martin Niemoller (German Federal Republic), the martyrs Nguyen Van Troi and Tran Van Dang of South Vietnam, and others. The late Professor Oscar Lange has been awarded the medal posthumously.

The Joliot Curie Medal is the highest award given by the World Peace Council. It will be remembered that last year India was among the recipients of the medal.

November 19 was observed as Soviet Rocket and Artillery Forces Day. Above is the latest super-rocket developed by Soviet Union which was shown on that day. (Radio-photo from APN)



Protest British Plan To Set Up Base In Indian Ocean

THE declaration by the British and United States governments of their intention to establish military bases in the Chagos Archipelago does not appear to have caused in us the necessary degree of realisation of the danger implicit in it. The voices of protest, though heard from all quarters, are feeble and ineffective.

Some years ago when the United States began to arm Pakistan with modern weapons of warfare, many of us naively and in ostrich fashion said to ourselves: "They are not aimed against us. American arms cannot be used to suppress or undermine a democracy like India's. They are only meant for 'containing' communism in Asia."

Everyone now knows what price we had to pay for our complacency. It may indeed be too late if the entire nation does not wake up immediately and act. Is it possible that these bases are meant for defensive purposes? Do

British and US frontiers extend into Chagos Archipelago in the Indian Ocean? If not, against whom are they directed?

Whatever may be the intentions of Britain and the US, is there any doubt that these bases can be used against India and also the Soviet Union which has proved to be a good and dependable friend of our country? The establishment of military bases in the Chagos is clearly a hostile and provocative act against India and her friends.

The British seem to have a religious devotion to their policy of "divide and rule". Though there is a UN resolution to the effect that a colony should not be broken up before it is given independence, the British have decided to split the colonies of Mauritius and Seychelles so as to set up an Anglo-American base on what they call "British Indian Ocean Territory".

Apart from exerting our entire might to implement the unanimous resolution of nonaligned nations which recently met at Cairo to oppose the establishment of military bases in the Indian Ocean and apart from actively cooperating with all nations who are opposed to this Anglo-American

design, it is imperative that all political parties in India should without delay jointly and effectively demonstrate their resentment of and opposition to this unholy Anglo-American move.

Bombay (T. S. HEGDE)

READERS' FORUM

Will Nanda Explain His Stand On Punjabi Suba?

THE announcement of the formation of the cabinet subcommittee and the parliamentary consultative committee to consider afresh the question of Punjabi Suba had helped a lot to calm the tense situation in Punjab. But this calmness, unfortunately, has not lasted long.

About a fortnight after the formation of the committees, Punjab Chief Minister Ram Kishan, followed by other semi-communal Congress leaders and other diehards of Hindu com-

munalism, started releasing his outpourings against the reorganisation of Punjab on the linguistic basis. Of course, this was done at the instance of some leaders at the Centre.

As always, the four Urdu dailies in Jullundur, controlled by the rabid Hindu communalists, took upon themselves the leadership of the anti-reorganisation campaign. They even went to the extent of questioning the loyalty of Sikhs towards India and writing all kinds of nonsense to provoke the Sikhs.

Fortunately enough, Akali leader Sant Fateh Singh, who commands the respect and obedience of the vast majority of the Sikhs,

is behaving in a quite sober and sensible manner. He is sincerely trying to avoid the issue of Punjabi Suba from becoming communal.

There are grave doubts in the minds of many people that the Hindu communalists are getting support from some of the top Congress leaders. Some even quote Union Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda as supporting the communal forces against reorganisation of Punjab.

Nanda has of course denied this. But his recent visit to Punjab has made his role in the matter dubious, to say the least. At Amritsar and Jullundur he openly opposed the reorganisation of Punjab on linguistic basis. At the public meeting in Jullundur, the tone of his speech was almost the same as that of Hindu communalists. He declared that there could not be another division of Punjab. In the case of other states, it was reorganisation but in the case of Punjab, it is "division".

Nanda has created misunderstandings among the public by his utterances while in Punjab. The earlier he makes his position clear the better for him and for the democratic and secular movement in Punjab. Unless he makes his position clear, people would be compelled to believe that he has aligned himself with the Hindu communalists at least as far as the reorganisation of Punjab on a linguistic basis is concerned.

Chandigarh BHAJAN SINGH

Eviction Without Compensation

IN connection with the construction of the court buildings in Hyderabad, the tenants residing in Yusufpura, behind the City Civil Court in Dewan Deodi, have been asked to vacate the premises.

About 200 families have been residing in this area for the last 30 years without any interruption. They were now being asked to vacate their houses without any alternative arrangements for their accommodation and without giving them any compensation.

The residents have submitted a petition to the Chief Minister, K. Brahmamanda Reddy and the Law Minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, against the illegal, forcible order of eviction.

A deputaion led by Sri Krishna. MLA, deputy leader of the opposition in the Andhra Assembly, recently waited on the Chief Minister. Brahmamanda Reddy was kind enough to assure the deputaionists that suitable orders will be issued in the matter.

Hyderabad A. R. DEVARAJ

Stop War in Vietnam

WASHINGTON'S BIGGEST ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION

WASHINGTON: The "March to Washington for peace in Vietnam" on November 27, ended with a mammoth meeting by the memorial to the first American President, George Washington. This was an anti-war demonstration, the biggest in the history of the American capital.

FROM 40 to 50 thousand Americans gathered here from all states, from Alaska and New York, from Michigan and Louisiana, to express their disagreement with the government's policy in South-East Asia and to demand discontinuation of the dirty war in Vietnam.

The speakers at the meeting expressed not only their personal protest against the "immoral and cruel war" but also the concern of many of their compatriots over the dangerous escalation of the armed conflict in Vietnam. Such for example, was the speech of Ronny Dugger, Editor of the magazine TEXAS OBSERVER who was the first to speak at the meeting.

The meeting wholeheartedly supported and approved the calls of the speakers to the Johnson administration for immediate end of the war in South Vietnam and barbarous bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and for the recall of American boys back home.

Stormy applause resounded in the square when Mrs. Martin Luther King declared that American strategists should have long since understood that bombs merely strengthened the determination of the South Vietnamese people because she saw how the oppressed people (Negroes) reacted to bombs and violence in the south of the United States.

She called upon the government to use the funds now squandered on the war to build educational institutions and hospitals. Thousands upon thousands of young men and girls who took part in the

march responded with stormy applause.

The speakers wrathfully denounced the attempts of American authorities to intimidate the participants in anti-war demonstrations and to stifle the voice of honest Americans. "It is sad and unforgivable that our President, Vice-President and Secretary of Justice are trying to intimidate students' organisations fighting for peace by threatening them with an investigation by the FBI", said Benjamin Spock, one of the leaders of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

The speakers not only criticized the present policy of the American government but also made suggestions for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese conflict.

Congressman Brown of California advanced clear-cut proposals when he declared that the United States should take initiative in suspending military operations in South Vietnam, stop the bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, abstain from sending additional contingents of American forces to Asia, express readiness to negotiate with representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and adhere to the

principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

The March to Washington demonstrated the unity of American fighters for peace. Delegations from more than 40 states, representing the broadest sections of the American people, came to the capital. They picketed the White House, for it is from the White House that come the orders on the extension of war and barbarous bombing of peaceful towns and villages in South and North Vietnam.

The President is not at the White House at present. He is at his Texas ranch. But the voice of the participants in the demonstration will unquestionably reach Texas too.

The marchers carried posters reading "no more war", "stop bombings", "pull out American troops from South Vietnam now". Against the background of this impressive demonstration a small group of men shouting slogans for war in Vietnam and against anti-war demonstrators, made a miserable sight. Among them were members of the American Nazi Party.

The March to Washington for peace in Vietnam, unparalleled by its attendance and unity, was an evidence of the growth of anti-war movement in the United States.

This is also proved by the recent massive actions against the Vietnamese war in 70 other American cities, by the suicides by self-inflicted burning in protest against American aggression in Vietnam, by the fact that young Americans demonstratively tear up their draft cards.

The March to Washington must serve as a spring board for the continuation of the campaign for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese conflict, the organizers of the march said.

BRITAIN

LONDON: A torchlight procession marched through the central streets of London, festively decorated for Christmas, as a sinister reminder of the bloody events in Vietnam, as a call for immediate action for putting an end to the American aggression.

Thousands of people took part in the demonstration in the streets of the capital at the call of the "British Council for Peace in Vietnam", "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" and other organizations of British democrats. The procession was organized

in support of today's "March to Washington of American peace-champions.

The demonstrators gathered at three different points in the evening, then converged on the embankment of the Thames not far from the Parliament buildings and marched through the central streets of the city in a single column.

They were accompanied by reinforced squads of police which could be seen all along the route of the demonstrators who chanted slogans and were singing songs of peace, mainly the hymn of American fighters for civil right—"We Shall Overcome."

The demonstration which, blocked the traffic and was one of the biggest mass actions for peace in Vietnam, ended outside the St. Paul's Cathedral.

It was not only in London that British democrats called for ending war in Vietnam. Demonstrations were held today in other cities as well including Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, etc. In Manchester police arrested some demonstrators for "disorderly conduct".

SWEDEN

STOCKHOLM: Hundreds of people turned out this evening for a mass demonstration against the US aggression in Vietnam, held on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

The demonstrators marched through the central streets of the city with banners reading "Yankees, Get Out of Vietnam", "Vietnam for the Vietnamese", "Leave Vietnam" and "We Protest Against Mass Killings in Vietnam".

They wanted to go to the US Embassy, but found the road barred by the police. The demonstrators then chanted protests against the American terror in Vietnam.

FRANCE

The United States Embassy in Paris received petitions signed by hundreds of American residents in Europe, calling for a halt to bombing and a cease-fire under international controls in Vietnam.

The petitions, which came from France, Britain and Germany, had been collected by an impromptu committee who had earlier put up a big advertisement in the Paris edition of the NEW YORK TIMES.

French student organisations, in a surprise move, assembled 3,000 students before the Sorbonne on the Left Bank and attempted to march towards the Embassy for a demonstration, which however, was dispersed by the police on its way.

Imperialist Attempts To Make Congo into Another Vietnam

Once again in the highly complicated situation in the Congo, in the name of solving the conflict between President Kasavubu and Moise Tshombe, imperialism has put up its most trusted agent to take up all powers in his own hands and ensure the continued safety of its so-called vital interests.

WHILE it is true that there is not much to choose between Kasavubu, Tshombe and Mobutu, the fact is that when Tshombe was dismissed from Prime Ministership by Kasavubu a couple of months ago, there was an element of responding to the popular resentment against this most hated name in Africa.

There was also the question of the OAU summit conference and the realisation that Tshombe's presence there would certainly tantamount to provocation of the very highest order.

Recently, however, a plot was discovered in the Congo by the caretaker government of Kimba. It was found that Tshombe was preparing an anti-government putsch.

The preparations, as it was officially stated, involved not only Belgian officers and White mercenaries, but also a "whole network of plotters", including Air Congo pilots,

agents of various companies, missionaries and bankers. The aim of the plot was to make arrests and even to murder some men close to President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Kimba and to seize power.

Involved in the plot were also influential Western circles which, as observers indicated, were irritated by the Kimba government's political steps to normalise relations with the neighbouring Congo (Brazzaville) and other African countries.

These circles were also displeased with the presence of Kasavubu at the OAU Conference in Accra and his statements threatening the expulsion of mercenaries from the Congo and the possibility of negotiations with the rebels.

The Kimba Government also issued a statement about the involvement of Tshombe in some crimes perpetrated in the Congo.

By making such statements, the Kasavubu-Kimba Govern-

ment underestimated, it appears, the forces of neo-colonialism and the local Ultras in the Congo. These forces represented by the military clique led by General Mobutu have now removed the Kasavubu-Kimba Government from office.

Mobutu stated that the Kasavubu-Kimba policy "did not answer the interests of the country".

What is Mobutu's record? His political career started as one of Patrice Lumumba's supporters. In 1960 he was bought over by imperialism and with the so-called sanction provided by President Kasavubu he arrested Lumumba, the responsibility for whose murder under mysterious circumstances can be apportioned only between him and Tshombe.

What is the source of this special power that Mobutu seems to have enjoyed all these years. It is, nothing but the simple fact that in the difficult and strained circumstances obtaining in the Congo the soldiers in the central army could be paid regularly out of funds provided by the Western powers, for quite considerable periods at least, directly through Mobutu.

The action of Tshombe's Congo Party in hailing the

coup as an "act of heroism" surely signifies the hope that Tshombe himself will be soon brought into the government in some important capacity.

It is true that one of General Mobutu's first acts was to free Antoine Gizenga, former Lumumbist and rebel, from detention. This however means nothing and was done to create confusion and hide the real trend of events, just like his declaration that his will be a "Government of national unity".

What should be clearly seen in the Congolese developments is that with the mounting popular resistance including armed struggle put up by the rebel forces, imperialists and neo-colonialist forces no longer find it possible to rule through indirect means and have to bank directly on the military. Could this be the first step towards transforming the Congo into a second Vietnam?

One thing is certain, with the gathering storm over the whole of southern Africa from Rhodesia through the Portuguese colonies to South Africa, imperialism is dead set against losing its interests in the Congo and for using it as a base of operations against the national liberation struggles further south.

A JOURNEY THROUGH Soviet Union

SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN FOR 1966

<p>Cultural monthly Subscription 1 year Rs. 6.00 2 year Rs. 9.00 3 year Rs. 12.00 Single copy Rs. 0.60</p> <p>Culture and LIFE</p> <p>SOVIET Film</p> <p>Screen monthly Subscription 2 year Rs. 10.00 3 year Rs. 13.50 1 year Rs. 6.75 Single copy Rs. 0.75</p> <p>SOVIET UNION</p> <p>Illustrated monthly Subscription 1 year Rs. 6.75 2 year Rs. 10.00 3 year Rs. 13.50 Single copy Rs. 0.75</p> <p>SOVIET WOMAN</p> <p>Monthly magazine Subscription 1 year Rs. 4.25 2 year Rs. 6.00 3 year Rs. 8.50 Single copy Rs. 0.50</p>	<p>WIN A FREE TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION</p> <p>Anyone enrolling ten or more subscribers to Soviet periodicals listed here will receive one numbered certificate for every ten subscription. The subscription orders along with remittance in full should be sent to any of the authorised agents mentioned here and the agent concerned will send the certificates. The numbers will be drawn at the end of the campaign and the holder of the lucky number will win a free trip to the Soviet Union. All other certificate holders will receive prizes for every certificate. The prizes are cameras, wrist watches, clocks, mechanical & electrical shaving sets, books, postage stamps etc. For further details contact any of the authorised agents.</p> <p>NO CERTIFICATE WITHOUT PRIZE</p>	<p>Political weekly Subscription 1 year Rs. 6.00 2 year Rs. 9.00 3 year Rs. 12.00 Single copy Rs. 0.20</p> <p>Foreign affairs monthly Subscription 1 year Rs. 6.75 2 year Rs. 10.00 3 year Rs. 13.50 Single copy Rs. 0.75</p> <p>Weekly newsmagazine Subscription 1 year Rs. 5.00 2 year Rs. 7.50 3 year Rs. 10.00 Single copy Rs. 0.10</p> <p>MOSCOW NEWS</p> <p>SOVIET LITERATURE</p> <p>Literary monthly Subscription 1 year Rs. 6.00 2 year Rs. 9.00 3 year Rs. 12.00 Single copy Rs. 0.60</p>	<p>NEES TIMES</p> <p>INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS</p> <p>MOSCOW NEWS</p> <p>SOVIET LITERATURE</p>
---	---	---	--

GIFT

12-sheet multi-coloured Calendar 1966. 2 year and 3 year subscribers will receive in addition calendar for 1967 and 1968 respectively. Calendars limited, subscribe early to avoid disappointment.

SUBSCRIBE NOW

AUTHORISED AGENTS: People's Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi; Patrika Subscription Agency, 2209/22 Kali Masjid, Delhi-6; People Literary Centre, 8895, Nawabganj, Delhi; People's Publishing House; Grand Hotel Bldg, Bhopal; PPH Book Stall, 190-B Khatwadi Main Road, Bombay-4; Relief Road, Ahmedabad; Vijay Stores, 381-A Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2; Relief Road, Ahmedabad; Station Road, Amard; Manisha Granthalaya, 4/3-B Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta; National Book Agency, 12 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta; NCBH (P) Ltd., 199, Mount Road, Madras; Madurai; Coimbatore; Tiruchirappalli; Tanjore; Prabhakar Book House, Trivandrum; Ernakulam; Alleppey; Calicut; Cannanore; C. I. C. C. Book House, P. B. Road, Ernakulam; Visalaandhra Book House, Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad; People's Book House, Opp. B. N. College, Patna; People's Book House, Hazaribagh Road, Ranchi; Navakarataka Publications, Bangalore-9; Regional Representation, 3106 Khade Bazar, Balgaum.

Philippines Move For An Asian Identity & Genuine Independence

Following the victory of Senator Ferdinand E. Marcos in the Philippine Presidential elections against President D. P. Macapagal, has been revealed and brought into focus the deep and powerful current in the country's political and social life in search for an Asian national identity and to free itself from the US political and economic domination.

FIRST there are the voting figures themselves against the outgoing President Macapagal's 2,987,392 the President-elect Marcos received 3,625,437 votes in a sweeping and overwhelming victory.

Although Marcos did not contest the elections on a clear-cut progressive election programme, Americans are seriously worried about the future of their military bases which are at present the main base of operation in their war of aggression against Vietnam.

Clark Field a 300-square mile base in which 50,000 people live and work, provides the principal logistical support for the Air Force in Vietnam. The naval base at Subic Bay is the chief supply and repair depot for the Seventh Fleet.

The loss or impairment of the efficiency of these bases would compel the forces en-

gaged in Vietnam to draw logistic support from bases twice as far away—in Japan and Guam—and beyond from Pearl Harbour in Hawaii.

What is politically most significant in these developments in the Philippines is the very extensive broad base of the current of anti-American sentiment that is sweeping across the country.

While the core of this movement is closely linked with the underground Communist Party, the powerful agitation against American military bases and business interests is led by broad sections of the senior-most and influential university professors, writers and other intellectuals.

The movement is supported even by some of the wealthiest Filipino industrialist families against the privileged position of the US monopolies.

American companies have invested \$465 million in the Philippines and their economic interests are guaranteed under the hated Laurel-Langley agreement which grants American businessmen parity with Filipinos in most sectors of the economy until 1974.

The minimum prospect for the immediate future is a powerful drift towards neutralism and for disentangling the country from its military involvements with the USA's wars of aggression, even though the country may not yet be able formally to renounce the existing military alliances to which it is tied

like the SEATO or to liquidate the military bases.

The underground Communist Party operates both through broad united-front organisations in the urban areas as well as through the remnants of the former Peoples Liberation Army (HMB) popularly known as the Huks, in the deep countryside.



A recent anti-American demonstration in Manila

COMMUNIST LEADER MURDERED IN VENEZUELA

SPEAKING in the Venezuelan Parliament, the Secretary of the Party of People's Vanguard, Jose Vicente Rangel announced the death of a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela, Alberto Lovera.

"Lovera was arrested last October by the Central Police Board. He died as a result of cruel tortures. The Central Police Board has hidden his body," Rangel declared.

He then told the Deputies about the disappearance of 15 political prisoners, including the veteran of the trade union movement and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela, Donato Carmona.

"All these facts," Rangel said, "arouse indignation of Venezuelan public opinion". Political suppression is a common feature in a number of Latin American countries. Communists because of their fearless championing of the peoples struggle earn the wrath of the authorities first of all.

A number of patriots are languishing in the jails of Venezuela. There have been instances when as a result of extreme torture they lose their life. This has come to light once again.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT GOES ANTI-LABOUR UNDER WILSON

From KAY BEAUCHAMP, New Age Special Correspondent

LONDON: Although there is no formal alliance with the Liberal Party, it is now clear that the Labour Government remains in office, as John Gollan put it, "by the grace of Grimond".

The Queen's speech was most remarkable for the omission of any mention of steel. Prime Minister Wilson claims that the proposal to nationalise steel has not been dropped, but has been postponed because there is no time for it in this parliamentary session.

This, of course, deceives no one. Thirty Labour MPs put down an amendment, expressing their concern and there have been many other protests.

Of the 24 major bills listed in the Queen's speech, one of the first will be George Brown's "early warning" plan, which will undermine free wage negotiations.

Another will enforce the recommendations of the Devlin Report to make "more effective use of labour in the docks". This will cause bitter resentment among port workers, who see it as an attempt to increase speed-up and provide higher profits for the employers.

There are also proposals concerning housing, but these do not touch the main obstacle, which is the high rate of interest on loans.

Not all the proposals are reactionary like the legislation

on wage negotiations, but none of them make any inroads into private property or the profit system. It will be easy for the Liberals to support them, and hard for the Tories to put up more than a token opposition.

The Queen's speech clearly indicated the Government's intention of allowing the nationalised coal industry to run down, in the interests of the privately-owned and immensely profitable oil industry.

Since then, more detailed plans have been issued, which show that something like 150 pits will be closed in the next two or three years, and the labour force is likely to be reduced by 175,000 by 1970.

Demonstrations against the proposals are being planned in the coalfields, starting in South Wales.

The government's aim is to prop up the sterling, push up exports and keep the balance of payments problem under control, by measures to keep wages down and reduce the cost of production.

This policy is embodied in Brown's National Economic Plan, which contains the target for an average rate of growth of 3.8 per cent for the next six years, totalling 25

per cent by 1970.

This is not an economic plan in the socialist sense at all. In socialist countries, plans embodying targets twice as high as Brown's have often been adopted, and have proved realistic. These are carried out on the basis of the public ownership and control of the national resources.

In this country, 80 per cent of the economy is in private hands, and Brown boasts that he is not telling the employers what to do. His plan simply expresses his hopes as to what may take place in the next five years.

He is trying to ensure this by making investment even more profitable for the monopolies by restricting wages, breaking down established trade union practices, drastically reducing the labour force in certain industries, and restricting the growth of the social services.

All this can only be achieved at the expense of the workers. Hence the new legislation on compulsory submission of wage claims. This follows the "voluntary" vetting by the TUC, which is already in force.

The new Act, if passed, will require notification to the Department of Economic Affairs, of all claims for higher pay, shorter hours or major improvements in working con-

ditions. They control considerable areas of semi-liberated territory where only heavily armed policemen can enter in force but the daily life is controlled by the HMB either directly or through "legal cadres" appointed among the villagers.

Since the party was formally outlawed in 1957 and has been the target of concerted repression and massacre since as early as 1950, it has been gradually rebuilt and its policies and methods of struggle reoriented.

It has already succeeded to a remarkable extent in drawing in the youth and the intelligentsia and building a broad united front with all patriotic sections of the population including sections of the bourgeoisie.

In an underground interview, with a correspondent of the NEW YORK TIMES, one of the top leaders of the party is reported to have said that the strategy of the Party had shifted from an attempt to seize power by armed force to a "phase of legal struggle".

He said that the party had accepted the possibility that it might accomplish a "peaceful transition" to power.

Together with the organisation in the cities the Party is engaged in reorganising the movement in the countryside to rally the rural masses under the new reorganised leadership.

The party's main platform today is for the building up of a popular front in consonance with the rising national spirit for independence from US domination.

— B. R.



The World

It has been pointed out that everytime the US Defence Secretary McNamara has visited Saigon in the past it has resulted in further escalation of the American involvement in Vietnam. Since he visited South Vietnam four months ago, the US armed forces have been trebled; the number of flights by the B-52 strategic bombers has increased ten-fold, and against the territory of the Democratic Republic in the north the US Air Force went over to large-scale bombings of economic objectives in densely populated districts including the Red River delta.

McNAMARA's present trip also is indicative of the administration's determination of further stepping up their war effort: another 40,000 American soldiers are to be dispatched to South Vietnam, the biggest US aircraft carrier, the ENTER-PRICE is to join the Seventh Fleet and bombings of industrial objectives around Hanoi and Haiphong are to be started with the B-52 bombers.

There are all the signs of the Vietnam war entering a new stage both in scale and direction. Before the end of the year there will be 200,000 US troops and possibly a quarter of a million by the early spring, not to count the ever-growing US naval forces operating off the coast and the air units operating from the Philippines.

The presence of "advising" the South Vietnamese government is gone, too, the direction of the war as well as the actual fighting is undertaken by US troops operating in larger and larger units.

Although the Americans publish estimates of casualties inflicted on the Vietcong, nothing is said about civilian casualties of the air-raids carried out on villages in South Vietnam.

However it is known that there are over a million refugees in the South who have been rendered homeless by these operations. The figures of those who have been killed or maimed can only be surmised from this.

The US ground troops are now involved in substantial losses; the casualty rate averaging over 250 dead a week and the figure is rising fast.

With this the demand for even greater violence is growing, demanding not only more intensified bombings on the

USA Decides on Further Escalation of Vietnam War

DRV including the cities of Hanoi and Haiphong but also a sea blockade of its entire coast.

While the bold and courageous movement within the United States for an end of the dirty war in Vietnam has rapidly expanded in recent weeks, perhaps the situation has to grow even worse before it can turn for the better, when the wide masses of the American population will be made to feel the cost of this cruel war in terms of even higher figures of American casualties.

The total Vietnamese casualties of course are anything between ten to hundred times the US figure.

OAU Plans For Guerilla Fighting In Zimbabwe

ON a superficial view the situation in Rhodesia seems to have reached a stalemate. The British-imposed embargo has proved so utterly ineffective that even some banks operating in London have found out ways of operating "business with Salisbury".

Although the UN Security Council has decided to impose an oil embargo, Rhodesia has already made an

agreement with Portugal about its petroleum requirements which are not very large anyway.

Portuguese Angola produces 800,000 tons of oil and unless the Mozambique ports are actually blockaded there is no way of preventing petroleum being exported to Rhodesia.

Not all the West European countries are serious about the embargo either. Spain, the Netherlands and West Germany have "reservations", to say the least.

In Britain the Tories are opposed to what they describe as "punitive" sanctions and an oil embargo according to them will certainly come under that category. Wilson too has said that Britain alone will not impose an oil embargo.

From within Rhodesia the only news so far of effective African resistance to the UDI has been of the limited strikes in the industrial town of Bulawayo.

However, the most important news has come following the conclusion of the meeting of the five-nation special committee set up by the Organisation of African Unity which concluded after a week's secret session in Dar-es-Salaam last week.

The meeting attended by military experts is reported to have decided on ways and means of developing effective guerilla struggle in Rhodesia on the widest scale possible and a substantial number of independent African countries have promised concrete material help as well as facilities for military training and supplies.

As for President Kaunda's request for British troops for guarding Zambia's border with Rhodesia against any possible racist incursion from the south, clearly there are two aspects of this question. In a sense it is primarily Britain's responsibility to prevent any aggressive incursion from Rhodesia—for which Britain is still legally responsible—against another Commonwealth Country, Wilson, however, has imposed two significant conditions, first that British troops will remain strictly under Whitehall control and will not cross the border into Rhodesia, and secondly that Zambia will not ask for troops from any other country while the British troops are in Zambia.

In fact these Wilson conditions are such that apart from the extreme right-wing of the Conservative Party, the Tory Leader of the Opposition has found the move quite acceptable. Coming as it does after several offers to send

troops and equipment by a number of African countries (and presumably also from the Socialist countries), it is not at all clear if this move is entirely a positive one.

France Goes To Polls On December 5

THE campaign for the Presidential elections in France is in full swing and on an unprecedented scale with the television radio, and all other mass publicity media in full harness.

Of the five candidates opposing de Gaulle, the three Right-wing candidates Tixier-



Vignancour, Marchalcy and Barbu do not offer any serious challenge to the General.

The candidate of the United Left Francois Mitterand, supported by the Communists, Socialists, and the Radicals is the most serious opponent to the regime based on personal power.

The other candidate, Lecanuet is contesting on the basis of a centrist programme but is prepared to join hands with the Gaullist UNR.

The most important political development in France in recent years has been the coming together of all the Leftist and progressive forces on a common platform—the first time since the beginning of the Cold war.

In fact the significance of this political regroupment far exceeds that of the actual percentage of votes which the Leftist candidate may immediately be able to win.

—BAREN RAY

Yankee Writ No More Runs Smooth in L. America

The fiat of the US rulers no more runs smoothly and universally over Latin America. Their plans to keep a tight grip on the continent are meeting growing resistance. This has been recently spotlighted by the Second Extraordinary Inter-American Conference.

THE US intent to set up a permanent Inter-American Force, for example, has met serious opposition from the representatives of Mexico, Chile and Uruguay. Their position, it is known, is also shared by Venezuela which did not attend the conference.

The absence of some of the members of the OAS was regarded as an ominous sign by some of the participants. The Foreign Minister of Mexico, Castillo Flores spoke about it particularly and emphasised that OAS was living through a crisis.

Faced with such a situation the US delegation in Rio De Janeiro held a series of meetings with the heads of delegations of Latin American countries.

The US delegation in Rio was frantically trying to prevent an open flare-up of the conflict and to iron out the differences splitting the OAS.

The Washington representatives were prepared to offer some concessions in the talks on Panama canal in return for the Panamanian representative's support to the idea of setting up the Inter-American Force.

But this pure and simple art-twisting is losing its effectiveness. Latin American people know much better from their own experience what the real meaning of this force is. Did they not witness only recently what the US did in Dominican Republic?

In proposing the idea to the conference, the United States must have been aware of the anti-US feelings in South America. If it had not, it has had the initial taste of it when the conference opened in Hotel Gloria.

Prominent Brazilian intellectuals held a protest demonstration against the conference and the host country had to arrest them.

But the opposition that was voiced by the intellectuals is not limited to that class. Although eight of them were arrested for taking part in the demonstration, their voice has agitated the people of Brazil.

Undaunted by repression let loose by the Brazilian Government a campaign has been started in their defence. Three hundred prominent leaders of Guanabara state have signed a petition demanding their release.

About 90 professors, actors, journalists and other intellectuals in Sao Paulo have also supported this demand. Mass meetings are being held in many parts of the country to protest against the arrests.

Intellectuals are in the vanguard of the movement for defence of freedom, for pulling the country from the web of US intrigues.

U. S. Lobby Works Overtime

—For Nothing!

AFTER a lot of humming and hawing New Delhi seems to be in a mood to meet at Tashkent before going to Washington. Reports say that Soviet Prime Minister has suggested a summit either at the end of this month or early in January.

But there are still pressures at work to reverse the order. G. D. Birla and S. K. Patil are working overtime. There are reports that G. D. has been commissioned to write a series of articles in the American press.

The officialdom is presently talking of Tashkent(s). Not just one Tashkent but a series. Kashmir is not the only strain on Indo-Pak relations though it is admittedly the heaviest.

But there are undoubtedly many things to be desired, say, in diplomatic relations, and in stabilising the cease-fire. All these and many more aspects would need more rounds of talks than one.

The Americans are certainly not keeping quiet. They would certainly not stand idly by when the Soviet Union seizes the initiative for bringing India and Pakistan into some working relations at the end of a decade and half punctuated by blatant partisanship on the part of the United States and Britain.

PATRIOT has reported that Defence Secretary McNamara had told Patil that the United States would not accept any settlement at Tashkent.

There are reports that B. K. Nehru, our man in Washington, has also warned New Delhi of likely hostility by Washington towards any Tashkent arrangement.

It may be possible that the types like B. K. Nehru are proving themselves more loyal than the king.

CHALO WASHINGTON CAMPAIGN: B. K. Nehru and Patil are not alone. In New Delhi today interested Ministers and officials are vying with each other in turning

out the grease for the Washington mill.

Washington is not alone in using food for blackmail. Some in Delhi are competing with it—and with greater success.

Reports that are adorning the columns of newspapers every morning about deficit ranging from

THE WEEK

three to ten millions and more are a calculated gambit.

These gory reports emanating from Subramaniam's Food Ministry and elsewhere are designed to rush Prime Minister Shastri for a face-to-face meeting with Johnson and eventual sell-out.

In the midst of such a spate of distress reports on the food front, T. T. Krishnamachari has raised a pertinent point to which his colleague in charge of food has no reply. What has happened to the bumper crop of 88 million tonnes this year?

Nobody talks about it. The Food Corporation resolved to procure two million tonnes of rice out of fabulous harvest. But the achievement is only of the order of 1.4 million.

But still this same Subramaniam had the gumption to tell Hiren Mukherjee the other week that his resolution on PL 480 was politically inspired.

Food is not the only grease that is being manufactured. It is known that the Chinese have stepped up their intrusions in spite of the wintry days. Whatever the Chinese motive, the net result is to help the lobby which seeks to drive Shastri to Washington as early as possible.

COMMONWEALTH UP AGAIN: The rules of procedure have saved the Commonwealth. Bhagvat Jha Azad's resolution demanding withdrawal from the Commonwealth is now dead as the Dodo.

It is significant that it was Masani, Kamath and Nath Pal who argued furiously that the Lok Sabha was not competent to discuss it any more. This was in spite of the Deputy Law Minister's advice that it was within the competence of the Speaker to resume the discussion.

But the head of the Commonwealth is likely to derive only small comfort. Because only a few days ago Minister Raghuramiah had exposed the duplicity of the British on the same floor.

He revealed that India had placed orders worth seven million pounds for military hardware. And weeks after the cease-fire the British fulfilled a fraction of it: seven lakh pounds.

To begin with, the perfidious British placed a blanket ban on purchase of aircraft and other equipment. On September 28, five days after the fighting stopped, they ban-

ned spare parts also.

Then they formally lifted the ban and instituted the system of export of licenses for purchases of military supplies. But licenses were hardly forthcoming.

This is sheer duplicity and no British apologists in this country, not even Hanumanthayya, can make the people forget about it.

MATHAI & MOUNTBATTEN: Meanwhile, M. O. Mathai, the former Special Assistant of the late Prime Minister, has come out with another apologia for the British.

In a letter to the **INDIAN EXPRESS** he says the father of Gnat, the Indian fighter-plane, was Mountbatten and not Menon.

We have no source either to confirm or deny the story. Because this chronicler never had the privilege of moving in the company of Mathai or Mountbatten.

But we know one thing. Mathai is comfortably placed today, thanks to the Chechamma Trust. Please don't ask me who Chechamma is. If only the inquiry report had been made public Mathai would not have been so vocal then.

Whispering Gallery

Madame Director

INSIDER regrets to announce the demise of the Company Law Advisory Commission. Little was known about its existence, much less about its abolition.

I am, therefore, tempted to write a sympathetic obituary about the poor little thing. It was murdered in cold blood in October last.

The Company Law Advisory Commission was set up some four years ago under the Company Act. It was composed of non-officials. Its functions were limited to advising the Finance Ministry on certain aspects of company management.

Say, for instance, should a newly appointed managing director get so much, why not a little less; have the nominees to top executive jobs the requisite qualification or not, and so on.

Some petty odd jobs these. Still the Commission ran into constant trouble. Frowned upon by the fabulous tycoons and disowned by the Company Law Secretary and the Ministry it became more and more anaemic.

But the worst "sin" it committed was the display by some of its unchivalrous members to summon a bevy of Birla girls for *visa voce*.

How many of us do know that the Birla enterprises have scores of women directors. Let not the reader run away with the impression that Insider is a woman-hater. Far from it.

There are hundreds of competent women in this country who can get into top echelons of big companies. But for the Birlas, Indian womanhood does not simply exist outside Birla females.

Under the Company Act when top executives are named as technical director, sales director, etc. the Advisory Commission has a statutory duty to satisfy themselves that the nominees are "fit and proper" persons.

In the discharge of that duty the

Commission in the course of its debilitating existence had summoned before them at least a dozen Birla girls. Nomination of several Birla girls was, of course, approved without any catechism.

All these females elevated to top executive posts get nothing less than Rs. 5,000 a month. Therefore, the Advisory Commission called up some of them for a tete-tete.

And naturally some of them were rejected. Imagine some of the Madam Directors appearing before the Commission in veils!

Recently three Birla girls were hauled up for examination. All of them were young wives of three grandsons of the Birla Maharaj, I mean, G. D. Birla.

One of them was appointed technical director of one of the Birla enterprises. Roughly the oral examination of the little spouse of the grandson took the following form:

What qualification, Madam?

Studied at Pilani Engineering College.

Passed?

No.

Bravo, Madam technical director!

Rejected.

Another of the trio was appointed sales director of some other company.

Academic qualification?

General education at Pilani.

Sales experience?

Gone with the hubby to the USA and West Germany and acquainted herself with the art of selling.

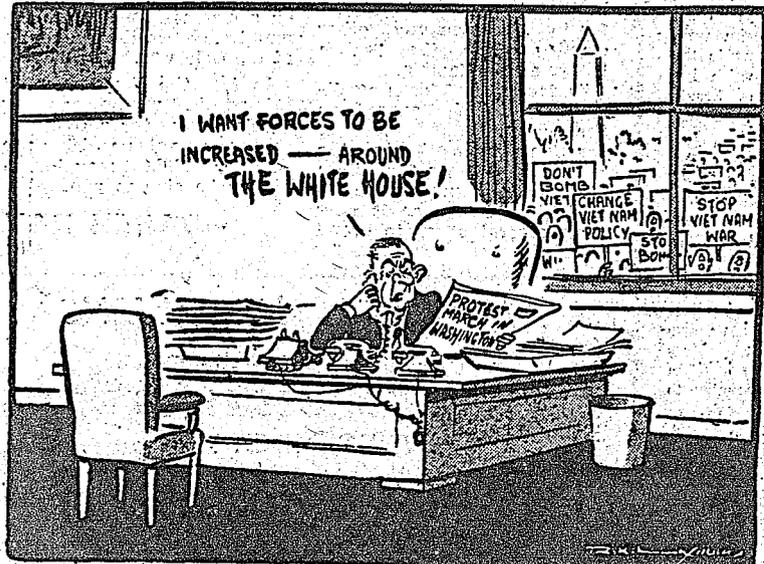
She too was rejected.

The Birlas after this were in a rage. Fellow tycoons also were in a temper for other reasons.

The Gods were soon propitiated. The Commission was abolished, RIP.

—INSIDER

HOME FRONT



Courtesy: TIMES OF INDIA