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TATA, BIRLA IN PRO-U.S. PLOT

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BRITISH EFFORTS TO THROTTLE QUIT COMMONWEALTH CAMPAIGN

NEW DELHI: Frenzied efforts are being made by British imperialism's representatives and "friends" in India, to put a stop to the broad support being extended to the Quit Commonwealth campaign, launched this week in nearly every state in the country.

British High Commissioner Freeman and other officials are carrying out hurricane tours, in a frantic attempt to explain away the hostile actions of their government against India. In every one of his press conferences and statements, Freeman has attacked the Quit Commonwealth campaign, in as vicious a way as possible.

But these open statements and tours are only a small and minor part of the white sahibs' activity. Behind the scenes, small exclusive parties are being arranged in New Delhi and in important state capitals. And transactions are being toasted in burra pegs of the finest Scotch whisky.

Results? The boys in the High Commission are pretty sure of them. They say they have tackled influential gentlemen in the political field, and support from certain sources for the Quit demand will wane. Maybe they are just boasting, these

white sahibs. But there ARE certain reports which, if correct, would mean that British pressures are beginning to tell in certain circles, at any rate.

* Did you notice that the Jan Sangh's executive at its recent meeting did NOT categorically make the Quit demand, despite the earlier enthusiasm of its leaders for it?

* The leader of the Jan Sangh in Rajasthan refused to sign the MLAs Quit Commonwealth appeal (see page 7), while other Jan Sanghis did.

* Certain reactionary elements in the Delhi Congress are trying to scuttle the Quit Commonwealth resolution jointly moved in the Delhi Municipal Corporation by Congress and Communist members.

British pressures naturally work at the weakest point! The difficulty for the sahibs is, of course, that the Quit Commonwealth campaign's main source of strength lies in the democratic forces.

Stopping reactionaries from continuing their opportunist support to the Quit demand does not weaken the campaign one jot...

BEHIND all the publicity about the tycoons' "generous" gifts for the jawans and their families, a rotten and dirty conspiracy to subvert our basic policies is being hatched by the monopolists. This in itself would not be surprising nor perhaps call for much more than a brief comment.

But when it is combined with the fact that certain forces in high places inside the government itself are succumbing to the monopolists' pressures and are engaged in dangerous actions which indicate a drift away from basic policies... it becomes necessary to shout aloud to mobilise public opinion to defeat the conspiracy.

Let me first string together the facts as they are, to enable you to draw your own conclusions.

● Tycoon Tata has informed the President of the Nehru Memorial Fund Committee that it is NOT possible to collect donations for the Fund, because Nehru's policies have been "proved" to have been all wrong, during the days since the latest Pakistani aggression. (NEW AGE Editorial this week draws attention to right reaction's anti-Nehru crusade)

● Tycoon Birla has just completed a visit to the USA. In an exclusive interview with INDIA WEEKLY in London, Birla said that "in the recent war with Pakistan, the Johnson administration's sympathy was with India". Americans, Birla affirmed (with his hand on his heart and his tongue in his cheek, we presume!), "were full of sympathy with India, her democratic institutions and her secular way of life"... they had "high praise for India's armed forces", they regarded our army as "an exceptional crack force".

● Birla capped his interview with a plea for an early visit by Prime Minister Shastri to Washington to meet President Johnson. This was followed up by a front-page lead story in Birla's HINDUSTAN TIMES (October 9) headlined "EARLY SHASTRI-JOHNSON MEETING LIKELY".

This story, credited to the paper's Washington correspondent, stated that the Prime Minister had written to Johnson expressing "the hope that he would meet President Johnson at an early date". Three days later, the same Birla organ carried another front-page story headlined "Johnson Eager to Meet PM, Ayub"... again credited to the Washington correspondent.

● Meanwhile Sadoba Patil has raced off to Washington as Shastri's personal emissary to Johnson, and it has been semi-officially admitted that he is to prepare the way for the Prime Minister's visit to the USA.

● The latest news in regard to foreign policy is that in Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's address to the UN General Assembly, where he covered the entire field of foreign affairs (and incidentally he was stronger than perhaps ever before on the issues concerning British colonies), THERE WAS DELIBERATELY NO MENTION OF VIETNAM.

● In New Delhi, there is open talk that the monopolists have succeeded in securing firm assurances from the Government of India, that the private sector will be allowed in a big way to enter the fields of defence production till now exclusively reserved for the public sector.

What does all this add up to?

The monopolists put the screw on, through deliberate sabotage of the Nehru Memorial Fund, to grab a bigger stake in profits, through a share in the loot of "defence orientation".

The whole game is to switch off the national anti-imperialist sentiments of the Indian people, and turn the face of the government away from the basic policies associated with the name of Nehru.

What is alarming is the omission of all references to Vietnam in such a major, all-embracing foreign policy

By Romesh Chandra

speech as that of the Foreign Minister in the General Assembly yesterday.

Whatever the formal excuses which may be trotted out to cover up this outrageous reversal of our policies, the fact is that this silence on American butchery in Vietnam, can only be interpreted as an overtone of a particularly filthy kind, to the great gods of Washington.

On top of it all, comes the news of the conspiracy to send the Prime Minister himself to fold his hands before Johnson. We should not underestimate the meaning of the selection of Sadoba Patil as special emissary to Washington. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's performance in Paris has already indicated the way the right reactionary forces inside the government are seeking to twist Indian policies in a pro-imperialist direction.

This conspiracy can only be scotched by the democratic masses if they make their voices heard in no uncertain way. The cry of Quit Commonwealth is being heard today all over India. Together with it let other slogans also rent the air:

- "Shastriji Must Not Go to USA";
- "No Surrender to the American Lobby";
- "Defence Production for the Nation, Not for the Monopolists' Profits";
- "Strengthen the Basic National Policies". (Oct. 13)

Editorial MUD ON THE ROSE

Ash on the old man's sleeve
Is all the ash the burnt roses leave.
Dust in the air suspended
Marks the place where the story ended.

A sinister campaign to destroy the image of Jawaharlal Nehru, to burn his memory to ashes, to end the Nehru story for all time, has continued since the start of the present Pakistani aggression.

The aim of this campaign goes far beyond the smearing of an individual. The targets are the positive national policies, which are associated with the name of the late Prime Minister.

For several weeks, the campaign was largely conducted in whispers, in sly innuendos, in dubious comparisons between the "militant" policies of the present government and the "passive" policies of Jawaharlal.

But now the flinging of dirt on Nehru's memory has been undertaken in right earnest by the top-most champions of reaction in this country.

Swatantra leader Dahyabhai Patel spewed poison during a press conference in Patna last week. "All mistakes", he said, "be it foreign policy, defence, Kashmir, Punjabi Suba or even the food crisis emanated from Nehru, and the country today is paying the price of his follies."

The Jan Sangh-RSS combine is in the field with even greater venom. Week after week, its journal ORGANISER is filled with open and veiled attacks on Jawaharlal and his positive policies. The latest issue, dated October 10, uses a front page article to attack V. K. Krishna Menon "and his late master", for their "anti-Americanism".

The reactionaries inside the ruling party are not so vocal as the Swatantra-Jan Sangh storm-troopers. But their insidious activities are directed towards the same end.

Behind the politicians of the right stand the monopolists and their press, using their wealth and might to push the anti-Nehru crusade forward.

Make no mistake about the aims of the crusade. The democratic forces in this country have repeatedly pointed out the many failures of the late Prime Minister. But it is not against these failures that right reaction is aiming its guns.

The kills which reaction seeks to make, profiting from the present situation, are the positive national policies, which have brought honour to this country, and pointed the road to progress for our people.

Dahyabhai Patel, while attempting to sully the name of Nehru clearly demanded "acceptance of the US umbrella", reshaping India's economic policies "which are socialist and regimented", "to win the goodwill of the USA", and "making amends for criticising American bombing of North Vietnam".

M. S. Golwalkar, addressing an RSS rally in Nagpur, categorically stated:

"Neither secularism, nor democracy, nor socialism are able to exercise any particular appeal for our people."

The anti-Nehru smear campaign is meant to shatter the Indian people's faith in the positive basic policies of non-alignment, of secularism, of parliamentary democracy, of planned independent economic development, with emphasis on the building of the public sector.

The reactionary forces seek to make the people draw totally false lessons from the events of August-September.

Prime Minister Shastri has echoed the feelings of the democratic masses when he said, in the course of a recent interview with BLITZ editor R. K. Karanjia, that all these positive principles and policies associated with the name of Nehru have been "tested" in "the crisis of war" and found "not only sound but extremely helpful".

The positive policies need to be strengthened, given a greater and clearer anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic edge and content. That is what the experience of our fight against Pakistani aggression teaches us.

Reaction's mud will not stick on Nehru's rose. The Indian people stand guard over it.

You may break, you may shatter the vase, if you will, But the scent of the rose will hang round it still.

US LOBBY ACTIVE AS PRESSURE MOUNTS

NEW Delhi is full of talks of the United States staging a come-back, after the severe slump in its prestige during the fighting with Pakistan, the ceasefire efforts and subsequent events.

The mass of our people are of course not involved in such talks. They are in fact more incensed by the reports of new pressures being mounted by the US jointly with Britain against India for concessions to Pakistan to achieve a so-called political settlement on Kashmir.

These pressures were quite openly flaunted from Washington and reports came of our secretary in the Finance Ministry, S. Bhoothalingam being plainly told by US authorities that, not to speak of aid for the Fourth Plan, even the aid already committed would stand frozen till India knuckled under their demand.

At New Delhi end, the US mission appears to have synchronised labours towards a similar end in the garb of sweat reasonableness.

Hints were thrown about that US arms aid to Pakistan was really not so bad, even if the Pattons and the Sabre jets killed Indian jawans in the fighting.

So long as Pakistan remained fully tied to USA, it did no mischief against India. Only Peking's entry on the scene changed the situation.

When President Ayub again offered to return to the US lap, it was argued, the situation had improved and political settlement between India and Pakistan was now possible, under Washington's aegis of course.

A variant of the same line, to make it more acceptable to Indian opinion, was the report about the Indian Prime Minister and the Pakistan President being invited to the United Nations by the US and the Soviet Union jointly to settle their differences.

The air cleared somewhat when Soviet Union did not support such doubtful initiatives and continued to

favour its earlier proposal for a meeting between leaders of India and Pakistan at Tashkent to deal on a bilateral basis without foreign influences.

However, the US campaign soon activated the American lobby in high places in New Delhi. The pace was set by G. D. Birla on the non-official plane with his reported statement in London in favour of Prime Minister Shastri visiting Washington for a meeting with President Johnson.

Rajaji and the Swatantra circles were meanwhile constantly drumming the need

now try to meet President Johnson.

In his view, the climate for such a meeting was good and would pay dividends. It was B. K. Nehru's idea, it is learnt, that Shastri should write to President Johnson wishing him speedy recovery from his operation.

When such a letter was written, a report emanated from Washington that it also contained a hint for an early meeting between the two leaders. The full text of the letter still remains secret, but it is hoped that no such proposal for a visit to Washington was explicitly made.

Patil has finally landed in the US. Officially New Delhi does not invest his mission with more importance than the routine one of explaining the Indian position to the leaders of that country whom he might manage to meet and some of whom he claims are his personal friends.

New Delhi Letter

for making up with Pakistan on Kashmir issue and stressing the communist danger.

Vijayalakshmi Pandit too seemed to lend her weight to this clamour when she spoke of India's "mission of checking communism".

With the Congress party and the government, the well-known American lobby led by S. K. Patil came to life and a big campaign was set afoot for sending Patil to Washington to iron things out at that end.

Ostensibly a part of the general drive to explain India's viewpoint in foreign countries, Patil in his characteristic flamboyance soon added more suggestive and serious objectives to his mission.

He was confident of straightening out the difficulties in regard to PL 480 and advance India's interests on the general question of resumption of economic aid. More, he could pave way for removing misunderstandings between New Delhi and Washington at political level, he claimed.

It is not without significance that timed with the Patil campaign, came the urgent advice from Ambassador B. K. Nehru in Washington that Prime Minister Shastri should

-B. M.



**WE ARE ALL INDIANS...
LET NONE DIVIDE US**

P. S. S.

HATE-INDIA CAMPAIGN BY WEST GERMAN PRESS



By
BHUPESH GUPTA

LITTLE is known in this country about the hate-India campaign that was let loose in West Germany during the Indo-Pak fighting. The campaign synchronised with the similar outcry in Britain and the United States. For years the Indian government has shown certain special but ill-deserved favours to the Bonn regime and sought to cultivate it. And for years our government, again to placate the West German imperialists as also their British and American allies, has denied even full diplomatic recognition to the other German State—the German Democratic Republic.

Even today there is no clear indication that the GDR is going to be recognised—not even when the behaviour of the German Federal Republic (West Germany) which India recognises, makes it imperative to set the record straight over the German question. Today this would seem all the more inescapable even from the point of view of India's national interests, leave alone larger international considerations.

It will be recalled that whenever India has taken a firm positive stand on international or national issue affecting imperialism, the Bonn regime has never failed to react sharply against it. Over the Goa issue, for example, the West German press, tipped by their government, fumed and fretted against India. On the question of Kashmir the West German rulers have never concealed their sympathies for Pakistan.

Why shouldn't they? After all they are powerful allies of the Anglo-US imperialists and the latter's camp followers are naturally the favourites of the West German revanchist regime, hell bent on aggression, neo-colonialism and war. For promoting these aims, Pakistan has always been treated by all of them as an important operation centre.

It is time that the powerful voice of the people is raised against imperialist manoeuvres and the plots of their supporters in the ruling circles and the government itself. The sacrifices of our people and the jawans and the victory on the battle front should not be allowed to be lost on the political front, fighting on which has been started by forces of imperialism and reaction within and outside the country.

Rallying Behind Ayub

So, when the Pakistani forces launched their aggression in August-September, the West German imperialists at once rallied behind Ayub Khan. The mask of feigned friendship with India was off and open malice and perfidy ran riot in the prominent West German papers like DIE WELT and STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG. Here is what these mouthpieces of West German imperialism poured out in one of their foulest anti-India rampages of the recent period:

"The Prime Ministers of both—Hindu and Muslim States—consider their countries at war... The situation should have become clear in so far as India—obvious to every body—has crossed on Monday a regular border and not a disputed ceasefire line. With that she is definable as aggressor and the ways and means of the United Nations' disposal could be applied. Economic boycott and severing of all relations would be appropriate means for the beginning." (editorial, DIE WELT, September 7, 1965)

Even Harold Wilson who broke his silence to denounce India only a few hours before this editorial, did not go that far, even though his appreciation of the situation was exactly of the same brand. How is it that after so many years of mollycoddling the Bonn regime, the Government of India has not even succeeded in impressing upon the West Germans that India is not a Hindu State? The gen-

tleman who run India's foreign affairs should also take note of the fact this voice of the Bonn regime not only named India an aggressor but wanted the UN to punish our country.

The next day DIE WELT came out with a wonderful discovery, a leaf taken out of Goebels's moth-eaten but by no means discarded propaganda manual:

"But Pakistan is laying a just claim on Kashmir. Already her name implies this claim for the word 'Pakistan' was created for the north-western Muslim areas of British India as early as 1933 and taken from: Punjab, Afghan (that means the Pathans in the most north-western province), Kashmir and Baluchistan"

Thus the name of Pakistan is spelled and defined to mean that Kashmir inherently belongs to Pakistan!

Blaming India Blindly

With the ready-made conclusion, shared by the US and British imperialists, that 'India' has to a great extent herself to blame, DIE WELT of September 14 went on:

"That the Indian of all—to whom Mahatma Gandhi had preached nonviolence—should have fallen to aggression did great harm to their prestige."

And this chicanery came after this paper had earlier patied Ayub Khan on the back on September 10: "But one cannot get away from the fact that Pakistan's policy has shown for years a maximum of patience and loyalty... When Nehru had at least uttered occasionally a few, though mere words on a plebiscite in Kashmir, Shastri could not even afford to do this."

In this raucous chorus of spite and fury against India many other influential voices were heard all over West Germany. INDUSTRIEKURIER of August 26 spoke of "an indubitable Indian arrogance which considers the coming into being of a two part (East and West) Pakistan an unpardonable deflection by a minority."

The STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG bluntly advocated dismemberment of India. The paper wrote on September 7:

"The only lasting solution for Kashmir seems to be to transform this contested country into some kind of an Asiatic Switzerland being independent from India as well as from Pakistan and getting guarantees from all big powers."

That India had been forced to take action for purely defensive purpose of course made no sense to the West German imperialists, another of whose mouthpieces, DER KURIER bracketed India with "well-known aggressors" on September 7.

FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU of September 10, rejected India's contention and chimed in: "With arguments like these every preventive war may be justified." India was accused of malafides in her general professions of peace and this paper added: "That India has chosen the easier way gives reason for anxiety."

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE had no use for any sophistication, did not forget Goa and viciously remarked on September 19:

"In Germany, but elsewhere too, many are astonished that India—which has been considered by them to be the safeguard of a policy of nonviolence since Gandhi—has plunged into an adventurous war—obviously even readily to settle an old dispute... Moreover, it had become clear by the Indian attack on Goa that one avails of this right

(to use force) not in self defence only.

VORWISSERTS: in an article captioned "The Dragon-seed has Sprouted" accused Prime Minister Shastri by name of betraying Gandhi and Nehru and observed sarcastically, "... India's peace-dove has all of a sudden changed into a fighter plane."

On September 16, the notorious INDUSTRIEKURIER returned to the vomit in a write-up captioned "The Dispute about Kashmir" and accused India of annexing Hyderabad by force.

One can go on quoting such scurrilous stuff from the West German press but the excerpts given above should be enough for any self-respecting Indian to understand what is what in West Germany so far as our country is concerned.

A word about the powerful West German Radio and Television. They worked overtime to build up this venomous anti-India campaign and surely this is known to the Indian Embassy in Bonn and through it Shastri and his government (we assume the reports were duly sent). All went in favour of Ayub Khan, of course.

In a particular broadcast on September 12, relayed by all radio and TV stations an evil genius of West German Journalism, Werner Hoefler told his audience "Now she (India) conducts a war. The country of Gandhi is the country of Nehru. What shall we think of it? ... Now world conscience is alarmed because peaceful India has attacked a neighbour."

Even after this latest eruption of anti-India venom and hate, are we still to treat the Bonn regime as friend? We of course know the stock argument of the West German government. They will try to hide behind the specious plea that the press in West Germany is 'free', and that the Federal Government is not responsible for what has been said in the press.

It is hoped that the Indian government will reject such argument with the contempt it deserves and tell the West German Embassy in New Delhi, should they attempt at such excuse-making, that they must not add insult to injury.

Government Inspiration

Those who have any knowledge of how things go on in the West, need not be reminded that such pre-planned, concerted nationwide press campaign cannot be even thought of without the inspiration and backing of the government.

This explains why the West German government had not a word to utter when India, to whom they some times pretend their friendship, was insulted, abused and attacked all over that country. Having put the press on the job, how could the government behave otherwise? Let there be no mistake that this press campaign against India is every bit the projection of the anti-India policy of the West German rulers.

It is with these West German imperialists and their revanchist Bonn regime that new economic bonds are being created by the monopolists and the government of our country. Simply because the West Germans fork out some so-called 'economic aid', agree to harmful 'collaboration agreements', the Indian government has, year after year, stomachached all insults from that imperialist quarter.

Today, however, it is no mere insults, what is going on currently in West Germany in its press, radio and television is an open political war against India—a war of unmatched lies and unmitigated hate against our country. This has got to be met with no less resolve than what our jawans have displayed on the fighting line.

It is yet to be seen how this time the Government of India would take this cruel and foul assault from West Germany on our country. The steps before our country and government are however absolutely clear, if at all we mean to answer the West German villainy and uphold our nation's honour and just cause.

The very first thing to do is not to allow this monopoly of favour in the form of exclusive recognition of West Germany to continue for a moment longer. The West German rulers have returned India's favour once again with astounding ingratitude and treachery. Let at least these enemies and vilifiers of India not pass off any more as the only German State that India recognises.

Recognise The GDR

The friendly German Democratic Republic must be given full recognition by India. Friendship must no more be penalised, while malice and perfidy goes on being rewarded. It is pointless to talk about 'fight on the diplomatic front' when even this elementary diplomatic step is deferred and shirked.

Ever since the GDR came into existence, it has not only maintained its friendship with India but has done every thing within its power to cultivate and strengthen it. In sharp contrast to what one comes across in West Germany, the GDR has nothing but friendship, goodwill and disinterested cooperation to offer to our country.

It is well known that as a loyal ally of the Soviet Union, whose friendship towards our country is today acclaimed by all Indians, the GDR shares fully the Soviet stand and that friendship even as the Bonn regime shares, with the British and Americans, the animus and hate against India.

As for Kashmir, the GDR has again reiterated its stand in an official publication: "Contrary to this attitude (that is attitude of West Germany—B.G.) the GDR is in full support of the Indian standpoint on the Kashmir question, and continues to stand by the declaration of the GDR's late Prime Minister, Otto Grotewohl, made by him during his visit to India."

(Information Bulletin, October 1965 published in New Delhi by the Trade Representation of the GDR)

It is time the Indian government sorted out the friends and enemies without equivocation and directed its diplomacy on that basis.

The other important step is to be taken in the sphere of economy. The existing harmful ties with West German monopolies must be snapped.

The latest wild hate-India outbursts in West Germany have again underscored the pressing need for bringing India's relations with the two German States, one friendly, the other inimical, in full conformity with the reality and the requirements of our national interests and international pursuits.

October 10, 1965

STRONGER TIES WITH SOCIALIST STATES

The success of President Radhakrishnan's visits to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania is widely acknowledged by the press and political circles in the capital.

NEW Delhi has naturally every reason to feel satisfied with the outcome of this Presidential mission to Eastern Europe at a time of difficult assessments and choice in our foreign relations.

Because, while surviving the severe test to our policies and strength which was posed by the recent Pakistani aggression, there has arisen a tendency in certain circles to indulge in self-pity and cry how forsaken we were in this crisis by "everybody".

That this reaction has been caused by the shock of finding ourselves deserted by the so-called friends in the Western world, in whom these circles believed and still want to believe, is very clear and very logical too.

It is also true that some at least of those who are now demanding a "reassessment" of our foreign policy come from this group that is disillusioned with the West, but would still want to try another attempt at repairing the bridges.

But how absurd for them to suggest that we are alone and without friends! For, if anything this crisis has proved, it is that we have many friends, if only we know where to look for them and what to expect from them.

During the crisis caused by Pakistani aggression, which exposed the bias of the imperialist powers for their military ally, Pakistan, India had evidence of the material and moral support of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving socialist countries.

It was the Soviet Union that steadily maintained her promised supply of defence equipment to India and at the same time extended her good offices for a peaceful settlement of Indo-Pak disputes through bilateral talks. This has been publicly acknowledged by our government leaders.

Now when the crisis is still persisting, even after the declaration of cease-fire, the results of Rashtra-path's visits to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania have brought additional evidence of the friendship and solidarity of the peoples and governments of these socialist countries for India.

Already last week we commented on the Indo-Yugoslav joint communique. The communique from Prague also emphasised the need to develop cooperation between the two countries and listed the many issues on which there is identity of approach and common outlook. On Kashmir, the Czechoslovak Government's position that the state is an integral part of India was re-affirmed by President Novotny.

There has been particular interest in the President's visit to Rumania and the talks held in Bucharest between the two Heads of State.

Sections of the Indian press have considered it as the most significant part of the Presidential tour and referred to what they call the "special nature of relations" between Bucharest and Peking.

Though in the joint communique, the Rumanian Government's stand on the Kashmir question is left unsaid, reports have clearly stated that it is still one of continued support to India and has not undergone any change. This is a particularly welcome reassurance to New Delhi at the present juncture.

Another important aspect of the President's visit to these capitals of socialist countries has been the talks held for the strengthening of economic relations and for the supply of defence equipment for our forces.

Both Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are giving important help in building up our defence potential and Rumania's contribution to the development of our independent oil industry—also of great strategic importance—is fully known.

Hence there is satisfaction that the visit of President Radhakrishnan was also the occasion for exploring further assistance from these countries for our development and defence.

Is Peking Ready for Settlement?

MEANWHILE, a by-product of the President's visit to Rumania has been the revival of interest in a solution of the Sino-Indian dispute. The reported Rumanian offer of mediation in the dispute has raised a host of speculations in the capital, despite there being no official confirmation of any such offer.

It would be a good sign, if as press reports suggest, the Chinese have shown, through the Rumanian leaders, a willingness to settle the dispute peacefully, whatever the reasons for such a Chinese change of tactics.

Only recently however, Peking had been all eager to aggravate tension on the Sino-Indian border and Marshal Chen-Yi and other Chinese leaders have been delving bellicose threats against India.

It is now reported that their ambassadors have been observing the niceties of protocol and attending the receptions given to our President in Belgrade, Prague and Bucharest. Taken together with the reported Rumanian "initiative", this sign of "courtesy" on the part of the Chinese representatives is interpreted in some quarters to mean that Peking is interested in a peaceful settlement.

In this connection, it may be recalled that it was the

Indian President, who much earlier spoke on the need to come to a settlement with China, consistent with the honour and dignity of our country. India has made repeated efforts in this direction, but these have thus far been spurned.

If, therefore, the present reports of a Chinese overture for a settlement with India, made in Bucharest at the time of President Radhakrishnan's visit to the Rumanian capital, have any truth in them, they should be welcome to all.

Also, the intervention of friendly powers is a way which had been suggested before to explore the possibility of an honourable and peaceful settlement.

Freeman and His Folly

EVEN as New Delhi was receiving new assurances of support from the capitals of the Socialist countries, the attitude of the American and British imperialists has been more sharply demonstrated as one of pressure, blackmail and equivocation to force India to give up or compromise on her stand on Kashmir.

Thus the following report from the correspondent of THE HINDU from Washington, dated October 8 makes revealing reading:

"Washington wants to see some signs of movement on the political plane in the Indo-Pakistan dispute before

it can recommend resumption of economic aid to India. This is what visiting Indian officials have been able to gather after a round of exploratory talks with US officials at different levels".

"Officials from the Indian Economic Ministry who participated in these discussions have tried to steer clear of political aspects of aid but inevitably found that the two are intertwined. All they have been able to gather in reply to straight questions are vague answers and a statement of moods".

Some much for the American lobby in this country, and for S. K. Patil who has gone to Washington to check upon his old friends.

Meanwhile, apologists for Wilson and the British Government are trying hard to assuage Indian feelings roused over Whitehall's pro-Pakistani stance in the recent conflict.

Apart from inspired press reports—what a great thing it was to be told that the British Prime Minister had no knowledge of Pakistan having crossed the international frontier first when he accused India of committing aggression—there has been the attempt of the British Foreign Secretary to sound very generous and concede that India too has a case.

Fortunately, the Government of India has seen through this mask and was quick to call Michael Stewart's bluff. Indian sources at the UN rightly pointed out that his statements did not mean any marked change in the British position which is one of equat-

ing the aggressor with the victim of aggression.

S. K. Patil, of course, has found in it a "refreshing departure" from the earlier British policy.

After that, we have now the sight of the British High Commissioner in India, John Freeman, going about this country and handing out his free advice on how to maintain Indo-British relations.

Last week at Ernakulam, not only did he try to whitewash the British perfidy by saying that it was due to "incomplete understanding"—what was Freeman doing, what was BBC doing, what were the British Correspondents here doing?—in Britain about the position in India, but he had also the temerity to say this:

"I have no patience with those who argue that Britain is in some way hostile to India and that therefore India must be bad friends with her and leave the Commonwealth".

If anything, this is impertinent talk on the part of the representative of Her Majesty's Government. Who asked what Freeman thought of the Indian people's disgust with the Commonwealth and their desire to quit?

Further, does not the British High Commissioner know that India's Parliament is debating the issue? The Government of India ought to tell the British High Commissioner that such comments are not welcome here and Indians are capable of deciding what is best for them without his advice.

(October 11)

—K. U. WARIER

BAPURAO JAGTAP

COMRADE Bapurao Jagtap, militant working class leader of Bombay and of the Communist Party, passed away following a heart attack in the afternoon of October 8.

He has left behind his wife and four children, with whom the Communist Party and the working class share their grief over the death of a beloved comrade.

Bapurao Jagtap was vice-president of the Maharashtra Rajya Trade Union Congress and of the Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union. He was a member of the executive committee of the Maharashtra state council of the CPI and of the secretariat of the Bombay council of the Party.

He joined the Communist Party in 1952 along with the Left Socialist Group of which he was a front rank organiser. He was elected to the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly in 1957 on the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti ticket.

As news of Bapurao's death spread, mills closed down and hundreds of workers came to his house to pay their respects to the departed leader. Later his body was removed to the office of

the MGKU where thousands of people from all walks of life in Bombay paid their respects.

The funeral procession began from the Union office at 8.30 a.m. on October 9 and reached the cremation grounds at Dadar at 12.30 p.m. Thousands of people took part in the procession.

As the cortege passed through working class localities, people queued to place garlands on the body of Bapurao. Especially moving were the scenes at Chinch-Pokali, Byculla Naka and the vegetable and flower markets in Byculla.

Eknath Bhagwat and P. B. Vaidya of the CPI, S. G. Patkar, Gulabrao Ganacharya and Namdev Pawar of the MGKU, Madhu Limaye of SSP, Datta Deshmukh of Lal Nishan, N. D. Patil of PWP, H. K. Sowani of PSP, Madhav Thorat of INTUC, E. B. More of Marxist CP and Kamalabai Bhagwat of Working Women's Committee spoke at a condolence meeting.

Among those who visited the MGKU office to express their condolences were SSP chairman S. M. Joshi, Maharashtra Defence Committee secretary Bhausaheb Nevalkar and PSP leader Madhu Dandavate.

IN many ways the country stands at a point of decision similar to 1955. Those were the days of the exciting controversy over the Second Plan frame, over the strategy of planned development with stress on heavy industry, the expansion of the public sector and a turn to the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, for real aid. A certain important and progressive turn in government policies ensued, a turn towards economic freedom.

But it was far from complete. It was half-hearted. It did not make any break from the imperialists. It did not advance any radical democratic institutional changes in agriculture or industry.

It continued to place the main burden of development on those least able to bear it. It pushed forward capitalism under the signboard of socialism, with its monopoly concomitant, increasing inequality and continuing mass poverty.

But the basis of economic sovereignty began to be laid. The time has now come for a new turn, for a qualitative carry-forward from the 1955 start.

The democratic movement, including many Congressmen and Congress leaders, must take up the responsibility for compelling this new turn. In the process of this compulsion many important political changes can and will have to take place.

COST OF THE "AID"

A start should be made with realising the cost of "aid" from the imperialist west. The mood must be created that we should shed this "aid" as rapidly as possible. The government today still says "self-reliance is possible only through more imperialist foreign aid". Exactly the opposite is true.

First, political blackmail inevitably follows imperialist aid.

It is good to see that even the Washington correspondents of the INDIAN EXPRESS and the TIMES OF INDIA have accepted the fact of blackmail.

The former writes on October 9: "Except for loans already negotiated, new loans under formal pledge made to India by the US through the Aid India Consortium are

under a cloud unless India is willing to make concessions to Pakistan of a kind that the entire nation has already rejected."

The latter wrote on the same day: "The message he (S. Bhoothalingam, Finance Secretary of the Government of India) obtained was that

Economic notes

the suspension (of aid) originally occasioned by the need to satisfy the Congress sensitivities had been extended owing to the Indo-Pakistani flare-up. It would continue until the situation settled down to the US liking. Mr. Bhoothalingam will, therefore, report on his return that the immediate prospects of US aid are dim...."

Second, the cost of loan repayments.

The amortisation of Rs. 2,499 crores of outstanding foreign debt will cost us Rs. 153 crores in 1965-66 and rise to an annual obligation of Rs. 197 crores at the end of the Fourth Plan. Of the amount due in 1965-66 as much as Rs. 137 crores (Rs. 76 crores as principal and Rs. 61 crores as interest) will have to be paid in foreign exchange and only Rs. 16 crores in rupees.

In this connection, the following observation of the ECONOMIC TIMES is of great interest: "Export earnings from the rupee payment area have been increasing and the repayment liabilities remained more or less stable which has resulted in the fall in the percentage of repayment liabilities to export earnings to 12 per cent in 1963-64."

Repayment Liabilities

"On the other hand, free export earnings have declined from Rs. 641 crores in 1963-64 to Rs. 600 crores in 1964-65 and repayments due to this area have increased from Rs. 102 crores to Rs. 113 crores in the corresponding period, which has resulted in the increase in the percentage of repayments liabilities to 19 per cent from 16 per cent during this period." (October 4).

To this, repatriation of private capital and profits has to be added, averaging about Rs. 50 crores a year.

Third, actual sabotage and hold-up of vital projects.

Bokaro project and Bechtel offer may be recalled in this connection. An even more serious example is given by K. Rangaswami writing in THE HINDU (October 7):

"Britain and the United States are not keen that India should become self-sufficient in regard to the establishment of four ordnance factories for which they promised assistance nearly two years ago."

The Khetri copper project, the alloy steel project, the zinc smelter project, the expansion of coking coal producing mines—all these critical areas, the imperialist policy has been nothing short of deliberate sabotage.

Fourth, sheer robbery through high prices.

At the world Bank meeting it was noted that purchases made in the "aiding" countries cost 30 to 40 per cent more than the prevailing market rates. That the disadvantageous terms of trade offset all the "aid" given has been officially admitted by the World Bank president, George D. Woods.

An article in COMMERCE (September 18) noted that the "high cost of imported copper has very little to do with the cost of mining and transporting copper in the producing countries.... (India) has to pay a fantastically high price for copper because they have to make purchases in the open market."

It notes that while the cost of production is about 160 pound sterling a long ton and the producer's price ranges between 235 to 280 pound sterling, the 1965 open market price was 551 pound sterling a long ton.

Or take the case of oil. The Talukdar committee is reported to have rejected the oil companies' contention that the prices of their crude are the "most favourable in the world". Higher rates of discount readily available in the world will save Rs. 59.76 million per year. This means we are just swindled by the oil companies at the rate of six crore rupees a year, apart from their "normal" profits.

Oil Swindle

The report noted that the agreements made by western oil companies for the import of crude oil "are intended to dispose of oil produced by their principals, affiliates or subsidiaries and as such do not permit price fixation by free and full competition.... The prices are essentially managed ones."

Examples of similar robbery in the case of sulphur, zinc, etc., could be cited.

Finally, it cannot be too often repeated that the most important item of the cost of this "aid" has been to distort the entire pattern of India's development. Without this "aid" India would have been more self-reliant, more democratic, a better country for its people and the world.

—MOHIT SEN

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

UNEARTH BLACK MONEY

TATAS, Birlas, Dalmas, Jains—all the leading lights of Indian private enterprise have come forward with the promise of help and co-operation to strengthen the defence of the nation against aggressors.

Donations to the National Defence Fund, for the welfare of the jawans and their dependents are announced daily to the accompaniment of fanfare and trumpets, though these do not come anywhere near the great sacrifices made by the toiling people in defence of the nation.

Despite all the offers of co-operation made by the millionaire capitalists and their organisations like the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari and his colleagues in charge of raising resources in a fit all that they visualise of raising do not come anywhere near the required figures.

One source Krishnamachari seems to have forgotten and that is black money. Black money does not mean money that is black in colour, but unaccounted wealth hoarded away in many forms including currency notes, gold, bank deposits in fictitious names, investments in goods and stocks and in shares under benami names and various other fixed assets.

The Samyukta Sadachar Samiti under the patronage of Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda had made a survey

last year of the black money in the country and came to the conclusion that the total is somewhere near Rs. 3,400 crores. As interest accruing from this amount, another Rs. 200 crores were added to this yearly besides the normal accumulation from undisclosed sources.

The disclosure was made in a memorandum prepared by C. L. Madhok of the Sadachar Samiti and was distributed with an introductory note by Bhimsen Sachar, then general secretary of the Samiti. The memo came to the funny and fantastic conclusion that raids against business firms and cinema stars would not bring forth the hoards salted away and suggested that a "voluntary disclosure scheme" be brought forward to make black money white.

Krishnamachari's voluntary disclosure scheme, announced along with the budget this year, was modelled on this Sadachar scheme, including the graded rates of income tax to be levied on the wealth disclosed voluntarily.

What were the results? The Finance Minister himself admitted that his scheme did not fetch the "desired results". Actually, less than fifty crores of rupees were declared under the scheme.

The Sadachar Samiti memo had estimated that at least a thousand crores of rupees would be disclosed. And on this basis it calculated that at least Rs. 350 crores (on an average rate of 35 per cent) would come to the exchequer in the form of income tax, the remaining Rs. 650 crores to be made white and to remain with the gentlemen who pos-

essed it. Earlier, in just one round of raids on black money haunts, the Finance Ministry officials unearthed as much as Rs. 40 crores. The raids lasted only about fifteen days, while the voluntary disclosure period was for three full months.

All go to prove conclusively that black money is not very much amenable to persuasion or incentives to come out and turn white. It is the big stick with the Finance Ministry that is more effective. This brings us to another suggestion which the Sadachar Samiti had made; that highly deterrent and stiff penalties should be meted out to those who are found to be in possession of black money after the grace period was over.

The memo suggested that black money unearthed after the last date for voluntary disclosure should be taxed at 150 per cent. Also, if the amount is more than one lakh rupees, the person concerned should be liable for imprisonment upto five years.

The voluntary disclosure scheme has failed. There is no indication that the capitalists are inclined to surrender their ill-gotten wealth out of patriotic feelings either.

So, will the Finance Minister now go forward to the next step suggested by the Sadachar Samiti and get stiff, including raids on black money hoards? Will the Home Minister back him up with penal deterrents, at least in consideration of his past associations with Sadachar?

—PARAKAL

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CONGRESS STRIKES A BARGAIN

How Jaipur Maharaja Became Ambassador

From H. K. VYAS

JAIPUR: The announcement of the appointment of Maharaja Sawai Man Singh of Jaipur as the Indian resident Ambassador to Spain is the subject of much amused comment and speculation in political circles here, for behind this announcement lies the story of a most unseemly bargain.

EVERYBODY knows that the Jaipur Maharaja and his Maharani, Gayatri Devi had made things most uncomfortable for the Congress in Rajasthan.

Having joined the Swatantra Party, Gayatri Devi had virtually swept the polls in the 1962 general elections. All the compromises and concessions that were made to the feudal rulers in general and to the Jaipur House in particular came home to roost.

Immediately following formation of Rajasthan, this Maharaja Man Singh was made the Raj Pramuks. Besides the various allowances which he received as Raj Pramuks, he also got Rs. 18 lakhs a year as privy-purse; free supply of water and electricity etc. were all allowed to him.

Palaces, Hotels

Hundreds of good palatial buildings were given to him as his personal property. Also almost one-fourth of the open vacant land lying within the old limits of Jaipur Municipality, Jewellery and gold worth billions was of course retained by him. It is said that the Maharaja sent out most of the jewellery.

In London he opened hotels and started running business. Then followed the conversion of the famous Rambaug Palace into a hotel. In partnership with Jhunjhunwala he opened a textile mill in Bhilwara. His latest venture has been the starting of a water

meter factory named Capstan Water Meters in Jaipur in partnership with Jalpurias.

This much about money. His status too was retained for him. When the British Queen came as the guest of the Government of India, she came to Jaipur too and stayed as the personal guest of the Maharaja. He called a Durban and even the ministers had to don turbans to attend the function.

Royal Procession

A procession, with the Maharaja and the Queen sitting in one car, was taken out through Jaipur streets. No wonder that people were made to believe that these deposed feudals still retained their position. When Mrs. Kennedy came to Jaipur the same story was repeated. For two days Mrs. Kennedy was enjoying the luxury of the Moon Palace and all the show was managed by the Maharaja.

All this money, the social status, the traditional lure which was not only not destroyed even after fifteen years of freedom but was allowed to be retained with official connivance, together with, of course, the discontent prevailing amongst the people made it possible for the Maharani, who cannot even speak correct and good Hindi, to come out so triumphingly in the elections.

The prospects of the next general elections had since then haunted the Congress leaders. Instead of making a break with these policies

of compromise, which had come home to roost in 1962, the Congress leaders of the state, and it seems even of the Centre, however followed the road of bargaining to its logical conclusion.

Good Riddance

The appointment of the Maharaja to the post of Ambassador is such a bargain. The idea is that the Maharaja will be in the diplomatic services and his charming socialite Maharani would naturally accompany him to the Capital of Spain. This means good riddance of both from state politics, well in time before the 1967 elections.

No doubt the departure of the Maharaja and the Maharani from the scene of active politics would weaken the Swatantra Party's position in this state. To that extent the Congress leaders can have a sigh of relief, their prospects will possibly now be better. The choice of an ambassadorial post for her husband in a way suits the Maharani too, for she would feel happier in the climate of Franco's Spain, more at

home with the cocktails and social gatherings that go with diplomatic assignments.

But what a commentary is it on India, that to represent her abroad persons are chosen who have practically nothing in common with the India of today. After all, it is not polo that is the symbol of a resurgent India.

Political Utterances

Moreover, the Maharaja has on more than one occasion opened his mouth on political matters and every time he has done so he has showed his own utterly reactionary background and outlook.

The last such occasion was in 1964. Talking to newsmen he had boasted of his friendship with Ayub Khan and even made bold to say that all problems between India and Pakistan could be settled across a tea table.

In token of this friendship probably, the Maharaja got a polo stallion from Ayub Khan also.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR DEFENCE AND PEACE

NEW DELHI: Over 500 delegates are expected to attend the National Conference for Defence of the Motherland and World Peace in Bangalore on November 5, 6, and 7, 1965.

Convened by the All India Peace Council, the Conference is open to representatives of all organisations and individuals, who support the central aim of the conference, which is to strengthen national unity for the defence of the country against aggression.

Three special sessions of the conference will be devoted to discussions on vital problems arising out of the Pakistani aggression. They are:

- 1 Steps to strengthen India's foreign policy of non-alignment, anti-imperialism and world peace;
2 Steps to reorient India's economy with a view to reducing our dependence on imperialist powers; and
3 Steps to build India's independent defence potential and self-reliance in defence production.

Several members of Parliament and state legislatures and prominent personalities are expected to attend the conference among them Divan Chaman Lal MP, K. D. Malaviya MP, Arjun Arora MP, Akbar Ali Khan MP, Aruna Asaf Ali, Romesh Chandra and Chitta Biswas.

HIMACHAL: NEW IMPETUS FOR FULL STATEHOOD

From KAMESHWAR PANDIT

SIMLA: All parties in Himachal Pradesh have taken up with renewed vigour the demand for full statehood for this territory. The news of the appointment of a cabinet sub-committee and a parliamentary committee on the question of the linguistic reorganisation of Punjab has been welcomed in Himachal.

And it has given a fresh impetus to the democratic

demand for a status on a par with other states of the Union.

The Himachal Pradesh council of the Communist Party has already submitted a detailed memorandum supporting the demand to the parliamentary committee. This memorandum draws attention to the following facts:

The 1939 Ludhiana Conference of the State Peoples' Conference, presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru himself, adopted a resolution urging the formation of a province stretching from Chamba to Tehri Garhwal, after independence.

This resolution, it may be recalled, was moved by Shridev Suman, well-known leader of the State Peoples' movement, who died a martyr's death after 68 days' hunger-strike in the Tehri jail in 1942.

Mahapandit Rahul San-kritayan, celebrated scholar, in several of his articles and books had drawn attention to the peculiar character of Chambalyavi, Mahasul, Kulul, Garhwal and other dialects in this region, which have a common linguistic affinity.

Their main difference from Punjabi, according to Rahulji, is that the latter has assim-

ilated a large number of Persian words in the long and continuous series of invasions from the north-west, while the hills, for centuries under local feudal rajyas, remained immune from such influence.

Discrimination against the people of Himachal in all fields continues, despite some improvement following the formation of Himachal Pradesh.

Trade, transport, even a large part of horticulture, all higher service positions, opportunities for higher education—all are grabbed by advanced sections from the Punjab plains, while the people of Himachal are deprived of them.

The Communist Party has drawn attention also to the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPI adopted as far back as 1954, which called for the adjustment of the states in north-west India on the linguistic basis, and the formation of the state of Himachal Pradesh after proper boundary adjustments with Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.

The Himachal Pradesh Congress Committee, the SSP and the PSP are also demanding full statehood for Himachal and the merger into it of the district of Simla and other enclaves inside Himachal territory.

QUIT COMMONWEALTH

50,000 ATTEND MEETINGS IN INDIAN CAPITAL

By Our Staff Correspondent



Bhupesh Gupta addressing Quit Commonwealth Rally in Delhi

55 RAJASTHAN MLAS SET THE PACE

JAIPUR: Here is news which calls for emulation all over the country. Fifty-five MLAs of Rajasthan have signed a strongly worded statement calling on India to Quit the Commonwealth.

Thirty of the signatories belong to the Congress Party. Others are from the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh and the Communist Party.

The Swatantra members refused to sign. Among those who have signed are the former Education Minister and veteran Congress leader Haribhau Upadhyaya; the secretary of the Congress Assembly Party Phool Chand Jain; chairman of the Estimates Committee Moti Lal Chowdhry; Ramanand Agarwal, the Communist leader and Murlidhar Vyas of the SSP.

CONGRESS, PSP, CPI JOINT CAMPAIGN

From K. Gopalan

PATNA: A series of mass meetings jointly and separately called by political parties in Bihar in recent days have raised the demand of "Quit Commonwealth".

Congress, SSP and CPI leaders shared the same platform in many places to condemn the "Anglo-American conspiracy against India".

Prominent among these have been Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, MLC and A. G. Ansari, Health Minister (Congress), Ramanand Tiwari and Karpuri Thakur (SSP MLAs) and Ramavtar Shastri and Krishna Chandra Chaudhuri (CPI).

The organising committee of the Bihar SSP at its extended meeting here adopted a resolution demanding India's immediate withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

The resolution while condemning the "anti-Indian attitude" of the UK Government, held that it had caused "immense damage to India".

NEW DELHI: Five largely attended rallies were organised by the Delhi State Peace Council and the All India Peace Council in the capital during Quit Commonwealth Week from October 4 to 10.

These rallies which took place in different parts of the city—Mori Gate, Sadar Bazar, Juma Masjid, Paharganj and Gandhi Grounds—were a remarkable political demonstration, probably unsurpassed by any similar event in recent years.

Not only were the rallies packed with eager and enthusiastic participants—a sober assessment puts the total attendance at not less than 50,000—but the unity displayed on the Quit Com-

monwealth issue was unprecedented.

Among those who addressed the Peace Council rallies were Members of Parliament Diwan Chaman Lal, Bhupesh Gupta, K. D. Malaviya, Arjun Arora and Subhadra Joshi, Delhi Pradesh Congress President Mir Mushtaq Ahmad, Communist leaders Romesh Chandra, M. Farooqi, B. D. Joshi and Ram Chander Sharma, Delhi Corporators Sumer Chand, Trilochan Singh and Abdus Satar, and others.

Resolutions unanimously adopted at the meetings not only indicted US and British imperialists for their military and political support to Pakistan and their hostile attitude towards India, but also expressed support for other peoples

fighting against imperialism. Special reference was made in all meetings to the struggles of the Peoples of Aden and Southern Rhodesia and solidarity expressed with them.

Congress and Communist members of the Delhi Municipal Corporation have given notice of a resolution to be introduced in the Corporation urging the Government of India to quit the Commonwealth.

Delhi writers have already issued a statement supporting the Quit Commonwealth demand (see last week's NEW AGE). Collection of signatures to similar statements are being made among teachers and lawyers.



Statewide Actions In Punjab

CHANDIGARH: "Quit Commonwealth" and "Nationalist British Capital" slogans are echoing all over the country. In Punjab many meetings and rallies were held to support these demands.

Public meetings were held in Amritsar and Malerkotla. These were addressed by Z. A. Ahmad, member of the Central Secretariat of the CPI, who said that quitting Commonwealth cannot be delayed any more.

Master Hari Singh MLC addressing a public meeting at Balch demanded nationalisation of tea and oil industries which are in the hands of Anglo-American capitalists.

In Moga a meeting and procession were held under the auspices of all political parties.

The British hostility towards India during the war was condemned. The meeting demanded that India quit the Commonwealth forthwith.

The Punjab Naujawan Sabha has chalked out a big programme to organise processions and public meetings to demand nationalisation of British capital in India and quitting the Commonwealth.

FREEMAN FINDS IT HOT IN KERALA

From S. Sharma

TRIVANDRUM: Strong condemnation of British policy towards India coupled with the demand to quit Commonwealth has been expressed in public meetings and demonstrations all over Kerala during the week, October 6 to 12. Leading the anti-Commonwealth rallies were the Communist Party, trade unions and student and youth organisations.

In Alleppey, students and teachers of local colleges and schools took out a demonstration which raised slogans against the imperialists—Quit Commonwealth, Down With Anglo-American Double Faced Policy etc.

In Ernakulam, students and youth staged a demonstration against the British High Commissioner, John Freeman who was on a private visit to Cochin.

The demonstrators shouted slogans condemning the British imperialists' role in the recent India-Pak conflict and presented a memorandum to Freeman which said that Kashmir was as much a part of India as Kerala and the British would do well to mind their own business at home, instead of continuing intrigues against India.

Youth and Students' Federations had called for this demonstration.

Similar demonstrations against the British High Commissioner have been taking place in other centres also. On Monday Freeman had to face a demonstration in Quilon, organised by the Communist Party.

On October 8 and 9, public meetings were held in Calicut and Palghat, under the auspices of the CPI, to observe Quit

Commonwealth Day. M. N. Govindan Nair addressed these meetings.

Quit Commonwealth Day was observed on October 10 in Alleppey, Tellicherry and Cannanore by holding meetings and demonstrations.

One Lakh Demonstrate

On the same day, Quilon witnessed the biggest rally of recent times, in response to the call of the Communist Party and trade unions. The active participation and demonstration of a lakh of workers heightened the tempo of the rally.

Speaking at the rally, C. Achutha Menon, secretary, Kerala state council, of CPI explained the situation after the cease-fire and warned against imperialist intrigues and emphasised the need for India to sever her ties with the Commonwealth.

During the fortnight, leading Malavalam dailies, including Muslim League's Chandrika and Kerala Dhwani, known for its pro-American bias have written strong editorials condemning the British role in the recent conflict and demanding India quit Commonwealth.

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SMASH IMPERIALIST GRIP ON ECONOMY

TAKE OVER THESE FOREIGN OIL CARTELS

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

As the pressure of western powers on India in favour of their brand of political settlement with Pakistan mounted during the recent armed conflict and after the ceasefire, one heard of economic sanctions that might be applied by these powers. In private, it was suggested that among such sanctions the stoppage of oil supplies could be the most effective.

FOR long in India, the development of an integrated national oil industry has been seen in terms mainly of its role in the rapid industrialisation and economic progress of the country.

The recent fighting in which armoured and air battles were of key significance, the importance of oil has been keenly felt in terms of national defence. Oil, it was seen, powers the vital organs of defence and any weakness here could be disastrous.

Happily, the initiative taken with the personal encouragement of the late Prime Minister Nehru and the leadership of former Oil Minister K. D. Malaviya had created within a decade, thanks to the unstinted Soviet assistance and co-operation of Rumania, first conditions to shake off dependence on foreign cartels for these vital supplies.

New Found Confidence

Till the middle of the fifties, India was completely in the cartels' stranglehold. But in the present emergency, after a careful stock taking, it was found that should even all imports be stopped, we could meet defence and other essential requirements in oil products for months ahead and even indefinitely.

This achievement in a vital sector of strategic defence and economic importance has been possible, because our oil policy under the guidance and active cooperation of the Soviet Union was correctly defined to begin with.

It was decided that this industry would be developed exclusively in the public sector and it would be an integrated whole from production of crude to refining and marketing.

However, the adoption of this policy had come a little late for it to secure national interests fully.

Taking advantage of our utter dependence on foreign oil supplies, which on the world scale is one commodity most jealously controlled by giant international monopolies—the most sinister and politically motivated among this powerful tribe—India was led into accepting their entry into our market in a big way

since their inception, obtained purely by fraud and withholding of internationally available discounts to India, would substantially exceed the total investments.

This does not take into account the long tax holiday that the refinery companies extracted for a whole decade and more.

Thus, the question of developing an integrated national oil industry in the public sector was a necessity for this country not only for strategic reasons but also as an economic compulsion.

This became graphically clear at the time of the Kutch conflict and the present larger conflict with Pakistan.

In face of foreign exchange stringency, the government sought to save the drain on foreign exchange on account of petroleum products imports. The Soviet Union readily helped with supplies.

Attempt At Disruption

But the companies did their very worst, using their still dominant position in the marketing side, to disorganise the distribution. This was an eye-opener to the sinister and hostile presence of the foreign element in our oil sector, apart from the shocking economic exploitation.

That the government had been wise enough to establish refineries in the public sector based on indigenous crude, which despite false forecasts of the companies was found in record time, again with Soviet help, and had cut off imports of petroleum products through the cartels, has been proved in the current crisis.

The companies were unable to sabotage our oil supplies to the front, even if they had tried.

The situation is thus a matter of some satisfaction. But time has come when we have to proceed forward from the national base in the industry already established.

The existence of the foreign monopoly in the oil industry remains a source of extreme weakness and danger. It poses problems of security as well as dangers to further economic advance.

From purely practical point of view, the companies have been weakened enough to prevent any serious obstruction or damage even in the short run, if we tackle them boldly.

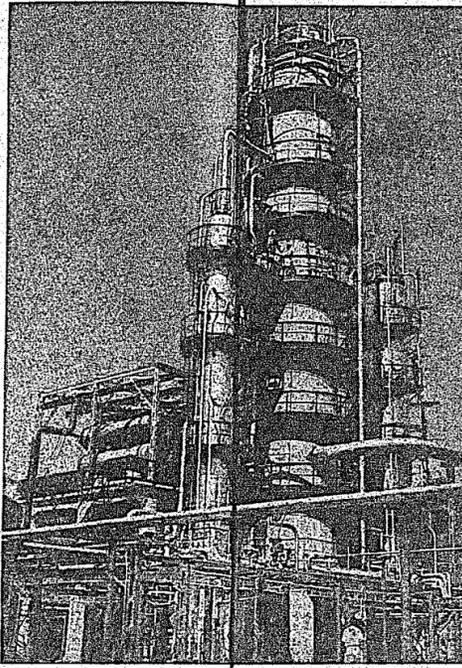
We have the national oil base in all branches of in-

dustry and have the unstinted help and cooperation of the Soviet Union and Rumania to deal with any problem that may arise. Blackmail should not halt us.

The government must decide in favour of immediate nationalisation of foreign oil companies. This would make for rationalisation and integration of this vital industry besides ending hostile presence of foreign cartels.

Of late, difficulties have arisen in tackling problems of labour and personnel, of marketing and distribution, of pricing and others. These cannot be solved on adhoc basis and through compromises.

A view of the first public sector oil refinery in India a Noonmati



NATIONALISE ALL BRITISH CAPITAL

By PAULY V. PARAKAL

After eighteen years of freedom, British monopoly capital is still clinging to its grip on the Indian economy. Certain curbs have been put on the operation of foreign capital in India, but no limit has been put on its inflow or the export of huge profits by the sharks from the City of London and the Wall Street.

IN June 1948 the total non-banking private British investments in India amounted to just about Rs. 206 crores. In 1960, these had increased to Rs. 443 crores, according to the Government of India figures.

The London ECONOMIST put British investments at Rs. 499 crores at the end of 1964. No accurate figures are available in this regard from our own government.

The predominant position of British capital in India could be seen from the fact that Ameri-

can investments in 1960 were only Rs. 72 crores against the Rs. 449 crores of Britain. British capital formed 62 per cent of all foreign investments in India in that year.

Huge amounts are being plundered and taken out of the country under various heads by the British monopolies. On a sober estimate, the figure has been placed at a hundred crores of rupees a year.

But it is not the profits taken away alone that militates us against the British capital. The old strategic positions in which it has remained even after independence and the new ones into which they have sneaked in do

★ Take the case of oil. The British oil cartel, Burmah-Shell (though this is a joint Indo-Dutch venture, the Indian operations are under the British) is today occupying a dominant position in the petroleum industry in India, though there are two American cartels also operating.

Out of the Rs. 153 crores invested in the petroleum industry in India by foreign oil cartels, as much as Rs. 101 crores are British. Eighty per cent of the oil production is still in the hands of foreign cartels and out of this, 60 per cent is in the hands of Burmah-Shell.

Concealed Profits

The money which the British oil cartel is taking out of India year after year on this count is much more than the declared profits. Inflated crude price, concealed profits, fat salaries for British executives—all kinds of crooked methods are used for this purpose.

The three foreign oil cartels together admitted to a profit of Rs. 55 million in 1963, Rs. 62 million in 1964. Of this Burmah-Shell's was the biggest share, having the biggest investments as also higher profitability rates than the other two.

★ Another critical field in which the British capital is operating is banking. The names are famous: National and Grindlays, Chartered Bank, Mercantile Bank, Hongkong and Shanghai Corporation...

Though these banks finance mainly the British commercial ventures, the major part of their resources comes from Indian deposits. According to one estimate, Indian deposits constituted 64.8 per cent of the total deposits of these banks in 1957, 68.4 per cent in 1958.

In 1962 the profits taken away from India by the National and Grindlays were 7.15 lakh pounds; in 1963 it went up to 7.69 lakh pounds. Chartered Bank showed profits at 9.90 lakh pounds in 1962; at 10.69 lakh pounds in 1963. Hongkong and Shanghai's profits in 1962 were 457.89 lakh Hongkong dollars; in 1963 these rose to 477.16 lakh Hongkong dollars (all net profits).

★ Britain is no longer predominant in the foreign trade of India. Still some of the old connections with British trade channels persist, largely because the export-import trade in India is controlled by British interests.

Unequal Trade

During 1948-56, 30 per cent of Indian imports and 25 per cent of Indian exports were accounted by Britain. Today British share is only 13 per cent in India's imports and 20 per cent in her exports.

Due to unequal trade relations and high prices of British articles India's trade with Britain has always remained unbalanced. In 1948 the deficit was Rs. 122.4 crores, in 1955 Rs. 81.9 crores. The deficit has narrowed a little in recent years, but not in ratio to the fall in India's imports from that country.

In 1950, 60 per cent of India's foreign freight turnover was carried in British ships; in 1957 it had come down to 40 per cent. It was mainly due to British pressures that India has not been able to develop her own national shipping. The shipping charges paid to Britain is calculated at Rs. 30 crores a year on an average.

★ Plantations constitute a sector in which are the oldest British private investments in this country. In Assam, Bengal, Kerala and Tamilnad are huge tea, coffee and rubber plantations owned by the British.

The plantation workers are one of the worst exploited sections of labour in this country. They are compelled to live under sub-human conditions by the foreign planters. The foreign planters even refuse to undertake replanting in the estates in their anxiety to keep profits in tact.

And their anti-national activities are also to be noted. A British-owned tea company in Kerala even sabotaged a Third Plan public sector project—the phytochemical plant which was proposed to be set up with Soviet aid—by refusing to provide the necessary tea spruces.

The total British investments in plantations amounted to Rs. 81.9 crores in 1950. Profits taken away were Rs. 6.0 crores in 1956, Rs. 4.8 crores in 1959 and Rs. 6.4 crores in 1960. Only Rs. 90 lakhs were retained in this country in 1959, Rs. 80 lakhs in 1960.

★ There are also large British investments in the manufac-

turing industries. Under this broad head are included such enterprises as Imperial Chemical Industries, Imperial Tobacco, Jen-son Nicholson, Associated Cement, Ashok Leyland and many more.

Foreign investments in manufacturing industries were Rs. 119 crores in 1956. Most of it were British capital, the US capital having started flowing in considerable quantity only afterwards.

On this capital, the profits earned were to the tune of Rs. 12.4 crores in 1958. In 1959 this went up to Rs. 16.1 crores and in 1960 to Rs. 17.8 crores. As much as 70 per cent of it was taken out of the country.

★ The reprehensible system of managing agency is the creation of British capitalists. There were as many as 325 managing agencies in 1948. Their number went down to 191 in 1955, mainly through centralisation but also due to transfer of ownership to Indian counterparts.

Many British managing agencies are still functioning in this country and taking away huge profits. The government has recently moved to check these agencies but even the FCCI raised a howl of protest against the move.

Milking The People

There are also British-owned enterprises such as the Calcutta Tramways Company which milk the common man and amass wealth. Many times the original investments in these companies have been taken away by their owners as profits.

That there is no sign of any slump in the flow of British capital is seen from the number of collaboration agreements being entered into by the British monopolies with their Indian counterparts. In the four years from 1960 to 1963 as many as 431 collaboration agreements were signed between British and Indian capitalists.

British capital is playing a nefarious role in the Indian economy. It has stuck to certain vital sectors of the economy and is exporting abnormally high profits. Its terms of trade are also anti-Indian.

Unless and until the government takes the firm and bold decision to nationalise the entire British capital in India, it will continue to do so. Much of the fruits of the sweat and labour of the Indian toilers will be eaten by the British capitalists and they would still try to blackmail us.

There should be no computations about nationalising the British capital WITHOUT COMPENSATION, for it is the British who cheated us under various specious pretexts out of the Rs. 1,500 and more crores of sterling balances due on August 14, 1947.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD—YES SHASTRIJI, BUT HOW?

THE Prime Minister's broadcast to the nation on October 10, was a clear indication of the seriousness with which government looks on the task of increasing food production. It was right for him to state that "self-sufficiency in food" is "no less important than an impregnable defence system, for the preservation of our freedom and independence".

The Indian people have learnt, through the agony of experience, that food imports from the United States of America under the notorious PL 480, are costly in terms of honour and self-respect. These imports have always been used by the American imperialists to blackmail our country.

TODAY PL 480 IS A WEAPON WITH WHICH WASHINGTON SEEKS TO MAKE INDIA SURRENDER KASHMIR ITSELF.

It was these bitter facts which one presumes the Prime Minister had in mind when he said in his broadcast:

"Dependence on food imports is not only bad for the economic health of our country, but it undermines our self-confidence and self-respect."

What was particularly interesting in Shastriji's address was that, while formally (and quite unnecessarily!) thanking the USA and other food exporters, he categorically asked the nation to be "prepared for a situation when we may not be able to import all that we need."

If this means that government is at last heeding the demands made by the Communist Party and other democratic forces, and giving up its policy of reliance on continued PL 480 imports—this is indeed welcome. We have had enough of the Americans' poisoned food.

The Prime Minister has called for an all-out effort for increased production. He has also spoken of the need for equitable distribution, avoidance of waste and restraint on consumption. All this is good, as far as it goes. And government can count on the cooperation of all democrats in any effective measures it may take.

But there are glaring gaps in Shastriji's proposals, and it is necessary to point them out.

First of all, there is totally insufficient emphasis on the necessity for popular participation in all measures for increased production.

The Prime Minister lays great emphasis on the gearing up of the whole machinery of government, on orders

to district officers, on the role of the Community Development Organisation, and all the rest.

But the key need is the formation of popular all-party committees, to ensure mass participation in all aspects of the campaign. And it is this which is virtually forgotten by the Prime Minister.

Secondly, any Grow More Food campaign, to be effective, must be based on distribution of fallow land to agricultural labour, land to the tiller, and making available to the peasant, his necessities at reasonable prices.

Shastriji has talked at length about fertilisers, but about the questions of land to the tiller and distribution of fallow land, there is almost complete silence.

Thirdly, the only way in which the existing food stocks can be effectively controlled to ensure equitable distribution is monopoly purchase by the government from the producer guaranteeing a fair price. The state must take over the entire wholesale trade in food-grains.

Despite the announcement of certain steps towards rationing and procurement, there is a woeful resiling from positions taken by the centre on the part of the state governments.

Fourthly, hoarding and profiteering cannot be effectively stopped simply by putting out appeals to the traders of the kind made by the Prime Minister. Popular initiative must be unleashed in a really big way to un-earth hoards, and drastic punitive measures taken against the food thieves.

Fifthly, it is no longer possible for government to ignore the pressing necessity for nationalisation of banks. This has become decisive for stopping speculation and making cheap credit available for the peasant. It is also vital for mobilising resources for the Plan.

The Prime Minister's broadcast to the nation, despite its shortcomings and gaps, is proof of a desire on the part of government to move in the correct direction. But unless it is backed by drastic measures, as repeatedly emphasised by the democratic movement, the broadcast will be just one more expression of "good intentions".

And as every one knows, good intentions do not pave the way to heaven. Or to self-sufficiency.

(October 12)

Swatantra Plan to Sell Kashmir

THE "brief but exciting conflict in the battlefield" with Pakistan being over, let us do a bit of rethinking on Kashmir! That is the current refrain of the Swatantra party and its leaders, who have just passed through a harrowing time—this war with Pakistan, which incidentally has meant a lot of embarrassment for the Swatantra Party's friends, the Anglo-Americans.

And on what lines would the Swatantra Party and its founder-leader Rajagopalachari want us to do this rethinking? A great deal of light on this subject has been thrown by Rajaji's mouthpiece SWARAJYA this week.

First of all, it goes without saying, is the Swatantra Oracle's own divining. Says Rajagopalachari, setting the tone for the new Swatantra switch-over theme: "The excitement of the three weeks' war should not blind us to the long view." And what indeed is the long view? Slowly and haltingly, Rajagopalachari reveals his "long view."

"Let us go back to the mood which inspired Marshal Ayub Khan some years ago to offer to work for a joint defence treaty between India and Pakistan," says the Oracle.

Joint defence for what? Against China, is Rajaji's answer. And he goes on to elaborate: "The mood of wisdom and foresight and goodwill and understanding that inspired and prompted Ayub Khan to think and speak as he did some years ago must be rediscovered by both of us."

But has Rajaji consulted friend Ayub Khan if he is willing to go along with India in the proposed joint defence against Chinese attacks? Or would he be satisfied if Ayub obliges this country by claspng India with one hand and China with the other?

Such queries are hardly necessary, since according to Rajaji, there need be no "dogmatism" about anything, including Kashmir. Wait a bit, listen to what Rajaji has to say on this delicate subject: "If we were so sure that Kashmir is an integral part of India, it would not require to be repeated so often like my lady's excessive protest!"

So the cat is out of the bag—all this talk of "wisdom" and "foresight" is meant to do a bit of rethinking and reconsideration on Kashmir.

The Swatantra's views on the subject of Indo-Pak relations and Kashmir, however, are being given out in doses and instalments. Certainly, poison must be administered in small doses.

The SWARAJYA makes another contribution in this direction by putting out an illuminating cartoon which reads "We Shall Fight Everybody." It depicts a tiny Shastri and a small Indira Gandhi alongside a diminutive Krishna Menon, all flexing their muscles inside a boxing ring. They hurl their challenge to mighty figures seated all around them.

Who are these mighty ones, whom India dares challenge? They are the UNITED KINGDOM, UNITED STATES, COMMONWEALTH, SEATO, CENTO—and, lo and alas—the mighty AYUB KHAN representing Pakistan. How dare India challenge all these great ones?

That of course is not enough.

SPOTLIGHT

Another proud contribution which the Swatantra leader's mouthpiece makes towards the cause so dear, the cause of Pakistan, is a gem of a letter which it publishes from seven Indian students in the United States.

The letter urges the Government of India to consider the Kashmir problem as unsolved and "reconsider the whole situation with an open mind" and "accept that Kashmir is a negotiable area."

One of "solutions" the letter from America suggests is "an administration of the area as a UN Trust Territory" for 15 years, or to share with Pakistan the defence and foreign affairs of Kashmir. The same old American solutions—UN Trust Territory, that is American Trust Territory!

At last the truth is out. It is far more brazen and dangerous than this columnist had ever thought it to be.

West German secret arms deals with Pakistan are no longer a secret—but that the proportion would run to such figures as 78 F-86 Sabres of six types and a huge quantity of machine-guns was hardly concealed.

The revelation that Pakistan has been provided with such large quantity of sophisticated weapons—through Turkey and Portugal—would cause indignation among all patriotic Indians. But what has the Government of India to say?

—BHIMA

FOOD IS STILL SCARCE IN ASSAM

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: The food situation in Assam is not showing any sign of improvement; if anything, it is deteriorating.

According to reports reaching here, the worst affected areas are Garo Hills and Goalpara district, both bordering on East Pakistan. In these districts the price of paddy has risen to Rs. 20 a mound as against the government fixed price of Rs. 13.50 and consequently, the price of rice has shot up to Rs. 60 a mound.

Even Congressmen have come out to criticise openly in public meetings the failure of the government to ensure a steady supply of rice to these two districts.

The government's procurement target for the current year had been fulfilled to the extent of only 67 per cent till the beginning of September. It was then announced that another 15 lakh maunds of paddy would be procured by October 15 and it would help to tide over the critical period.

How far this has been achieved is not yet known. Meanwhile, the Chief Minister has cautioned the people that Assam could not expect to import food from outside the state and must depend on her own stock.

The summer crop was harvested some three months back and the winter crop will be ready for the sckle not before another two and half months or so. This, therefore, is not the proper time for procurement in any large quantity.

During the last one month unauthorised stocks of paddy and rice were seized from certain places. While the total quantity thus seized is not negligible, it is true that had the government machinery shown more vigour to unearth hidden stocks, the results would have been far more welcome. This itself would have eased the situation to a considerable extent.

Also it is pointed out that there is much scope of improvement in the distribution machinery, which alone can offer the much-needed immediate relief to the common people hit by high prices and scarcity.

LAND TAX TO BE RAISED IN W. BENGAL

CALCUTTA: Land tax is to be increased in West Bengal. The 'specious plea put forward for this anti-people measure is that since 1936 land tax has remained static in the state.

The decision to bring additional land revenue was taken at the meeting of the Union Finance Minister, Planning Commission Deputy Chairman and state ministers at Calcutta last week.

The failure of land reforms including the Estate Acquisition Act and the Land Ceilings Act has impoverished the small peasants and fattened the landlords. Even a section of Congressmen admit this.

And it is on the poor peasants that the burden is sought to be imposed; for the increase in tax is said to be uniform.

The secretary of the West Bengal state council of the CPI has protested against this anti-people decision and demanded that the government find resources by taxing the richer sections.

ANDHRA CONGRESS BOSS AGAINST FOOD POLICY

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: When Prime Minister Shastri is placing all emphasis on increasing food production and wants everybody to make a good job of it, what are some of his own well-placed partymen doing in the states?

THE goings on of APCC president Thimma Reddy with his district kisan sammelans and seminars have caused quite a few eyebrows to be raised among officials and the public here and questions are being asked about the purpose of this reactionary running riot.

Thimma Reddy has been letting off steam against the government and the administration in his seminars for "neglecting the interests of peasants". Actually, however, this talk is a cover under which he is trying to bargain.

For, as everyone in Andhra knows, Thimma Reddy's ambitions to become a minister were frustrated by the Chief Minister who ignored him at

the time of the recent cabinet reshuffle. And Thimma Reddy has not yet forgiven him for that.

Himself a former disciple of N. G. Ranga, Thimma Reddy has collected around him a motley crowd of former Krishak Lok Party elements and his seminars are forums to plead for rich landlords and rice millers.

Paddy Levy Opposed

He has been making speeches against the paddy levy decided upon by the state government. Another theme of his is that the government should purchase from the millers those mills which they want to sell!

THE WRITER AND WAR

WHAT should be the attitude of a writer towards war? Towards war in general and the war which Pakistan has imposed upon India against her wishes? These questions were debated by Hindi writers at the last meeting of 'Sangya Goshthi'.

For a writer who has to depict reality in concrete images, reflect human relationships and emotions aroused by conflicting situations in a language which has universal validity, it is not so self-evident to take a forthright stand on these questions as it is for a politician. His entire concept of human values is challenged and a simple answer by him will neither be honest nor correct.

Writers consider war an evil and therefore are opposed to it. Like all common people writers, too, want universal and lasting peace, for peace alone can ensure human progress and save humanity from total annihilation. But even local wars are not today so small and restricted. Except for atomic weapons, all other modern weapons of mass destruction are used in them and they kill more people and cause more suffering and devastation in a small area than did all the Napoleonic wars in Europe, as is evident from America's war on the Vietnamese people. Therefore, a writer who still loves life and has not turned a maniac himself cannot display a mediaval lust for blood and killing in his writings.

War is an evil but not a necessary evil, since it can be totally eliminated from the life of humanity purely on account of the fact that it has become self-destructive and cannot be used to solve any international dispute. Yet the danger of a general war goes on mounting, as more and more thermo-nuclear armaments are stock-piled.

Cynicism Destroys Sense of Values

This contradictory situation has caused some sensitive writers to take up an attitude of utter cynicism. They feel that questions of right or wrong, which involve value judgements, have become irrelevant in view of the impending catastrophe. They feel that the final doom may be temporarily averted, but cannot be finally prevented, therefore it is immaterial to distinguish between the aggressor and the aggressed. This attitude virtually condones imperialism, the initiators of wars, who must and can be stopped from plunging the world into a thermo-nuclear holocaust.

A writer must remain true to his calling in all circumstances, that is, he must continue to fight for the expression of truth. But this is not possible if he enwraps himself in a kind of cynicism, which obliterates all sense of values and distinctions or adopts an attitude of stolid indifference. His intellectual physiognomy, his weltanschauung, his world view and his loyalty to his people must be so broad and deep that he should be able to discern the truth despite the blinding passions of the moment.

This is possible if a writer is aware that there are different kinds of wars—imperialist or patriotic—which require to be distinguished from each other. And even though suffering and destruction is common in all wars, the purposes for which they are waged are opposed to each other and therefore success of the one or the other lead to opposite results—colonial domination or national freedom, and these results in the ultimate analysis jeopardise or strengthen the forces working for world peace and cultural and economic advancement of peoples—the highest values in a humanist writer's eyes.

By drawing a clear distinction between these broad categories of wars,

a writer, without giving up his freedom to depict the senselessness and tragedy of war as such, can and must rise above the passions of the moment and narrow chauvinism. Classical masters distinguished between 'right and wrong' and supported people who were victims of aggression or deceit.

During the Second World War, all great writers of the world opposed fascism, its racist theories and persecution of Jews and supported the people's resistance to the Nazi plague let-loose on humanity. Mayakovsky had earlier identified himself with the cause of his people and proclaimed himself the "loudspeaker in-chief of the war" his countrymen were fighting against counter-revolution and imperialist intervention.

During the Second World War Sholokhov, Alexei Tolstoy, Ehrenburg, Simonov and others wrote and fought side by side with their people against Nazi aggression and in their writings they depicted the inhuman and brutal face of fascism. In France, Sartre, Aragon, Malraux and others fought with arms in the resistance movement against Nazi occupation.

In Germany no great writer was taken in by the cries of 'fatherland in danger'. It only caused repugnance in the minds of writers and artists and they—Thomas Mann, Ernst Toller, Stephen Zweig, Anna Seghers and others—all migrated to other lands to wage war against the imperialist rulers of their own motherland.

On the other hand, wherever freedom and peace has been in danger, writers have risked their lives to



Poets for Peace: The Mushaira is on

display a callous disregard of the real nature of the present war and the moral questions involved in it.

India has not entered into this war with Pakistan out of imperialist motives, it has done so only for the defense of secular democracy, non-alignment, freedom and integrity of our country.

That is why the writers of India have to take a closer look at this complex situation, since questions of far reaching human significance are involved in it.

Feigned cynicism can only impoverish a writer's art and make

cism which exulted in carrying out murderous orgies. Besides, this outlook represents a negation of all democratic and human values of life, negation of India's secularism and our military objectives which are purely defensive.

These poems and plays of hatred and violence, invariably invoke such images which are not shared by Hindus and Muslims in common as part of their composite tradition but which exclusively belong to pre-Islamic Hindu mythology or represent purely Hindu outlook, thus investing them with sinister communal meanings as if this was a religious war between Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. The narrow chauvinistic outlook represents a vile falsification of history.

And the pity is that these incendiary writings, which act as napalm bombs on human conscience and the democratic spirit of our people receive patronage from the AIR and other propaganda agencies of the government.

The whole situation is so complex that these oversimplified attitudes of cynical indifference and synthetic literary incendiarism with communal overtones, though apparently opposed to each other, can prove mutually complementary if realities of the situation and the deeper human perspectives involved are lost sight of by writers.

Freedom of The Writer

A writer must be a free agent. Nobody should have the right to ask him to write on war themes or take part in war. And if a writer chooses to write on complex human situations arising from the present war, nobody has the right to censor him if he does not glorify it and only portrays the tragedy, the suffering and the ordeal it has caused to countless individuals.

Having granted all this as a writer's inalienable right, I cannot but emphasise that a writer has also a commitment which is also equally an inalienable part of his vocation. This commitment is to truth and to human values, so that he can neither cynically equate right with wrong and close his eyes from reality or falsify history and pervert his art for cheap glory.

Having discarded both these false attitudes, a writer must decide for himself what he must do as a writer, without lowering his literary standards, to help in the triumph of the cause which is just and right. And since India's case is just and right, the writer's commitment is to support it and not 'spit' on it, despite the suffering and sacrifices entailed.

SHIVDAN SINGH CHAUHAN

fight in the ranks of the freedom loving peoples. Ralph Fox and Caudwell laid down their lives fighting in the trenches of Madrid against Franco fascism. In the enslaved nations of Asia and Africa, several generations of writers have continuously fought against colonial yoke, producing their Tagores and Prem Chandas.

Imperialism, fascism, racialism and reaction in general have failed to enlist the support of any great writer anywhere in the world. Muse has constantly refused to be harnessed in the war-chariot of forces of slavery, exploitation and death. It smiles only on those who cherish freedom, love and peace, wherever they may be.

Writer and Pak Aggression

In this broad context what should be the attitude of a writer towards the present war with Pakistan? Should writers brush aside all questions of values, of right and wrong and 'spit' on the rulers of both, India and Pakistan, who have "hustled" our peoples into "the inhumanity of killing each other" (as was suggested in a poem broadcast recently from the AIR) or feign total indifference and claim that a writer's job is to write, just as a soldier's job is to fight and there is nothing in common between them (one writer's remark in Sangya Goshthi) or dissociate themselves from this war since it is a mere 'situation' and does not involve questions of 'value' without which writers can have little interest in it? (another writer's stand at the Sangya Goshthi).

These attitudes might have passed off merely as genuine attempts by sensitive writers to guard their freedom of expression and not permit their talents to be exploited for propaganda purposes, had their basic assumptions been correct and did not

YANKEE RACKET BUST IN BASTI

PUBLIC outcry against the notorious US-sponsored "rural manpower utilisation programme" has blown up this outrageous racket, meant to boost US "bounty" for hungry India.

NEW AGE had published a scathing exposure of this insulting "programme" in its issue of September 12. Readers will recall the photostat of a coupon issued in lieu of wages, inscribed with the words "wheat donated by the People of the United States of America".

These dole coupons were issued to workers, as though they were beggars and not men who work with their own hands.

The entire scheme enabled constant interference (AND ESPIONAGE) by American agents who rode rough shod over the local administration—all because of the "free" wheat they offered our workers.

FACTORIES IN AMRITSAR ARE STILL CLOSED

HUNDREDS of factories in Amritsar continue to be closed even 10 days after the ceasefire. This closure has resulted in unemployment of thousands of workers, who are faced with utter destitution and in fact starvation.

This has also resulted in loss of crores of rupees worth of production.

Most of the employers are refusing to start their factories. Some are trying to take undue advantage of the war conditions and are terminating the services of workmen.

In these circumstances the Executive Committee of the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union has demanded from the government that:

★ After giving all facilities such as cheap credits from the banks or from the government and removing restrictions from transport, if the employers still refuse to start the factories, either they should be forced to start under the powers which government possesses, or the government should take over these factories and run them.

★ The workers who are unemployed or are partially employed should be given immediate relief in the form of grants.

Amritsar **PARDUMAN SINGH**
General Secretary
Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union

MORE RELIEF NEEDED

THE relief announced by the state government for the civilian victims of Pak bombing is, to say the least, totally inadequate.

Firstly, relief is only to be given for the death of a breadwinner and

Now it appears, at long last, the Uttar Pradesh government has been forced to bend before public opinion and there is talk of the abandonment of at least a part of the humiliating scheme.

Already some 25 lakh rupees have been wasted on the so-called "village raising" scheme, which has been a complete flop, only fattening the local bureaucracy and other vested interests.

One would have thought that the attitude of the US imperialists during the last few weeks should have convinced any self-respecting Indian that we should do without these Yankee rackets entirely. But those lacking in self-respect combine with those who make money out of such rackets to keep the American espionage machine running.

So far only a part of the scheme has been reported to be abandoned. The rest, such as the portion dealing with "road-building", another racket, another insulting and humiliating outrage—continues.

The people of this district at least are determined to see that the entire US programme is abandoned, once and for all.

Khalilabad (Basti) **N. H. ANSARI**

LETTERS

WANTED: PEN FRIEND

I BOUGHT a copy of your journal during the last Leipzig Fair, and am writing to you for assistance in a small matter of interest to me.

I wish to have a pen friend in India. I am very much interested in your country, your people, your architecture and all aspects of life in India.

But I have nobody in my family or among my friends, who can give me the address of an Indian girl or boy.

And now about myself: I am a girl of 19 years. In school I learned English, Russian and Latin. Now I am learning architecture as my job. Among my hobbies are collecting stamps and postcards, music and theatre.

Perhaps one of your readers could request an Indian student of one of your universities, who is studying architecture, to write to me and exchange information. I would be most grateful to have an address of someone who would be interested in keeping up correspondence with me in English.

BRIGITTE MULLER
Huttenstr. 12
7034 Leipzig
German Democratic Republic.

VICE-CHANCELLOR CHAMPIONS RSS CAUSE

THE Vice-Chancellor of the Ravishankar University at Raipur, Dr. Baburam Saxena has always been a controversial person, but his latest has been a thoroughly nauseating performance.

On October 3 he presided over an RSS rally at Raipur—a thing in itself undesirable considering that he is the head of an educational institution and should keep away from communal outbursts and activities. What he said there was even more objectionable.

He said that the RSS is not a communal organisation but a patriotic one and that military training on the lines of the one given by RSS alone can guarantee the defence of the country.

He also took the opportunity to call upon the government to stop "wasting crores of rupees on the NCC" and instead give sufficient encouragement to "patriotic" organisations like the RSS as the second line of national defence.

Cannot the Madhya Pradesh government do something about these outpourings of the Vice-Chancellor? If it is too delicate for the government (Saxena is a close friend of Chief Minister D. P. Mishra) can't the University Grants Commission take note of the activities of this RSS politician in the garb of educationist?

Rajnandgaon **SHARAD KOTHARI**

ACHTUNG! ANTI-NAZI MARLENE BANNED

BELOW is the facsimile of a BOAC advertisement appearing in some western papers. These legs (and the face too) are pretty famous; men all over the world have gone crazy over them. They belong to Marlene Dietrich.

But West Germans cannot now enjoy the sight; they have been banned from looking at them. Because the Bonn authorities look at them with considerable distaste. Not because they don't like legs but because these are Marlene's.

The famous film star has been a born Nazi hater. She left Germany in 1937 and settled in the US. During the war she sang for the American and British soldiers. She turned up in Germany after the war in American uniform to celebrate the Nazi defeat.

Two years ago she gave her services voluntarily as a commentator to an American anti-Nazi documentary titled "Black Fox". She said she agreed to do the commentary out of conviction that the knowledge of what Hitler did

to the world must be kept alive.

And so, the West German revanchists are naturally angry over the BOAC using Marlene's picture though it is only to show the 'leg-room' available in its VC 10 liner.

The company's marketing officer in West Germany Paul Breuer declared that the advertisement would appear only over his dead body. He claimed he had taken a poll (of 75 West Germans) which showed that Marlene was unpopular!

The BOAC, considerate as it is to the sentiments of the former Nazi thugs and also with an eye on business, said that they never intended to use the advertisement in West Germany but only in US magazines.

Poor men of West Germany! But to what extent will the Bonn rulers stretch their hate for those who opposed Hitler and the Nazis?



IS PATIL THE RIGHT CHOICE FOR THIS

Latin American Yatra

Facts About Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay

IN order to answer this question, let us take a brief look at Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and Uruguay—four of the countries Patil is to visit in Latin America.

Argentina, Brazil and Chile, known as the A.B.C. countries, are the three most important states of the South America, as well as the most highly developed ones from the economic point of view.

Of the three, ARGENTINA is most unstable politically. It is a powerful country with vast resources and a huge extension of lush flat lands known as "Pampas", some of the most fertile lands in the world. It is under-populated and overworked.

According to a North American observer, it "has enough oil to be an exporter, enough natural gas to provide heat for all its inhabitants, enough rivers to light twenty times more houses and factories than it does now, and at present, is the most insolvent, most irresponsible and most unpredictable."

Since its independence from Spain in 1910, Argentina has been ruled by dictators, the most recent of whom was Juan Peron, who ruled the country for over seven years

and brought it to the brink of bankruptcy before he was overthrown by an army junta.

Though at present, it has fallen in the hands of a pro-United States military dictatorship, it has a long record of "independence" from, and even opposition to, the United States.

At the present time, however, Argentina is dependent on US "aid" from the "Alliance For Progress" funds, is dominated by American capital and follows a generally pro-United States policy.

The country is seething with discontent. Peronism is still a powerful force, as was indicated by the electoral victories of pro-Peron parties in the provincial election in May 1964. The balance of payments is adverse, both agriculture and industry are stagnating and the people are restless.

BRAZIL is called the "Giant of South America." It is larger than India, United States minus Alaska, and Australia. Its area of 3,287,195 square miles is one-seventh

with regard to Cuba. He criticised the US-sponsored "Alliance for Progress."

The result was that last year, a CIA-financed military coup toppled the Goulart regime and installed a die-hard military junta, headed by General Castello Branco in power. This junta now rules the country, follows the US line in all matters, lives on US dole and has become its accomplice in fighting all progressive movements on the sub-continent.

Recently Brazil was one of the few countries which sent its armed forces to Dominican Republic to constitute what is called the "inter-American peace force," on the island.

BOLIVIA is a land-locked nation, 75% of whose 3.5 million inhabitants live in one-tenth of the area at 10,000 feet or more above sea level.

A German visitor to this country described the Bolivians as "beggars sitting on a chest of gold." It is from Bolivia that the Spaniards carried away shiploads of silver across the Atlantic. The

ship in Latin America. It is the smallest South American republic with the highest living standards in the Southern Americas. Its government is stable and "democratic" and has brought into being a "welfare state", by Latin American standards. The country is ruled in turn by two political parties, and is mainly dependent upon cattle-raising, sheep farming and light industry.

The government has nationalised all public utilities including electricity, tramways, telephones and in part, railways.

But the conditions of the peasants are as hard as anywhere in Latin America. Latifundia prevails and labour is exploited even in this "welfare state" of Latin America. Farmer's associations are however strong and have won quite a few rights for landless workers.

Blancos, though a pro-US party, has not always dared to support US aggressive actions in the sub-continent. One instance is the reaction in Uruguay over the passing of a resolution by the US House of Representatives reserving the right to intervene in Latin American countries on the pretext of "fighting communism."

According to a report from Montevideo, both the Chambers of the Uruguayan National Congress have unanimously condemned the "interventionist resolution" of the US Congress. They have called it an "action, which aims at undermining the national sovereignty of Latin American countries."

The peoples of Latin America are suffering at the hands of US imperialists, and since the Dominican intervention and the more recent US Congress resolution referred to above, even the pro-US governments of most of the countries are getting scared at the growing open imperialist tendencies of the Johnson government.

It is therefore most unfortunate that S. K. Patil, a known apologist for the United States, has been selected to seek the support of the Latin American peoples.

If Patil indulges in his favourite theme of anti-communism in Latin America, he will lose all the goodwill which undoubtedly exists for India in Latin America. For the Latin Americans, the danger is not "communism," but US imperialism, at whose hands they have suffered and continue to suffer today.

It would have been better if the Prime Minister had chosen more suitable envoy to go to Latin America. Patil is known as a "friend" of US imperialism, and as such, is a totally wrong choice to be sent to a region where the USA has always been considered an imperialist power out to exploit the wealth of the Latin American people.

It is also high time that the Government of India pays more attention to Latin American countries, extends its political, commercial and cultural relations with them, understands their problems and also learns from their experience with their neighbour the USA.

Moreover, some of the Latin American countries like Mexico, Chile, Uruguay and even Argentina, are coming more and more out of the US political orbit, and are trying to follow an independent foreign policy.

India, as one of the leaders of the nonaligned group, should explore the possibilities of bringing these countries into the growing family of the nonaligned nations.

What is, therefore, called for today is a clear and consistent policy for Latin America, which has been completely missing in the past.

The sending of S. K. Patil to Latin America only shows that Indian policy towards this great sub-continent of twenty nations, remains woefully wrong. (October 11)

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JOHNSON'S INTEGRATION IS ONLY 8 PERCENT

WASHINGTON: Over ninety-two per cent of the Negro children in the eleven southern states of the United States of America still attend all-Negro schools.

This was revealed in a special report of the Student Coordinating Committee for Non-Violent Actions on integration in schools. The report made the following other points:

The schools for Negroes cannot even be compared to those for the Whites in facilities.

They are mostly situated in old buildings. They do not have necessary teaching aids, laboratories and libraries.

There are not enough teachers in most of the schools for Negroes. No efforts are made to staff them properly.

The chairman of the Student Coordinating Committee for Non-Violent Actions, John Lewis, has asked the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to open an immediate enquiry into the matter.

In particular he wants a probe to be made into the unwillingness of the local authorities of the southern states to put into effect Article VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

An important charge made in the report is that the racists of southern states resort to physical violence and economic pressure against Negro parents who plan to send their children to former all-White schools.

by LAJPAT RAI

of the world's land surface and nearly half that of the South American sub-continent. Despite its size, it has a population of only a little over seven crores.

Potentially one of the greatest powers on earth with more arable land than all Europe, 15% of the world's forests and 35% of its iron deposits, Brazil is a poor country with a per capita income of 125 dollars.

Except for a few pockets of industrially advanced areas like Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, it consists of a vast undeveloped hinterland inhabited by poverty-stricken peasants working on the primitive 'fezendas' belonging to a few aristocratic families.

The north-east of Brazil, an area one-fourth that of India, is as poor as any of the backward Asian countries.

Like Argentina, Brazil has also lived the major part of its independent existence under military dictatorships. The hopes of the Brazilians ran high when Joao Goulart took over the presidency after the flight of President Quadros in 1961.

Goulart, a liberal, initiated a number of reforms and tried to checkmate the growing power of the American companies. He proposed a land reform bill and legislation to nationalise a certain number of American owned public utilities in Rio de Janeiro.

Goulart, supported by his party and his colleague Senator Erizola, also refused to toe the American line

silver and gold mines of Potosi attracted adventurers from all over the world. Bolivia is also rich in oil and above all in tin—the largest single producer of tin in the world.

In the 1950's, Bolivia was convulsed with a revolutionary wave leading to the formation of a government in 1952 which legislated a radical land reform, nationalised the oil and tin industry and virtually expelled US capital from the country. Victor Paz Estensorro was elected President, and promised to extend the revolutionary gains of the people and defend democracy in the country.

But as in Argentina and Brazil, the sinister hand of the CIA moved in, leading to a military coup and the installation of an army junta. The M.N.R. Party, headed by Paz Estensorro, succumbed to the US pressures and betrayed the revolution.

Now Bolivia is once again ruled by a dictatorship. A state of emergency was recently proclaimed, the powerful tin-miners' union was broken, and its leader Senor Leechen sent into exile. The 'Alliance for Progress' funds are loaned to the government and US capital is flowing back.

People, however, are fighting determinedly, particularly the tin-miners who have always been in the vanguard of all revolutionary movements in Bolivia.

URUGUAY is known to be an island of "democracy" in the sea of dictatorship.

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OSCAR LANGE, FRIEND OF INDIA

WITH the sudden death in London on the 2nd of October of Professor Oscar Lange of Poland the world has lost one of the greatest creative Marxist thinkers of our times.

Scholar, economist, mathematician, historian, sociologist, philosopher, diplomat and Vice-Chairman of the State Council of Poland—Professor Lange was all these and much more.

To Indians, quite apart from being an intellectual of such international repute and eminence, he was also widely known as a great friend of India, a personal friend and guide to so many Indians—from Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to brilliant young economists who had the good fortune of receiving the benefit of his advice while working on the Plan-frame before the Second Five Year Plan.

While the plan-frame had benefited from the advice of so many leading economists from abroad to find the proper path to an independent economic growth, it was Professor Lange's analysis of the problems of the underdeveloped economies that gave it an unmistakably socialist direction.

No wonder the late Prime Minister was fond of describing him as "the best present from Poland" to our country.

Born 61 years ago, a brilliant student from his school days during which he was drawn to Marxism, Lange gave a lecture on Marxism in 1918 when he was barely 14, made contact with the Council of Workers' Delegates, and organised a section of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth in his home town. Such was the unity of theory and practice achieved already in his youth by this great scholar and son of the Polish people.

Then followed in quick succession a brilliant scholarly career—beginning in 1924 with "An Essay in the Theory of the Limits of Production", then papers on such diverse subjects as the history of

medieval law, anthropology and sociology; followed by a Rockefeller Foundation grant to travel to the United States, where on the basis of a thorough study of classical and neo-classical economics he wrote, together with F. W. Taylor, "On the Economic Theory of Socialism," which conclusively proved, fully in terms of contemporary researches in economic thinking the rational foundations of socialism.

After a brief spell in Poland where his stay had to be cut short because of the incompatibility between his socialist views and the policies of pre-war Poland, he was back in the USA soon to become Professor of Economics and Statistics at the University of Chicago.

It was during this period that fully accepting the challenge of neo-classical economists—of the Keynesian and "welfare" schools—he repeatedly came out with theoretical studies and treatises to demolish many a myth in economic theory fashionable at the time.

Agreeing with Keynes on many important points he showed how the measures suggested by him to stem the coming crisis "would run up against the formidable barriers of monopoly capital".

The foundation was also laid then of his major theoretical work "The Political Economy" which both in the freshness of its approach as well as in the objectivity and thoroughness of its analysis is by far the greatest work of original Marxist scholarship since the war.

In 1945 immediately after the war, he found himself playing the role of his liberated country's first envoy both at Washington as well as at the United Nations where the great scholar was seen as an equally effective fighter in the struggle for peaceful co-existence and disarmament and against the cold war.

He returned to Poland and to his studies at the end of 1947, at the same time to take an active part in the political

life of his country occupying leading positions both in the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish Government.

For India it is mainly his contributions to the theory of planned development and to the understanding of the problems of the underdeveloped countries that are of the greatest significance.

Indians will do well to heed his warning that without centralised direction it is not possible to ensure the decisive leading role of the socialist sector if they are to save India's planned development from the persistent efforts at sabotage and attacks from the vested interests. That will be the best homage paid by our country to the memory of this greater scholar, humanist and lover of India.

Oscar Lange (left) is seen here talking with some journalists



AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

RHODESIA: British Stakes Are High

WITH the final breakdown of the Ian Smith-Bottomley talks on the immediate future of Rhodesia, the danger of the white minority government making a unilateral declaration of independence and letting loose a wave of unrestrained repression against the African majority and its developing into a full-scale racial war in consequence—this is the grim prospect facing Rhodesia today.

The Afro-Asian nations of the Commonwealth took up in the UN General Assembly's Fourth Committee (Trusteeship Committee) the need for necessary UN action to prevent any illegal seizure of power by the white settlers.

Simultaneously calling for economic sanctions as well as military action, the Afro-Asian countries warned that if there was any attempt at solving the Rhodesian question without African participation, the legitimate aspiration of the freedom-hungry people of Rhodesia might find its expression through the formation of a government in exile which would have the full sympathy and support of all the Afro-Asian countries.

External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh's unequivocal assurance of Indian support and call for UN intervention, coming after the Indian decision last year of closing down the Indian High Commission in

Arab countries have again demonstrated their complete unity in support of the Adeni people.

The representatives of Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, the United Arab Republic and Yemen have said in a joint letter to the President of the Security Council that by dismissing the government headed by Abdul Kawi Makawi and the taking over of the administration directly by the High Commissioner, the state of emergency already existing in Aden for nearly ten years has now been tightened still further.

This inequity, the letter says, not only contradicts the UN Charter and the declaration to give independence to the colonies but is an open defiance of the UN and its specific resolutions on Aden and the South Arabian Protectorate.

Punitive expeditions are continuing and the British government has refused to consider even the question of abolishing the big military base and sent new troop reinforcements recently, again in defiance of the General Assembly resolution which clearly found that the continued existence of the military base prejudiced the security of the area, said the Arab governments' statement.

Will progressive opinion in Afro-Asia and elsewhere allow the situation in Aden to develop into a new "British Vietnam" which the present Labour government seems so determined to do?

Meanwhile the 48-hour strike by 3,000 Adeni workers of foreign oil companies in protest against British repression and arrest of trade union leaders was joined by big solidarity strikes in Syria by workers in the pumping stations.

The result was that the passage of oil through the 55-mile oil pipeline that runs from Iraq across Syrian territory was brought to a stop. Work also came to a standstill in the Baniyas port which daily loads about 65,000 tons of crude oil.

ARAB UNITY IN SUPPORT OF ADEN

FOLLOWING the suspension of the constitution of Aden and the letting loose of British imperialist repression against the national liberation movement, all the twelve



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CUBA: Consolidating The Revolution

The organisation of the great Cuban revolution entered a new phase on October 3, when in a special function of the revolutionary elite of the country, the legendary leader of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro, presented before the people's representatives the members of the hundred-strong new Central Committee of the Party and announced the Party's new name—the Communist Party of Cuba.

HE explained that the first name of the party was the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations. That was during the first stage in the uniting of all revolutionary forces, which had its positive and negative aspects, leading on to the successful conclusion of the Cuban revolution.

Later it became the United Party of the Socialist Revolution which constituted an extraordinary step forward, an extraordinary step ahead in the creation of the political apparatus.

This phase lasted three years, during which time, innumerable and valuable men emerged from the inexhaustible sources which the people and the workers constitute to form what the Party was today, not only in number but essentially in quality.

The name United Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution told much, but not every thing, said Fidel Castro.

The name United Party suggests something that is in need of uniting. It still reminds a little bit of the origin of each one, he explained.

But since the revolution has now already reached that level in which all shades and all types of origin distinguishing one revolutionary from another must forever disappear, since it has already arrived at that fortunate stage of history in which the Cuban revolutionary process has only one type of revolutionary and since it is necessary for the name of the Party to show, not what it was yesterday, but what it is today, and what it will be tomorrow, what name should the Party have other than the Communist Party of Cuba, he asked.

That was how Fidel Castro reported to his people about this new consolidation, both organisational as well as ideological, of the Cuban revolutionary movement for socialism and its firm adherence to the line of strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement and against all moves for division and disruption.

At the same rally, he also answered the US government which had been boasting of its willingness to allow political immigrants from Cuba to settle in the United States.

He announced that not only will all Cubans desirous of leaving the country for the USA be given permission and the necessary facilities, but challenged the United States to allow Cubans who have gone to the USA or wish to go there to meet their relatives, permission to return to Cuba after visiting the United States.



Similarly, let US citizens and youth be permitted to visit Cuba and see for themselves the life in new Cuba, he said.

Vietnam: US Takes Drubbing

THE world-wide demand for the ending of the US aggression against Vietnam and a return to the terms of the Geneva Agreements for a peaceful method of settling the future of that country has been met so far only with the further increase in the number of American troops operating there, taking the total figure to a new high of 140,000.

Yet there have emerged signs of new initiatives from nonaligned and other influential circles which may yet succeed in forcing the US government to stop its criminal bombings of North Vietnam and its inhuman massacre of the fighting people in South Vietnam.

The Ghana Foreign Minister, Alex Quaison Sackey, a former President of the UN General Assembly, last week that "without a halt to United States air attacks on North Vietnam, it is unrealistic to expect to find the elements of a solution in South Vietnam".

He said that a US bombing truce for at least two months would give "certain initiatives designed to pave the way for a negotiated settlement a better chance."

Similarly, inspite of all the recent intensification in the American war effort in Vietnam, the last couple of weeks have brought reports of criti-

cal losses of US personnel.

While this may not yet mean any decisive new victory for the South Vietnam Liberation Front, the Americans are being hit where it feels them most, namely in the loss of American men.

Militarily speaking it will perhaps be more accurate to describe the present situation as one leading towards a prolonged stalemate.

Coming against this background, the US reaction to the speech by the Hungarian Foreign Minister Janos Peter at the United Nations, listing the minimum conditions for the opening of peaceful negotiations for the ending of the Vietnam war, is of the highest significance.

Authoritative US sources have made much of the fact that while demanding the immediate stopping of the bombing raids in the North, a ceasefire in the South and the participation of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front in all negotiations, Peter evidently did not demand the prior withdrawal of all American troops from South Vietnam as a necessary condition for the beginning of negotiations.

The manner in which the US press and officials have seized on this point, is an indication that, if they can "save their face", by one or other means, the US imperialists would like to "start talking".

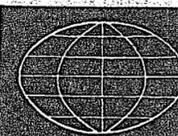
So isolated have they become in the world, as a result of their atrocities in Vietnam. So tired and battered are their men—that the US imperialists despairingly seek a respite.

The peoples of the world, while retaining their vigilance and continuing their efforts for an end to the US aggression ceaselessly, will not ignore the meaning of the new developments. These can help to make the Vietnam solidarity campaigns in all countries even broader and more effective than they are now.

American Peddler in Africa

THE US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mennen Williams is at present completing a big African tour, his thirteenth to be precise, in pursuance of a serious assignment given him by the Johnson administration.

On the eve of the Accra conference of the heads of member-states of the Organisation of African Unity and the Second Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers (if held), American diplomacy is believed to be trying to ascertain as to how low the



The World

prestige of the United States has fallen there as a result of the American armed interventions in Vietnam, the Congo (Leopoldville) and the Dominican Republic.

Presumably the choice of African countries who "deserve" and should be granted US economic aid will be based on the results of this probing.

Trying to impress upon African opinion, Williams is extolling the US "dedication to peace" and peddling the line that the US even "supports" the African peoples' struggle against colonialism.

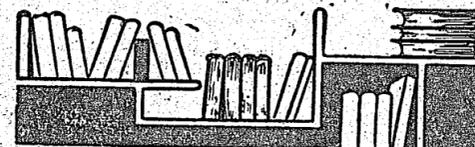
While in Cotonou (West Africa) he declared that the USA was for the self-determination of the Portuguese pos-

sessions in Africa and was immediately trapped.

The Command of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) immediately issued a statement saying that "Mennen Williams' claim that the US military aid to Portugal is not meant for use in colonial wars resembles the story of the wolf in sheep's clothing".

In Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea, guerillas frequently capture from the enemy various weapons supplied by the United States. Planes, trucks, weapons and various military equipment used by the colonial troops all bear the unmistakable sinister stamp "made in the USA".

BAREN RAY



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THE INTERNATIONAL CLOWNS & KASHMIR

THE week began with a debate on the Prime Minister's broadcast address calling the nation to produce more food, raise two grains where one has been harvested. Otherwise there have been less political pronouncements, but more quiet diplomatic activity.

PRESIDENTIAL TRIP: The focus is on Dr. Radhakrishnan's Odyssey. By and large it is a huge success. Tributes paid to Yugoslavia and President Tito personally, mark the high water mark of Indo-Yugoslav relations.

New Delhi has been quite pleased with Czechoslovak President Novotny's reiteration of the country's stand on Kashmir. That apart, A. M. Thomas, Minister of State for Defence and Minister-in-Waiting, on his own seems to have done some quiet business, according to press reports.

Account of the President's visit to Rumania raised too many hopes in official Delhi but most of them were not fulfilled, if one is to go by official reaction.

It now appears that there has been a surfeit of publicity induced by our side rather than by the host country, on a subject near to our hearts but far away from the heart of the other party.

Equally vaporous has been the report of the airport meeting of Dr. Radhakrishnan and President Nasser of the UAR.

U THANT AGAIN: The main hub of our diplomatic activity relating to the Indo-Pak conflict is at the UN. While summing up his one hour interview with Lal Bahadur Shastri,

R. K. Karanjia of BLITZ has revealed that in the days when V. K. Krishna Menon was leading the Indian delegation to the UN, India had occasion to protest to the then Prime Minister U Nu of Burma against the anti-Indian role of U Thant.

Apart from his own predilections, there were discreet references in a section of the Indian press to the backstage manoeuvres of U Thant's



political aide on Indo-Pakistan affairs, a British national named Brian Urquhart.

U Thant has gone and done it again. He has reported to the Security Council on the so-called fluidity of the cease-fire line. India has rightly questioned the concept of fluidity. It is beyond anybody's imagination how a cease-fire line effected at 3.30 a.m. on September 23, could ever be fluid.

There is growing "suspicion" about U Thant's one-sided interpretations of the Security Council resolutions and documents which are more often in line with the thinking of the UK and the US.

SADIQ SAYS IT: For weeks now there has been a great deal of humming and hawing in official circles in New Delhi as to whether we should call a spade a spade. As noted last week in this column, there has been an imperceptible tendency to bracket all big powers.

Sadiq has ended this schizophrenia. Not that he will be echoed by all in authority but the people as a whole will. Addressing a public meeting in New Delhi on Tuesday, Sadiq Saheb said that "behind it all (infiltration and the subsequent armed conflict) were the British and Americans."

No mincing words as far as Sadiq is concerned. "One international clown", he made cold to say, "went to the extent of saying that India should be given only that part of Kashmir which helped her to fight China."

He meant Britain. But clowns are certainly not a British monopoly. Their Transatlantic cousins must have a share at least by heredity if not by environment. And Sherman Cooper, former US Ambassador to India, has provided the proof.

In an interview, the Senator from Kentucky (that is what he is now) pontificated: "The best way to settle it is not by a plebiscite but by a division of Kashmir whereby India would control the territory on the Chinese and Tibetan border."

In other words, India should take Ladakh and shut up, and if the Chinese come hurtling down again we should scram for safety under the Senator's nuclear umbrella.

ARMS! ARMS! Delhi is in the thick of frantic diplomatic effort to stop the U.S. from resuming military supplies to Pakistan. The latest appeal to sanity the Prime Minister has made is from the eastern bank of the Ichhogil Canal on Tuesday.

The tone of his appeal to the United States reveals that he has reports from his representatives that all is set for resumption.

The latest revelation is about Bonn. Earlier the West Germans supplied anti-tank missiles called "Cobra" which were used in the Lahore sector against us.

Now the Luxembourg Radio has announced that Bonn fascists have entered into a clandestine arms deal with Pindi. A section of the press has reported that the deal is at the instance of Washington.

On Tuesday, Foreign Secretary C. S. Jha summoned Baron von Mirbach, West German Ambassador in Delhi, and expressed to him India's great concern.

FOOD FRONT: The Prime Minister has not answered all questions in his broadcast on Sunday. Rightly he has said that every patch of fallow land should be brought under cultivation.

Who should get the uncultivated land? If one is to believe his Food Minister, such land should be given to joint stock companies. Subramanyam said so in his Hyderabad speech. Already 1,000 acres have been given to the Birlas in Punjab. Since when have the Birlas become kisans? After they made the "heads-will-roll" speech!

Greater confusion prevails with regard to rationing in big cities. Decision has already been taken and announced. Delhi is on top of the list, rationing is scheduled to start in November. But listen to the ICS Moghul of Shahjahanabad:

THE TIMES OF INDIA (Wednesday) has reported Chief Commissioner Viswanathan as saying that "rationing might encourage black-marketing." So he says "Delhi should wait for another year before introducing rationing."

INDONESIA: Anti-Communist Hysteria Must Stop

WITH the news of the arrest of Colonel Utung, Commander of the Presidential Palace Guard, who is reported to have "master-minded" the so-called September 30 uprising, the mounting Right-wing anti-communist offensive in Indonesia seems to have reached its height.

Not only does it seem that the September 30 movement has totally failed (although very little is yet known of its exact origin and the forces that had really sponsored it) but the Right-wing forces entrenched in the upper echelons of the army, together with the fanatical Muslim organisation Nahdutul Ulema, have succeeded in utilising the present crisis to create an anti-communist hysteria.

They have unleashed a full-scale attack against the Indonesian Communist Party and its trade union, women's, youth and students organisations leading to burning of offices, mass arrests and rounding up of all known communists running into tens of thousands.

It is of course, impossible to believe that the Communist Party of Indonesia, perhaps the fourth biggest Communist Party in the world, can be crushed. But there is no doubt that the Party is certainly facing its most trying times since 1948. In spite of its great strength and influence, it is evidently unable to defend itself effectively from this reactionary onslaught which now seems quite determined to oust Communists and democrats from all positions of influence in the country and to shift Indonesian policies to the Right in a pro-imperialist direction.

Shift To The Right

Although Jakarta Radio has several times declared that the new Indonesian Army Command continues to stand for the policy of confrontation against Malaysia, on all other questions there are distinct signs of a shift towards the Right. The conspicuous presence of the US Ambassador at several public ceremonies organised by the new Army Command together with the shouting of slogans (however few at present) praising the United States and calling for greater US-Indonesian co-operation, are significant straws in the wind.

In this, one can perhaps now say that the earlier phase during which President Soekarno was still appealing for a peaceful settlement of the differences and thus seeking to restore the internal balance between the progressive and Rightist forces, is now over. Having failed for the time being, he has had to give in to the demands of the reactionary Army Command to suppress the Communists and fundamentally reorganise the existing political structure in the country.

While it may be too early to seek definitely to apportion responsibilities for the present tragedy facing the progressive forces, still apart from the large degree of adventurism of which they were probably guilty, one cannot help remarking the serious underestimation of the strength of the reactionary and the Muslim communal forces in the country.

These forces not only were not opposed but instead were appeased and encouraged when President Soekarno had raised the slogan of "protection of Islam", and the Indonesian Communist Party had openly supported the recent Pakistani aggression and called for a "revolution" in India.

(October 13)

Whispering Gallery

Eskay's Escapades

SINCE after his 65th birthday, when he received a gift of 65 lakhs (we have been assured it is all white money) from patrons and friends, S. K. Patil has been rather down and out.

To add to his discomfiture both Peking and Pindi radios quoted Eskay approvingly for his sobriety in the matter of Indo-Pak armed conflict. It is rather widely known that Sadoba was one of the Cabinet Ministers who opposed India's counter-attack in the Lahore sector.

Whenever there is estrangement between India and the West, particularly the North Americans, Patil feels miserable. Before the Kutch fighting, his American friends have been forecasting Patil's elevation to the Foreign Ministry. Not that Shastri was going to do anything of the sort but Patil was hoping for something better than the mundane Railways by which he has never travelled.

After the outbreak of armed hostilities, Patil's friends have been whispering into the ears of Shastri that he should send him "home" to the United States to intercede with his people not to be that hostile to India.

The central idea is to bring about a meeting between Shastri and Johnson in Washington and thus mend the broken Indo-American fences.

Three bureaucrats were working behind the scenes in this direction from the very inception of the Indo-Pak fighting. They are the two Jhas in Delhi—L.K. and C.S.—and B. K. Nehru in Washington.

Beekay has been doing his damndest, especially through the columns of the Hindustan Times, to push the project before the Indian public. But our man in Washington could not go far afield to prepare for it, except to get minor things done, such as persuading Shastri to write to Johnson, in addition to the Head of State, before he entered the hospital.

They sorely needed a known Cabinet Minister to work up at the political level. So even before Krishna Menon was sent to Cairo, bureaucrats were working up an atmosphere to pilot Patil into Washington D.C.

Incidentally, it must be mentioned that quite some people in the Foreign Ministry were averse to the Menon mission. Deputy Foreign Minister Dinesh Singh did not even bother to hide his personal resentment—of course in private conversations.

The pressure worked. Shastri decided to send Sadoba. He is off. His main assignment is to work for an early meeting between Shastri and Johnson.

His second assignment, albeit officially denied, is to beg for resumption of firm and regular PL-480 deliveries. He is the primary architect of this stronghold on Indian agriculture and the biggest source of political corruption.

So long as Nehru was alive, Sadoba felt smothered under the "banyan tree". But he is at home under the new one, the PL-480 and the rest.

—INSIDER