

HAS US TIGER CHANGED ITS ANTI-INDIAN SPOTS?

COPY

The monopoly press has launched a hysterical campaign to convince the nation that the US imperialists have changed their policies in regard to the Indo-Pakistan conflict. This campaign reached a new high this week with the planned headlining of Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's statement on the so-called "assurance" given by Washington that it had asked its NATO, SEATO and CENTO allies not to provide Pakistan with armaments.

HINDUSTAN TIMES (November 9) roared in a front page lead feature: "Allies told not to give arms to Pak, US assures India". On the same day TIMES OF INDIA also flashed its lead story in similar terms: "NO FURTHER US ARMS AID TO PAKISTAN; CENTO, SEATO and NATO To Follow Suit".

INDIAN EXPRESS headlined its lead story "USA asks pact allies not to supply arms to Pakistan".

There was nothing—literally nothing—which justified the manner in which the monopoly press sought to build up this story. As a matter of fact the Foreign Minister had merely put in a written reply to an unstarred question in the Lok Sabha by 18 MPs. The actual reply had drawn attention to the earlier assurances given by President Eisenhower regarding US arms aid to Pakistan not being used against India.

The implication of the reply, if anything, was that US assurances are not worth the paper on which they are written. But like a trained team, the hawks of the monopoly press picked up only the part dealing with the latest "assurance", and created the impression that there had been a major reversal of US policy.

Today's INDIAN EXPRESS carries the campaign forward with a lead story from its Washington correspondent headlined "Kashmir plebiscite call now dead—USA REVISES POLICY". Editorials have appeared in all the monopoly organs hailing the new "policy".

THE STATESMAN, in an editorial titled "US Intentions", warns India against running into "familiar prejudices", and describes any criticism of US intentions as "tilting at windmills", which "is not only wasteful", but "creates bad feelings where there need be none".

This is the latest shot in the pro-imperialist campaign, which seeks to make us forget that it was American bombs and bullets which took the lives of our officers and men and of brother and sister civilians in the border states.

The background has been provided by a series of statements from Washington and London by Sadoba Patil. Each of these statements says the same thing: Sadoba has turned the tables, the Yankee tiger has lost its anti-Indian spots, the imperialists are now fully convinced of the correctness of India's case!

Even PL 480 has now become a cool and refreshing sherbet, instead of the bitter

poison it always has been. Food Minister Subramaniam replying to a question in the Rajya Sabha on November 8, seemed to be taking great pains to prove the bona fides of the US government in the matter of PL 480 supplies.

★ It was true that the US government insisted on a scrutiny of India's agricultural production programmes. But this, the Food Minister assured his questioners, was

By **ROMESH CHANDRA**

NOT "interference." He did not say what else it was, if it was not interference in our internal affairs!

★ It was true, admitted the Food Minister, that PL 480 has been shifted from the US Department of Agriculture to the US Department of State. But this did not mean any "pressure", it was just an "internal arrangement", with no significance at all. The soothing words of the Food Minister must have few parallels in the history of Indian kowtowing.

★ It was true that the US government was not agreeing to any long term agreement in regard to food supplies, but this was NOT pressure, oh dear no! Presumably, the Food Minister also found in this an "internal arrangement," which makes it necessary for Washington to allot India doles every month, with Indian good behaviour as the obvious quid pro quo.

★ When an MP asked whether it was true, as Patil had announced, that Washington would not sign a long-term agreement unless Prime Minister Shastri visited Johnson, Subramaniam, without answering the question directly, took the opportunity to point out that the great Sadoba had no brief to negotiate for food during his US visit.

This slap on Patil's face was welcome to the progressive MPs, who deeply resent the pro-imperialist utterances of the Railways Minister.

But to the main question whether PL 480 had been made dependent on Shastri's visit, there was no straight reply—only another "assurance" that there is no shift in US policy in regard to PL 480 supplies to India.

It would be suicidal for this nation to be taken in by the studied and planned propaganda suggesting a change of heart in Washing-

ton. Facts are stubborn things. And all of them go to prove that the "assurances" about which our Ministers wax so eloquent, are totally worthless. The more sinister purpose behind this campaign, which even grabs a written reply to an unstarred question for its own ends, is preparation of the nation to accept the proposal for the Prime Minister's visit to Washington at the call of President Johnson.

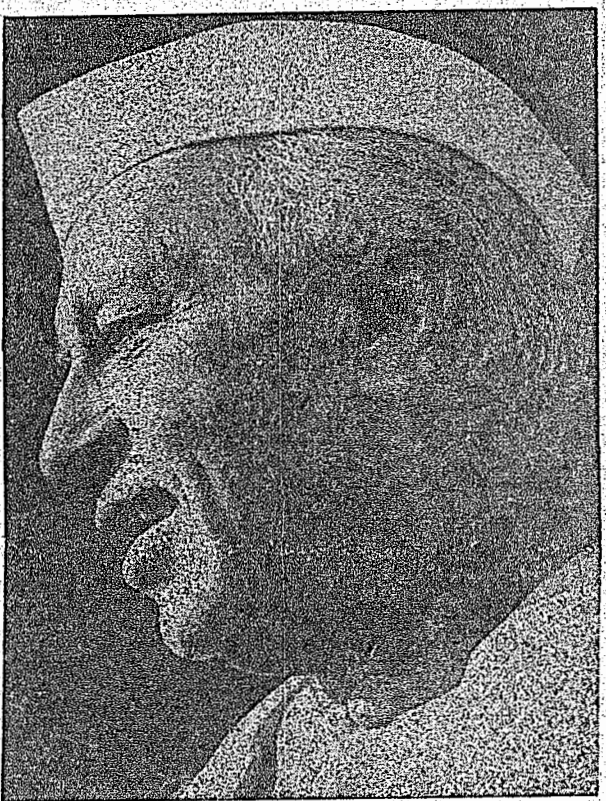
The refusal of the government to give any information on this question, despite repeated demands in Parliament, shows clearly that the whole affair has become much more than just the wishful thinking of the American lobby.

The National Conference for the Defence of the Motherland and World Peace has rightly drawn attention to the grim dangers arising from US pressures which seek to weaken Indian policies, and give them a turn in a pro-imperialist direction.

The call given by the Conference for the observance of November 27 as a National Day of Protest Against American Blackmail is timely, and deserves the support of all patriotic parties, organisations and individuals in the country. (November 10)

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NOVEMBER 14: NATION REMEMBERS JAWAHARLAL

Anti-Soviet Lobby Suffers Setback

TOGETHER with the efforts to create the impression that the imperialist powers have given up their anti-Indian stand, the reactionary forces in the country have launched another round of anti-Soviet propaganda.

Desperate at the fact that the whole country has recognised that the Soviet Union has been proved to be a real and true friend at a moment when India needed friendship most, the imperialist lobby is anxiously looking for "proof" of a shift in the Soviet Union's stand on Kashmir.

The Yankee lobby has received rebuff after rebuff. In the latest series of Security Council meetings, the Soviet Union has clearly and categorically dissociated itself from the imperialist powers.

The unanimity about which the US and British governments used to boast so much is over, and the Soviet Union has made it abso-

lutely clear that it will vote against any attempt to link the so-called political questions with the cease-fire.

More, the Soviet representative has warned against the activities of the UN observers' groups in much the same terms as the Indian government.

The Yankee lobby attempted to create the impression that the Soviet abstention in the Security Council indicated a shift away from India. The lobby used the fact that Jordan also abstained to suggest similar pro-Pak motives.

But no one is taken in by this nonsense; the speech of the Soviet representatives was so clear and categorical.

The Soviet press has come out more and more clearly reiterating in every detail the stand of the Soviet Union regarding Kashmir—a stand which has been the basis of Soviet policies on this question for the last 18 years.

The Indian parliamentary delegation just back from the Soviet Union has paid warm tributes to Soviet friendship and understand-

ing, giving the lie to the anti-Sovieteers.

Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari has reached Moscow as we go to press, and has already had ample proof of Soviet friendship.

Confident in the knowledge that the Soviet Union is firmly dedicated to the cause of anti-imperialism and peace, the democratic movement in this country knows that India can count always on Soviet friendship as long as it continues to adhere to the policy of peace and nonalignment, and refuses to bow before imperialist pressures.

Hundreds of meetings have been held in every state in this country on the occasion of the 48th anniversary of the great October Revolution. Hundreds more are yet to take place during the Indo-Soviet Friendship Month called by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society.

These are proof positive of the Indian people's deep and abiding love for the Soviet Union which nothing can destroy.

PROMISES TO KEEP...

editorial

NOVEMBER 14 IS A birthday to remember. Not because Jawaharlal Nehru did no wrong. Not

because he represented a ruling class, which in all its years of power, only continued the hunger and poverty and misery, which had been the fate of this land for decades of imperialist domination.

If that were all that the name of Jawaharlal Nehru meant, November 14 could as well be forgotten as another dull date in a colourless calendar.

The National Conference for the Defence of the Motherland and World Peace, meeting last week-end in Bangalore, pledged itself "to intensify the struggle for the strengthening of the basic policies in which the mass of our people firmly believe—above all the policies of peace, nonalignment and anti-imperialism, of secularism, democracy and socialism."

If these basic policies have become so much a part of the deepest consciousness of patriotic India, the credit is in no small measure due to Jawaharlal. For during the stormy days during which the sweep of the Indian freedom movement reached its zenith, it was he who painted for his people the vision of a new India, dedicated to these basic principles and policies. In the years which followed the attainment of independence, it was Nehru again who fought with zeal against those who sought to reverse these policies.

Yes, he failed to build the new India of which he had spoken and written so much. Yes, he failed because the class which he represented dragged him away from that road which alone could take the country forward. Yes, he failed because he could not keep the pledges he had made to the Indian people.

But the greatness of Nehru lay in the fact that he was conscious, painfully conscious, of his failures and weaknesses. It was not an accident that as he died, near him lay a sheet of paper on which was scrawled in his hand these words of the American poet Robert Frost:

The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep.

It is of those unfulfilled promises that one must think on the occasion of Nehru's birthday. The reactionary forces in the country, the pro-imperialists and monopolists, seek desperately to make the nation forget the promises which Nehru made. For those promises represent policies which are in the interests of the working masses of this land. They are promises and policies, which are directed against the imperialists and monopolists, against reaction in every shape and form.

The Jan Sangh in the capital openly voted against the decision taken by the Municipal Corporation to celebrate Nehru's birthday. Their vicious speeches attacking the memory of this outstanding leader of India's independence struggle, reflected the hatred which the reactionary forces have always had for the positive policies associated with his name.

The monopolists are almost openly announcing their refusal to contribute adequately to the Nehru Memorial Fund, arguing that that the events since the Pakistani aggression have "proved" that Nehru's policies are wrong.

Even those in high places, who should know better, appear to have weakened before the reactionary onslaught. They seldom mention the name of Nehru in their daily speeches, and when they do, they seek to water down the true meaning for this nation of what are known as the Nehru policies.

It is right and proper to revel in the greatness of our people, in their courage and bravery, in their unprecedented unity in facing and fighting back the aggressors. But it is precisely at this moment of joy and happiness, when our martyrs' sacrifices have demonstrated clearly that the basic policies of this country are in our best interests, that reaction seeks to reverse them, distorting the lessons of these days of glory.

It is the people who must act to keep alive the flame of Nehru's memory, which the reactionaries seek to blow out. (November 10)

FOOD: STATES DRAG THEIR FEET

EMERGENCY food plan has held the centre of the stage in the capital during the last few days. It has been discussed in Parliament and by the Congress Working Committee. Food Minister Subramaniam discussed it at length with the State Chief Ministers as well as with leaders of opposition parties.

The left opposition parties during their discussions last week gave it the first priority and formulated their own views and demands on this vital issue before the nation.

While the special drive proposed to be launched for increased food production as part of the emergency plan is of crucial importance in itself, the primary issue in these discussions was the more immediate question of conserving and augmenting government stocks through intensive procurement and controlled distribution by way of rationing.

Repeatedly was it stressed by the Union Food Minister as well as the Prime Minister that in view of the uncertainties about PL 480 and the setback on account of drought to production—estimated by him to be three million tonnes less than last year's production—procurement of the entire marketable surplus and rationing had become inescapable.

Even so, it was argued by March-April the situation might be such that imports will become necessary to fulfill rationing commitments. The gravity of the situation is admitted all round. The need for internal procurement and rationing is also accepted in principle. There are also brave declarations that PL 480 supplies would not be accepted if they are tied with political strings.

But the private discussions held this week with the Chief Ministers to work out application of policies in practice revealed a distressing hiatus between public pronouncement and acceptance of specific obligations specially by the state leaders.

The decision to cover urban areas with rationing has already been modified and its phasing extended, because the state governments persisted in their objections unless they had adequate stocks.

The cities with a population of one million, which number only seven, are now proposed to be put under rationing by beginning of next year. Cities with a population upto one lakh could be similarly covered by May 1, 1965.

But few even inside the Food Ministry are really convinced that even this programme will be adhered to. The maximum they hope for is to cover the big cities and some of the industrial centres.

There is without doubt some point in the state governments' reluctance to accept statutory rationing without at least six weeks stocks with them or firm assurances of supplies from the centre. But

national food budget to be prepared by the Planning Commission on the basis of per capita consumption requirements of each state is already dead.

The procurement arrangements, even at this stage, are far from finalised. Except for Maharashtra and West Bengal, none has accepted monopoly procurement. Others have not gone beyond accepting some form of levy system, without spelling out what concretely their plans are.

If the way the deficit states magnified their deficits and the surplus states claimed setbacks to their foodgrains production is any indication, none can be sanguine about the procurement policy really working in the manner and to the extent needed.

None, for instance, accepted the Food Ministry's estimate that shortfall in production compared to last year's would be three million tonnes. One of them from a surplus state went to the extent of claiming that the total deficit might be several millions.

On the graded levy system, the discussions were left completely vague. None has indicated what exemption limit they proposed to fix.

Others suggested that a levy to take away from the rich peasants and the landlords their entire marketable surplus would be impossible to be worked for administrative and political reasons. The implication of this view was clear enough.

At the meeting between the Food Minister and the opposition leaders, the left leaders were realistic enough to suggest that some amount of compulsion would have to be applied on the states and procurement must be accepted a central responsibility in a large measure, if the emergency food plan was to succeed.

This seems impossible for the Centre to impose. It is this which makes the talk of "hope based on some anticipation" for working out a way to PL 480 on a stabler basis so very important to the Food Minister and other government leaders.

—B. W.

New Delhi Letter

the point of sometimes sharp and even excited discussions between the Chief Ministers and the Union Food Minister was how to go about it.

The latter was not in a position to underwrite rationing on the basis of imports and the Chief Ministers would not accept without hesitations and qualifications their obligations for internal procurement.

The extent of the Food Minister's exasperation was expressed openly when he said that the Chief Ministers seemed to think they were obliging him by introducing rationing.

The same tussle was witnessed, though with greater circumspection and caution, as between the surplus and the deficit states. The surplus states, who themselves are likely to face serious difficulties in view of the present crop prospects, are not willing to undertake responsibilities in specific terms to meet the requirements of the deficit states under a national plan.

In fact the idea of a national



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

LEFT PARTIES MEETING

NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 2-5

UNITED CAMPAIGN FOR FOOD, WORKERS' DEMANDS

NEW DELHI: Representatives of Left parties who met in New Delhi from November 2 to 5 have drawn attention to the serious food crisis that is developing in parts of the country and urged joint action to defend the people and resist all encroachments on their vital interests.

THE Communist Party of India was represented at the meeting by C. Rajeswara Rao, general secretary and Z. A. Ahmad, M. N. Govindan Nair and Romesh Chandra, members of the central secretariat of the Party.

Other participants in the meeting were: Indulal Yagnik MP of the Maharashtra Janata Parishad; Daljib Desai MP and Udhavrao Patil of the Peasants and Workers Party; B. K. Galkwad MP and E. P. Maurya MP of the Republican Party of India; Tribhuvan Kumar Chaudhuri MP, Pratul Chaudhuri, Mahan Paul and Keshav Prasad of the RSP; Ramsewak Yadav MP, Kishen Patnaik MP and Madhu Limaye MP of the SSP and E. M. S. Namboodripath of the Communist Party (Marxist).

land and state governments have made some declarations and have decided to take certain new steps to increase production and regulate distribution through limited state trading in foodgrains. The call of the Prime Minister for "self-reliance" in matters of food and defence is a welcome call.

"But experience has shown that whatever the slogans of the government may be, most of their plans and projects in regard to agricultural development are seriously vitiated in practice by corrupt and inefficient bureaucratic handling, by nepotism and factionalism indulged in by the ruling cliques and, above all, by a pro-landlord and pro-rich peasant bias in governmental policies and their implementation."

policy of land reform, protection of cultivators' interests, distribution of cultivable fallow lands to the landless poor and other measures to increase production. It opposed the government proposal to give fallow lands to joint stock companies and individual capitalists.

be set up to supervise various aspects of production, procurement and rationing.

While making the above demands on the government, the representatives of Left parties also appealed to all political parties, working class and peasant organisations to join hands and develop a countrywide campaign for increasing food production, for curbing all bureaucratic harassments and abuses, for curbing black marketing.

The meeting called for joint food conferences and joint food committees at various levels to develop a powerful mass mobilisation which will compel the government to accede to the people's demands.

Nationalise Banks

It demanded immediate nationalisation of banks, nationalisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains, rationing in all corporation, municipal and town areas as well as in rural areas where there is acute scarcity.

The resolution further demanded that popular committees, including representatives of political parties, mass organisations, panchayats, cooperatives etc. should

suppressed. The Defence of India Rules have been used to detain and prosecute hundreds of trade union leaders and workers all over the country, very often at the direct request of employers.

"Government, by refusing to accept any of the trade unions' amendments to its recent bonus legislation, have also helped the biggest and best organised employers to curtail the workers' existing bonus benefits and rights."

These negative features of government's policy and its failure to take stern action against recalcitrant employers are completely out of place in a national crisis like the present one. It persisted in, it will only weaken the country's defence capacity and may even provoke otherwise avoidable stoppage of work.

Another resolution on working class demands focussed attention on the difficulties being faced by the working class as a result of actions by private employers and government.

Demands Charter

The representatives of Left parties therefore urged the government to reverse its anti-worker policies and to carry out the following measures:

- ★ Ban all closures and retrenchment during the emergency;
- ★ Take over and run closed units with workers' cooperation;
- ★ Hold the price line and suppress speculation and hoarding;
- ★ Introduce legislation for fair price shops in all establishments;
- ★ Enforce universal linking of workers' DA with cost of living index;
- ★ Radically modify provisions of Payment of Bonus Act in the light of trade unions' suggestions;
- ★ Provide for recognition of trade unions whose representative character is to be decided by ballot;
- ★ All public sector employees should be allowed to become members of political parties and to form trade unions of their choice;
- ★ Workers' councils with sufficient powers should be set up in all public sector industries to make workers' participation a reality;
- ★ All genuine central trade union organisations like the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat should be admitted to the tripartite meetings;
- ★ Release all arrested and detained TU leaders and workers.

The meeting appealed to all sections of the working class to close their ranks and strive unitedly for the realisation of the above aims.

Retrenching Workers

"The government themselves have added to this by allowing discharge notices to be issued to a large number of skilled and semi-skilled civilian defence workers and to civil engineers of the HEC on the ground of their being 'surplus'."

The resolution also drew attention to the rising prices and consequent erosion in the real wages of workers. "The proceedings of the recent twenty-third session of the Indian Labour Conference reveal that the big monopolists are in a truculent mood and want to exploit the present national crisis in order to secure further concessions for themselves."

"Their stand is encouraged by government's own treatment of its employees in the public sector, whose urgent demands are consistently rejected and trade union rights sought to be

Food Crisis Alarming

The agenda of the meeting included consideration of the political situation created after Pakistani aggression, problems of national defence and outstanding problems of the people. The next meeting of the parties will take place from December 10 to 12.

A resolution on the present food crisis in the country, adopted by the meeting, said it was assuming alarming proportions. The resolution declared:

"Realising the extreme gravity of the situation, the cen-

The resolution said that the entire policy of government with regard to production, procurement, prices and distribution will have to be radically altered if any improvement is to be effected in the present situation.

Towards this end, the resolution called for a vigorous

ANYTHING, EVERYTHING FOR BENEFIT OF INTUC

THE Deputy-Chairman of the Planning Commission in his 'loud thinking' before the Indian Labour Conference expressed the hope that there would be efforts towards ending the rivalry in the TU movement.

He did not, of course, go into the question: who started the rivalry—and with what consequences?

From the Labour Ministry end, they harp on what is called the Inter-Union Code of Conduct adopted at Nainital some eight years ago.

Following is an instance of how this Inter-Union Code of Conduct is actually implemented, under the benevolent aegis of the ruling party.

In Ramachandrapuram (Andhra Pradesh), there is a unit of the Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd., an important public sector undertaking. There are two unions in that unit, one of the INTUC and the other—the Heavy Electricals Project Employees Union.

Recently the government decided, in its 'impartiality' in implementing the law, to conduct a verification of membership of the two unions, to ascertain which is the majority union to be accorded recognition.

During the four months

prior to verification, Ramachandrapuram witnessed quite an experience and big guns from government arrived on the scene. A meeting of the INTUC union addressed by the Labour Minister was attended by all the officers.

The General Secretary of the INTUC affiliate, who is an instructor in the BHTEL, openly threatened the artisanship that they will be failed in test if they did not support the INTUC.

But it did not end with such threats. The General Secretary of the Heavy Electricals Project Employees Union was physically dragged out of his quarters and beaten up. A vice-president of the union was hauled out of a bus and manhandled. Two other members of the union were also victims of physical assault.

While the "spot" verification was going on (the verification officer calling workers and ascertaining personally to which union they belong), which some 50 toughs of the INTUC were posted a little distance away. They freely intimidated the workers who were called in.

The clerical assistant for the verification officer also turned out to be an activist of the INTUC Union. And he told the workers in advance that no secret can be kept away from him!

Such indecency and revolting behaviour went totally unnoticed by the powers-that-be, even after the HEPEU made formal complaints.

Who can trust the "impartial" verification done by the official agencies?

The government talks of workers' participation in management and of promoting joint consultation in industry. But where is the joint consultation in industry?

In the shape of things moulded by such blatant partisanship, the management remains quite monolithic and there is no need for the mockery of joint councils with some Congress leaders as TU leaders and others as management and all so pre-arranged according to the power politics of the Congress Party.

In British days, the employers and government refused to accept any trade union right. The Congress Party has, of course, improved matters—workers can have trade union rights, no doubt, but only if they are in the INTUC!

And the INTUC is shameless enough to perpetrate this: they have a formal amendment to the Code of Discipline that unions to be recognised should not be those with majority support but GOOD unions, i.e., truly WHITE-CAPPED ones!

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FOCUS ON FOOD

Recent deliberations in the capital have fully underscored the difficult food situation the country has come to face. Official pronouncements, normally given to complacency and wishful predictions, have little to offer this time except gloomy forecasts and appeals to austerity.

While a note of realism is always to be welcomed, it is however not the remedy for the situation, which is the result of repeated failures of the government's food policy and administrative lapses.

Even today a full admission of mistakes is hard to come by in governmental calculations. The blame is more easily put on the monsoon, which, it is true, has shown little concern for the worried men at the Food Ministry.

The absence of sound objectives on the agricultural front, the administration's apathy for the interests of the poor peasants, the creation of a climate of dependence for Indian stomachs on American PL-480 imports, the hesitation to deal strongly with hoarders and blackmarketers and apply controls for the community's benefit—these and many other causes could be cited for the current middle and crisis on the food front.

Together with the apprehension of a set back in production caused by draught conditions, the realisation that PL-480 is not such a pleasant prop as was sometime before imagined by New Delhi has, however, brought the note of urgency in the government's new emergency food production plan and other measures aimed at self-reliance.

Food Minister Subramaniam frankly acknowledged the critical situation in his meeting with leaders of opposition parties on Saturday and, it is reported, showed himself keen on controlled distribution through rationing and on monopoly procurement or a graded levy system.

It is interesting to recall the controversy he had provoked by his open opposition to Maharashtra government's monopoly procurement programme for jowar not so long ago.

The Congress Working Committee too has underlined the crisis and called for a national effort to "produce more and conserve food".

Without saying it in so many words that PL 480 is a noose put around our necks, the Congress Working Committee noted that imports of wheat from USA and other countries have been of the order of 5-6 million tons and said, "the Committee reiterates the need to plan for self-reliance in this vital sector".

It is however, more welcome to learn that the Prime Minister told the Working Committee that we would not accept PL-480 if conditions are attached to it.

Another unexceptionable statement by the Congress Working Committee is an appeal addressed to the states, ruled by Congress Chief Ministers themselves, to display something of a national outlook in the matter of food.

The Committee has pointed out that a united country facing an invader cannot afford to have an "unequitable distribution of essential food-grains" and therefore surplus states should readily agree to part with their surplus to the Central Government for distribution in deficit areas.

Also the Congress Working Committee, though not mentioning rationing and monopoly procurement, found it necessary to tell the state governments to "fall in line with a unified national policy of controlled distribution" and not to hesitate to obtain the surplus grains from the producers and the trade.

In other words it is an admission that the state government are putting regional interests, and the demands of vested interests in their states, above national interests. This is strengthened by the reports of the stand taken by the Chief Ministers who attended the Committee meeting.

K. B. Sahay and Sucheta Kripalani were both opposed to statutory rationing in their states. Then, the Chief Ministers of surplus states like D. P. Mishra, Brahmananda Reddy and Ram Kisban have pointed to drought conditions in their own areas, which could be a warning that they won't have much surplus to spare.

The Madras Chief Minister thinks high of his scheme of procurement "without tears", and West Bengal, which says it will start monopoly procurement next year, is sending its officers to Madras to learn Bhaktavatsalam's trick.

All this leads one to doubt how well the state governments would respond to the exhortations of the Congress Working Committee to cooperate for a national food policy and how far Subramaniam will find his burdens eased by the Chief Ministers who are accustomed to being independent.

For all the talk in the Congress Working Committee, the states may still go their own way. If that happens, what New Delhi may be left with will be only its slogans, which cannot bring much cheer to hungry people.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

YANKS SHED MASK

YANKEE spokesmen have given up the subtle ways of suggestion and persuasion. They are exerting increasingly open pressure on India to change her policies. They are getting more and more outspoken in what they want India to do.

Typical of this are the utterances of Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, at a press conference in Washington on November 5. Only a small bit of Rusk's pontifications has appeared in the Indian monopoly press, and that too thanks to the Reuters. The "Indian Press representatives" obviously were busy in New York discovering the pro-India change in Goldberg's attitude.

The Reuters reported that Rusk said that "the United States would be discussing the question of renewed economic aid to India and Pakistan 'at the highest levels'".

Meaning thereby that economic aid would be resumed only if Prime Minister Shastri makes his pilgrimage to the Dollar land and makes his *darshan* of the Dollar King, as Lyndon B. Johnson. Of course, the way has been paved for it by P. L. 420.

Rusk also said that the problem basically was "for what purpose was American economic aid being provided and whether it would accomplish

the purposes for which it was provided".

For what purpose it was being provided was given out by the NEW WORK TIMES on November 3. Reporting the administration's decision to give another parity instalment of PL 480 wheat, the paper said that the US government would not make any long-term commitments to India regarding food.

The report added that the US administration's object in holding back long-term food commitments was to divert the emphasis in Indian planning from industry to agriculture. Does anybody need any more proof of the aims of US "aid"?

Here is something more about what PL 480 is and what it aims at: It was in the 83rd session of the US Congress in 1954 that the "Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act" was codified. This is what we know as Public Law 480. Its aim was to give legal sanction by the US Congress to the sale of surplus agricultural commodities to "friendly" countries.

The forward to this Act made it clear that it was "an Act to increase the consumption of United States agricultural commodities in foreign countries to improve foreign relations of the United States and for other purposes".

Further, it was meant "to promote the economic stability of American agriculture and the national welfare, to make

maximum efficient use of surplus agricultural commodities in furtherance of the foreign policy of the United States and to stimulate and facilitate the expansion of foreign trade in agricultural commodities produced in the United States". (Emphasis added.)

So, PL 480 had a double aim: it wanted to take two birds with one shot: disposing off surplus agricultural commodities to help the rich farmers and at the same time furthering the US foreign policy in all parts of the world.

No wonder that the State Department recently took over all control of PL 480 disbursements from the hands of the Agriculture Department run by Orville Freeman, friend and mentor of S. K. Patil.

The aim of furthering the imperialist foreign policy of the US is gaining the upper hand over stabilising US agriculture and that is why the State Department has taken over control.

Not that it has not been doing it before: only it wants more to be sure that the aims are being fully realised. Subtly, alas, cannot be the prime trait of the Texas ranger!

Even after all this, the government signed an agreement for five lakh tonnes of PL 480 wheat only on November 4. Even plain talk, unfortunately, does not bring our leaders to their senses.

—P. V. Parakal

Comment

PRESIDENT'S RULE IN KERALA

PRESIDENT'S rule in Kerala has been extended for another six months. While there is no room for surprise, the decision to continue to deny the people of Kerala the right to elect and be governed by their own representatives would be regretted and condemned by all democrats in the country.

The Congress with the help of its compact majority in Parliament has been able to enforce its will, but it was the Opposition which wanted to uphold democratic principles and it is no mean thing that the parties facing the treasury benches fought vigorously for these principles, even though they could not hope to win. There is therefore the claim to moral victory.

On the other hand, the government's decision to extend President's rule in the state only adds to its own disreputable record of bungling with the affairs of Kerala, where Congress failure to keep itself in power through normal election processes is sought to be condoned by keeping the power in central hands.

And the politically conscious electorate of Kerala who have rejected the Congress Party, not once but repeatedly, are being penalised for it. Any talk of Constitutional provisions in this context is meaningless and it should be clear even to the densest in the Congress Party that their move is to set political expediency above Constitutional propriety or principles.

The Opposition had unassailable arguments against extending the President's rule. The Governor's report, which could not even distinguish between leaders of political parties and yet was made the basis for the decision, cannot alter the fact that the so-called search for "political stability" in the state is a search for Congress stability in power. In short, Parliament and the people of the state have been treated with scant respect.

It is hypocritical to say that no party would emerge strong enough to run the government in the state, if an election is held now, particularly since the non-Congress parties were not given a chance to try their hands at forming a Ministry after the last election. Not even the most astute politician could always foresee clearly in which direction the people would turn in an election, and certainly not A. P. Jain in Kerala.

The fact to be noted is that except for the Congress, all other parties in the state had told the Governor that they do not favour continuation of President's rule. What is perhaps therefore clear in the present situation is that the Congress will not get a majority if elections are held in Kerala now, in spite of the slight edge it may have over its rivals because of people's willingness to condone many of the lapses of the party in power in an emergency.

Meanwhile, the accumulated problems of Kerala—the result of neglected development in successive Five Year Plans—await solution and a continuation of President's rule could prove more disastrous for the state in that respect. Only an elected government and legislature can be responsive to the people's needs and get their cooperation in the task of carrying out the development plans.

(November 8)

—K. U. WARIER

For An Independent Democratic Economy-II

Defence Orientation: Implications, Tasks

A self-reliant, democratic economy can be built in India in the course of the next five to seven years. The objective basis for it exists in the achievements of planning up-to-date. The people are bursting to go ahead in that direction. The Soviet Union and friendly socialist countries are on hand to help. Yet, the government dithers and delays, betraying a criminal lack of will at a moment of exceptional crisis and opportunity.

D. K. Rangnekar has put it well: "There is, indeed, a growing feeling that New Delhi is not making full use of its opportunities created by the reawakening of the national sentiment. One gets the impression that opportunities are actually regarded as problems and not simply opportunities...."

"Take the question of aid or self-reliance. Every top leader threatens to do without foreign aid and yet almost the entire diplomatic effort today is intended to save the country from this threat. The public is exhorted to become self-reliant and yet the main effort is concentrated on negotiations for imports. PL-480 is roundly condemned and accused and yet PL-480 agreements are what the Food Ministry seems to be waiting for" (ECONOMIC TIMES November 6).

Such a mentality can only be called a fear of freedom. The government and the class it represents are well aware that self-reliance can be attained but they are extremely nervous as to the way to attain it—anti imperialism abroad and democratic structural change inside the country.

Unpalatable Decisions

It has been reported that the Finance Minister has told his cabinet colleagues that "if the worst comes to the worst and foreign aid is drastically curtailed, it will still be possible for the country to pull through... For this it would be necessary to take some politically unpalatable decisions" (ECONOMIC TIMES, October 17).

It is around these "politically unpalatable decisions" that a severe struggle will develop in the coming months. The right forces have already worked out their strategy. It has two pillars.

The first is to try desperately, for as long as possible to put off any change in course. This is the only meaning behind S. K. Patil's dishonest optimism that the United States will resume PL-480 on the old basis, that the "suspended aid" will start flowing again, that the British also "appreciate" our stand and have "repledged" their "aid" and that Shastri's kowtow to Johnson will consummate the process of stabilising the status quo.

In this connection, the right mounts a propaganda campaign that the socialist countries cannot give all the aid we need and that China's involvement makes this aid uncertain in any case.

The second is to insist that if there has to be any change in policy it should be to rely more on private foreign investment (on November 5 the Finance Ministry spokesman "foresees a more important role for private foreign investment"); to bring the monopolists into the field of agricultural production and defence industries (the FICCI has logically been emphasising both points); to decentralise the economy as much as possible (cement decontrol is due to go through on January 1, 1966 with a 25 per cent price to begin with and with the Prime Minister's special blessing); to lead lack of funds and ask for relaxed credit controls, tax concessions as well as direct government subsidy (the textile mills' "cloth crisis", Tata's demand for a Rs. 100 crore "loan" for steel production expansion and the share markets' constant clamor for a shot-in-the-arm are cases in point).

In short, the policy is to let "men and money loose" as M. R. Masani suggests, borrowing the phrase from West Germany's Erhard. Incidentally,

the latest World Bank report has also insisted that the Indian government take the country still further in the direction of its concept of a "free market" economy.

Unless, the democratic movement as a whole, including Congressmen and important Congress leaders, quickly intervenes in the situation, the national economy may well get twisted in a reactionary direction under the sign-board of "defence orientation" and "self-reliance". These aims will not be reached but a situation will be created which will facilitate neocolonialist penetration at not so distant a date.

The democratic intervention can however make sense to the vast masses only if it is based on a recognition of the two fundamental facts: our sovereignty is, in all truth, threatened by powerful imperialist forces operating through Pakistan and by China's hegemonistic ambitions; that a good basis exists to rapidly surge towards economic independence. It is on this basis alone that a genuine national movement can be built for radical democratic change.

We can take our defence need, therefore, as our point of departure.

Here again, political decisions are of supreme importance. We have to make it a part of a national decision that India will not either give up or go beyond the boundaries where she exercised territorial and administrative sovereignty prior to Chinese and Pakistani aggression. Marginal adjustments can be made through direct negotiations, together with the help of friendly powers.

India is not out to establish some sort of "military presence" in Asia; not to interfere in the internal affairs of other states. It has no intention of competing with China or Pakistan in this respect. This has to be made amply clear in some form of a national declaration.

Absurd Clamour of Rightists

Only such a declaration will put an end to the absurd clamour by both right and some left parties that India should help to "liberate" Tibet or that she should go in for "atomic armament". Such a course would be politically ruinous and economically disastrous. Our aim is to defend ourselves and to repulse aggression—nothing more and nothing less.

The expansion and improvement of our armed forces has to proceed on this fundamental premise and so must our strategy and tactics. Obviously, the detailed implementation of this approach will be a matter for discussion at an appropriate place and level.

It should be realised, in this context, that defence and development are both competitive and complementary. Defence needs act both as a spur to and as a burden on rapid economic advance.

Without industrial development there can be no modern defence. Steel, oil, special steels, non-ferrous metals, electronics, engineering, transport, and skilled manpower are prime needs of both processes. Recent discussion in India has made all this abundantly clear. The pre-war Soviet experience also confirms this truth.

At the same time, there is no point in overlooking the tremendous strain that this simultaneous growth imposes. An underdeveloped economy is a scarcity economy and it would be far pre-

ferable to use all the resources available for peaceful development.

Take our defence expenditure:

| | (Rs. Crores) Total Revenue Expenditure | Revenue defence Expenditure | Total Capital Expenditure | Capital Defence Expenditure |
|-------------|---|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| First Plan | 1922.97 | 895.67 | 476.25 | 42.35 |
| Second Plan | 3342.87 | 1178.21 | 1855.05 | 52.45 |
| Third Plan | 7687.19 | 2884.54 | 3617.44 | 341.53 |

Defence expenditure forms about five per cent of the total national income and has risen steeply in the past three years. Dr. K. N. Raj has pointed out in his Nalanda lectures (January 1965) that there was a Rs. 1,000 crore investment rise during the Third Plan while defence expenditure rose by Rs. 525 crores from 1960-61 to 1963-64. And out of a national output increase in the same period of roughly Rs. 1,400 crores, defence took up as much Rs. 525 crores.

It is true that a part of this expenditure can, at a later stage, be converted to civilian use—engineering capacity, aircraft production, trucks,

*****by*****
* * * * *
MOHIT SEN
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jeeps and skilled manpower. But it should also be remembered that a good deal of the expenditure has its end-product in the shape of weapons, apart from the present diversion of very scarce resources.

In 1962 a five-year defence plan went into operation. It was estimated to entail a cost of Rs. 5,000 crores with a foreign exchange component of Rs. 622 crores. The fighting with Pakistan is likely to push up the costs considerably. There is no official estimate yet available but knowledgeable circles claim that the losses suffered would be between Rs. 400 crores to Rs. 500 crores.

The bulk of the equipment lost is said to have been due to be scrapped, yet replenishment alone is reported to be likely to send defence expenditure up by another Rs. 200 crores at least, in the next financial year. In addition, there will have to be further expenditure on still more rapid modernisation, stockpiling spare parts, increasing the indigenous components of ordnance production and producing some items which we do not make at all at present.

It is heartening that from 1956-57 to 1961-62 our ordnance factories stepped up production from a value of Rs. 14.08 crores to Rs. 41.45 crores. Another big jump was made to Rs. 111.34 crores in 1963-64.

Value apart, there has been a big diversification of production which has speeded progress towards defence self-reliance. New types of aircraft, tanks, semi-automatic weapons, explosives, ammunition, trucks and jeeps are now being produced which India did not have only some seven years ago. No impartial person can possibly object to a tribute being paid here to V. K. Krishna Menon.

What is required is an intensification of this process. The modernisation of ordnance factories is estimated to cost Rs. 35.2 crores with a foreign exchange component of Rs. 15.2 crores. Six new ordnance factories are planned. New factories may well have to be set up to produce bomber aircraft, heavy tanks and ships of various

types which we do not have at all today.

There is a serious lag in the indi-

genous components in the Shakti-man trucks as well as Nissan carriers and jeeps, ranging from 65 to 72 per cent dependence on external sources. Defence electronics is still poorly developed as also the plant for the serial production of super-sonic aircraft.

It is still worse that for shares, maintenance as well as some new items the government decided to rely on the British and to a lesser extent, on the US. The turn to the socialist states was made very late and is still very half-hearted.

It can be safely estimated that insofar as we rely on external sources, in defence production as much as eighty per cent of this is on the Western imperialists. And this reliance to the extent of about 20 per cent of total defence production is in crucial sectors.

We have to change this orientation as rapidly as possible. The MIG complex has to be built well ahead of schedule. It is reported that insufficient urgency is being imparted to this project and it may not go into production, till after the Fourth Plan period is over.

Socialist Help Must Be Sought

Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union should be approached to help us to put a heavy tank factory and a bomber plant while Poland could be applied to for naval ship building, especially anti-submarine frigates. In addition, as much military hardware as possible should be bought on rupee-payment basis from the socialist countries as well as the UAR. Our indigenous engineering skill should be utilised to make the spares now being imported from the west. No patent rights, etc., should come in the way.

Finally, the government must not deviate an inch from reserving defence production exclusively for the public sector. S. L. Kirloskar, president of FICCI, has said that "even after the recent war the government had not realised the need to train the civil factories to produce specific military hardware and parts so that these civil factories could assist the ordnance factories in a shooting war" (TIMES OF INDIA, November 5).

Pandit Nehru had warned again and again that once the private sector invades defence, a powerful military industrial complex would get built which would spell ruin to India's democracy. Kirloskar's siren song should not deafen the government to the late Prime Minister's warning.

If the private monopolists are feeling the pinch of patriotism, let them declare their black money, gold and unaccounted foreign exchange which would help build enough defence factories.

And if they still insist on helping the public sector could requisition such private sector units as are likely to be useful especially in engineering. (TO BE CONTINUED)

Amritsar: Mills Still Closed, 50,000 Jobless

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

AMRITSAR: Amritsar and Chheharta had become symbols of the nation's determination to resist the Pakistani aggressors, but the government seems to have quickly forgotten the men and women who braved everything to make them so.

THE workers of Amritsar are facing acute unemployment because the employers have not restarted the mills closed during the active conflict.

About 1,500 industrial establishments in the city are kept closed ever since September 6. Some of those which did restart after the ceasefire have again closed down after finishing the raw materials they had stocked earlier.

Eighty per cent of these industrial units are closed; another 15 per cent working only partially. Only five per cent are fully working.

Out of the 50 thousand workers in these units, only 10 per cent can be said to be fully employed. Seventy-five per cent is totally unemployed, 15 per cent partially employed.

In the units which are working largescale retrenchment, victimisation and dismissals are taking place. And this in clear violation of the tripartite truce resolution adopted at a state-level meeting on September 20.

Many of the employers are planning to move their undertakings out from Amritsar. Some of them have already started shifting the machinery in their factories.

Ineffective Loans

Many times the dire distress of the unemployed workers and the problems of the industry were brought to the notice of the state government, but no action has been forthcoming. The steps so far taken by the government are totally inadequate.

In place of giving grants to the unemployed workers, the government has announced loans. And that too, to the employers who on their own responsibility have to siphon it to the workers. This responsibility the employers are not prepared to undertake, with the result that the workers have never got any of the loans.

A memorandum submitted to Prime Minister Shastri by the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union, Amritsar, has listed several steps to bring relief to the industry as well as provide help to the suffering workers.

The memorandum demanded that all industrial units in Amritsar be covered under compulsory war risk insurance. Production should be defence-oriented, so that an assured market for the products might be created. This is easy with woollen, art silk and engineering industries in the city.

INDIAN COPPER IS IN S. AFRICAN HANDS!

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: Copper today is as precious as gold. It is one of the essential raw materials in defence production. Unfortunately India is desperately short of copper.

There is only one copper producing company in India today and that is the Indian Copper Corporation. But there is absolutely nothing Indian about it.

Look up the Bulletin of the Geological Survey of India for 1962 (released in 1964) which is the latest available. Turn to 55 of its volume on copper.

There you will find the cryptic statement that in 1931 the Indian Copper Corporation's technical management was handed over to the New Consolidated Goldfields SOUTH AFRICA Ltd. It adds that this still continues under their management.

Thus the only copper producing company, owning richest known copper deposits in India, is "technically managed" by the apartheid-loving India-hating South Africans.

Welensky's Supporter

Incidentally, the director of this company has been the open backer of Roy Welensky in Southern Rhodesia—the direct predecessor of Ian Smith.

Naturally, this company closed down its operations recently on the flimsy pretext of lack of zinc and tin (NEW AGE of October 24). There is no world shortage of these metals. Any sensible management would have kept sufficient reserves.

It also refused to set up a

As far as relief measures for the workers are concerned, the memo made the following points:

★ Cash grants should be given to the unemployed workers immediately through the Labour department. This should be continued till they get jobs.

★ Loans should be extended directly through the labour department.

★ Retrenchment, dismissal, reduction in wages, and such other anti-worker steps should be stopped forthwith. All those thus victimised should be reinstated.

★ Employees State Insurance Scheme and Workmen's Compensation Act should be amended to cover eventualities arising out of military operations including evacuation.

HUMBLE LINSEED, HOW HIGH CAN YOU SOAR?

From SHARAD KOTHARI

RAJNANDGAON: "Stop all other trades and start speculating in linseed; you can earn 150 per cent profit", this is the slogan of the traders in Chattisgarh today.

WHY this mad rush to trade in linseed futures? No mystery there; war or no war, emergency or no emergency, the traders are interested only in their profits.

There was a bumper linseed crop last year in Chhattisgarh area. Linseed is the second most important crop in the area too, next to rice.

The entire crop was cornered by the traders at Rs. 70 a quintal. Now this is being tossed from godown to godown at Rs. 135 a quintal. Insiders would tell you that the price will soon be Rs. 150 a quintal.

In the Bombay satta bazar, April delivery transactions in linseed have already been

made. These are transactions without the commodity, as linseed crop will be harvested only in summer.

This year, there is a crop failure. Prices are bound to go up still higher. And the effort of the traders, is to hoard as much as possible. Then start the imaginary deals, with the creation of completely unreal price structure.

The Bombay satta bazar has come to Chattisgarh itself. The camp office is a small town, Dongargarh. Most of the Bombay traders in linseed have opened their offices in this wayside station on the South-Eastern Railway.

From there, the menace is spreading in all directions in the area. First to the towns, and now even to villages; for, the crop has to be bargained and pocketed at the lowest possible price and this can be done if the farmers are approached sufficiently early.

Banks are also helping the business. The current rate of bank advances is 50 per cent; if it is warehouses, then the advance can go upto 75 per cent even.

Small traders are being eaten up by bigger ones too. For, the small trader do not have the capacity to hold out enough. He has to sell, and rotate the cash if the business is to be run. The big traders have no such worries.

with a capacity of 16,000 tons. This is too small in itself but big enough to make things awkward for the proposed public sector smelter. The Government of India has sanctioned the South African management's scheme.

What it should actually do is to nationalise the company at once.

Jute Magnates Run Indian Finance Corpn, Says Chaliha

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: Industrial Finance Corporation is a Government of India concern with its offices in the Reserve Bank of India buildings in New Delhi. Its aim is to help industries with loans. But what is the jute magnates' hold on it?

THE question was posed here by none other than Chief Minister B. P. Chaliha. Chaliha claimed that the Indian Jute Mills Association dictates terms to the IFC—a sorry state of affairs indeed.

Chaliha certainly had enough reason to make the accusation. He had just returned from New Delhi empty handed, without getting the money needed for one of his own favourite projects.

The story which Chaliha told is shortly this:

The Assam government had been trying for years to establish a jute industry in the state. It persuaded farmers to plant jute and gave them incentives. But then it found that the jute millowners in Calcutta dictated the prices and that was ruinously low.

given shares worth Rs. 10 lakhs and so the company came into being.

This certainly was not enough capital to start a jute mill. So Chaliha approached the Industrial Finance Corporation for a loan. And then came the revelation of the real character of the IFC to the Assam Chief Minister.

In his own words, the IFC "insulted us as we applied for credit for the co-operative jute mill". To him it appeared that the government-controlled IFC was dominated by the jute magnates of the IJMA.

Chaliha approached the Union Finance Minister for help, but even there he could not get the cash, only a promise that T. T. Krishnamachari would try to get the credit sanctioned from the Reserve Bank of India.

Strange ways of ushering in "socialism" in the country! And still more strange, the revelation coming as it is from a Congress Chief Minister.

Attempts to market the jute produced in Assam through a cooperative marketing society failed because, of the stiff resistance put by the jute magnates, both Indian and foreign.

IJMA Does Its Bit

The government then invited some industrialists to put up a few jute mills in Assam itself. Since they dilly-dallied, the government sponsored a co-operative jute mill. The Calcutta jute millowners raised all sorts of objections to this project but Chaliha persisted.

The government took Rs. 25 lakhs worth of shares in the cooperative. The people were

DISRUPTION BY "MARXISTS"

CALCUTTA: Marxist Communists have started implementing their "revolutionary" line in the trade union field by disrupting united movement of the Calcutta workers for bonus.

At a united bonus rally on October 27 they heckled Ranen Sen and disturbed the meeting by rushing onto the platform. Their demand was that before anything is done, a resolution demanding release of detenues should be passed.

Such a resolution was on the agenda and the organisers announced when the meeting started that a resolution demanding release would be moved later. But that did not satisfy the Marxists.

This is not the first time that the Marxists have sought to disrupt BPTUC meetings by similar tactics. And it has led to many independent unions to stay away from the united rally though they agreed with its aims.

A FARCE IN THE NAME OF SEMINAR ON FOOD

ANDHRA

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: The two-day seminar on food and production sponsored by the state government last week succumbed to the fate of two previous seminars held in one month's time—silence on key issues and a silly attempt to show off Congress bosses' "concern" for "peasants".

The previous two "seminars" had been held, one in Hyderabad under the auspices of the Kisan Congress and the other in Vijayawada under the auspices of the government. The third one held last week was similarly a farcical show, where PCC Chief Thimma Reddy and Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy wanted to pose as saviours of peasants.

It provided yet another opportunity for Thimma Reddy to put out all his pet theories for the solution of the chronic problems in the agrarian sector. Only the real peasants and their real problems were forgotten.

Thus it was that apart from some minor things done, the seminar failed to tackle such pressing problems like the distribution of banjar lands, rural credit facilities etc.

When Rajasekhara Reddy, secretary of the Provincial council of CPI, raised the issue of rural credit, which is a crucial factor in the capital formation of middle and small peasants, the Chief Minister evaded it with a sigh that it was too

big an item for discussion and beyond our resources.

And so, notwithstanding all the talk about "peasants", it was made patently clear that those who were in the Congress picture were the vested interests in the rural sector. All emphasis was placed on irrigation facilities, exemption from permission to cut trees from Patta lands etc.

It is true that these are problems, but for few people, and there was no need to hold a seminar to discuss them only. They could as well have been posed before the concerned ministers when they tour the districts.

Then a major part of the time at the seminar was consumed by a jurisdictional wrangle between Zilla Parishads and PWD regarding repairs to irrigation sources like tanks!

Rajasekhara Reddy pointed out that the term 'seminar' was a misnomer for such sheer waste of time with no attempt to tackle basic problems of agrarian policy while taking

into account all the viewpoints.

The same impression was shared by representatives of other parties, save the Congress. Called without even an agenda, such "seminars", they felt, were of no use.

Meanwhile, as leading Congressmen enact this kind of drama, draught conditions which have gripped parts of the state have become graver. All parties in Anantapur district have jointly demanded tax remission and starting of relief works because of the serious draught conditions prevailing there.

The appeal is signed by T. Ramachandra Reddy, Zilla Parishad Chairman and Congress leader, I. Sadasivan, Communist MLC and M. Ramachandra Rao of PSP. A delegation of the Kurnool district council of the CPI, led by Poola Subblax, MLA has submitted a memorandum to the Chief Minister on the draught conditions.

CPI Says Form Punjabi State Without Delay

NEW DELHI: Communist Party has told the Parliamentary Committee on Punjab Suba that in the present political situation the question of forming a Punjabi-speaking state should not be kept pending for a long time. It is imperative to take a firm and quick decision.

IN a memorandum to the committee, on behalf of the National Council of the Party, Z. A. Ahmad has said that no sanctity is attached to the state and provincial boundaries inherited by free India from the British.

On the contrary, one of the most important tasks facing independent India has been that of redefining the boundaries of various states on linguistic basis. It is only in Punjab that this has not been done.

The experience of the present bilingual state of Punjab confirms the necessity and urgency of such reorganisation, the memo said.

positively against any such move.

★ That Kangra district and Una and Pathankot tahsils are Punjabi-speaking and should, therefore, form part of the Punjabi-speaking state. Himachal Pradesh being not a Punjabi-speaking area cannot obviously be included in the Punjabi-speaking state. Border adjustments with it may be made.

★ That the basis for re-demarcation of regions should be language, contiguity and with village as the unit.

★ That a boundary commission should be appointed forthwith to demarcate areas to be included in the Punjabi-speaking state and the Hindi-speaking Haryana Prant respectively.

It will virtually be a continuation of the present set up with all its negative aspects intact and would, therefore, be no solution at all. We are

ROTTEN ATTA GIVEN TO REFUGEES IN CAMP

From B. S. SARAO

CHANDIGARH: The hollowness of the claims of capitalists was exposed in the Punjab Assembly last week.

A Congress MLA, Shabbaz Singh, produced in the Assembly the rotten atta being supplied by the Jawala Flour Mills of Amritsar to the refugees in the Tarn Taran camp.

There was a furore over this and the government had to hastily announce an enquiry into the allegation to

soothe the feelings of the members.

The camp life is no honeymoon for the refugees either. The camps are overcrowded. Twenty persons are packed into tents 12 by 15 feet in the Patti camp.

Winter has set in, yet they have not been given any warm clothes. There is no dispensary worth the name. The quantity of wheat supplied is also inadequate and besides, they do not get anything else.

The behaviour of the officials in charge of the camp is also not what it should be.

HOTEL WORKERS GAIN DA: Bombay Tribunal's Award

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: The Industrial Tribunal, Bombay has ruled that it cannot refuse to make an award pertaining to the demand for dearness allowance put in by the employees of a city hotel, simply because the question of DA for all hotel employees in Bombay was pending before a committee appointed by the government.

The ruling was given by M. R. Meher, Industrial Tribunal, in his award on a dispute between the employees and management of Hotel Nataraj over the question of DA demanded by the employees.

The management was further directed to pay DA with effect from September 1, 1965 at the rate of Rs. 15 per

month to workmen drawing upto Rs. 100 per month and 15 per cent to employees drawing over Rs. 100 and upto Rs. 325 subject to a maximum of Rs. 30 per month.

In the course of his award, Meher stated that if the cost of food had gone up, as was contended by the management, the cost of living for workers' families had also gone up. He said he had calculated the burden of the DA awarded by him and it was well within the capacity of the concern to pay.

It was the contention of the management that the prices of essential commodities had gone up by leaps and bounds and the value of food supplied to hotel employees, fixed by the Minimum Wages Committee in July '1963, had risen by 100 per cent.

The Tribunal declared that the contention of the management that no award could be made because the committee was seized of the matter held no substance.

The Tribunal awarded DA to the employees at graded rates with retrospective effect from April 1, 1965—Rs. 12.50 to employees drawing a basic wage (excluding value of food and tips) upto Rs. 100 and 12½ per cent to employees drawing over Rs. 100 and upto Rs. 325, subject to a maximum of Rs. 25.

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NATIONAL PROTEST DAY AGAINST US BLACKMAIL

DEFENCE AND PEACE CONFERENCE GIVES LEAD FOR UNITED ACTION

BANGALORE: In every part of India, preparations will be started in the coming days for the observance of the National Day of Protest Against American Blackmail on November 27. The delegates who came from nearly every state in the country have gone back from the National Conference for the Defence of the Motherland and World Peace (held at Bangalore from November 5 to 8) determined to conduct an all-out campaign on the key issues on which the conference pronounced its unanimous views.

THE entire press in the host state noted the sharp anti-imperialist tone of the Conference, its determination to defend itself against all aggression. Several delegates rightly pointed out that the Conference which was sponsored by the All-India Peace Council, had placed the question of defence of the country in the right context of the world struggle against imperialism and for peace, and had shown vividly the fact that India's defence is part of the all-embracing struggle of all conti-

The platform of the inaugural session shows the foreign guests and members of the Conference Presiding Committee

nents for national independence and against war.

Before the Conference began there were friends who asked whether the title of the conference was not a contradiction in terms. Defence AND Peace? By the time the Conference concluded, all were convinced that the title was absolutely correct, so inextricable is the question of defence with that of world peace.



V. K. Krishna Menon

Nearly 500 delegates took part in the Conference, the great majority of course being from Mysore and the nearby states of Andhra, Kerala and Tamilnad.

At the concluding rally on November 8, former Defence Minister V. K. Krishna Menon summed up the spirit of the entire Conference, when he declared amidst thundering applause:

"THIS COUNTRY IS NOT FOR SALE. ITS FREEDOM IS NOT FOR SALE, PL 480 OR NO PL 480"

At the inaugural session all the speeches were in the same vein of resistance to efforts by the imperialist powers to pressurise and blackmail India. Dr. Anup Singh MP (Congress), who presided, Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, Leader of the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha, Arjun Arora MP (Congress), M. P. L. Sastri, MLC (Congress), who inaugurated the Conference, Romesh Chandra, Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya, MLA (Andhra—Independent), former Kerala Law Minister V. R. Krishna Iyer, B. J. Linga Gowda MLA (Mysore—Congress) and others who addressed the Conference, all concen-

trated on the key lessons of the Pakistani aggression for our people.

There was a remarkable unity of viewpoint on the fundamental questions of the struggle to defeat the imperialist conspiracy against India's sovereignty and integrity. (The text of the Conference Declaration is given on these pages).

The Conference was fortunate in having present as guests representatives of a number of countries. Among them were Clovis Maksoud, Ambassador of the Arab League in India, Martin Mora, Charge d'Affaires of the Cuban Embassy, Counsellor Orlov of the Soviet Embassy, Consul-General Fabik of Czechoslovakia, and Polish Cultural Attache Spyla.

Their very presence was a source of inspiration and their friendly speeches in the various functions connected with the Conference were greatly appreciated.

A special meeting was organised on November 7 in honour of the 48th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, which was addressed by Counsellor Orlov, Dr. T. K. Dayalu, Chairman of the Conference Reception Committee, and Peace Council General Secretary Chitta Biswas. But it was not only on this occasion that warm tributes were paid by the conference to the friendship of the Soviet Union for India.

A special message was sent to the Soviet Peace Committee, congratulating the Soviet Government and people on their National Day. Nearly every speaker referred to the immense support given to India at all times by the Soviet Union. The main declaration of the Conference had this to say:



Counsellor Orlov

"This Conference expresses its gratitude to the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries for their disinterested assistance in building India's national economy and defence potential, without any political strings."

Speaker after speaker stressed the fact that the Soviet Union had

all along taken a principled stand on the question of Kashmir and had, during the last 18 years, prevented the imperialists from carrying out their nefarious schemes in



Clovis Maksoud

regard to Kashmir in the Security Council and elsewhere. Today too it was the firm stand taken by the Soviet Union, which had prevented the imperialists from bringing the so-called Kashmir question once more to the Security Council, and thereby making room for imperialist intervention against India.

While the main attention of the Conference was naturally devoted to the urgent questions affecting the nation, considerable time was also spent on discussions of the most immediate world issues: Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and Cuba, Aden, Rhodesia, Congo, Palestine, the Portuguese Colonies, Puerto Rico, South Africa.

Strong and forthright resolutions of solidarity with the peoples of these countries battling against imperialism, colonialism and racialism were adopted unanimously.

The resolution on Disarmament reiterated in particular the view that the policy of not manufacturing the atom bomb is in the best interests of India.

Another resolution urged the diplomatic recognition by India of the German Democratic Republic.

The Conference extended its support to the coming Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Conference to be held in Havana from January 3. It was decided to observe the week beginning January 3 as the Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Week all over the country.

The Conference sent a message to the democratic forces in Pakistan who are increasingly asserting themselves "against the Ayub dictatorship and imperialist control over Pakistan, through SEATO and CENTO". In a moving reference to the bonds which tie the people of India and Pakistan together, the Conference said:

"The Indian people look up on the people of Pakistan as their brothers. We come from the same stock, speak the same languages, have fought together for our independence. Today too when the imperialist powers have instigated aggression against India by the Ayub dictatorship, the Indian people have again and again asserted that they have no quarrel with the people of Pakistan with whom they seek to live in peace and brotherhood."

At the inaugural session itself, a message was sent to the World Council of Peace, expressing ap-



Hiren Mukherjee

preciation of the "unequivocal stand taken by it in regard to Indo-Pakistan relations". Arjun Arora MP, moving the resolution gave a detailed account of this stand, based on principle and on opposition to war and imperialism, embodied in the communique adopted recently by the Executive Committee of the World Council.



V. R. Krishna Iyer inaugurating the seminar. Seated: Arjun Arora MP, Litto Ghosh, Anup Singh MP.

at its meeting in Malmo (Sweden). The Conference stated:

"This communique is undoubtedly a most powerful support to the forces of peace and of resistance to aggression. It has been hailed by the widest sections of our people as an outstanding contribution to peace, and a clear-cut condemnation of the imperialist-backed conspiracy against India."

A Seminar organised during the Conference, discussed the following questions: measures to strengthen India's foreign policy of non-alignment, anti-imperialism and world peace; steps to increase self-reliance in India's economy; steps for the building up of India's independent defence potential.

The All-India Peace Council session held during the Conference discussed several important organisational matters, including that of the future structure and organisation of the World Council of Peace. A report on this important issue which is now being discussed all over the world by national peace committees, was

presented by Romesh Chandra, and broadly endorsed after various suggestions and proposals had been made.

A new Presidential Committee of the All-India Peace Council was elected of eminent leaders from different parts of the country. Among them are Members of Parliament like Diwan Chaman Lall, K. D. Malaviya, Arjun Arora, Anup Singh, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir and Akbar Ali Khan and other well-known leaders of the peace movement like Sahib Singh Sokhey, Mulk Raj Anand, V. R. Krishna Iyer, Balraj Sahni, Romesh Chandra, Gurbaksh Singh, Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya, Director Subramaniam, Maharaj Jagjit Singh Namdhari and others.

Chitta Biswas was re-elected General Secretary of the All-India Peace Council, and Litto Ghosh and Om Prakash Paliwal, Secretaries.

Diwan Chaman Lall and Romesh Chandra will represent India in the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace.

BANGALORE DECLARATION

THE National Conference for the Defence of the Motherland and World Peace meeting in Bangalore from November 5 to 8, 1965, solemnly affirms its adherence to the basic policies to which the Indian people are dedicated—the policies of peace, nonalignment and anti-imperialism, of secularism, democracy and socialism...

The aggression by Pakistani armed personnel on August 5 and the events which followed it have clearly demonstrated to our people the anti-Indian bias and hostility of the U.S. and British Governments. Our people shall never forget that the Pakistani aggressors depended completely for military equipment on the US and British governments and on their CENTO and SEATO partners...

The Chinese government, by lending its full support to Pakistan's armed aggression and by increasing tension on the India-China border, has only poured oil on the fire lit by the aggression. The opportunist role of the Chinese government in aligning itself with the pro-imperialist Ayub dictatorship, which keeps Pakistan tied to imperialist military pacts, has thoroughly exposed its pretensions to be in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism.

The key lesson of the Pakistani aggression is that it would be utterly suicidal for this nation to place its reliance on any form of assistance or co-operation from the US and British Governments. The post cease-fire events have provided added confirmation of this fundamental lesson...

The US and British governments are today engaged in secretly re-equipping Pakistan with the arms and equipment it lost during its aggression. This is being done by directing CENTO member governments like Turkey and Iran to divert arms and equipment to Pakistan.

Further, the US government has sought to use India's lack of self sufficiency in food for purposes of blackmail. The food supplies under PL 480 have always been used by the US government for pressurising the recipients to conform to its political and military requirements. Today PL 480 wheat has become an instrument to compel this

country to surrender to the US manoeuvres for control over the strategic valley of Kashmir.

The Indian people are united in their determination to resist and fight back imperialist blackmail. They shall never go with a beggar's bowl to any imperialist government. This would be a surrender of their sovereignty and national self-respect. They can never tolerate any interference by foreign powers in India's internal affairs.

This conference is fully convinced that our real contribution to the security of world peace also lies in the successful defence of the Motherland against all imperialist intrigues.

This conference expresses its gratitude to the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries for their disinterested assistance in building India's national economy and defence potential without any political strings.

This conference notes with great satisfaction the nationwide support for the demand to quit the commonwealth, and the conference calls for the further intensification of this movement.

This conference calls for a widespread campaign to expose and condemn Chinese opportunism, incendiary and aggressive threats against India.

This conference calls for launching the widest possible movement against imperialist blackmail. It calls for the building up of an independent and self-reliant economy and defence potential free from dependence on imperialist powers.

It also calls upon the government to take stringent and drastic measures against the monopolists, the black-marketers and hoarders who seek to utilise the present situation for their own narrow ends and thereby prevent the total mobilisation of our people for the defence of the Motherland.

The conference calls for the observance of November 27, as a NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST AGAINST AMERICAN BLACKMAIL, a day devoted to the exposure of the imperialist intrigues against India and to the strengthening of the policy of non-alignment, anti-imperialism and peace.



A section of the audience at the Conference Seminar

Communist Motion On PM's U.S. Trip: Shastri Keeps Mum

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

WITH the war clouds still hanging perilously on the Indo-Pak horizon, Parliament's winter session assembled last week amidst seething excitement and expectation.

There were as many as seven adjournment motions tabled on the opening day by Opposition members, beginning with the Communist move for clarification by the government of its contradictory postures on Prime Minister's US visit.

Communist leader Hiren Mukherjee broke the ice with a forceful and succinct appeal to Shastri to let Parliament know what the truth was in relation to government's future course of action.

The Prime Minister was keeping Parliament in the dark by saying "yes" and "no" at the same time ("like a coy and shy maiden") to the question of his visit to Washington.

move to debate the Indus Waters payment by India.

The Speaker in his wisdom chose to allow Members to say a few words to elucidate their adjournment motions, but felt unable to admit any of them.

He provided the House once again with the criterion which he proposed to apply regarding the admissibility of adjournment motions—and it was a stiff one indeed. The issue embodied in an adjournment move must be urgent and important enough to necessitate its immediate discussion lest the delay results in serious damage to the country.

It was clear to the Speaker, despite some opposition members' dissenting views, that none of the adjournment motions stood the rigours of this test.

It was now for Prime Minister Shastri himself to come forward to inform Parliament about developments in relation to the Indo-Pak conflict and the prospects.

And he did make a long statement in both Houses which can aptly be described

as a tabulation of information and facts since Parliament recessed after its earlier session.

The Prime Minister, in short, set the record straight, but he said very little by way of a policy declaration. There was nothing in his speech to indicate what perspective the government set before the country in relation to the conflict with Pakistan and the means it sought to end the stalemate.

Parliament and the country were warned that Pakistan

to India's friends, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries was not difficult to notice.

As such, the Shastri performance brought down the barometer of expectations in Parliament rather rapidly. Instead of awareness of the situation and a new consciousness, the speech instilled a sort of dullness which may prove dangerous in the present context.

The first few days of Parliament's session have been marred by a severe mauling

anyone who backs a Governor's Report which describes Communist leaders Rajeswara Rao and G. Adhikari as PSP leaders.

When Hiren Mukherjee brought this astounding fact before the House, the Home Minister's representative Jalsukhlal Nathi wanted to pass it off as a sort of printing error—it should have been the SSP instead of the PSP!

An unparalleled disgrace for the wisdom and knowledge of government leaders indeed, that they did not even know the affiliations of some of the best known political leaders of this country.

The Communist member from Kerala P. K. Vasudevan Nair tore to shreds the remaining pretensions of the government to have given Kerala a good administration.

With a large number of leading Marxist Communists thrown in jails, the Kerala administration's other main achievement was the accentuation of the food crisis to an unbearable extent, he said.

Nair's demand for the ending of President's rule and early elections seemed to echo the predominant sentiment of the opposition.

IN PARLIAMENT

was preparing for another round of infiltrations in Kashmir but the implications and policies for meeting the serious challenge were evaded.

The most notable omission in Shastri's statement was the absence of any reference to his proposed Washington trip. A studied avoidance of any reference

which the government has received for its performance in Kerala.

The Governor's Report depicting the doings of the Presidential regime brought forth both sarcasm and biting criticism from the opposition benches, with very little support from the Government's own supporters.

And how could there be

CPI Leader Sets Tone

Hiren Mukherjee's intervention set a new tone to the session. There will be unity, indeed, across the party benches in so far as national defence was concerned. But let this not be taken to mean any hesitation on the part of the Communist opposition to expose mistakes and wrong policies followed by the government.

The end of a tacit bipartisanship which had emerged during the days of the war emergency was also writ large in other adjournment motions tabled by opposition members.

SSP member Kisan Patnaik sought urgent discussion in the Lok Sabha on the food crisis which gripped large parts of the country. Then there was the

Mass Theatre, Calcutta—Drama With Purpose

LAST week lovers of drama in the capital had the rare opportunity of witnessing three beautiful Bengali plays presented by Calcutta's Mass Theatre. Credit for organising the drama festival goes to the Delhi branch of the Indian People's Theatre Association.

The Mass Theatre, led by one of Calcutta's more talented actors Jnanesh Mukherjee, has set before itself the objective of devoting itself to "a single, large purpose in life: to elevate and entertain the public by a high form of art; to expound the hidden spiritual beauties in the writings of geniuses".

In its urge for the latter perhaps it staged the play, "Sakuntala Roy"—an adaptation of Ibsen's Hedda Gabler—on the very first night.

Notwithstanding the powerful portrayal of a complicated character by Deepika Das, Sakuntala Roy remained very much different from, if not alien to, Indian characters. One always felt as if a Western lady clad in a sari and speaking an Indian language was trying to fit into the Indian panorama.

This of course raised a few questions: can such adaptations do justice either to the author of the original title or to the national tradition; does it help the healthy growth of a theatre movement in the country; is it not better to translate masterpieces and present them in their proper context?

If one were to forget this touch of artificiality, the play was gripping all through, thanks to the graceful acting of Deepika Das and Jnanesh Mukherjee. The other artists also faithfully portrayed the characters they were supposed to put forth.

"Arena" on the other hand came out in bold contrast. Here the story was woven round the joys and sorrows of the circus artistes (Did the artistes have an affinity with them?)—a life which is not familiar to the common man.

The playwright, Partha Bhandopadhyay has made a unique contribution to Bengali drama by bringing on to the stage the lives of circus artistes, whose rise and fall in the arena are like that of meteors: As soon as age grips them they are thrown out of the arena into oblivion.

Human Aspirations

The aspirations and human problems of the men and women of the "Great National Circus" are both commonplace and peculiar. Apart from the romances, sorrows, joys of Nayanara and Natabar, Rasakanta and Kamini, Ranjan and Gulabi, Mohanlal, Arati, Raju and the clown Bhandu, it symbolically presents the ruthless oppression and exploitation by proprietor Jiban Master, an ex-revolutionary, and the ultimate revolt of all the artistes against him.

This drama, staged with almost perfect teamwork of some 30 characters, intelligent stage setting

and light effects will be cherished by all those who witnessed it.

Though all the characters, irrespective of whatever role they had, were portrayed effectively, Deepika Das's Nayanara, Haridas Chatterjee's Raju, Jnanesh Mukherjee's Natabar, Guruprasad Mu-

DRAMA

herjee's Jiban Master, Rasaraj Chakravarty's Rasakanta and Partha Banerjee's Ramayya deserve special mention.

Deepika Das, whose panther-like movements as the circus queen in "Arena" charmed the audience, reverted again into a sophisticated young woman in "Char Prakar", the third play.

Char Prakar, set in the background of a projected dam site, portrays how the profit motive of individuals thwart the honest patriotic attempts of young talent in national reconstruction. It is undoubtedly the most mature production of the group.

It depicts the events of a single night and through it seeks to reflect the corruption and intrigues of the profiteers—in this case Susanta Mukherjee as a business magnate—and the heroic struggle of an engineer—Samiran Chatterjee, son-in-law of Mukherjee—against threats and pressures put on him. Alongside this main theme runs

a parallel theme of love and conflict of a Santhal couple, Jhagru and Mungli, and it goes to give sharp relief to the conflicts between Samiran and his wife Chirita. The drama ends on an optimistic note in the victory of the honest engineer.

As Chirita, Deepika Das again proved herself capable of bring on stage characters widely, at variance with each other. Jnanesh also proved to be an actor with wide capabilities: his Susanta was so much at variance with his Natabar of the previous day. Sabita Banerjee as Mungli, Rasaraj Chakravarty as the contractor and Partha Banerjee did their roles well.

In all the three plays, the magic spell of lighting was directed by Tapas Sen. Stage settings were by Partha Banerjee and music by Purnendu Roy.

Mass Theatre is no believer of art for art's sake. It has a message to deliver to the people, and that message is delivered boldly. It is about the evils now haunting the society and the struggle against them. It points out which way to take to get rid of the evils and achieve the good of the people.

The bold tradition of Bengali drama, enriched as it is by Madhusudan Dutta, Girish Chandra Ghosh, D. L. Roy, Tagore and Bengal IPTA, has been carried forward by this group of young artists. We are sure they will get a better reception when they come to the capital next time.

INDO-PAK CONFLICT: POINTS TO REMEMBER

The entire country is busy drawing lessons from the recent Indo-Pak war. This is particularly necessary in view of the uneasy nature of the ceasefire and the reality of the danger of the war breaking out again. An attempt is being made in this article to highlight certain aspects which have not received sufficient attention.

THE present civil defence organisation was set up when the Chinese Army attacked the northern borders of our country in October 1962. Its efficiency was tested for the first time when the American-equipped Pak army launched its attack against India.

Nowhere else was the CDO on test as severely as in Amritsar and Chheharta when the American-gifted Pakistani planes bombed the civilian population.

The common people of Chheharta, the activists of the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union and the Istri Sabha, those who manned the first aid post, the rural health service—they did a wonderful job. By their courage and prompt action they saved many lives.

CDO-Men Were Missing

But those who had been put in charge of the civil defence organisation in Chheharta—post warden, deputy post warden, wardens deputy wardens and the like—they were most conspicuous by their absence at the time of need. The reason is not far to

seek. People were taken into the civil defence organisation not on the basis of their record of devotion and service to the people in difficult times. It was on the recommendation of high-ups in the ruling party. Many came to join the CDO thinking that it would add to their "importance".

Men and women who had always stood by the people, in the most difficult times even, were not even approached because of political discrimination.

The lesson is obvious. Narrow party prejudices must be set aside by the ruling party and the officialdom if our defence and civil defence is to be strengthened.

That the Congress leaders and bureaucratic officials are not going to learn this lesson easily was seen by their attitude on a number of questions even when the war was on. Here is an example:

When curfew was imposed in Amritsar and Chheharta, night curfew passes were issued in thousands to the Congress and Jan Sangh leaders to be distributed as they pleased. The Communist Party was refused this facility even though it wanted passes only for

areas where it was admittedly very strong. The Party's suggestion that night curfew passes be issued on the recommendation of the municipal commissioners of the areas concerned, irrespective of their party affiliations, was also not accepted. Even in case of Chheharta curfew passes were refused except in the case of municipal commissioners and that too for a week only.

ple in time of war stood out sharply in the border towns during the brief Indo-Pak conflict. A few examples will illustrate the point.

It took about ten days to get some highly inflammable material removed from a place which could be bombed. The matter had to be taken up with a number of officials one after the other,

By SATYAPAL DANG

The entire policy regarding curfew passes was governed not by the needs of security and vigilance, but with a view to boost up the Congress and the Jan Sangh—it did not matter if the passes went into the hands of undesirable elements; it did not matter if vital areas remained unguarded.

How distrust of people and complete reliance on the bureaucracy can lead to serious dangers for the

and with at least one minister.

From the first day of the war on the Wagah border, the need for proper and adequate civil defence measures in factories and mills was pointed out to the officials as also ministers. Hardly anything was done till the last day of the war, when Chheharta was bombed resulting in heavy losses, both in men and material.

One official expressed help-

lessness: "I have been to the factory owners again and again. They just don't do anything. Things will take place only if Defence of India Rules are used to force them to do the needful." And this, the government has consistently refused to do.

The government has been talking a lot about increasing production in view of the war and the danger of war. But the bourgeoisie and its government have proved totally incapable of even continuing to run the industries which are existing in the border areas. This is exactly what is happening in Amritsar.

Petrol was given freely to the rich men—millowners, big traders and their ilk to send out of Amritsar their wives, their children and their valuables. Cars were allowed to be sent away, and the rich men themselves started moving out.

Role Of Banks

Banks, concerned first and foremost with their own profits, put the squeeze on the mills. This hit the industry very hard and the government did not do anything to save it from a crisis of finances.

Later on the banks "agreed" to remove the squeeze and even to liberalise credit facilities—but only for existing accounts of the big mills. They just refused to give credit facilities to the smaller units which normally used to depend on ordinary credit market and which had by that time totally dried up.

Marketing difficulties had arisen for the industry. The government has not done anything to relieve it. So far it has not taken any steps even to make the Amritsar woollen and textile industry defence-oriented, which it can easily do.

The result is that more than 75 percent of the industrial units in Amritsar are lying closed even today. More than a month and a half has passed since the ceasefire, but they have not been restarted.

Millowners are doing all they can to pass on the whole burden on the workers. Factories have just been closed down without paying any retrenchment compensation to the workers. Some workers have not been paid even their August wages.

The experience of Amritsar brings out sharply the lesson that production is not safe in the hands of the bourgeoisie and with a government which is under their thumb. This endangers not only the vital interest of the workers—their very lives—but also the defence of the country.

All democratic parties, groups and persons including patriotic Congressmen must unitedly raise their voice against the narrow class policies of the government and force it to revise them.

—BHIMA

SWATANTRA—SANGH PL 480 POLITICKING

THE movement for self-reliance, especially the demand to cut out the detested American PL 480 food "aid", has caught the people's imagination. It is a movement which is getting into stride.

It is fascinating however to watch the reaction of the right-wing pro-imperialist parties and elements to this movement. The Swatantra and their fellow travellers in the Congress—a la Sadoba Patil—are dead scared.

They are dead scared that this bond of slavery—this shame-faced American "aid"—which Washington effectively uses time and again to bring about Indian compliancy and for all.

The Washington patriots are scared of the logic of this movement for economic self-reliance and independence, since the emerging pattern can hardly be to their liking.

The banks—to take one example. Self-reliance will necessitate that this important institution be nationalised. (The CPI, they notice dreadfully, has already given the sloan!) A horrifying spectre indeed. And so they work feverishly to seek alternative paths.

One by one the Big Berthas of Americanism in this land are being put onto the field. At the moment, the biggest hope is being pinned on the two stalwarts, S. K. Patil and G. D. Birla, who have been shutting about on an assortment of missions.

Patil's return from Washington is being watched with bated breaths. G.D. is already back with his message of "friendship abounding" in the "States". G.D. cannot be taken lightly because he commands the dollar-studded magic wand.

Word is going round that G.D. may soon take another trip to Washington after Sadoba is back. It will be a follow up mission to see that India's Prime Minister is lead up the garden path to the White House.

The picture, however, is not all in the black. There are a few red spots too, which look quaint and "curious". The most quaint of these is the Jan Sangh's moves to demand an end to PL 480 food aid.

The other day there was a demonstration before the American embassy in New Delhi with some of the participants carrying wheat grown in pots and pans. Slogans against PL 480 abounded in this Sangh-sponsored demonstration.

A change of heart, is it? Oh, no. Just another game on the political chess-board. The Jan Sangh leaders have shown that they are not entirely rigid, they can exercise some resilience. To go with the people's mood—that is the point.

The Jan Sangh, for instance, is just as vehemently opposed to the nationalisation of banks as the Swatantras. Not a word about it! But a little

SPOT
LIGHT

tub-thumping against PL 480 can be accommodated.

Moreover, this can be a double-edged weapon. It can be effectively used to bring the Swatantras down on their knees and made to sign a more reasonable electoral arrangement for the next general elections. The moves are already on in two important states, Gujarat and Rajasthan.

In the former, it is the Swatantra which has so long held the edge against the Jan Sangh, and the Congress still continues to be the chief rival of both. Here, the Jan Sangh may well be satisfied with a more equitable distribution of the loaves and fishes of Assembly and Parliament seats.

Behind-the-scene negotiations are already on between the pro-PL 480 Swatantra and the supposedly anti-PL 480 Jan Sangh.

But in Rajasthan it is a different story. Here is a state which the Jan Sangh can well aspire to "conquer". Not the Congress alone, but the Swatantra of Gayatri Devi is a major rival. So the PL 480 campaign can be more handy in the sands of feudal bastions in Rajasthan.

A high-powered effort is being put in by the Jan Sangh leaders in this state and the two reactionary parties are currently engaged in subtle manoeuvring.

The Jan Sangh unit of Rajasthan has already circulated on a mass scale a booklet in which General Secretary Din Dval. Upadhyaya has made a fervent plea against United States and PL 480—all because of the need to put the Maharani in hot waters.

Says Upadhyaya in this booklet: "What Pakistan could not achieve by the force of American arms, the United States is now seeking to achieve by threatening to snatch away the morsel of food from the Indian mouths".

Well said, Upadhyaya. And more: "We will not beseech or beg before the Americans. They do not want to give us wheat; we should rather tell them that we do not want to have this wheat from now".

The Jan Sangh may well be planning to deliver a shattering blow to the Swatantra Party in Rajasthan with this weapon. And Gayatri Devi is already feeling the effects of the Sangh's punch-packed blow.

The feudals whom she has so far led for the Swatantra glory are fast wanting to jump over to the band-wagon of the Jan Sangh. The propaganda offensive launched by the Jan Sangh in the State, it is believed, has forestalled a campaign which Gayatri Devi was planning to embark upon.

While the feudal chieftains are divided between the two reactionary parties, the Swatantra and Jan Sangh, the people watch on with amusement.

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What Kind Of Procurement?

IN the Economic Notes in NEW AGE dated October 24, Mohit Sen has demanded that the state should operate as "both procurer and purchaser, but operating with two different sets of prices".

According to him, the compulsory levy or procurement "should comprise only a certain proportion of the production to be bought at a suitable minimum price". For the remaining surplus, he advocates monopoly purchase by the government where the "price could be suitably higher than the procurement price so as to stimulate food production".

I do not know whether this is the official policy of the Communist Party of India. I do not remember such differentiation between procurement and monopoly purchase by the state or gradations in price having been demanded by the Party in its resolutions on food problem. To my understanding, the Communist Party's demand is compulsory procurement of all surplus production with farmers.

Sen's demand is faulty because Cochin K. S. MENON

that would be favouring the rich peasants—a demand which the Communist Party cannot make. For, only the richer sections of the peasantry is likely to have any surplus after the compulsory procurement is made, however limited its extent might be. And these rich farmers will get a higher price for these surpluses, according to what he demands.

The poorer sections or the middle class peasants would be paid only the minimum price, which will be fixed by the government. They cannot even bargain for a higher price, for it is compulsory procurement at fixed price. The rich farmers can haggle and even balance the low price of the procured part of his produce with the higher "purchase price" he would get for his surpluses.

Will Sen explain this? Is it that he is willing to allow the rich peasants benefit "so as to stimulate food production"? Then why not allow the joint stock companies to enter agricultural operations too, if that would stimulate food production. But that he is opposing in the very same article.

READERS' FORUM

Mismanagement In Bhilai Steel

ON October 19 the roof of the open hearth furnace No. 8 of the Bhilai Steel Plant fell down. The damage in terms of death of workers, casualties and loss of materials and production is not only enormous but gives sufficient reason to be alarmed.

There is definitely something rotten in the administration of the Bhilai Steel Plant. The series of major breakdowns and accidents speak their own tragic stories. Their number has been rather high during the general managership of Indrajit Singh.

An investigation by the Central Bureau of Investigation, as was done in the case of the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi, will definitely reveal that there have been instances of sabotage

at the higher levels of the administration.

There is a lot of talk inside the plant that the policy of running the plant at the sweet will, pleasure and personal whims of the general manager is the root cause of the continuous low production in the steel melting shop for the last eight months.

The indiscriminate transfer of officers from one department to the other, rapid promotions to the favourites of the management and no promotion to actually deserving candidates, both at the higher and lower levels, have all contributed to low morale among the employees of the BSP.

The general manager is reported to have given inaccurate figures of the number of persons who died from the accident on October 19, as also the extent of loss. According to eye-witness accounts, both have been kept rather low.

All these require early attention of the Union Government. Will the Union Steel Minister give some of his time to the Bhilai Steel Plant and its problems?

Chheharta **SATYAPAL DANG**
President, Municipal Committee, Chheharta

Extend Help To Chheharta

THE decision of the Punjab government, as announced by Chief Minister Ram Kishan, to give loans to Ferozepur, Fazilka, Khemkaran, Patti and Dehra Baba Nanak municipal committees is a welcome one.

It is however surprising that Chheharta municipal committee has not been included among those who are to receive loans. The needs of this committee are as great as of any other committee in border areas because its finances too have been hit hard.

The financial position of the Chheharta municipal committee was already weak because the state government has been withholding publication in the government gazette of the newly revised profession tax schedule, and that too quite illegally.

The war has made its financial position extremely difficult. I would urge upon the government to reconsider the case of the Chheharta municipal committee and its urgent need for loan.

Chheharta **SATYAPAL DANG**
President, Municipal Committee, Chheharta

These Envoys Don't Reflect India's Stand And Policy

THE reference to the un-melted Gallic heart and Vijayalakshmi Pandit in NEW AGE of November 7 was timely. But the subject must be taken up more seriously and the game which the Shastri government is playing fully exposed.

As was mentioned in that report, the Madame is going abroad again as the personal envoy of the Prime Minister. Not only her; there is a rash of personal envoys and delegations coming and going these days allegedly to project India's image and explain her stand vis-a-vis Indo-Pak conflict.

Morarji Desai is leading a delegation to, of all places, New Zealand. Of course, Vijayalakshmi Pandit is going to West Germany and Holland. Many other delegations have also been thoughtfully scheduled by the Prime Minister. Or is it by the External Affairs Minister?

Anyhow, what is the image which these people are going to project? It is good that these rightwing politicians are being sent to such American stooges as West Germany, Holland and New Zealand. There is no fear of alienating any anti-imperialist governments. Even then, what would the people in these countries think of an India represented by Morarji Desai, Madame Pandit, N. G. Ranga and Co.?

This is not an isolated inci-

dent either. There are three Congress Members of Parliament in the Indian delegation at the United Nations. Guess their names? K. C. Pant, Thirumal Rao and B.K.P. Sinha. They have just now claimed that there is lot of sympathy for India at the United Nations. Pak aggression came in for criticism "in private talks". Why not in public, they did not say.

Does Shastri expect (this is apart from the namby-pamby he is doing with regard to the PL 480 blackmail and his proposed American yatra) that he would get the support of the firmly anti-imperialist Asian, African and Latin American nations by sending out such wonderful "personal envoys" as the above mentioned? Does he think they would not notice that these envoys normally gravitate only to the imperialist countries and their stooges?

And again, when somebody is sent to an area like Latin America, it should be, of all people, the arch-reactionary, pro-American S. K. Patil! All that he did was a lot of kowtowing in Washington and New York to his American benefactors. Of course, he did not forget to throw in some insults to the Latin American nations while in his spiritual mecca.

New Delhi. **J. P. SINGH**

MOSCOW: The forty-eighth birthday of the Soviet Union and anniversary of the Great Revolution which ushered in the era of socialism in the world was celebrated here as a holiday of great rejoicing at the economic successes of the Soviet people and their onward march towards communist society.

It was also an inspiring demonstration of international solidarity with representatives of 67 countries, 31 communist and democratic parties, trade unions, peace committees and other organisations taking part.

Friends of the Soviet Union rejoiced at the results of the socialist labour of the Soviet people who are steadily going forward from success to success in spite of the ill-wishers of all hues. There is nothing which would stop the Soviet people as they gather greater and greater momentum, greater and greater confidence.

In a short but staggering show of Soviet armed forces on the gallily decorated Red Square, infantry, artillery, airborne forces, tactical and new strategic rockets, the most powerful inter-continental ballistic missiles and global orbital rockets, the compact solid-fuel rockets which cannot be intercepted by any weapons, passed in quick succession astounding the spectators.

There came a gay sports demonstration. Olympic champions, athletes, unending procession of gliders, boats, racing cars, and motorcycles with flags. Thousands of gymnasts filling the square formed colourful patterns turning the square into a huge flower garden as snow alternated with brilliant sunshine.

A mammoth demonstration of the workers of Moscow marching with flags, banners, models of their products, and with children on their shoulders, surged through for hours as a huge sea of joy, colour and smiles.

Later a glittering gala reception was held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses where the Soviet leaders celebrated along with the best representatives of workers, intelligentsia, armed forces, cosmonauts and writers. There were numerous guests from abroad.

Traditional Ceremony

The Communist Party of India was represented by its Chairman S. A. Dange and members of the Central Secretariat Bhupesh Gupta, N. K. Krishnan and other comrades.

GAY FESTIVITIES MARK OCTOBER REVOLUTION DAY

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Earlier on the eve of the holiday the traditional celebration meeting was held in the huge hall with a seating capacity of six thousand. In the presence were Leonid Brezhnev, Anastas Mikoyan, Alexei Kosygin and other Soviet leaders.

Along with them were old Bolsheviks and well-known leaders of the international communist movement: Raul Castro, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Dolores Ibaruri, Chairman of the Spanish Communist Party, Todorovich, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee, Yugoslav League of Communists.

CPI chairman S. A. Dange occupied a place of honour in the presidium. Khalid Baghdad, general secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal, Saiful Diallo, member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea and others were there

along with leading Soviet representatives. The traditional report on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the 48th anniversary of the revolution was delivered by D. S. Polyansky who gave a detailed survey of the successes achieved and the future perspectives and spoke on the present international situation and questions of the international communist movement.

On this day the Soviet people traditionally review their past work and consider future perspectives. After the revolution they built a powerful industry without foreign help and at the cost of their own sacrifices guaranteed the independence of their socialist motherland.

The last war brought unheard of losses and destruction, one thousand seven hundred towns destroyed, more than seventy thousand villages razed to the ground. But the wounds of war were healed and an unprecedented rate of progress achieved.

If we take the years from 1930 to 1965, excluding the war years, we find that the rate of development of industrial production has been more than 13 per cent per year whereas in the USA it was only 2.7 per cent for this period—that is, five times less.

of the plan. Steel production by sixty-six per cent. Production of electrical energy and oil will be doubled.

Agricultural production last year was 1.8 times more than in 1940, although there has been a slowing down of tempo here due to various mistakes which are being corrected. Except for the best harvest year 1964, this year's agricultural production would be higher than in any previous year.

Another important indicator of the superiority of the socialist system is the growth of national income. In the last ten years it has doubled and compared to 1940 it has gone up about six times!

There has been a big increase in the consumption of food products and consumer goods. Wages, salaries and pensions have been going up, prices and taxes going down.

A new atmosphere is being created in the social life of work is being introduced which would give fuller scope to people's initiative and creative thoughts.

The all-permeating economic reforms announced recently, create a new balance between centralised planning and local initiative and correctly use the principle of material stimuli to increase production. The new emphasis is on the quality of production, raising it to the best world standard.

Now the directives for the next five-year for 1966-70 are being prepared. The rate of economic growth is to be further increased and the standard of living is to go up even more. A thousand million roubles are to be invested in agriculture in five years as much as was done in the last nineteen postwar years.

The next plan will be put before the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union due to meet in March next year. Full scale preparations for the next party Congress are going on all over the country.

WILSON'S CAPITULATION FAILS TO PACIFY SMITH

From KAY BEAUCHAMP

LONDON: Harold Wilson's visit to Rhodesia has been hailed by most capitalist newspapers as a signal triumph. "He kept the door open ... he prevented the catastrophe of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) ... he paved the way for settlement."

SCHELDOM has capitulation been presented with so brave a face. For in fact, so far, Wilson has given way to Ian Smith on point after point. Each point given has encouraged Smith to demand more.

In fact the outcome is still uncertain, because Smith may over-reach himself and demand more than even Wilson is able to give.

That events are moving in this direction is very clear. Ian Smith has discarded even the capitulatory Royal Commission which Wilson had proposed.

The composition of the proposed Royal Commission favoured the white racialists. As President Nkrumah said, the Rhodesian Chief Justice, Sir Hugh Beadle, who was to be the chairman, is known as one who has consistently carried out a colonialist line.

Since only one member was to be appointed by the British government and two by Ian Smith, it would have been unduly weighted in his favour.

Even more serious was that it seemed as if the terms of the commission would simply be to consider any minor changes in the 1961 constitution which the Rhodesian government likes to put forward, and then to decide on methods of testing the attitude of the people of Rhodesia to independence on the basis of the 1961 constitution, and to carry through those tests.

Wilson, in the House of Commons, said that it would be almost impossible for the British government to placate

LETTER FROM LONDON

Smith on the one hand, and to bully the African leaders on the other. It almost looks now as though the purpose of his visit was to try to force the African organisations to agree to operate the 1961 Constitution.

Harold Wilson told Nkomo and Sithole that the British government would not use force to suspend the constitution, or to secure majority rule, or even in the case of UDI.

In the House of Commons he was even more explicit. He declared that Rhodesia's constitutional problems were not going to be solved "by an assertion of military power on Britain's part, for suspending or amending the 1961 constitution or imposing majority rule tomorrow or at any other time" or in dealing with the situation that would follow an illegal assertion of independence.

However, after making this statement in the House of Commons he declared on television that the only conditions under which the British government will use force are if there was "an outbreak of disorder, murder, subversion, whether it came from African or European extremists."

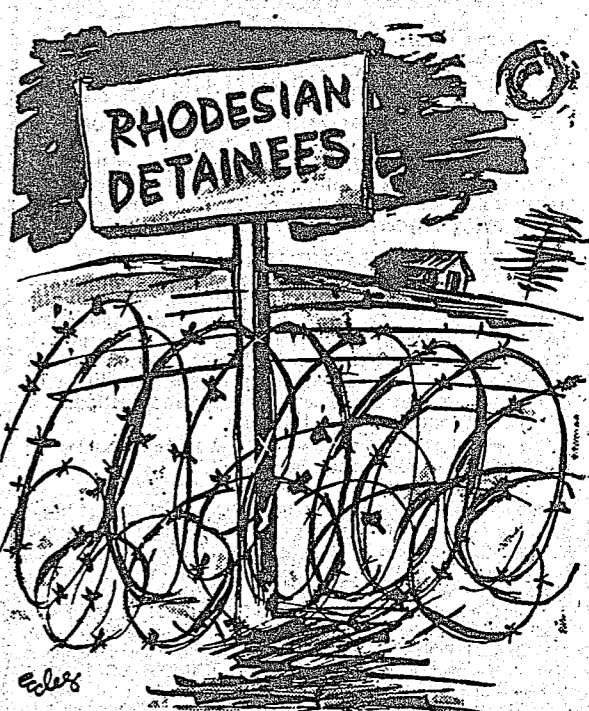
Since white extremists control the Smith government, it is clear that they will not revolt against it. Thus Wilson was in fact giving the green light to

Socialism's Superiority

This in itself is an astounding achievement. What greater proof could be given of the superiority of the socialist system?

Compared to pre-revolutionary Russia production now was up 56 times and that of means of production 130 times.

The current Seven-Year Plan which ends this year has already been fulfilled and the fixed targets were reached by first of November. This is a great victory. Industrial production will go up by eighty-four per cent by the end



This is what Harold Wilson, Ian Smith and Co. have made of Rhodesia!

* ON PAGE 15

Growing Opposition To Japan-S. Korea Treaty

TOKYO: Progressive forces in Japan are steadily stepping up their struggle against the Sato government's desire to ratify the Japanese-South Korean treaty on the so-called "normalization" of relations between the two countries. Many protest demonstrations and big meetings are being held in the country attended by the broadest sections of the people.

The Socialist Party of Japan has consistently opposed the treaty, both in the Parliament as well as outside through mass meetings, demonstrations, etc. Also ranged against the treaty are various trade union organizations.

The Japanese government and the ruling Liberal Democratic Party on the other hand are doing everything to prevent a full-length Parliament discussion of the treaty.

Deputies of the ruling party held a secret meeting which, according to MAINICHI, decided to mobilise all efforts to force through a voting on the treaty within the next few days.

Party Deputies are under a sort of house arrest and are ordered to suspend all their activities save those of Parliament. Liberal Deputies, placed on a standby status, can leave Parliament, only for home.

The Party leadership make no secret of its intention to curtail debate and force through a vote and have it ratified before the end of the Parliament session.

The socialist and other parties of the opposition want to continue the discussion so as to give the people a clear idea of the grave nature of the Japanese-South Korean treaty.

The disagreement existing between the two countries on territorial questions and how this treaty is related to the plans for setting up a military bloc in the Far East.

There are few examples in the history of the Japanese Parliament when government representatives could not reply to the questions of the opposition or offered such contradictory interpretations of the same points, as was the case during the discussion of the Japanese-South Korean treaty.

Trade Unions Protest

The Japanese General Council of Trade Unions, which has a membership of four million, also took a firm stand against the plans for pushing forth the treaty, the plans which are vividly reminiscent of the procedure of "approval" of the notorious Japanese-American Security Treaty in 1960.

An enlarged meeting of the Council leadership, decided to observe November 13 (when the treaty is to be voted upon) as a united action day when all trade unions affiliated to the General Council will also lead a strike.

This situation has caused anxiety among the supporters of the proposed treaty. At their request the right-wing has actively joined the struggle against the progressive forces of the country. Canvassing motor vehicles of the right-wing, driving through the streets of the capital and other towns, carry slogans "Let us support ratification of the Japanese-South Korean Treaty" and "Let us eradicate the socialists and communists—the enemies of the nation".

One hundred and eighty right-wing organizations have established a joint committee for the ratification of the Japanese-South Korean treaty in order to thwart the left-wing's demonstrations against the treaty.

With the struggle against the treaty growing more acute, right-wing elements are planning to use violence against the demonstrators. The opposition is also concentrating its attention against Japan's involvement in the Vietnamese war.

They again gave expression to it on November 4 when the head of the international department of the Socialist Party of Japan called on Hashimoto, Secretary General of the Council of Ministers, to protest on behalf of the Socialist Party against the forthcoming arrival in Japan of Nguyen Kao Ki, head of the South Vietnamese regime. This visit has been scheduled for November 11.

Cancel Ki's Visit

At present, Katsumata emphasised, when the struggle against the ratification of the treaty with South Korea and the continuation of the war in Vietnam is spreading ever wider through the country, the arrival of Nguyen Kao Ki aroused the Japanese people's indignation. The Socialist Party, he said, calls for the cancellation of the visit.

Such sentiments are also being expressed in the election campaign for the Legislative Assembly of the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa), where the opposition parties are campaigning against Okinawa's use as a base for the war in Vietnam, for the liquidation of the US colonial rule.

They also demand extension to it on November 4 when the head of the international department of the Socialist Party of Japan called on Hashimoto, Secretary General of the Council of Ministers,

INDO-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS STRENGTHENED

NEW DELHI: Indo-Yugoslav relations have been tangibly strengthened by the recent visit to New Delhi of Avdo Humo, Yugoslav Minister for Scientific Affairs.

After a week's stay in the country Humo told a press conference that India and Yugoslavia have almost identical views on a whole range of vital international problems.

This has made the two countries leaders of the movement for the spread of nonalignment and acceptance of peaceful co-existence. What was now needed for strengthening the relations between the two countries was a big growth in bilateral relations, he said.

Humo said that fruitful co-operation should be possible between the two countries on a mutually advantageous basis for the development of modern and advanced branches of scientific technology. He had visited a number of scientific institutions in the country.

The Yugoslav Minister also had discussions with the Prime Minister and other Ministers and officials in the Ministry of External Affairs, besides eminent scientists and economists.

He told the press conference that he particularly appreciated the steps taken by India in the recent conflict with Pakistan were determined in the interest of peace and good relations in future between the two countries.

Humo felt that recent events have further underlined the need to solve international problems through peaceful means and this realisation was coming against the background of disintegration of military blocs and alliances.

British Guiana : Wilson Negotiates With Minority

The British Guiana Independence Conference which began in London on November 2, was the first time that independence for any British colony was discussed with half the people of that country not represented.

The largest political party, the opposition People's Progressive Party led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan, which obtained 46 per cent of the votes in the last election, is not participating in these talks as a protest against the state of emergency being maintained in the colony and the illegal detention of a large number of its members and supporters.

Forbes Burnham the present Prime Minister and a former colleague of Jagan and second in command in the PPP before it was split under imperialist machinations resulting in the present deep division separating the two principal communities along racial and ethnic lines, is participating in the Conference together with the representatives of the reactionary United Force.

Formed in 1949, the PPP had represented a solid united front of the entire exploited classes in British Guiana and the two communities, one descended from the African slaves and the other from indentured Indian labourers, had together put up a serious challenge to all inherited slave-colonial institutions obtaining in British Guiana and raised the banner of Guianese independence.

There was the resounding victory at the polls in 1953 leading to the formation of the PPP government with Jagan as Prime Minister (with Burnham as Party Chairman). Then came the suspension of the constitution in 1953, the split in 1955, the nominated interim government upto 1957, followed by further PPP victories at the elections of 1957 and 1961.

But by then imperialism had succeeded in making the division between the two communities almost absolute which resulted in the outbreak of serious disturbances along racial lines.

Throughout this period, apart from the British resistance to the independence demand, the United States was emerging as a powerful factor, opposing the PPP and consequently Guiana's eventual independence.

Following the success of the Cuban revolution, the USA was dead set on preventing the emergence of another country in the Western hemisphere to emerge into real independence under such a progressive leadership as the PPP.

As a result of all these pressures and machinations, a chain of violent racial clashes were organised after the 1961 election which again led to the dissolution of the PPP government and the imposition of Proportional Representation by the British Tory Government to break down the PPP majority which they

emergency powers are being used to harass and detain without trial and silence political opponents of the coalition government.

"With the approach of independence for which my Party has always struggled, it is essential that the Guianese people as a whole should first reach agreement among themselves on the nature of

had so far failed to break otherwise. The break-away People's National Congress led by Burnham, won 22 seats in the 1964 elections and together with the extreme right-wing settler-dominated United Force (7 seats) formed coalition government which put the PPP (22 seats) in the opposition.

All attempts by the PPP to achieve a united front with the PNC to draw out a united charter for independence were frustrated. A state of emergency was declared taking advantage of the incidence, of the racial disturbances and leaders and members of the PPP were arrested and held under illegal detention.

The Labour Party which had opposed Proportional Representation when it was introduced by the Tories, has accepted it on coming to power and now that a so-called parliamentary majority of safe reactionary elements has been found, they almost seem to be keen on an early transfer of power. The coalition government is demanding that the date for independence should be fixed not later than February next year.

On the eve of the conference Dr. Jagan sent the following cable to Prime Minister Wilson: "British Guiana is no different from Rhodesia with respect to the question of independence. Unnecessary

of nationalist leaders, restriction of the former Prime Minister and the banning of a prominent newspaper suggested to the outside world the pattern that might be adopted in future."

Dominica : U.S. Extends Occupation

AGAIN the arrogant US occupation forces together with the local armed interventionists, have broken down the fragile peace that was achieved in Santo Domingo following the signing of the "reconciliation act" last August.

In recent weeks, US servicemen in the garb of inter-American troops, have continuously been breaking into areas held by the patriotic forces in the capital, while only till a few weeks ago, US spokesmen have been promising that not only will US troops not seek to expand the occupation zone but would very shortly start leaving the capital.

At the end of October, US tanks and infantrymen broke into of the former zone of the insurrectionists to attack the editorial offices of progressive newspapers, headquarters of patriotic organisations and even the homes of the constitutionalists.

Wholesale arrests were made of all those who protested against these US outrages and the US soldiers went so far as even to arrest the national police guarding the home of ex-president Juan Bosch.

While the reactionary pro-American military is aggravating the political crisis seeking to overthrow the Garcla Godoy government,

top ranking Army officers are openly defying presidential orders on the discharge of officers who had worked with the interventionists.

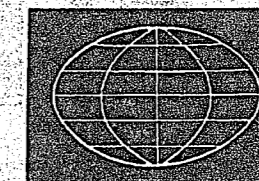
These attacks and provocations, accompanied by other acts of terror and sabotage have rather far reaching aims. As US Senator Joseph Clark recently said, "the military juntas in the Dominican Republic are formed on "the demand of the US Central Intelligence Agency" and in addition there are Pentagon emissaries engaged in the "coordination of actions of the Dominican military".

While sections of the American press are openly attacking the Garcla Godoy Government for its "anti-American intonations" and for "conceiving the Leftists" the local reactionaries are stepping up the propaganda campaign "about the weakness and isolation" of the provisional government" as they prepare for a coup against the provisional President before the coming elections next spring.

The fact is—as most serious American journalists have already commented—that at the coming elections there is no chance whatsoever of anybody other than a politician "definitely coming out against the Yankees" of being elected the President. This is inevitable, say these commentators, in a situation of such widespread hatred for the United States.

Apparently, having failed to influence the trend of developments in Santo Domingo the US strategists are now embarking upon the path of forcible suppression of the patriotic forces. But naked force or provocation the interventionists are unlikely to meet with anything but further defeats in the Dominican.

—BAREN RAY



The World

TRICONTINENTAL MEET FOR PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY

Havana 3-10 January 1965

FROM January 3 to 10 next year, the first Three-Continents Conference for Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be held in Havana, the capital of revolutionary Cuba.

It will be the first time in the history that revolutionary men and women fighting for national independence and against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism from these three continents which for centuries have been the victims of exploitation will meet together in such a broad conference.

From the farthest corners of the three continents peoples who are still engaged in the struggle for independence as well as the most authentic representatives from the newly independent countries engaged in securing their political and economic freedoms, will come together on Latin American soil.

And these representatives of anti-imperialist organisations will meet right under the shadow of the biggest imperialist power in history which has committed aggression in Vietnam, Congo, Dominica and so many other countries in Latin America.

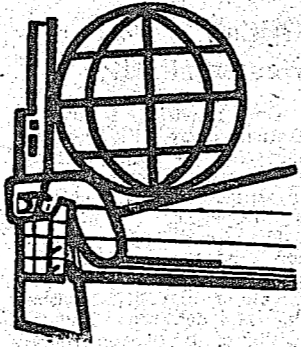
Political Bureau and the Organising Secretary of the CP of Cuba, to make really grand preparations to befit this historic occasion.

The decision to hold such a conference was taken in principle in 1961 by the Jakarta Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation.

Unfortunately, because of various obstructionist attitudes taken by the Chinese representatives and their supporters in the Permanent Secretariat, the initial political preparations took a long time to materialise and the conference could not be held for all these years.

An eighteen-nation Preparatory Conference (which included India) was recently held in Cairo where these disruptive moves and suggestions were defeated by an overwhelming majority and the dates and agenda of the conference finally agreed upon.

The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity has decided to participate in the conference in a big way and is preparing to send a broad and large delegation to represent our country at this historic gathering.



Emblem of the conference

The conference will constitute a new stage in the common struggle of the peoples of the three continents for national liberation, social progress and world peace.

The fundamental aim of such a conference will be to chalk out a programme for common struggle against imperialism as well as to strengthen, enlarge and coordinate the militant solidarity which must exist between the peoples of the three continents.

The Cuban government and the Communist Party of Cuba have appointed a Cuban National Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Armando Hart Davalos, member of the

LENIN AGAINST LEFT OPPORTUNISTS

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

This collection consists of articles and speeches and chapters from books in which Lenin criticises left opportunists who have a dogmatic conception of Marxism. They are of living interest in the present day situation.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PHRASE, pp. 169, Rs. 0.45

Lenin's speeches and writings, mostly concerning the errors of the "Left Communists" on the question of the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest. He also exposes the stand of "Left Communists" on many other issues during the period of consolidation of Soviet power, and of building socialism in one country in the condition of capitalist encirclement. These speeches and writings are of immense contemporary interest.

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

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FAIRY TALE ABOUT U.S. ARMS TO PINDI

THE other day the DECCAN HERALD reported a cheeky American official likening the United States government to Lord Krishna. One could laugh at it but for its amusing side.

Like Krishna in the Mahabharat war who gave everything to the Kauravas but himself, the Johnson outfit was supposed to be on the side of the modern Pandavas of New Delhi during the recent Indo-Pak war even though the Americans gave most of the weapons to Pakistan.

This was colourful fiction. But not so colourful, but fiction all the same, was Sardar Swaran Singh's reply in Lok Sabha on Monday about American arms.

The entire jute press flashed the fairy tale that the US government has assured the GOI that it has not only stopped further arms aid to Pakistan but also asked its allies in Nato, Cento and Seato to do likewise.

Maybe, the Indian Foreign Minister himself was not sure of the assurance. That possibly explains why this reply was given to an unstarred question though it was tabled by 18 Hon'ble Members. Normally all important questions are in the category of starred questions.

However, some enterprising correspondent fished it out from the unstarred heap and made a headline out of it. One could understand the relish with which the big business press laid it out. But there was no warrant for AIR to give a headline to it in that day's news bulletins.

On the part of AIR, it does not seem to be a momentary enthusiasm for something newsy. On Tuesday night, in the programme "Focus" a commentator who incidentally is an employee of the French news agency in New Delhi, waxed eloquent on the changing attitudes of the American administration with regard to their arms supplies to Pindi.

It is quite possible that New Delhi is right in saying that the US has suspended all military supplies to Pakistan. But they have yet to produce a shred of evidence to prove that its Nato and Cento allies are abiding by the so-called embargo.

DIPLOMACY BY HINTS: In the midst of such hullabaloo when fiction is sought to be presented as fact by interested parties, one comes across such headlines as the

"US Blocks Aid From Club." It was in the HINDUSTAN STANDARD.

It says that no member of the Aid-India Club other than Britain has advanced to India any financial aid

THE WEEK

for 1965-66 since the hostilities with Pakistan began. "The aid has been withheld under American pressure."

The report goes on to say that India was given to understand (by the US) that the aid could not be resumed "unless her relations with Pakistan return to normal"

"It is now learnt that while suspending the committed aid, the US took care to inform the other members of the consortium of the step it had taken. The hint was understood and the aid from the consortium countries stopped flowing."

The stoppage of the Yen credit by Japan is the proof, if proof were needed, that the "hint" was understood by the US allies.

These are the days of diplomacy by hints. But New Delhi refuses to take any of them.

Talking about hints, the Punjab legislative assembly has certainly not taken the hint thrown by Kamaraj through the AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW.

It has passed a resolution recommending that India should withdraw from the Commonwealth "in view of the anti-Indian role of the British government."

PATIL—WHOSE BRIEF? Food Minister Subramaniam minced no words when he said in Parliament that Patil had no brief from him to discuss long-term PL 480 supplies with the American government.

Whose brief was then Patil carrying? Only Shastri can enlighten the nation. But till now he has chosen to remain dumb.

Subramaniam's statement was welcomed by the Rajya Sabha members.

But not so welcome was his confirming the newspaper report that his ministry had given his future programmes of agriculture to the Americans for scrutiny and possible approval.

This is something absolutely new which the progressive movement in this country might as well take note of.

GOLDEN FLOP: Judging by the figures published, the gold bonds scheme has flopped. Hardly any tycoon has unhoarded. Official circles are privately discussing the cause of failure despite the concessions being over-generous.

One reason that is being mentioned is that the hoarders in high place don't want to reveal their identity even to the Reserve Bank.

They fear that one day the public will come to know of it.

Yes, the affluent is keeping out of it all. Indra Gandhi said so the other day at Gurgaon (Punjab). "So far," she said, "the contributions to the national defence fund by the poorer sections of society has far outweighed the efforts made by the rich."

While calling upon the people to invest their gold in bonds with which to buy guns, she "regretted that so far the response to the scheme is poor."

The two additional national loans are also faring the same fate. Financial columns of newspapers attribute this to "low" interest rates.

There was some hope that at least the exchange remittance scheme would meet with encouraging response. That hope has been dashed by TTK himself.

Speaking to newsmen in Bombay on his way to the Soviet Union, the Finance Minister ruefully remarked that "there is no worthwhile offer so far from Indian nationals abroad for exchange remittance under the new scheme."

Whispering Gallery

Through Backdoor Comes Morarji

THERE is widespread speculation about the long-range implications of Morarji Desai's appointment as chairman of the projected administrative reforms commission. That is not surprising.

For, Morarji was the rival to Shastri when Who-After-Nehru was decided in June last year. Mauled in the consensus game, he was offered a cabinet post which he spurned on the ground of ranking.

Since then Morarji made no bones about his resentment to the ruling outfit. He had gone about saying that the Kamaraj plan was exclusively designed to cheat him of the Nehru mantle.

The rivalry between the syndicate (which itself had been disintegrating gradually) and himself came to a head at the Bangalore AICC this July when Morarji broke all precedents and carried his opposition to the open session to a draft resolution of the Working Committee which in effect enabled Kamaraj to contest for a second term.

This he did even after Shastri appealed to him in the Working Committee not to speak up in the open.

Today the same Shastri has offered him an important assignment in addition to his being named leader of the Indian delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Union meeting in Australia.

Since then Dame Gossip has been busy. None of what she has been churning out in the lobbies and parlours has any relevance to the national scene. A government with Patil in it can offer a berth to Morarji too without making any difference to policy.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to watch the attitudes of the present actors on the stage who are playing stellar roles.

In a strictly personal sense, Morarji can never forgive Kamaraj. So the fact of Morarji being lifted from the doghouse by Shastri is an indication that

the Prime Minister is trying to lessen the Congress chief's spell over him.

After all, but for Kamaraj using the leverage of consensus Shastri could not have become the Prime Minister. Not long ago Shastri was even defeated when he contested for the vice-presidency of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee.

However, since he got to the top, Shastri has been trying to get rid of the prop. There were grumbings among some of the junior members of the syndicate. And later Kamaraj was discreetly complaining that even he could not get appointments with the Prime Minister.

When Sardar Swaran Singh was appointed Foreign Minister, which was an eye-opener to many, Dame Gossip was waxing on the possible differences between the two. The drift was, however, halted at the height of the anti-Hindi agitation in the South.

But today Shastri is more secure by himself after the Indo-Pak conflict as his speeches at mass meetings would indicate. Now onwards he is the Prime Minister of this country on his own. He is no more a missile fired by the Kamaraj rocket.

It is in this context of relative freedom that the appointment of Morarji has been announced. That is why it is looked upon by observers as something significant.

After the next general elections nobody can dictate to Shastri that he should not include Morarji in his cabinet. Nobody can dictate either what rank he should get.

There is one other aspect—a minor one though. Gulzarilal Nanda, who was a target of ridicule from the Morarji wing, readily accepted the enthronement of the former Finance Minister. The reason seems to be that, having fallen out with TTK completely, Nanda has lowered the guard against Morarji.



"... OTHERWISE WE WILL HAVE TO TAX ALL OF YOU!"

Courtesy: HINDUSTAN TIMES

—INSIDER