

IT WAS NOT FOR THIS THAT OUR MARTYRS DIED...

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By THE EDITOR

Vijayalakshmi Pandit was the first of Prime Minister Shastri's personal emissaries to the West. She was sent to explain the facts of Pakistan's aggression against India to General de Gaulle. The newspapers report that S. K. Patil will now be sent to Washington and London to act as Shastri's emissary to President Johnson and Prime Minister Wilson.

POLITICAL circles are wondering what exactly the emissaries are expected to do. A preview of what probably Patil will say, on India's behalf, has been kindly given to us by Vijayalakshmi Pandit. And let me say right away, it is a pretty dirty preview—which must alert the nation.

This is what Jawaharlal's sister said at a press conference in Paris, after she had met de Gaulle:

"We are fighting to preserve the democratic values, on which the Indian Union has been built. If India fails to defend these principles, there will be no stemming the tide of communism in Asia."

So it was to stem "the tide of communism" that our martyrs gave their lives, according to the Prime Minister's envoy in Paris. But not once during all these days did we hear the Prime Minister himself use such an expression... or say anything even remotely suggesting such an "aim" for our struggle.

Madame Pandit made things even clearer, in case the gentlemen of the western press had any doubts. She went on to amplify her statement that "India fought for principles and moral values", with the following words:

"These values were the same in France, the UK, the USA and many other countries, and to the extent we can defend these values, democracy can survive in Asia... But if we cannot, there will be no stopping the spread of communism in Asia."

Our martyrs felt in their flesh and bones the common "values" which we "share" with the British and American imperialists: they felt them in the shape of the Pattons and Sabres and other armaments made in USA and Britain, which the Pakistan armed forces used to kill them...

Never, even in the worst days of the Chinese aggression in 1962, did Jawaharlal Nehru allow any one in authority to speak of fighting "the spread of communism". On the contrary, again and again, he pointed out that India was fighting to defend itself only against Chinese aggression, and not against the communist system. All the pressure of the imperialist powers and their reactionary agents in-

side this country, could not persuade Jawaharlal Nehru to abandon this essential principled stand.

But today we have the personal representatives of Prime Minister Shastri kowtowing to the imperialists in Paris, using the rotten language of a Dulles, distorting vilely the aims of our just struggle, all in the name of "winning friends and influencing people".

And now after the Madame, will go Sadoba Patil to his friends in London and Washington. Sadoba is bound to outdo Vijayalakshmi: fighting "communism" has been his age-long mission, and now is the chance of his life!

Unfortunately for the nation, it is not only the stars of the right inside the Congress who are raising the communist bogey, to beg for imperialist "aid". Congress President KamaraJ himself said on October 3 in Madras:

"America must realise that if India, a much bigger country than Pakistan, went communist, the entire Asia would become communist, posing a big threat to Western bloc."

And with this argument, KamaraJ pleads for American "aid" to be diverted from Pakistan to India!

Sections of the monopoly press are building up a campaign round the same theme.

Where are we going? Is it to defend India from "communism" that our jawans died? Is this the aim of our struggle? Was it for this that the nation united as never before?

The answer is NO, a hundred times NO.

Can the Prime Minister not understand what would be the reaction to such statements by his own emissary and by the Congress President himself, in friendly countries abroad? What Vijayalakshmi has said would only feed our enemies' propaganda in the Afro-Asian world. It is utterly and completely false. It is dangerous.

The Prime Minister should make the aims of our struggle clear once again. He must repudiate the reactionary, nonsensical statements put out in Paris, supposedly on his behalf by his emissary. The sooner he does this, the better for the nation.



The dead at Chheharta, September 22, bombing by Pak Planes

US-CHINA BRIDGE? Story Of A 'Revolutionary' General

HOSANNAS are being sung all over the People's Republic of China these days, in honour of a new leader of the world's "revolutionary forces". The Chinese press and radio have carefully given full publicity to the excellent words, which are falling from the lips of this oracle of "revolution".

The name of this much-hosannaed "revolutionary" is LI CHUNG-JEN. His past:

- ★ He was a Kuomintang General and a close associate of Chiang Kai-shek;
- ★ In 1927, he exterminated many thousands of Communists under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek;
- ★ In 1936, he supervised the suppression (massacre) of Communists and democrats in Kwangsi province;
- ★ In 1941, he was commander-in-chief of the so-called anti-communist armies;
- ★ In 1945-46, he was the chief of the Chiang headquarters in Peking and directed the battles against the People's Liberation Army;
- ★ He spent sixteen years in the United States of America as the special guest of the State Department.

The Chinese Communist Leaders had written that such men as General Li are "selling the homeland", "oppressing the people" and "resorting to bloody violence".

But now suddenly, the same Li Chung-jen is lauded to the skies and given a free run of the Chinese press and radio. Only on September 26, Peking threw a huge press conference for the new "revolutionary", and published his pearls of wisdom widely.

Is it that Li has suddenly "changed", and so his murders of thousands of Chinese Communists can be forgiven? Nothing of the sort, for Li's anti-communism is not hidden.

The secret of this anointing of General Li Chung-jen as a "revolutionary" by the Chinese leaders lies elsewhere. And this secret is of the greatest significance not only to the Chinese people, but to all peace-loving mankind.

What were the main points made by the General in his press conference... the main points flashed in the Chinese press and by Radio Peking with such obvious approval? They were these—note them carefully:

- "Smash the Communist Party of the Soviet Union";
- "There are no problems between China and the USA, save that of Taiwan, which can be settled at will through a deal with Chiang Kai-shek."

One wants to know how and why the American imperialists allowed this General of "revolution" to leave the USA for Peking, so easily. Or is it that they did not "allow" him... they SENT him?

One wants to know why the Chinese leaders are carrying this inveterate enemy of the Communists shoulder high, from city to city...

Is this the meaning of "fighting revisionism" and the "modern revisionists"?

Is the General's "line", the new line of the "revolutionary" Communists? A bridge between the American imperialists and the "revolutionary" Chinese leadership to "smash" the CPSU?

Behind the Chinese leaders' plethora of strong language and brave words about adherence to principles obviously lies a dangerous opportunism which, when combined with anti-Sovietism, plays straight into the hands of imperialism.

THIS IS THE MEANING OF THE STORY OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST AMERICAN AGENT, NAMED LI CHUNG-JEN.

Salute To Friendship

Editorial

AS PRESIDENT Radhakrishnan flies from one socialist country to another, our people understand ever more clearly the true meaning of the friendship for India of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving socialist countries.

The friendship of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving socialist countries is a friendship on which India knows it can count at moments of its direst need.

Prime Minister Shastri and other government leaders have repeatedly expressed their appreciation of the stand taken by the Soviet Union. Only last week, at a largely attended Indo-Soviet Friendship Evening, organised by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, Education Minister Chagla once again repeated that the Soviet Union's assistance in the Security Council was of fundamental importance for India. Ministers responsible for our defence needs are the loudest in praise of Soviet friendship.

But the right reactionary forces are still trying to create doubts and suspicions. This is how their "arguments" run:

"The Chinese Government has proved to be a treacherous and dangerous enemy of this country's independence and sovereignty—and China is a socialist country. How then can India trust other socialist countries?"

Opposite Stands

There is NOTHING in common between the policies pursued towards India by the Chinese Government and those pursued by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving socialist countries.

The Chinese Government's policy, like that of the imperialist powers has been one of fanning the flames of war. The Soviet Union and other peace-loving socialist countries have thrown their entire weight behind efforts for peace.

The Chinese Government, like the imperialist powers, has thrown its entire weight behind the Ayub dictatorship, and totally supports the disruptive demand for so-called "self-determination", through a UN-controlled "plebiscite" in Kashmir. The Soviet Union and other peace-loving socialist countries have, on the contrary, repeatedly stated that Kashmir is an integral part of India.

The reactionaries are never satisfied. When beaten to the corner by the force of facts, they whimper and ask slyly: "But why has the Soviet Union not condemned Pakistan aggression?"

The answer is simple and straight: the Soviet Union's friendship for India has been proved on the most crucial issues—and is not dependent on a formal declaration condemning the aggression. As a matter of fact, the BEST help India can receive from the Soviet Union is the help it is receiving now—both materially and in the political-diplomatic field.

The Soviet Union's offer of its good offices and of the venue of Tashkent for an Indo-Pakistan summit meeting were warmly welcomed and supported by our people specially for two reasons:

FIRSTLY, because we can count for justness and friendship on the Soviet Union more than on any other country; and,

SECONDLY, because Soviet good offices and a meeting in Tashkent could help to take the entire Indo-Pakistan question out of the reach of the imperialists, whose constant interference keeps the tension boiling.

The Indian people salute the friendship of the Soviet Union and the peace-loving socialist states with a new fervour and a new understanding today. All the efforts of the imperialists and their hangers-on to sow the seeds of suspicion, are bound to fail.

(October 5)

REORIENTING THE POLICIES

PRIME Minister Shastri declared publicly the other day in New Delhi: India will modify its attitude and reshape its policies towards big powers if they continued to ignore India's point of view, and failed to recognise Pakistani aggression. From all accounts it was no empty or pompous threat.

It would appear that the Western powers have stepped up their pressures for what they call talks for political settlement, even while Pakistan continues to indulge in ceasefire violations and maintain military pressure on the frontiers.

The United States is evidently taking a leading part in the game.

Britain, having failed to muscle into Pakistan at the expense of its Atlantic partner, which was its primary objective in so crudely supporting Pakistan during the armed conflict, has been forced to take the second place again.

The meaning of western moves on the diplomatic front, coupled as it is by hints and even active measures to starve India of economic aid—the crassest example being dragging of feet on PL 480 foodgrains supplies—has not been lost on the country's leadership.

By the very logic of events, we have been obliged to re-examine and reorientate the whole gambit of foreign relations so that our economic dependence on western sources in various ways is also reduced.

Some steps have been taken in this direction. Besides laying emphasis on food production drive, the state chief ministers have been asked to prepare for rationing in the cities and to strengthen procurement drive.

A secretaries committee and the Planning Commission have been asked to prepare suitable plans and alternative sources of essential supplies in the event of such supplies not coming in from present western sources. This will be the precursor of the reorientation of the Fourth Plan to achieve greater self-sufficiency and defence capability.

It is in this context that direction of our international trade is also under active review. It is now generally agreed that the preference so far given to western markets for our traditional exports, offering only surpluses to the East European socialist market has to go.

The Commerce Ministry is expected to launch a vigorous drive for import substitution as well as rapidly increase trade relations with socialist countries even in traditional items to ensure essential imports from them.

The Minister of Defence Production, A. M. Thomas, who accompanied President Radhakrishnan on his tour of socialist countries of Eastern Europe, would take the opportunity to sound the authorities there along these lines.

Finance Minister Krishna-machari is going to Moscow in the third week of October to discuss the programme of Soviet economic assistance.

New Delhi Letter

here since it is now realised that such investments cannot be depended upon to come into the desired fields in a big way.

However, the thinking in official circles about positive and specific steps that should be taken to achieve results is still vague and uncertain. The position will crystallise only after current examination of the problems by the secretaries committee and the Planning Commission is completed.

The only fixed element, for the time being, is that India can rely on the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe to assist in resolving more pressing difficulties.

The readiness of the Soviet Union to step up supplies of needed petroleum products before the emergency and again now has been very heartening.

According to expert view, the most critical requirement of our economy, if western supplies are curtailed, would be non-ferrous metals. The Soviet Union and other sources of supply for these metals are being sounded to meet these requirements.

Under the nine agreements and their supplementaries entered into till September 1964 (the last for which details are available) India has purchased commodities worth Rs. 1,386.4 crores.

Of these, as much as Rs. 129.9 crores are for cotton imports; Rs. 6.6 crores for tobacco and Rs. 4.7 crores for tallow.

Only Rs. 904.9 crores are for wheat; Rs. 98.8 crores for rice and Rs. 25.7 crores for other grains.

Earlier, the prices of American foodgrains were kept high by dumping the surplus foodgrains in the high seas. Then some imaginative politicians thought out a scheme which would kill two birds with one shot.

The scheme envisaged disposing of American surplus foodgrains abroad for a tolerably high price and at the same time enabling US administration to pursue its neo-colonialist aims in these countries by attaching all kinds of political and economic strings to the sales.

These interests are bound to exploit the emergency situation to strengthen their own position in the economy.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has already called for "due share" in defence production and other concessions.

It has also demanded setting up of a machinery to "coordinate the efforts of the government and business to meet defence requirements on a long term basis".

How far will the government withstand the pressure in the coming weeks is yet to be seen.

-B. M.



Think, Speak, Act as One—
as INDIANS

DA 65/F.2

It was during S. K. Patil's reign in the Union Food and Agriculture Ministry that PL 480 became a dominant factor in the food programme of India. The ebullient Washington Lobbyist that he is, Patil promised that with the help of the Americans he was going to solve the country's food problem once and for all.

THE merits listed for PL 480 imports were many. American foodgrains were cheap; it did not involve the precious foreign exchange of the country; the money accrued in the counterpart funds would be utilised for our own development effort; so went the arguments in favour of it.

After nine years of working, it has been proved, if proof were necessary, that none of these arguments was correct. The only result of the PL 480 has been to tie up India to the apron strings of the US imperialists for all her requirements of food.

The US imperialists on their part have always utilised India's growing need for food to pressurise and blackmail India into toeing their line in foreign policy as well as internal economic policies.

First, Public Law 480 itself came into existence as a price support measure to help the rich American farmers who were faced with increased production and the resultant slump in prices.

It was not sympathy for the starving millions all over the world, but consideration for the American farmers' pockets that brought into being the PL 480.

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Patil's Lobbying

Thus it was that PL 480 came to India, thanks to the vigorous pushing done by a loyal ally who happened to be at the helms of the Union Food and Agriculture Ministry at that time.

Second, the PL 480 food imports are not so cheap as is being made out by the Washington lobbyists in this country, for selling the American foodgrains cheap would be self-defeating in purpose.

The price of India's foodgrains imports has been steadily going up. In 1961, India imported 34.40 lakh tonnes of foodgrains at Rs. 376.63 a tonne; in 1962 the price was Rs. 393.77 a tonne (35.83 lakh tonnes); in 1963, still up at Rs. 402.63 a tonne (45.60 lakh tonnes); and in 1964 it was Rs. 424.64 a tonne (62.70 lakh tonnes). In 1965 India has imported, or contracted to import, 63.00 lakh tonnes of foodgrains. The price is not yet available, but there is no doubt that it would be higher than even last year.

Third, all the imports under PL 480 are not foodgrains, there are many items which cannot by any

stretch of imagination be linked to food, like tobacco. Even canned fruits are being imported under PL 480!

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which means in India's case about 30 lakh tonnes a year.

The US shipping charges are the highest in the world, it comes to about 15 dollars a tonne. Between 1961-62 and 1963-64 the amount paid to foreign shipping companies on this account was about Rs. 71 crores.

Now it will go up still further. The American Shipping Conference has announced that freight charges will be raised by ten per cent for the western region and 7.5 per cent for the eastern region.

Again, in May this year the US administration made another decision aimed at nullifying any foreign exchange savings which India would have had from the PL 480 imports.

The US authorities decided to sell Indian rupees to visiting American tourists through their embassy

the US embassy is spent would be revealing. Again, the provisions of the Cooley Amendment are meant to raise a corps of "pro-American lobbyists" and "free world" protagonists in whichever country receiving the PL 480 grains. India is no exception.

A glance through the list of the concerns which have received loans from the counterpart funds would stand testimony to this—Tatas, Birlas, Bharat Rams, Walchand Hirachands, Union Carbide, Goodyear Tyre. These are the pillars of private sector in this country who always champion the cause of foreign private capital too.

All these can be curbed only when India takes the bold decision to end the PL 480 imports and tell the Americans that we don't want their poisoned food. Until and unless the PL 480 noose is cut off India's agriculture, food production will not look up either.

There are some entrenched, vested interests who frown upon any such suggestion. They argue that the food crisis would deepen if the imports are cut off. But they forget that the US is not the only country from where foodgrains can be had.

Utilising the foreign exchange which is already being utilised for the PL 480 imports (freight charges), US embassy's dollar sales, we can certainly buy foodgrains from elsewhere. Canada and Australia have lots of wheat to sell, Burma and Thailand lots of rice too.

Cut Off The Noose

But more than that, once the PL 480 is stopped, a major breakthrough in Indian agriculture would become possible. The beginning will have to be implementation of radical land reforms, followed by distribution of wasteland to the landless and also provision of adequate irrigation and fertilisers.

It has already been seen that the shortfall in foodgrains production as it stands today is only marginal. Against a demand of 95 million tonnes, we are already producing 88.4 million tonnes.

The Third plan had envisaged a target of 45 million tonnes of rice and 15 million tonnes of wheat for 1965-66. We have reached somewhere near that target. In 1964-65 the production was calculated at 38.7 million tonnes of rice and 12.1 million tonnes of wheat.

This means that even if the entire foodgrain imports were to be stopped the per capita availability of grains produced in this country itself should be 18 ounces a day.

Of course, the seeds have to come out of this and wastage in storage, transit etc. taken into account. The figures are given to show how near to self-sufficiency in food we are.

The prime need today is equitable distribution. And this can be achieved only if the state takes over the wholesale trade and enforces strict supervision of the retail trade. So the first step towards a correct food policy should be the nationalisation of wholesale grain trade.

Then we will be able to say with confidence, TO HELL WITH THIS PL 480.

WE CAN DO WITHOUT THE PL 480

By PAULY V. PARAKAL

Fourth, the claim that no foreign exchange is involved in PL 480 imports is totally wrong.

At one stage or the other, India has to pay off all the counterpart funds accrued in this country which are given as loans to the government as well as the private sector.

Further, the freight charges of all foodgrains imports under PL 480 has to be paid in dollars. It was in 1963 that the US Congress passed a bill asking recipient countries to pay freight charges of PL 480 imports in dollars. Early this year, the US government enforced this provision.

As much as 50 per cent of the PL 480 imports are to be imported in US flag ships,



(Courtesy, Hindustan Times)

INDO-YUGOSLAV JOINT COMMUNIQUE

The joint communique issued at the end of President Radhakrishnan's visit to Yugoslavia should give great satisfaction to the Indian people and is a further vindication of the correctness of our policy of seeking friends among nonaligned and socialist countries.

COMING so soon after the Indo-Pak armed conflict and the dubious and hostile attitudes of the imperialists and some of our so-called "Commonwealth partners" towards India in this crisis, the warm welcome and support which the Yugoslav leaders and people gave to our Head of State has shown where India's interests are understood and appreciated better and her friendship sought in the wider task of keeping world peace.

The visit and the joint communique have emphasised the friendly relations between the two countries built up during Nehru's stewardship of free India's foreign policy.

The communique also brought out a close identity of views of the two governments on a number of international issues like the role of the UN, peaceful coexistence, general and complete disarmament etc.

More welcome, however, to New Delhi at the present juncture should be the references to the Indo-Pak conflict in the joint communique as well as the forthright denunciation by President Tito of the Chi-

nese leaders' aggressive policy towards India and their attempt to interfere in this conflict.

In particular, the issues have been clearly framed where the communique says that "this conflict was brought about as a result of external attempts to impose by force concepts and solutions on the question which constitutes an internal affair of India".

It is only by resisting such external pressures and attempts that we can safeguard our independence and territorial integrity and resolve disputes which are thrust on us by these very same outside interests. The policy of nonalignment has paid rich dividends in the past and is showing even more its true significance for us today.

There will therefore be whole-hearted welcome in this country to the statement in the joint communique that "the two Presidents stressed the adherence of their countries to the policy of non-alignment which has made a major contribution towards the preservation of peace in the world".

Also perhaps one should not expect the Works Housing Minister to understand all the subtleties of a situation in which the Prime Minister has to watch against pressures from powerful quarters to change our basic policies and play his cards accordingly to defeat these pressures.

But then all the more rea-

son why the Prime Minister should ask him to keep quiet and not air his views, which are so dangerous and at variance with the national interest and the policy of the Government of India.

For, at a time when the whole nation is called upon to exercise discipline and show unity in the face of external threat, it would be expected of the government that its members speak with one voice and show discipline in their own ranks.

The policy of nonalignment is a policy approved by Parliament and accepted by the country. It is also common knowledge that so far the Congress Party has not repudiated that policy, though some Congressmen have wanted to do that often. Then why should a minister be allowed to go about crusading against that policy now?

The best answer to Mehr Chand Khanna would be to quote from Indira Gandhi's broadcast over the AIR on September 28:

"How strange that there should be voices amongst us advocating expediency instead of principle, lauding alignment instead of free judgment. How have alignment and expediency helped Pakistan? No, our strength lies in our character, in our determination, in our development.

"It is because our house is built not on the shifting sands of expediency but on the firm concrete of solidarity and progress that we have emerged from this crisis stronger and more mature. Let us press this advantage and surge forward to our goal".

Commenting on this complacency of the British about the strong feelings that have been roused in India against their partisan attitude in the Indo-Pak conflict, the London correspondent of the Indian Express wrote in that paper dated September 25:

"Britain has a shrewd grasp of its hold on India—and it is not limited to its considerable participation in India's economic life. Goodwill for Britain is known to be widespread in the higher echelons of India's civil service and armed forces".

To that you may add the political leadership also. Already the Rightist lobby is active to stem the tide of popular demand to quit the Commonwealth.

Morari Desai is another luminary who has now come out against the demand. A PTI report from Ratlam dated October 4 says that Morari suggested that instead of quitting Commonwealth, "India should convince Britain and others of the justness of her cause".

Well, try convincing, try making the leopard change its spots.

—K. U. WARIER

(October 5)

Comment

Minister Acts Dissident

BUT what is clear in the Communique, signed by the President on behalf of India, is not necessarily clear to even some of our ministers at the Centre. There has been of late a curious spectacle of conflicting expressions by government spokesmen discussing policies.

A particularly hard case is Mehr Chand Khanna who seems to be bitten by the bomb-bug and is going about not only asking for the atom bomb but also advocating a retreat from nonalignment to alignment in foreign policy.

Khanna's own predilections may be in the direction of an alignment with the West which armed and boosted Pakistan to attack India.

London Lobby Active

THE reactionary views of S. K. Patil have a sustained reputation and therefore it was no surprise when last week in Bombay he came out to castigate those who demand that India should quit Commonwealth.

FOREIGN "AID"

IT is not merely a question of PL 480 any longer. The whole question of foreign "aid", especially from the United States has to be gone into very seriously by the government and the entire nation.

Consider the following Washington report, published in "ECONOMIC TIMES" on September 27:

"Economic aid, according to one observer, requires a good deal of examination and would be contingent on a stabilisation of the situation in the sub-continent... The Security Council has hesitated to apply sanctions but not the US and its allies."

Or take the following press note of the World Bank of September 21 on the postponement of the meeting of the Aid Pakistan Consortium: "The present situation in the sub-continent is likely to affect the economic resources and plans of both India and Pakistan, and a reassessment of requirements may well become necessary."

On this, the weekly COMMERCIAL, whom none can accuse of harbouring dangerous radical ideas, has commented in its issue of October 2:

"The (the Consortium's) attempt to bring pressure on India by denying and or delaying even the promised economic aid is most deplorable. It is tantamount to adding insult to injury... It may be one form of brinkmanship, in which the US is supposed to be specialist. But it is a pretty dangerous one." It is high time that the

Government of India woke up to the rude realities of the world imperialist economic system to which it has continued to keep the Indian economy tied. It is high time that the democratic movement mounts a powerful offensive on this issue and compels the government to change course.

It is essential to realise that the slogan of "self-reliance" or "economic independence" is only a catchword unless one concretely asks independence from whom and self-reliance with whose help. It is economic independence from the imperialists and self-reliance with the help of the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist states that India requires.

Disappointing Show

In this context, the performance of the Indian delegation to the recently concluded annual meeting of the World Bank in Washington has been most disappointing. To put it more bluntly, it has been a national disgrace. The US attitude of blackmail and insult was not sharply assailed. The tone was one of still crying out for mercy and more dollops of dollars.

It was no wonder since India's representative was none other than the notorious Bhoothalingam.

He called for a general world consensus in dealing with the problem of international monetary reform. This is exactly the position taken by the US and British imperialists as against the attitude

Economic notes

of France which wants the whole question to be settled by the Big Ten.

What was expected of India was that she would come out with a concrete plan of dealing with the problem or at least announce its support of a modified version of the Stamp Plan.

All that the Indian delegation did however was to meekly suggest that the International Monetary Fund should go in for more liberal lending policies, set up a separate international stabilisation fund, establish a subsidiary like the World Bank's IDA (with its "soft" loans) and create international reserves in such a way that the

additional purchasing power comes to the poorer nations.

There was some mild criticism of "tied aid", that is, aid leading to purchases being exclusively made in the creditor country. This "reduces" the value of the aid and is another word for nonconvertibility.

While agreeing with the World Bank's advice that the underdeveloped economies must bring about changes in their policies and learn to rely on themselves for greater effort, he asked:

"Will they come through within the framework of the social and political values that we cherish or will they be compelled to inflict greater harshness upon themselves?"

In a nutshell, we have here the dangerous economic thinking of very influential circles in the government. It is an appeal to the imperialists to come into India on a bigger scale or else "greater harshness" will have to be used.

Just as PL 480 was used to back the elimination of semi-feudalism in the country, so imperialist "aid" is to be used to prevent certain essential, radical, structural changes in our economy—this is the philosophy of Bhoothalingam and his crew who still largely shape economic policies in New Delhi. It is nothing else but an apology, a siren song for neo-colonialism.

It was very damaging for India's prestige that a sharp and clear attack on the policies of the World Bank came not from India but from the Philippines delegate. He categorically stated that the world Bank denied or delayed aid often solely because of its aversion to the public sector. India has had similar experience but kept mum about it.

The Pakistan delegate hit out at the trade policies of the western powers which nullified all the so-called "aid" that they were giving. He also drew sharp attention to the terrible problem of debt servicing and repayment obligations. The Indian delegate failed to highlight these items.

Yet the World Bank report itself had enough damaging facts. This report stated that the developing countries should have

lars more of external capital move of external capital than has been provided in the recent past".

As a matter of fact, the aggregate flow of development capital from the non-communist countries has only marginally increased in the 1961-64 period—from 8.9 billion dollars to nine billion dollars. This comes in 1964 to only 0.8 per cent of the total national product of the imperialist countries!

What is even worse is that in the same year the underdeveloped countries paid as much as 3.6 billion dollars by way of interest and profits on the outstanding total of public and private capital they had received up to that time. Thus, apart from capital repayments, as much as 40 per cent of the entire "aid" in 1964 went straight back to the so-called "donors".

Further, the report pointed out that this public debt was expanding at tremendous rate. The public debt of 37 developing countries had risen from 18 billion dollars in 1962 to 25 billion dollars in 1964 while the debt service payments of these countries had risen from two billion dollars in 1962 to 2.5 billion dollars in 1964.

The IMF report pointed to the "very heavy" debt repayment schedules of these countries.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that, as a delegate pointed out at the meeting itself, the tied nature of the "aid" reduces its effectiveness as the "donor" countries often charge 30 to 40 per cent more than the prevailing world market prices.

It is also rather interesting to note that the total net private long-term capital invested reached a peak in 1957 (that is, seven years ago) at 3.4 billion dollars. No inducement seemed to have had any effect in making the private monopolists invest more in developmental programmes.

Faced with these hard economic facts and the political blackmail India must think out ways and means of cutting loose from its present dangerous, possibly disastrous, international economic moorings.

—MOHIT SEN

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

ANTICS OF BHOOTHALINGAM

HE expressed the hope that private foreign investment will increasingly take over from inter-governmental aid in India's economic future—so said the news report from New York.

One would normally credit such hopes to spokesmen of the notorious World-Bank or some of the leading lights of Wall Street. But in this case, the hope is that of an Indian, a highly placed Indian in the Union Finance Ministry.

The gentleman is none other than S. Bhoothalingam, Secretary of the Department of Economic Affairs. He was speaking at the Far Eastern Conference in New York which is being attended by "more than a thousand Asian and US business and government leaders" according to the news-report.

The passage quoted above was not the sole gem which came from this representative of the Government of India. It could not be, for he was cooing the American capitalists to come and invest in India and that meant that he had to go a long way.

Said Bhoothalingam: India was seeking "to provide the right environment" for private investment and growth which we are striving to promote". Where lies the goal of socialism, even of the Congress model? Where lies the goal of strengthening the public sector and curbing the private sector

in the key sectors of the economy? Bhoothalingam provided statistics to the American capitalists to show how profitable it was to invest in India. He said that in 1962-63 the gross profits of all foreign-controlled companies worked out to 15.7 per cent of total capital employed.

What is more, the performance of "the more sophisticated industries in which US business is mainly interested has been even better", according to the Secretary of the Economic Affairs Department.

What a plight for the Indian officials to have to go round the world convincing capitalists that investing in India was the best way to bag the biggest profits! But does Bhoothalingam's brief include this kind of a performance?

There is nothing surprising that Bhoothalingam should take upon himself to persuade American private capital to come to India. He has always been a champion of the private sector, especially if it was of "foreign" brand.

The gentleman is a protégé of Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari and has always been made use of to do the dirty work on behalf of Krishnamachari. All through his recent career Bhoothalingam has been faithfully echoing the TTK line.

It was this same ICS-wallah whom TTK handpicked to be in company of J.R.D. Tata to campaign against India setting

up a Mig factory. Tata and Bhoothalingam, together produced the report on fighter aircraft which not only tried to sabotage the Mig project but even had a go at the HF 24 being manufactured at Bangalore.

Bhoothalingam was in favour of "getting" the necessary planes from America! And so was his mentor, TTK, if we stop to think back to the developments only a few months back.

Last year, when Defence Minister Chavan went abroad in search of defence equipment, TTK wanted Bhoothalingam to be included in the team. But Chavan put his foot down and told off the Finance Minister in no uncertain terms that Bhoothalingam's services were not wanted.

Anyhow, when the Prime Minister talked about self-reliance in defence and economic development, we had the impression that he would advise his officials about the change in policies that it signified. Obviously he has not, or the ICS bureaucrats are becoming too big for their shoes.

Either way, it is time for the Prime Minister to stop this kind of begging missions into the capitalist world. The yellow glitter of dollar-land may be dazzling the eyes of the ICS chaps, but even then they should not forget about the country's ideals or the nation's self-respect.

—PARAKAL

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SUCHETA OUT TO HEAP BURDENS ON PEOPLE

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: UP's Congress Ministry headed by Sucheta Kripalani has made nonsense of the talk of unity in time of emergency; hardly has the cease-fire come on the war front, Sucheta and her mentors have declared a full-scale war on the people of the state who put all their effort behind the government to defeat the enemy.

THUS have come to be passed in the Assembly in recent days a series of anti-people measures, disregarding the views of the Opposition and the counsel of Congressmen themselves.

The crowning piece in this was the Land Revenue Surcharge Bill which was passed last week in brisk fashion with the entire Opposition expelled from the House.

Public opinion has reacted sharply against this move of the government. Reflecting it was the strong feelings expressed over these measures in the Congress Legislature Party.

But Sucheta has been insensitive to the pleas even from her own partymen. The result, a tussle between the people and the government seems inevitable.

The Surcharge on Land Revenue and Rent Bill which

was passed without the Opposition in the Assembly seeks now to impose a surcharge of 25 per cent on the present rates of land revenue.

Originally, the move was to levy 33-1/3 per cent, but it was reduced to 25 in third reading. Even the uneconomic holdings are not exempt from this punishment.

Congress Divided

The bill which was strenuously opposed by the entire Opposition had created a division in the Congress party also. The Congress legislators are known to have demanded freedom to vote on the bills. Evidently they were not granted that.

The president and the secretary of the Pradesh Con-

gress had opposed the measure and advised the Chief Minister against passing it. Their pleas had no effect.

On the floor of the Assembly, Congressmen like Ram Chandra Vikal and Jagdish Sharan Agarwal and others too categorically denounced the anti-kisan bill and warned the government against pushing it through in the face of widespread opposition.

Vikal had even threatened satyagraha if the bill became law.

As regards the other bills, they are all in the same category of measures to kill the people's initiative and impose new burdens on them.

The Entertainment and Betting Tax (Amendment) Bill has raised entertainment tax from 60 to 75 percent on the admission tickets.

Whatever little entertainment the common people have in the towns and rural areas has become costlier by this and the people who have devised this measure expect a revenue of about a crore a year from it.

The Uttar Pradesh (Urban areas) Land and Buildings (Amendment) Tax Bill

has raised the levy on houses to 25 percent. Efforts to get houses with rent upto Rs. 200 per month exempted from the purview of the bill were defeated.

Under the UP Profession, Trades, Callings and Employments Bill, a levy is to be imposed on all persons earning above Rs. 3,500 annually.

Some More Crores

From the last two measures, government expects to realise about another two crores annually, but others have calculated that actually three to four times that will be realised by the administration.

Communist spokesmen like Jharkhande Rai, S. S. Yusuf and Chandrajeet Yadav in their powerful speeches in the Assembly had denounced these measures at every stage and castigated the government's bias for the employers and propertied classes.

They had also referred to alternate sources of revenue that could be tapped without hurting the common people any more.

Rs. 501 For Chheharta

CALCUTTA: The news of bombing by Pak Air Force even after Pakistani agreement to ceasefire has aroused revulsion in Calcutta.

A sense of deep sympathy for the victims of the wanton bombing is also felt.

The Calcutta district council of the CPI gave a call for donations to help the bomb victims of Chheharta.

Within five days more than five hundred rupees were collected. Most notable contribution has come from the workers of Jay Engineering Works.

Communist Party workers held gate meetings and told of the heroic battle of Chheharta workers under the Ekta Union, their fight for a progressive municipal committee and more recently their cartoon for the jawans.

And within two days the Jay workers collected Rs. 21 for the Chheharta people.

Already Rs. 501 have been sent to Satyapal Dang, president of the Chheharta Municipal Committee.

★

Chheharta needs your help. Its courage and patriotism demand it. Send your contributions as soon as you can to:

Satyapal Dang, President, Chheharta Municipal Committee
P. O. Chheharta (Amritsar District) Punjab.

TU Volunteer Force Raised in Andhra

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: A trade union volunteer force has been set up in the industrial area near Hyderabad. Its strength is 400 and the volunteers have been drawn from Praga Tools, Hyderabad Chemicals, Hyderabad Iron and Steel and Biologicals.

The volunteers will be given training in first aid, fire fighting etc. Training will be given by those workers who have already got some experience in this regard.

The TU volunteer force will have the task, besides civil defence, of guarding the people's interests like keeping watch on hoarders, profiteers and black-marketeers.

At the inaugural meeting of the volunteer force, N. Rajashekhara Reddy, N. Satyanarayana Reddy and Makhdoom Mohiuddin spoke.

A similar TU volunteer force is soon to be organised in the Sanatnagar industrial area.

ASSAM: TRAVEL IS MADE COSTLIER

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: Just when there is maximum unity against the aggressor and people have ungrudgingly borne all burdens for defence, the Assam government has come out to deal them yet another blow.

It has decided to enhance motor transport fare by 25 per cent for the state transport and 15 per cent for private transport. The decision comes into force with effect from September 25.

It has been argued by the government that the existing fare and freight structure was fixed in 1946.

While trotting out this as a justification for its decision,

the government also admits that "since then there has been changes in the maximum fares from time to time whenever it was considered necessary to do so on account of changes in the prevailing circumstances".

Why This Raise?

Only a couple of years back, the fare and freight rates were raised by 10 per cent.

Why then has it become necessary to raise the rates further? The government's answer is that "lately there has been an increase in the

operational cost of the motor transport industry".

However the government refuses to say whether there has been a commensurate increase in the per capita income of the people and whether they can afford this additional burden.

In Assam motor transport plays a vital role. Supply of essential commodities is dependent almost entirely on motor transport. Also, it is the only means of travelling for the rural people. The impact of this new levy upon the total economy needs no elaboration.

Another objectionable feature of the measure is that it was introduced by an executive fiat and the Assembly, which met in a short session only a few weeks ago, was not consulted.

Demonstration before British Information Service in Delhi—(See Centre pages)



Sahay Govt Discards Rationing Plan !!

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: The Bihar Government headed by K. B. Sahay has refused to implement the directive of the Union Government to introduce statutory rationing in the towns and industrial areas of Bihar.

ACCORDING to the state government, it is "not feasible" to introduce statutory rationing in Bihar. All kinds of lame excuses are being trotted out to justify this sabotage of a policy accepted by the Centre and by majority of state governments.

Thus, it is said that the state government has not enough stock at its disposal to meet the demand if statutory rationing is to be introduced and it has no hope that the Centre would meet the full demand of the state.

The attempt is to lay the blame at the doors of the Central Government. It is alleged that the latter has backed out of its commitments.

The state government had asked for 1.5 lakh tons of wheat and 50,000 tons of rice for the month of September to keep up the normal supply to fair price shops. But the Centre has allotted only about 35,000 tons of wheat and 4,000 tons of rice.

But while citing this as an example of the Centre's role in creating difficulties for the state, the Sahay government is silent on its own role in aggravating the food situation.

The Union Food Minister had earlier accused the state government of failure to procure enough foodgrains in spite of a bumper crop last year.

The Chief Minister had resented this and said that it was not correct to say that the state government did not make a sincere effort to procure foodgrains.

The fact, however, is that the procurement drive of the state government was a total failure due to inefficiency and corruption in the administration.

The Bihar Government has been opposed to state trading in foodgrains. Instead of going in for monopoly purchase, it tried the policy of limited procurement.

Ultimately that too was abandoned in the face of pressure from hoarders and big cultivators. The government could procure only 30,000 tons against a target of three lakh tons.

Meanwhile, the food situation in the state has further deteriorated. The stock position in government godowns in the third week of September stood at 25,000 tons of wheat and 25,000 tons of rice only.

And if adequate supply from the Centre does not arrive, it will not be possible to maintain regular supplies to the existing fair price shops.

BONUS IN TEXTILES

INTUC-Millowners Secret Deal

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: Textile workers in the city are agitated over reports that the INTUC-led Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh is about to enter into a deal with the Mill Owners' Association for a settlement of the bonus dispute for the year 1963.

PRESS reports indicate that an agreement has already been reached between the Sangh and the Association and the quantum of bonus has been fixed at Rs. 4.10 crores.

Out of this would be deducted a sum of Rs. 1.10 crores, being the interim four per cent bonus distributed at the time of last year's Diwali, and a net sum of three lakhs would be available for further distribution.

The Sangh has proceeded to enter into this deal by taking advantage of its position as the "recognised" and "approved" union under the BIR Act.

The crux of the issue is the mode of distribution of the available quantum. The workers are insistent that it be distributed to all at the same rate.

Unequal Distribution

But the method adopted by the Sangh and the Mill Owners' Association during all these years has been to calculate surplus of each mill separately and fix the rate of bonus payable to the workers of that mill accordingly.

For the last fifteen years the workers have been fighting against this unequal distribution. Last year in some 23 mills they struck work to protest against unequal dis-

tribution. It was then that the state Labour Minister promised to look into the matter and help to find a solution.

But the assurance was later ignored. And now with the settlement for the year 1963 in the offing, the problem of distribution has assumed grave proportions and created a tense situation in the mill areas.

Implement Assurance

The Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union has written to the Chief Minister drawing his attention to the anomaly of a union not enjoying the confidence of workers, though "recognised" under the Act, entering into agreements on their behalf, which has led to acute discontent in their ranks.

It has demanded that the government must follow up the assurance given by the Labour Minister and not leave things to be decided upon by the Mill Owners' Association and the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh.

Towards this, the Union has suggested the immediate convening of a tripartite meeting to discuss the bonus agreement and other related matters. Such a meeting, in order to be fruitful, must have in it as representatives of workers not only the nominees of the Sangh but also of the MGKU.

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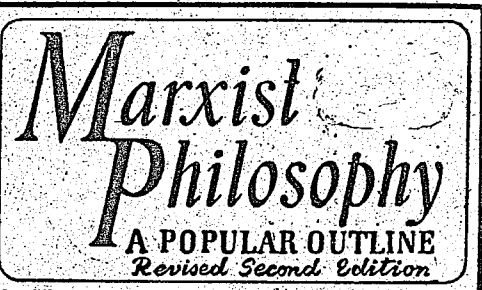


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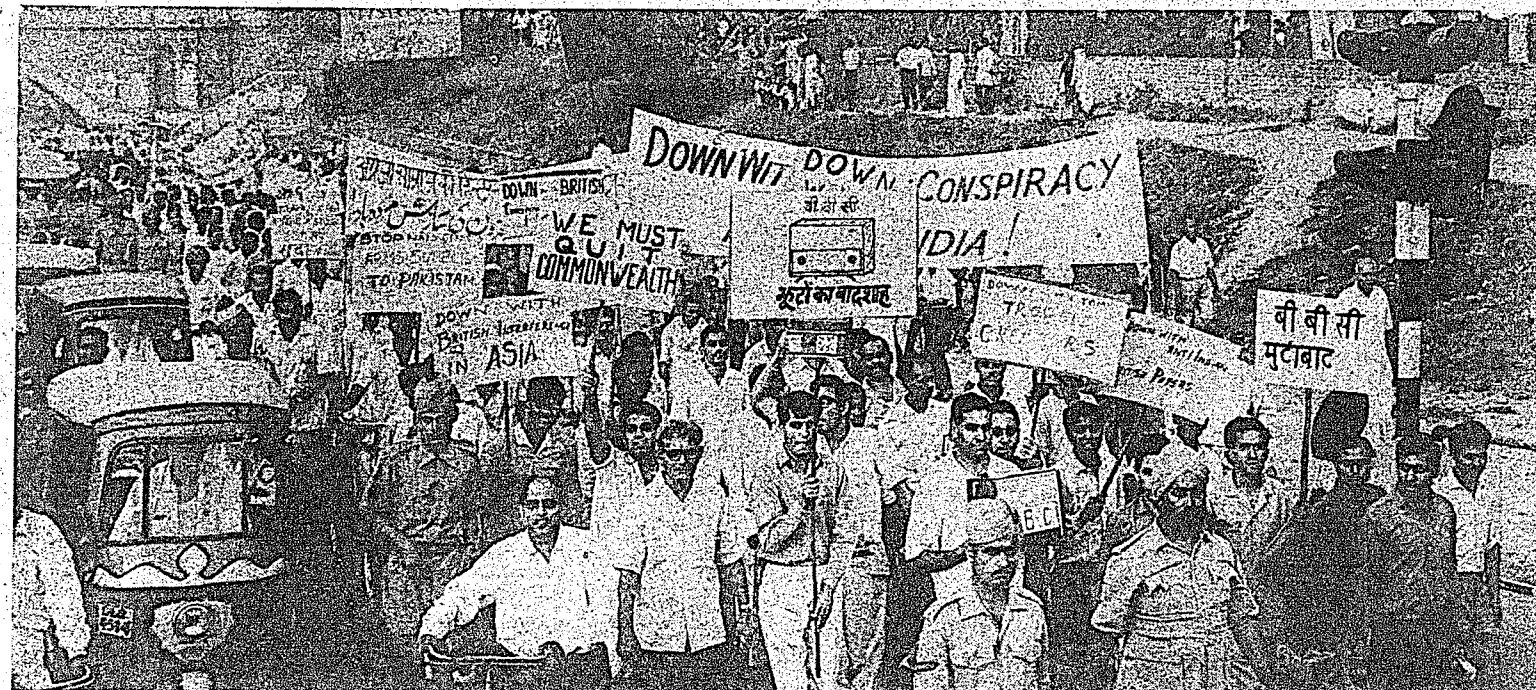
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Workers march to the BIS office in New Delhi on October 1

DELHI WORKERS CONDEMN IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: People's resentment against blatantly pro-Pakistani attitude adopted by the British government and its agencies is finding expression in the capital. They are demonstrating before the British offices in New Delhi in larger numbers.

ON October 1, for example, the workers of Delhi took time off to tell the British imperialists what they thought of them. Thousands of them marched to the British Information Services office in Connaught Place to condemn the "hostile and anti-Indian attitude" of the British government.

From the BIS office, the workers went to the BBC offices to protest against that agency's

distorted and Pak-biased propaganda which went forth in the name of news reporting. The demonstrators carried a radio case on which the name BBC was written. This, as well as copies of anti-Indian British newspapers were burned by them.

Employees of industrial and commercial establishments, newspapers and banks, took part in the demonstration. It

was called jointly by the AITUC, and the Delhi units of the federations of bank, newspaper and shop employees.

Earlier in the day, several hundreds of traders in the area where the BBC office is situated demonstrated in front of the BBC. This section of the community had never before participated in any kind of anti-imperialist demonstrations and therefore this was a notable event.

The trade union demonstration presented the British High Commissioner with a memorandum expressing indignation over the acts of the British government hostile to the Indian people.

The memorandum condemned

the "vicious propaganda" conducted by the BBC and some British newspapers which took "the cue from the hostile statement issued by spokesmen of the British government, including Premier Harold Wilson."

"True to British imperialist tradition of 'divide and rule' they sought to give a communal colour to our national defence, thereby serving the interests of the bellicose theoretic ruling circles of Pakistan" the memorandum said.

While stopping arms delivery to India, the British government continued to help Pakistan through its Cento partners as shown by the case now pending before a UAR court.

The memorandum also noted that the October 1947 invasion of Kashmir was also launched with the support of the British government and said, "The Indian people cannot forget it." Recounting British support to Naga rebel Phizo and support to fascist Salazar when Indians liberated Goa, Daman and Diu from Portuguese imperialists, the

NATIONALISE BRITISH FIRMS, SAY CALCUTTA PEOPLE

From AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: As intrigues of the Anglo-US imperialists are becoming clearer day by day indignation against them is mounting and finding ever wider expression. From the Chief Minister to the man in the street, there is a unanimity in this attitude.

THE Calcutta district council of the CPI organised a demonstration on September 29 in front of the USIS and the British Deputy High Commissioner's office.

With posters demanding "Quit Commonwealth", "Nationalise Tramways, Electric Supply Corporation, Burmah-Shell, Imperial Chemical Industries and such other British concerns", "Expel hostile US and British journalists, Close down USIS", Communist Party

members and sympathisers gathered in front of the USIS office in the heart of the busy Esplanade area.

Almost immediately a large crowd assembled. Indrajit Gupta MP addressed the gathering standing on a sandbag-made baffle wall and told his experience at the front.

Then a procession was formed which marched to the office of the British Deputy High Commissioner and demonstrated for some time. The gathering was addressed by Geeta Mukherjee.

memorandum said: "The British imperialists have not forgiven the Indian people for liberating themselves from the British shackles."

Denouncing Britain as "an enemy not only of the Indian people, but also of all freedom-loving peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America", the memorandum said: "Its shameful record in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and its current activities in suppressing the freedom movement in Aden, cannot but arouse the indignation of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world."

They demanded that the British Government give up its hostile attitude and conspiracies against India, stop supporting the racists in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and withdraw from Aden and South Arabia.

The Congress bosses are underplaying the British perfidy and are silent about the demand of "Quit Commonwealth".

The SSP also organised a demonstration in front of the British Deputy High Commissioner's office and the Forward Bloc organised a meeting.

Apart from the demonstration on September 29 the Communist Party organised several meetings in different parts of the state.

In Midnapore district meetings were held at Kolaghat, Nonakuri, Nandigram, Kurpihat, Basan-Chak and Tamuk town on different dates.

Biswanath Mukherjee, Kanai Bhowmik, Bhupal Panda, Deven Das, Prajapati Prodhan, Naren Jana, Bankim Giri, Sakti Baul and others spoke.

Meetings were held at Krishanagar, (Nadia), Burdwan, Buniadpur (West Dinajpur), Basirhat (24 Parganas) at the call of the Party.

At Sonarpur (24 Parganas) a meeting was jointly sponsored by chairman of the Rajpur Municipality at its commissioners, members of different Gram and Anchal Panchayats, prominent educationists, secretary of the CPI local committee and others.

At Dhakuria in Calcutta a citizens convention was held and a citizens defence committee was formed with the

ward councillor as president. The committee consists of prominent educationists, medical practitioners and workers of different political parties including CPI and Marxist CP.

The local clubs and social organisations are also represented in this committee. One Central and two branch offices have been opened.

At two meetings, one at Hazra Park and other at Bagha Jatin Colony in Jadavpore area, Samnath Lahiri exposed the partisan attitude of the Congress government in the state.

When necessity was forcing all out unity on the question of civil and national defence, the Congress government was trying to keep these in its monopoly grip and to utilise these in narrow party interest.

Otherwise how could it be explained that it is only in West Bengal that so far an all-parties defence committee has not been formed and the Congress organisation in general is refusing to cooperate with other parties in defence efforts, he asked.

The offer of the Communist Party to supply trained ARP personnel has been shunned by the Chief Minister. And with the ceasefire all urgency in civil defence arrangement seems to have withered.

The Secretary of the West Bengal state council of the Party has decided to launch, along with the Quit Commonwealth movement, a campaign for formation for all-parties defence committees at state and district levels immediately and formation of such committees at village level eventually. It is going to be a hard battle.

Hands Off Kashmir Week in Maharashtra

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: Hundreds of public meetings, big and small, were organised by the Communist Party of India all over Maharashtra from September 14 to 24 round the urgent issues of defence, exposing the role of imperialists and the incineration of the Chinese Government.

In Bombay city and suburbs alone, scores of area meetings and hundreds of gate meetings were held. Many of these meetings were held in Muslim localities.

The area meetings were attended by about five thousand people each on an average. They were addressed by P. B. Vaidya, Bapurao Jagtap, Gulabrao Gana-

charya, Vital Chaudhuri, G. V. Chitnis, G. Sundaram and other leaders.

The demand, Quit Commonwealth, was raised sharply in these rallies. The role of the American imperialists in supplying Pakistan with arms was exposed.

A central rally held at Kamgar Maidan on September 24 was attended by ten thousand people. It was addressed by P. B. Vaidya, secretary of the Bombay council of the CPI.

Hands Off Kashmir rallies were organised by the CPI in Thana, Kolhapur, Ahmednagar, Satara, Dhule, Jalgaon, Bhandara, Bhir, Parbhani, Usmanabad and Aurangabad districts.

These meetings were addressed, among others, by Eknath Bhagwat, secretary of the Maha-

ashtra state council of the CPI, P. B. Vaidya, Vasant Rao Tulpule and Chandragupta Chaudhuri.

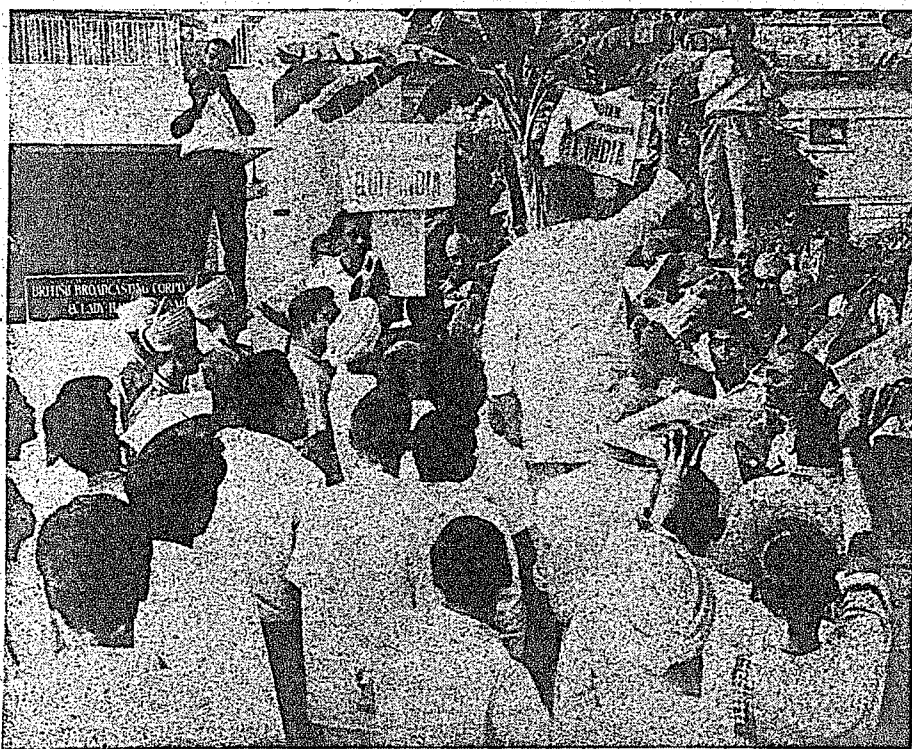
Grave concern was expressed at these meetings about the action of the government against some Muslim members of the CPI who have been detained under the DIR. These Communists are wellknown for their progressive and secular outlook throughout their socio-political life.

For example, in Bhir district, the Party secretary, Athar Babar and other wellknown leaders of the district including Iftikhar Ahmad and Syad Makhdom Ali have been arrested. Badshah Ali and Hasu Pinjari from Karad in Satara district have also been jailed.

Resolutions passed at the meetings in the respective districts asked the government to review their cases without delay as their presence among the people was vital for strengthening the defence efforts.



Hands Off Kashmir meeting in Bombay on September 24



Students demonstrate before BBC on September 30.

Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi Writers Demand Quit Commonwealth

A NUMBER of prominent Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi writers including Gurmukh Singh Musafir, MP, Balraj Sahni, Sajjad Zaheer, Vishnu Prabhakar, Shivdan Singh Chauhan, Mannath Nath Gupta, Dr. Namvar Singh, Bhisham Sahni and Fikr Taunsvi have issued the following Appeal calling upon the Indian Government to quit Commonwealth:

"We, Indian writers, have all along felt that India's membership of the Commonwealth, of which British imperialism is the leader, is not only contrary to the dignity and self-respect of a great nation like India, but is also inimical to her political and economic independence and growth. In fact this membership has all along served as an overt check on our bold pursuance of the policies of peace, non-alignment and economic independence through planned industrialization, so vital for consolidating our freedom and cultural advancement. In the final analysis, this link with the Commonwealth, has only served as a lullaby to our people's anti-imperialist consciousness and helps to deflect us from seeking independent solutions to cut short our economic political and cultural dependence on Britain and her senior partner American imperialism.

"Therefore, the behaviour and attitude of the British Government during the gruesome events of the

past two months, her treacherous support to Pakistani aggression and her brazen efforts to pressurize India to agree to parcel out Kashmir to appease Pakistani warlords, has not come as a shock to us, because we never cherished any illusions about British imperialism or were never beguiled into believing in the mythical virtues and blessings of this hoax, euphemistically called "The Commonwealth of Nations".

"The people of Africa, too, have shed their illusions, if they had any, and now fully realise that their link with the Commonwealth only encourages British imperialists to pursue their policy of denying freedom to the people of South Africa, South Rhodesia and Aden. Tanzania and Kenya have already threatened to quit the Commonwealth. It is high time that India, too, asserted her independence by quitting the Commonwealth.

"We call upon the writers and intellectuals, in particular, to raise their voice against India's membership of the Commonwealth and the Indian Government to shed off her hesitations and leave the Commonwealth forthwith and thus preserve and enhance our nation's dignity and pride, as it has done by boldly standing up against imperialist machinations and Pakistani aggression."

ONWARD MARCH TO COMMUNIST SOCIETY SOVIET UNION: INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT STREAMLINED

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW:

Far reaching and very important changes to streamline industrial management, improve planning and increase the efficiency of production have been adopted at a meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union which concluded last week. A meeting of the Supreme Soviet which followed made the necessary organisational changes at the state level to put the new reforms into effect.

A broad discussion which had gone on for nearly a year showed that the reforms have been prompted by the requirements of life and the present stage of growth of Soviet economy and that they meet the cardinal interests of the Soviet people in raising their standard of living.

The period of economic and organisational changes which started about a year ago has now reached its completion. Three plenums of the Central Committee—in November 1964, March 1965 and now in September—were called to give effect to a step by step, consistent and general plan for giving a big new impetus to industrial and agricultural development and heralding a new phase in the growth of planned socialist economy.

The latest reforms bring the industrial management in conformity with the grand new tasks of building a communist society. Looking at things superficially it might seem that because the territorial economic councils are being abolished and the ministerial system is being restored, it is just a going back to the old order of things.

But in reality it is not so. As a matter of fact a new equation between centralisation and decentralisation is being evolved.

A new creative balance between central planning and control, on the one hand and new freedoms for local enterprise and initiative on the other is being worked out. This would mean more powers for factory managers and economic stimuli to plants and workers.

Through material incentives

the personnel of the enterprises are to be given an interest in improving production and setting higher plan targets.

The economic independence of the plants would mean more initiative, a widening of the democratic principle of management and wider participation of the masses in the management of production.

The scientific level of the economic planning by the state is to be improved and plans will have to be coordinated with the fast moving tempo of scientific and technical improvement and their practical assimilation in industry.

The economic stimuli in production would be operated by means of prices, profits of enterprises, bonuses for workers and credits.

Plan fulfilment will not be judged by quantity alone; the new emphasis is on quality. Wastage, shoddy products and the piling up of unwanted goods will have to go as the plants will have to keep a close watch on consumer demand and change things accordingly. The reduction of rigid central controls will make this possible.

Earlier when a plant worked inefficiently and on loss the state budget came to the rescue, now greater autonomy will require greater self-reliance and vigilance against waste.

In short instead of the out-moded administrative methods of industrial management economic methods will be used to stimulate production.

The whole discussion and the working out of the measures of reforms showed one thing very clearly that it has been a pro-



L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CPSU

abandoned nor is there to be "free" capitalist competition or "free" play of prices and profits or "free enterprise" of the capitalist system. There is no question, of course, of return to the private ownership of the means of production.

As a matter of fact the socialist system of production has shown consistently good results. Under the current seven-year plan which ends this year, industry has been continually growing; industrial production will increase by 84 per cent instead of the planned 80 per cent. The production of power, oil, gas, coal, pig iron and steel has increased by a big margin.

All this has ensured the big growth in the output of chemical products, machinery, instruments and consumer goods.

One fact alone speaks a lot, during the past seven years more than 5,500 large industrial plants have been built and commissioned. The basic production assets in industry have been nearly doubled.

All this shows that the changes were not dictated by any crisis of the socialist planned economy as the Western propaganda would have us believe. But the new stage of fast growth and general prosperity, increasingly greater supply of goods ample purchasing power and discriminating demand of the consumers, create their own problems and new adjustments have to be made.

A certain fall in the rate of growth had been evident lately but the difficulties have a temporary character and the new far-reaching measures are directed towards removing them and increasing the tempo of development to win the economic competition with capitalism.

Major reforms in a similar direction are also being carried out in Czechoslovakia, Poland, GDR, Hungary and Bulgaria and their significance for the economic cooperation among the socialist countries and the socialist division of labour is going to be really considerable.

The economy of European socialist countries is certainly entering a new phase of co-operation and coordinated planned growth. The recent visits to Moscow of the leaders of a number of socialist countries were a pointer in this direction.

But relations with China continue to be bad and through no fault of the Soviet Union. As Brezhnev pointed out at the Central Committee meeting, all moves by the Soviet Union to improve relations have met with no response from the Chinese side.

CRISIS GRIPS TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN MAHARASHTRA

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY:

Textile industry in Maharashtra is in the grip of a crisis and as usual the industrialists have shifted the burden on to the shoulders of the workers.

ELEVEN textile mills in the state have closed down and 35 mills have either closed their third shift or have stopped employing casual workers. Thus 35 thousand out of three lakh textile workers in Maharashtra are thrown out of work. This has created a serious situation.

What are the reasons given by the mill owners? They say that the stocks are piling up because wholesale traders from Punjab, UP, Rajasthan etc., are not lifting them due to insecure conditions prevailing there.

On the surface this looks true. The real truth however is that most of the employers have neg-

duct of experience and behind it are people who have gone through the mill of actual industrial management and know the realities of large-scale socialist planned production.

Making profit a measure of plan fulfilment, the emphasis on greater self-management of industrial undertakings, the use of credits, bonuses and other material incentives directly linking them to profits, the closer link with market demands—all this of course does not at all mean a return to capitalist methods or a weakening of the planned socialist system of economy.

Who has the state power and who owns the means of production, in whose interest production is developed and profits distributed, how the national income is allocated, and who shares it—this gives us the answer and constitutes the real test.

The wishful thinkers of the West have been disappointed to find that there are no signs of restoration of capitalism and the dogmatist Chinese would be hard put to prove their preposterous accusations. Neither planning has been

and plead for lower wages and higher workload.

They also want to pay minimum bonus to the workers. The same tactics were used by them at the time of the sitting of the wageboard inquiry commission last time.

The Industrial Sub-committee of the Defence Committee (Maharashtra) has been appraised of these facts and representations have been made to it by Mumbai Cini Kamgar Union and MRTUC.

The Maharashtra Government has assured the deputations that New Kaiser-Hind in Bombay and Hinganghat Mill at Akola will be run by the Government, but it will take at least three months more. Surely the problem requires more urgent and serious attention as it concerns daily bread of the families of 35 thousand workers.

Mohit Sen Poses This Question : WHOSE IDEOLOGICAL BANKRUPTCY ?

It was most ironic that the organ of the Marxist Communist Party chose the present occasion of all times to assert that the Communist Party of India is ideologically bankrupt while it is ideologically very credit-worthy. E. M. S. Namboodiripad started his series of articles on the programmes of the two parties with this bold assertion. A more unfortunate time could not have been chosen.

It is rarely in the history of a nation or of a political party that it has to confront a crisis situation which tests its entire direction, its entire approach to the facts of political life. India and all Indian political parties had to face this test when the Pakistani aggression erupted.

The political line adopted by the Marxist CP at this time of crisis has scarcely enhanced whatever reputation it may have enjoyed. On the contrary, it has revealed its complete ideological-political bankruptcy.

It is essential that all sincere Marxist-Leninists in the Marxist CP should ponder over the problem as to why their party was found in such an unenviable position at a moment of grave national crisis.

Exhilaration and Enthusiasm

It is true that the Marxist CP Acting General Secretary, Namboodiripad, has in a statement issued from Trivandrum on September 9, declared:

"The stories of military and air victories won by our forces are naturally exhilarating. They stand in marked contrast to the humiliating experience which our people had when our forces had to retreat before the Chinese in the Nefa area and subsequently before the Pakistanis in the Rann of Kutch. They, therefore, help our people in preserving national dignity and self-respect."

"Every patriotic Indian would feel that our brave jawans have been able not only to resist the invading forces but to launch counter-offensives. The officers of the defence services and the political leaders who gave the officers the necessary guidance and support do deserve tribute for their role in making it possible for the first time in the history of independent India to take the offensive into enemy territory."

This could only mean that all the parties in the Front including the Marxist CP were now agreed that the Chinese had committed aggression previously. Otherwise, how could there be a question of "renewal"?

It is only legitimate that we should take the public statements of the Acting General Secretary of the Marxist CP and of their important state committees, as representing the official view of that party. We are not concerned with the views of the PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY or other papers or with whether such official statements appeared in various papers.

We would like all sincere communists in the Marxist CP to try to understand the logic of the stand contained in these statements; we would like them to ponder on the question as to where it at all this stand differs from that

of the CPI, which their leaders go on slandering as "revisionist", "advocating class collaboration", "tailing the Congress" and the like.

First, the Marxist CP has accepted the position that the war with Pakistan was and is a just war on India's part. Otherwise the question of their "general line of support to the government" would not arise.

Second, the Marxist CP has accepted the position that the Government of India is capable of conducting such a just war in the manner that deserves congratulations.

Obviously, this cannot be said of a government which is proto-fascist or which is using every opportunity to sell out to the imperialists, specially the US imperialists.

Third, the Marxist CP has accepted the position that socialist China has committed aggression in the past, that it can "renew" this aggression and that in such an eventuality the Marxist CP would side with the Government of India against China.

courageously the very real dilemma: their ideological characterisation of the Government of India has been blasted to bits by the actions of that government and by the statements of their Acting General Secretary.

That is why the Marxist CP can do nothing except to repeat that it supports the government. It is quite unable to work out any concrete slogans and immediate programme of action to galvanise the toiling masses so as to try to shift the country—as well as the government to the left.

The Central Executive Committee of the CPI, on the other hand, has worked out such slogans and programme and is able to move energetically. It suffers from no paralysis induced by bankrupt ideology.

Similarly, on the question of China, Namboodiripad wrote in the PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY that the Marxist CP is more in line with the international communist movement since it refuses to

in the world communist movement?

* Is it possible to be "neutral" between, for example, those who say the Soviet Union is advancing towards communism and those who say that the Soviet Union is degenerating to capitalism? * Is it possible to be "neutral" between, for example, those who say that socialist countries should be friends of India and those who in word and deed commit aggression against India? * With his characteristic cleverness Namboodiripad tries to confuse the issue by counterposing excommunication of China from the international communist movement as against unity through an ideological truce or ideological "neutrality".

Posing False "Alternatives"

But these are not the alternatives at all. Nobody was or is advocating the excommunication of the CPC though it is all out for split. Rather, the effort is to bring back China to the voluntary discipline of the world communist movement.

Nobody was or is advocating an ideological truce or ideological neutrality. Rather, the search is for the best way in which to convince the CPC leadership, its followers and adherents in other CPs of the correctness of the new ideological advance Marxism has made in the period after the twentieth congress of the CPSU.

Friendly polemics may help at times and abstention from polemics at other times. But both are forms of bringing round those who have departed from the common general line of the world communist movement. Both are irreconcilably opposed to any ideological truce or neutrality.

To make the ideological bankruptcy of the Marxist CP even more apparent, Namboodiripad has advanced the "original" thesis that on ideological issues where his party has not come to any conclusion, party members are free to hold and to express whatever views they like.

Civil liberty is of course a good thing. But a party is supposed to be a voluntary organisation of like-minded people bound by unity of outlook, will and action. If on the most basic issues one can hold one's own views and act upon them, publicise them, then what happens to the party?

Finally, if there is no "pure revolutionary" line on these ideological issues then how is the CPI being dubbed as revisionist? Revisionism as opposed to what? Absence of unity? Absence of any outlook?

It is high time the members of the Marxist CP thought things over. The split is in the past. Can't they struggle to overcome their prejudices, shed their misconceived dogmatism and work for unity? The cause of communism and the cause of India demand no less.

EMS STATEMENTS BLAST MARXISTS' PROGRAMME

Where does this differ from the stand of the sinful "revisionists"? The only difference is that the Marxist CP takes the stand only under the pressure of events, that is, spontaneously—the very root of real revisionism—and with confusing and paralysing delay.

Further, how can such a stand be justified by a party whose most basic document, its programme, describes the Indian state as being "led by the big bourgeoisie who are increasingly collaborating with foreign finance capital"?

How can such a stand be justified by a party whose programme says of the Government of India that its policy is one of "increasing reliance on western monopoly aid", that the "most glaring fact of our economic life today is that the country's economy as a whole is in many respects precariously dependent on western assistance and particularly US assistance"?

How can such a stand be justified by a party whose programme says of the Government of India's foreign policy that it "objectively facilitates the US designs of neo-colonialism and aggression"?

The sincere communists in the Marxist CP must face

line of support to the government's efforts in this war."

And while he was in Calcutta, the Left United Front which includes the Marxist CP issued a statement not only pledging support to the government but also sharply criticising the Chinese ultimatum which if followed by action would be a case of "renewed aggression".

This could only mean that all the parties in the Front including the Marxist CP were now agreed that the Chinese had committed aggression previously. Otherwise, how could there be a question of "renewal"?

It is only legitimate that we should take the public statements of the Acting General Secretary of the Marxist CP and of their important state committees, as representing the official view of that party. We are not concerned with the views of the PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY or other papers or with whether such official statements appeared in various papers.

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By M. Bychkova

This book brings out the human qualities of Lenin's character, his modesty and warmth of heart, his high regard and consideration for the man of labour. It contains numerous letters and notes written by Lenin, his marginal notes made on telegrams and also excerpts from reminiscences of Lenin by workers, peasants and intellectuals.

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Protest Student Arrests In Bihar

ON behalf of the All-India Students' Federation, I strongly condemn the arrest of Mukhdeo Sharma and Gaya Singh, president and general secretary of the Bihar State Students' Federation on September 24.

They were arrested when they were coming out of Anjuman Islamiya Hall after addressing a students' meeting organised by the "Students' National Defence Front" to congratulate the Jawans for their heroic defence of the Motherland and to hand over the gifts collected by the students for the Jawans to the Chairman of the Bihar State All-Party National Defence Front, Mahamaya Prasad Sinha MLC, a veteran Congress leader of the Bihar State.

This meeting was attended by prominent state leaders of different political parties, including the Congress. I myself had come from Delhi precisely to address the students' gathering on their tasks in the national defence efforts.

I am told that these two student leaders were arrested on the basis of a warrant against them, in connection with the student demonstration of August 9. In the wake of the Pakistani aggression and Chinese threat, when all the forces in the country are united and to galvanise it, the central government sent instruction to State Chief Ministers to release all persons arrested in connection with the recent movement in the states against price rise, food shortage and fees enhancement etc. So far as our information goes, all other State Governments responded to

the request of the Central Government, but the exception is the Bihar Government.

We hope the central government will take serious note of these arrests and ask the state government to release all the arrested persons in Bihar.

We demand that the Bihar state government immediately releases all students and teachers, who are detenus and orders the withdrawal of all warrants and cases against them.

We call upon youths and students all over the country to protest to the Bihar government and demand the release of their co-brothers. We are also going to request the International Union of Students to send information about arrests to all the national students' organisations, so that the students all over the world condemn this unjustified and repressive act of the Bihar government.

We assure the students and teachers of Bihar on behalf of AISF, that we shall spare no effort to defend them in the courts, if the cases against them are not withdrawn. AISF will organise all its resources, to defend the cases against the students and the teachers.

But we hope that Bihar government will see reason, and immediately release all the students and teachers and other persons arrested in connection with the recent movement.

Patna
HIREN DAS GUPTA
General Secretary
All-India Students'
Federation



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 afflicting a number of Communist Parties at that time.

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READER'S FORUM

Anti-Sovietism Of Rightists Still Persists

SOME political leaders who have acquired a reputation for their anti-Soviet bias have not been able to overcome their dislike of the Soviet Union even after what has recently happened.

Peter Alvares recently made an insinuation that the Soviet Union had defreezed the Kashmir issue in as much as it was a party to the Security Council resolution. He also found it necessary to make irrelevant allusions to the alleged "interference" by the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Hungary.

Acharya Kripalani has bracketed USSR with USA and UK by saying that "the big powers" dominate the UN. He spurned the Soviet suggestion of a Shastri-Ayub meeting in the Soviet Union, though the Prime Minister had appreciated this well-meaning gesture of the Soviet Prime Minister.

Others have tried to equate the Soviet attitude of friendly cooperation to the double-faced policies

of USA and UK. The attitude of Rajaji and other Swatantra leaders is well-known.

It was indeed refreshing to hear our Prime Minister, who correctly explained the Soviet attitude to the Parliament and the people of India by stating that: "the Soviet Union is to-day an ardent champion of peace and she wants in a friendly spirit to endeavour to bring about an improvement in the relationship between India and Pakistan. Their intentions are pure and we have, therefore, welcomed their initiative."

Education Minister Chagla, who had the great honour and at the same time the difficult assignment, of representing our country in the United Nations, frankly appreciated the help rendered to us by the Soviet Union during the drafting of the Security Council resolution when every phrase, indeed every comma and full stop was debated.

It appears that some political leaders think that if we have lost the friendship of some nations there is no reason why we should keep that of others.

Bombay

T. S. HEGDE Raipur N. K. PATHAK

Release Assam Communist Kabirulla

NEW AGE has done well to refer in its last two issues to the indiscriminate arrest of Indian Muslims in some of the states on suspicion during this emergency.

In many cases, as pointed out by your paper, the arrested are well known nationalists and leaders of working class movement against whom no suspicion can rest, because their whole record shows their patriotic stand and consistent fight against communism.

The fact is that the police authorities and vested interests are trying to misuse the emergency for their own ends; to wreak vengeance on militant trade unionists. This is a reprehensible method and should be severely condemned.

An instance of this can be pointed out in the arrest of the veteran Communist trade union worker Kabirulla of Sibsagar, general secretary of the Motor Workers' Union. It

is difficult to understand how such a well-known TU leader could even remotely be mistaken for being a Pakistani agent.

Not only the Communist Party, but all sensible people here condemn this arrest and it would be expected of the state government to exercise its authority to prevent this kind of blatant misuse of authority by its officers.

In a sensitive area like Assam, security is doubly important and this is realised by the common people who in these critical days have displayed a marvellous sense of alertness and helped the authorities to apprehend suspicious characters.

But it is a poor tribute to them if the government arrests the wrong people under wrong pretexts and further it will only help to shake their confidence in the impartiality and efficiency of the administration.

SHILLONG

S. BANERJEE

CPI's Lead In Defence

EVERY one will admit that it was the Communist Party which took the lead in mobilising the people for defence efforts in Chhattisgarh.

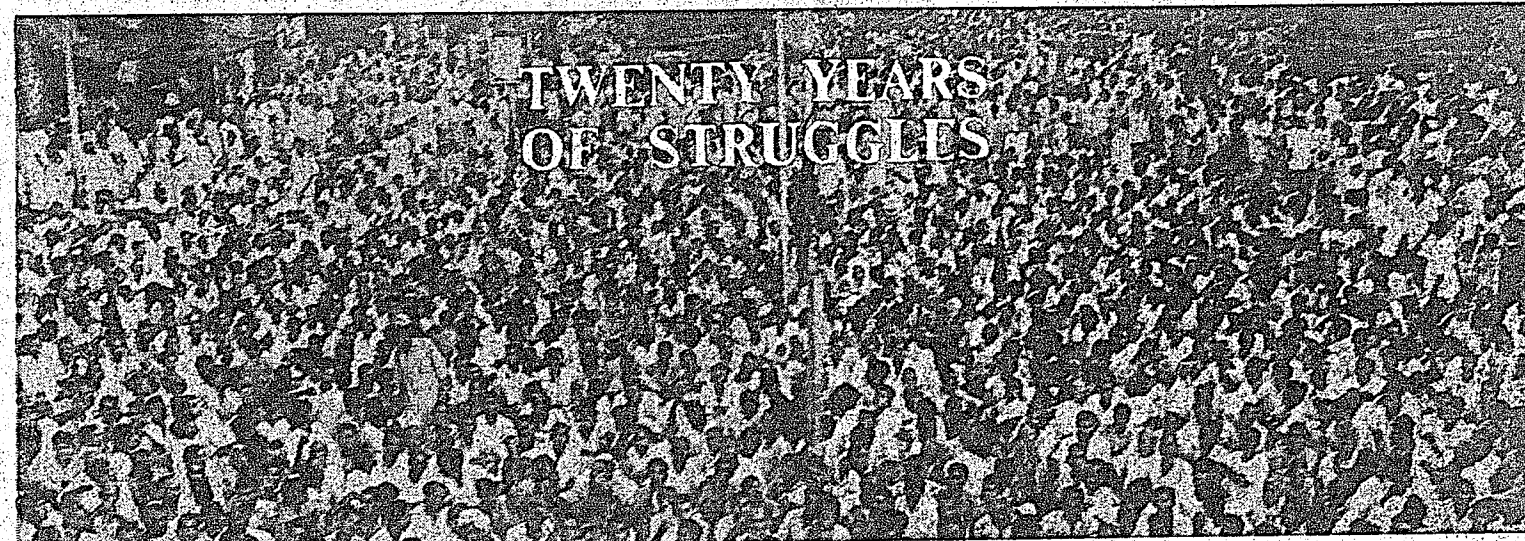
The Party was the first to hold mass rallies condemning the Pakistan aggression in Raipur, Jagdalpur and Bhatapara and numerous other places in Drug district.

As is well-known, the Communist Party is a major force among the working class in this region. AITUC unions like the Bhilai Steel Mazdoor Sabha, the Samyukt Khadan Mazdoor Sangh and other unions of bidi workers, PWD employees, Electricity Board employees and engineering workers took the lead in organising joint rallies with other democratic and defence funds.

One of the striking features of the campaign was the unity among democratic forces. The Communist Party always endeavoured to hold joint rallies with other democratic and secular forces.

At Jagdalpur, for instance, a mass rally was addressed by Municipal Congress President D. N. Mishra, Raipur District CPI secretary N. K. Pathak and SSP district secretary R. S. Bajpai. Similarly at Bhatapara, a Congress leader Keshav Bhai addressed a meeting together with Communist leaders.

It is interesting to note that the super-nationalists of the Jan Sangh were not very active this time, as they had been at the time of the Chinese aggression in 1962. The comment many friends make is that the Jan Sangh is somewhat discomfited because of the support being given to the Pakistan aggression by its patrons of the USA and Britain.



How WFTU Came To Be Constituted

ON the eve of the defeat of Hitler fascism in the second world war, the trade unions of the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States, France and several countries in Asia and Latin America instructed their representatives to lay the foundation stone in London of a real world trade union organisation, the first of its kind in the history of the working class movement, that of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The working class had need of such a body to consolidate all its forces in the fight against fascism, for a lasting peace; for the liberation of oppressed peoples, and in order to be able better to defend the economic and social interests of the workers and their democratic and trade union rights.

The job was carried out successfully. On February 17, 1945 trade union organisations of different viewpoints and policies, overcoming many difficulties, set up a committee which drew up a draft constitution for the WFTU.

And the first conference of the trade unions of the world was convened for September 15, 1945 in liberated Paris, a conference which soon transformed itself into the first world trade union congress. On October 3, 1945 the constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions, laying down its aims, methods and organisation, was adopted unanimously.

The preamble said that the World Federation of Trade Unions was created "to improve the living and working conditions of the peoples of all lands . . ."

Organise World Trade Unions

The constitution itself laid down for the WFTU, among other basic aims, the duty "to organise and unite within its ranks the trade unions of the whole world, irrespective of considerations of race, nationality, religion or political opinion;

"To assist, whenever necessary, the workers in countries socially or industrially less developed, in setting up their trade unions;

"To combat war and the causes of war . . ."

"To organise the common struggle of trade unions of all countries: against all encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and on democratic liberties; for the satisfaction of the need of the workers for security of full employment; for the progressive improvement of wages, hours and working and living conditions of the workers; for full and adequate social security to protect workers and their families against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, accidents and old age; for the adoption of all other measures furthering the social and economic well-being of the workers . . ."

"To plan and organise the education of trade union members on the question of international labour unity and to awaken them to a consciousness of their individual responsibility for the realisation of trade union purposes and aims."

On October 3, 1945, the WFTU came into being. The committees of the WFTU were set up unanimously; first the General Council, which elected Louis Sallant as General Secretary, and the Executive Committee, which elected Sir Walter Citrine (Britain) as President of the WFTU.

WARSAW READY FOR WORLD TU MEET

WARSAW: The Sixth World Trade Union Congress opens here in the Polish capital on October 8. The congress also marks the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

THERE could have been no better choice than Warsaw to hold this get-together of the world working class, the fighters for everlasting peace and a better tomorrow.

Warsaw is fondly called "the heart, the brain and the treasure-house of Poland". Indeed it is, for modern Warsaw has been built from absolute rubble, into which the Nazi hordes had reduced it, by the sweat and labour, love and imagination of the Polish workers.

And these creators of the beauty that is modern Warsaw are preparing enthusiastically to welcome the representatives of the working class from all over the world—more than 500 of them, from 90 countries on five continents, representing a total membership of the WFTU of 120 millions.

The congress will open with a rally on October 8 at the palace of culture commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the WFTU. It will be attended by outstanding Polish workers and participants of the congress.

Sallant's Report

The business of the congress will start on October 9. The draft agenda proposed by the WFTU executive committee has put a report by the general secretary, Louis Sallant, on the programme of trade union action and steps taken by the WFTU to promote unity as the first item.

Sallant will also examine the present evolution and development of the world trade union movement, the new opportunities for unity, solidarity and international trade union relations.

economic and social problems of the working women.

In a pre-congress interview the WFTU general secretary Louis Sallant said that the congress would discuss fundamental problems of the world trade union movement and the strengthening of its unity.

There is no doubt, he said, that the World Congress of Trade Unions will become a mighty manifestation of solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

Sallant saw "favourable prospects" for international trade union unity and said: the WFTU, both at the congress and after the congress, will continue to cooperate with all progressive forces.

Commissions To Work

Many commissions will be working during the congress. Besides those on the above two reports, the main commissions will be on social security for the workers and

The WFTU has never restricted and will not restrict regional initiatives of national trade union centres and international trade union federations. The WFTU seeks to create the widest possible conditions for strengthening the unity of the world trade union movement, he said.

AITUC Delegation

NEW DELHI: The Indian Delegation to the World Trade Union Congress left for Warsaw on October 6.

The delegation is led by S. A. Dange, general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and has ten members.

Others in the delegation are N. K. Krishnan, Satish Loomba, N. Satyanarayana Reddy, Makhana Singh, Malti Nagarkar, Gulabrao Ganacharya, B. D. Joshi, S. N. Bhargava and Mahendra Sen.

Durgacharan Mohanty, has also left for Warsaw to participate in the congress as an observer on behalf of the Indian Aluminium Company Employees Federation.

20TH UN ASSEMBLY: NEW PROSPECTS

From Our UN Correspondent

NEW YORK: THE opening on September 20 of the twentieth General Assembly of the United Nations with its membership now going up to 117 with the addition of Gambia, the Maldiv Islands and Singapore, was itself a victory of the peace loving and anti-imperialist forces. They had succeeded in making the United States yield on its demand of withholding voting rights from those countries which refused to pay for the so-called peace keeping operations of the UN not sanctioned by the Security Council.

To this unreasonable obduracy of the United States, the answer of the overwhelming majority of the Afro-Asian and other peace-loving countries was a firm NO. After this unmistakable consensus and a series of behind the scene negotiations the tables were cleared for winding up the unfinished business left over from last year's nineteenth Assembly and the opening of the twentieth session.

The Secretary-General's introductory remarks to his annual report themselves marked a pleasant departure from previous speeches weighted in favour of the United States and its allies.

Quite apart from showing an honest impartiality on the part of the person of U Thant, it also reflected the new balance inside the United Nations where the peace-loving and democratic countries not only have a majority but are increasingly in a position to pull their weight in the direction of taking an objective view of the world.

The Secretary-General spoke of the imperative need of doing something immediately for stopping the Vietnam conflict, which had not only "cruelly set back" the thaw in East-West relations that previously had brought both sides closer together than ever in the last ten years, but also had a noticeable impact on the disarmament question. The lack of substantial progress in the Geneva talks was "one obvious result of the intensification of the cold war", he said.

He asserted that it was time the nuclear powers agreed on banning ALL nuclear tests, including those underground and take the first concrete steps towards preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. He strongly supported the Disarmament Commission's recommendation for a world dis-

armament conference, on which again it is the Western powers which are dragging their feet.

Alluding to the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China, he spoke again of the imperative need for the United Nations to achieve universality of membership as soon as possible.

Referring to the situation in the Dominican Republic as a result of the military intervention, he spoke of "the difficulties in relationships" between the United Nations and the Organisation of American States.

The Assembly has begun its work with a provisional agenda of over a hundred items, prominent among these being the problems of disarmament, specifically the question of calling a world disarmament conference, and implementation of the Declaration

of Granting Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples and many other separate items as Oman, South-West Africa, South Africa etc.

The Soviet Union, supported by a large number of other peace-loving and democratic countries, have introduced two important and urgent items—"On the impermissibility of interference in the internal affairs of states, on safeguarding their independence and sovereignty" and "On the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" which have now been included on the agenda.

Moving the draft of a declaration on "non-interference" and welcoming the end of the conflict between India and Pakistan, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko warned of the dangers of intervention by "third parties" who would see advantages for themselves in India and Pakistan getting bogged down still deeper in enmity.

for this would weaken each one of them and make them prone to foreign influence and dictation."

The Soviet draft treaty, on non-proliferation, Gromyko emphasised, incorporates promises by the signatories not to transfer nuclear weapons "in any form—directly or indirectly through third states or groupings of states... and not to grant the aforesaid states or groups of states the right to participate in the ownership, disposal or use of nuclear weapons."

The declaration emphasises the danger to world peace arising from "the armed interference of some states in the internal affairs of others". It recalls that the Charter of the United Nations rejects any such interference.

Under the declaration, the General Assembly would "resolutely demand an immediate end to and prevention of future action constituting armed or any other interference in the internal affairs of states..."

The declaration ends: "The General Assembly warns states which, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, are carrying out interference in the internal affairs of other states, that thereby they are assuming a heavy international responsibility before all the peoples."

WHAT'S ON IN LATIN AMERICA BOSCH BACK IN DOMINICA

THE papers have reported of the hero's welcome given to former President Juan D. Bosch on his return to Santo Domingo from exile in Puerto Rico, following the signing of the Dominican Reconciliation Act.

This showed, if any proof was necessary, the tremendous popular support enjoyed by the leaders of the Constitutional Government even after so many months of subversion by the military junta and United States armed intervention.

The representatives of the Constitutionalist Government, the military junta that had put itself to power on the support of American military intervention and the Peace Mission from the Organisation of American States met in Santo Domingo and signed the Reconciliation Act and the Institutional Act, followed by the establishment of a Provisional Government with immediate effect.

The crisis which had gone on for nearly five months and shaken the country's social, economic and political life is thus on the way of being resolved and general elections are to be held in nine months time.

Following the resignation of General Antonio Imbert, Hector Garcia Godoy, a prominent diplomat and lawyer and a former Foreign Minister in the last days of Juan Bosch's administration, was found acceptable by both sides and is the Provisional President.

The Provisional Government has proclaimed an immediate amnesty and release of all political prisoners and has started negotiations through the Organisation of American States regarding the date and conditions for the complete withdrawal of the so-called inter-American force.

Two of the main demands of the Constitutionlists under Colonel Francisco Caamaño, namely the incorporation of the Constitutionalist servicemen in the regular army and the disarming of the civilians who had supported them, by the Constitutionlists themselves, have been met.

Similarly the OAS mission had to withdraw their original proposal that public order in Santo Domingo would be maintained by foreign troops.

These are important victories for the patriotic and democratic forces in the Dominican Republic.

While the Constitutionlists had to conduct negotiations under extremely difficult conditions, they persevered to quote Colonel Caamaño: "to lay the foundation which would give the people the right to strive in the future for the total restoration of our prerogatives as a free nation". In this they have succeeded.

While it may still be too early to foresee the future developments in the Dominican Republic, it is evident that the aims of the interventionists backed by US arms have been defeated.

In this in addition to the popularly supported resistance put up by the Constitutionlists, public opinion in other Latin American countries and their refusal to okay the US intervention has played its part.

In a home-coming speech at a waterfront rally attended by over 50,000 people Bosch urged the Dominicans to keep fighting against "United States intervention".

He demanded that the US Government pay a 100 million dollar indemnity to the Dominican Republic as compensation in part for the damage resulting from the military intervention.

He asked similar compensations from other Latin American governments who had sent troops contingents to participate in the intervention.

Bosch's return, which coincided with the second anniversary of his deposition by a military coup on grounds of his alleged weakness towards communism, marked a major victory of the democratic forces of this little republic.

NEW AGREEMENT ON PANAMA CANAL

IT has been announced that the United States and Panama have agreed to conclude a new treaty on the Panama Canal.

The people of Panama have long since been struggling against the unequal treaty of 1903 by which the United States actually took away from Panama a considerable part of her territory, brought in its troops and established colonial orders.

The popular uprising against this treaty a year and a half ago was brutally suppressed by force of American arms. But the United States was forced then to promise to start talks on a new treaty.

President Johnson announced that the United States has agreed to conclude a new treaty that would allow Panama to share in the administration, management and operation of the canal.

The details of the new treaty are yet to be discussed but it is already clear that the United States has no intention of withdrawing its troops from the Panama Canal zone or of giving up its privileges.

The new treaty, Johnson said, will envisage the defence of the existing canal and any other sea canal that may be built in Panama.

Under the new agreement the troops and military installations of the United States in Panama will remain there. The US President also declared that the United States and Panama are conducting talks on the building of a new, more modern canal on the territory of Panama.

This naturally will lead to an even greater expansion of the political, economic and military influence of the United States in Panama and to a further curtailment of her national sovereignty.

With this new step, the United States thus hopes to weaken somehow the anti-American sentiments that are again rising in Latin America in connection with the latest resolution adopted by the US Congress calling for armed intervention into any Latin American country under the pretext of "combating communism."

For instance, a large number of Members of Parliament of various political parties in Argentina have strongly criticised this decision calling it revival of the Monroe Doctrine.

RHODESIA : BIG POSER BEFORE COMMONWEALTH

With Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's arrival in London with a new ultimatum for immediate "independence" and under increased pressure from the big British financial interests backing the Rhodesian racialists, the indications are that the British government in its desire to avoid a showdown is ready to yield further concessions in respect of proclaiming the country's independence provided the Rhodesian government gave "firm guarantees" that the rights of the African population will be "gradually extended".

WHILE the people of Zimbabwe supported by all Afro-Asia are united in their demand for immediate independence for the country on the basis of one man one vote for the entire population, the "gradual" process contemplates in terms of developments extending over the next twenty-five years in which the African majority will come to have its full say in the running of their motherland.

British opinion, it seems apparently, shudders at the "prospect" of having to undertake "military operations" to prevent the white racist government from making any unilateral assertion of its independence but let us have a look at the relevant "military figures".

Rhodesia has a hard core of only 3,500 regular soldiers and 8,000 reservists and nobody is going to believe that Britain cannot muster the resources to deal with a "threat" of this size.

The crisis of the Commonwealth threatening its break up is as imminent over the question of Rhodesia as on so many other issues.

For the Labour government to grant Rhodesia's independence on the Rhodesian Front's terms would be to endorse and perpetuate the domination of 230,000 whites over 3.8 million Africans in defiance of every past Labour

any last ditch battle for the defence of white privileges.

Challenge To Labour Leadership At Blackpool

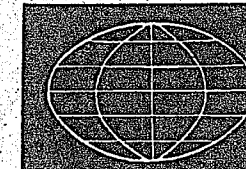
At the Blackpool conference Labour official policy when challenged by progressive and left wing sections could not get a vote of more than two to one to endorse government policy.

It is not only the size of the vote which is important, the biggest trade union in the country, the Transport and General Workers' Union, with members in a wide variety of industries, threw its weight into the votes against the government both on Vietnam and immigration from the Commonwealth.

At the same time it is a matter of serious concern that the policies for which the Labour leadership secured majorities represent a major reversal of the position on which the Labour Party stood in the past and on which it fought the election.

To take Labour's foreign policy, at Blackpool in 1961, the Labour Party conference in an emergency resolution called for negotiations on Berlin, de facto recognition of the German Democratic Republic and recognition of the present frontiers between Germany and Poland on the Oder-Neisse line.

In the House of Commons on July 5, 1962, Harold Wilson, speaking on the need for a settlement on Berlin said that to



The World

get such a settlement "we should be prepared to show flexibility, especially by showing willingness to accept Germany's eastern frontiers with Poland and Czechoslovakia".

When he passed through Warsaw on his way back from Moscow on June 15, 1963, Wilson was asked about his attitude on the Oder-Neisse frontier, and replied: "I do not think there is any difference between the position of the Polish Government and that of the Labour Party on this question".

Yet when he was in Warsaw two weeks ago, Michael Stewart refused to make any statement about Poland's frontiers, or about support for plans put forward by Poland for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, the freezing of nuclear armaments or measures to ensure security in Central Europe—all measures previously supported by the Labour Party and Harold Wilson personally.

On the question of Vietnam, the British policy of white-washing the actions of the United States and distorting and misrepresenting the position of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam are well known and its defence by Wilson and Stewart was on expected lines.

Adenis To Fight British Colonialism

FOLLOWING the abrogation of the colony's constitution, the Adeni people's struggle for independence entered a new phase last week with the liberation movement calling on

all citizens to refuse to work under the British High Commissioner.

"Cooperation with the coloniser is a crime against the country," said a statement issued by the Organisation for the Liberation of the Occupied South, "and the guilty must pay" for it to the people in the near future."

The dismissed Chief Minister, Mr. Mackenzie said after a talk with the British High Commissioner: "We are not surprised by the British government's decision. We will now stand with the people as one front in the face of British Colonial policy."

He said that he and his ministers had been dismissed "because we did not agree to act as puppets and because we were loyal to our people and our country. But this does not mean the people of the area will keep quiet. In fact this step will consolidate our position and our struggle for real independence."

US Plans Armed Subversion In L. America

On September 20 the United States House of Representatives adopted a resolution favouring unilateral US intervention in any country of Latin America if it considers that there is even a threat of "subversive domination" in that country.

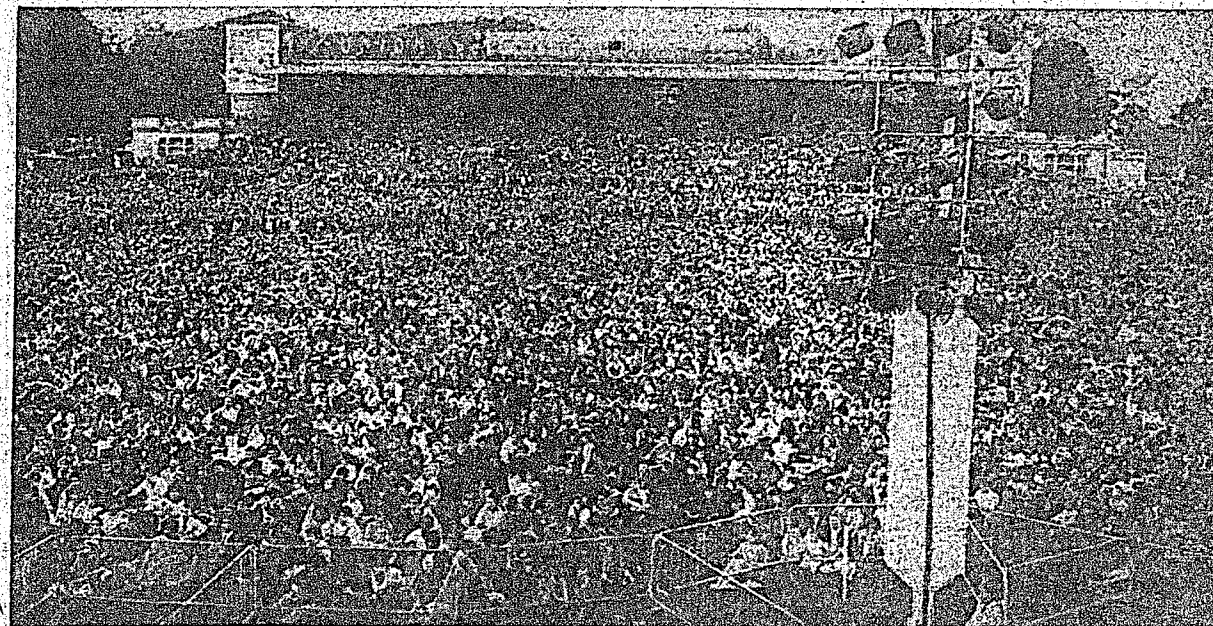
According to the resolution, the US can "take steps to forestall or combat" it. These steps, according to the resolution, may specifically include "resort to armed force".

The reaction against this arrogant and unashamed peace of legislation was so universal and widespread throughout Latin America that State Department spokesmen were at a loss to play down its importance. The NEW YORK TIMES characterised it as the kind of administrative action which "gave substance to the notion, already entrenched in Latin America, that the United States is a crude giant bent on throwing its weight around".

During the discussion, some Congressmen opposing the resolution spoke about its far reaching consequences. Benjamin Rosenthal, Democrat said that it could result in an atmosphere of anarchy arising in the Western hemisphere and that the resolution legalised the unilateral interference in the affairs of another state.

One redeeming feature however was that the resolution was passed against the opposition of 52 members who voted against—an unusually high number on a foreign policy matter for the US Congress.

—BAREN RAY



A view of the mammoth gathering at the biggest get together in France—the Festival of L'Humanite, the mass circulation daily paper of the French Communist Party held at La Courneuve last month. A grand cultural festival—also a demonstration for peace in Vietnam.

WHY THIS FOOD CRISIS?

BY BHUPESH GUPTA

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IN THE TWILIGHT OF UNEASY PEACE

FOR a second week in succession we are still groping in the no-man's land of neither war nor stable truce. Violations are taking place by the dozen but there is undoubtedly a distinct improvement. Says the UN: the ceasefire is holding.

INDO-UN FRONT: Throughout last week the scales were tipped against us at the UN. There was persistence on the part of U Thant to bifurcate the supervision of the ceasefire arrangements between Jammu and Kashmir and the Punjab Fronts.

Also was mooted a committee of four Security Council members to discuss the politics of the Indo-Pak shooting before even a stable ceasefire is established, leave alone mutual withdrawal of troops.

From this week these inimical trends are undergoing some perceptible change. Nimmo has been given over-all supervisory function. This is not to say Nimmo is an angel. Far from it. But perhaps some beginning has been made to treat Kashmir and Punjab fronts as a composite problem, which would be all for the good.

Again, press reports indicate that the surreptitious attempt to prematurely discuss the Kashmir question has had to be put into cold storage—at least for the immediate future. But this Trojan Horse tactic is not abandoned. And we are bound to hear more of it in the coming days.

CLUBBING EXERCISE: The people all over the country are being subjected to a great deal of post-war peroration by government and Congress leaders. There is a discernible note of satisfaction over our performance on the battle fronts. And that is as it should be.

There is also a great deal of exhortation to the people not to relax and be prepared for the worst. This call for vigilance has been echoed rightly by all democratic forces.

There is mounting affirmation in all these public speeches that unless we have some sort of firm guarantee, it will not be possible for us to withdraw from the vital forward positions we occupy across the ceasefire line in Kashmir which alone can prevent infiltration and aggression.

Sadiq expressed himself publicly for treating the CFL as international border between India and Pakis-

nantly against British partisanship. In his Shivaji Park speech on Monday Chavan also castigated White Hall.

But for the last several days the Prime Minister has been clubbing all the three big powers together. At least that is the impression that is created among the public.

Addressing the Ramlila gathering in New Delhi on Tuesday he implored both the camps to listen to India's grievances.

Coupled with this has come an ominous remark from Kamaraj about the danger of India going 'Communist' and appealing to the West for help!

While wishing this report to be untrue, we were again startled by Vijayalakshmi Pandit's pronouncement in Paris after meeting General De Gaulle. She also played on the same key.

Nanporia of the TIMES OF INDIA has been advocating a comprehensive thesis along these lines. His line is that the time has come to evict Pakistan from the American parlour and that India should take her place with all the assets and most, if not all, of the liabilities.

Nonetheless, the week's developments do not suggest that anybody in the Government of India or the Congress is acting as the foster father of Nanporia. But there are some disturbing under-tones in some of the pronouncements.

THE WEEK

tan. That means that he wants New Delhi to reserve the right to do what it likes with the occupied Kashmir which, even according to the UN resolution, is under the legal jurisdiction of India.

New Delhi has reacted to this suggestion with obvious reserve. Too hot a potato!

In regard to India's approach to the so-called super powers, public speeches of the leaders seem to strike different notes.

Shastri and Indira Gandhi were the first to come out openly and indig-

INDONESIA: WHAT NEXT?

By A CORRESPONDENT

THE news from Indonesia is far too confusing to be able to give any clear verdict on what is happening. It is also unclear at the moment, what will be the outcome of the events which began on September 30.

But this much is clear. The imperialists are doing their utmost to take advantage of the situation for their own ends, to shift Indonesian policies to the right, in a pro-imperialist direction. No anti-imperialist can view any such development except with anxiety.

Whether there was a CIA plot or not, the fact is well-known that certain reactionary forces were active in the upper echelons of the army. General Nasution himself was considered to be the closest to the right inside the government.

President Soekarno's flirtations with the communal Muslim reactionaries had also helped to strengthen these elements. The President had, recently, during the Pakistani aggression, made himself the "Protector of Islam".

The rightist generals seek to use the present crisis to oust from positions of influence the Communist Party of Indonesia and other democrats. In this aim, they are firmly supported by the imperialists.

While seeing the hand of imperialism and reaction, it is also necessary to ask oneself whether the Indonesian Communists have acted with the necessary sagacity in the present situation.

It is impossible to give a clear verdict in the absence of all the facts. But it does appear that the Indonesian Communist Party gave its support to the September 30 movement, and had some hand in the action which led to the killing of the top generals.

The fact that this movement did not succeed in its aims (whatever the future may show, the immediate aims of the September 30 movement were not achieved) indicates a degree of adventurism, which may give a setback to the Communist Party in Indonesia. Already the Communist press is reported to have been shut, and demands for the banning of the Party are being raised.

Only a little while ago, the Indonesian Communist leader Aidit gave his support to the Pakistani aggression and called for a revolution in India ("the time is ripe", he said). Adventurist policies have unfortunately characterised the activity of the Indonesian Communist Party, and under the influence of the Chinese Communist Party, there has been an accentuation of this tendency.

In the clash between the right and the left forces, President Soekarno has thus far managed to hold his own, "guiding" a very uneasy "democracy". But will he be able to salvage the "unity" he claimed to represent all these years?

The Indonesian events require to be watched with the greatest care in the coming days. (October 6)

THE BOMB: Though a large number of Congress MPs and others have urged the making of atom bomb there has been no official pronouncement. Is there going to be a reopening of the issue settled at Durgapur?

The only party in Parliament which categorically dissociated itself from the Make the Bomb demand was the Communist Party.

There are different voices in the Congress for D. P. Misra, Mehr Chand Khanna and a few others in authority have demanded that we make it. Morarji Desai has opposed it.

Several foreign correspondents have written home that India is making preparations though no decision has been taken to explode one.

EMS Namboodiripad told IPA that he had no objection to India making the bomb. Of course, he would not ask for it. It was upto the government to decide.

DEFENCE & DEVELOPMENT: There is a burst of activity aimed at re-orienting the Fourth Plan to suit our defence requirements. No authoritative direction is yet indicated.

Meanwhile, most of the big business press has been calling not only for the alteration of the content of the Fourth Plan but also its size.

In any scheme of things the food front is the first to be stabilised. And precisely on this front is official ambivalence at its worst.

Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore in a row have stood up against statutory rationing. Presently the centre is trying to coax them to behave with promise of supplies. It is yet to be seen whether they will fall in line.

Whispering Gallery

RAMA DIDI'S GIFT

RAMA Didi, that is, multi-millionaire Jain's millionaire wife, has offered, together with her hubby, to bear the educational expenses of 50 children of the jawans who died in fighting with Pakistan.

Estimated expenditure: Rs. 10 lakhs for 18 years.

The humanitarian couple has also offered to pay Rs. 100 per month for 12 years to 11 families of the jawans killed during the fighting.

How delighted we are to read all about this generous offer. How grateful the nation feels to the God-loving pair.

This is the typical kind of gestures with which the multi-millionaires seek to bowl the innocent public over. And with carefully planned publicity this class creates an aura of sacrifice around them.

And in the process get themselves ingratiated with the powers that be and invite their smiles and chase away the frowns if there have been any.

Rama Didi and family have enough of official (though sectional) displeasure on their plate. It all began with the Vivian Bose report on the Dalmia-Jain empire.

Rama Didi is at present the most important director of the Bennet Coleman & Co. which owns the TIMES OF INDIA chain of publications.

And it is well known that S. P. Jain and others have been arraigned before a tribunal for alleged embezzlement of funds. At one stage it was thought the Jains will be in a jam.

But gradually a number of central ministers and chief ministers of states

took up their brief and the Jains are being eased out. One central minister at least has been resisting it without much success.

In this inter-ministerial feud over the Jains one incident is worth recording. The central minister in charge of the tribunal work has been complaining both in private and even in public that another senior minister has been interceding on behalf of the Jains in a particularly aggressive fashion.

He decided to embarrass his senior. The senior has his weakness for astrology and astrologers. There is one particular astrologer whom he consults even on current developments in Indonesia to get a better understanding of the situation there.

One day the minister in charge of the enquiry against the Jains ordered a raid on a firm with which was connected the son of the astrologer. Imagine the ire of his patron.

Since Bhubaneswar when Nehru fell suddenly ill these two ministers were acting as an axis. That has now been completely broken with the raid on that firm for alleged foreign exchange violation.

One comment I heard about it was that if the astrologer was a versatile one, how was it that he did not predict the raid! Of course, this lapse has not in any way lessened the faith of the senior minister in his forecasting abilities.

The point is that the Jains are being taken off the hook, and Rama Didi's gracious and generous gesture to the families of our fighting men is bound to speed up the operation rescue.

—INSIDER