



A section of the huge mass raily in Bangalore at the close of the National Conference for Defence of Motherland and World Peace which gave the call for a National Profest Day. Against American Blackmail on November 27



declared once again his aggression. ingness to accept the good moned both the Pakistan President tes of the Soviet Union and Prime Minister Shastri to a meeting between him Washington. He daugles before willingness to accept the good offices of the Soviet Union for a meeting between him

for a meeting between him and Prezident Ayub Khan. He has also rightly insisted that any such meeting must cover the whole ground of Indo-Pakistan relations, and not be used by the Pakistan rulers merely to reiterate their absolutely unaccept-able demand for a so-called ple-biscite in Kashmir. The nation is fully behind the Prime -Minister's declaration that Kashmir is not negotiable, it is an integral part of this country, and there can be no question of any discussions, which imply directly or indirectly the handing over of Kashmir.

Kashmir. A meeting in Tashkent could be of vital significance not only for of vital significance not only for the future of Indo-Pakistan rela-tions, but for peace in this region

tons, but for peace in this region as a whole. It is clear to the democratic forces in both India and Pakistan that the imperialist powers strive to keep alive the conflict, between the two countries for their own metarious ends

nefarious ends, Unless the whole question of Indo-Pak relations is lifted out of

Indo-Pak relations is lifted out of the orbit of imperialism, there can be no question of a settlement. President Johnson is desperately striving to grab-back the initiative, lost as a result of the strong anti-imperialist feelings roused in this country following the anti-Indian stand of the US and British

THE Prime Minister has, governments during the Pakistant

India th e bait of PL 480 and oth 'aid". The blackmail has recently

aid, The blackmail has recently been stepped up. In these circumstances, the de-mocratic movement in this country must strive all the more to ensure mocratic movement in this country must strive all the more to ensure mass support for the government's decision to accept the offer of Soviet good offices for the Tash-kent meeting and reject the sum-mons of Washington.

### INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

Indo-Soviet friendship has been Indo-Soviet friendship has been demonstrated in numerous ways once again during the Nehru birthday week. The opening of a Russian Institute in the capital is itself a testimony to friendship. So also the Soviet Land Nehru Awards to writers and journalists. In Parliament, the foreign policy debate in the Lok Sabha

policy debate in the Lok Sabha was marked by numerous tributes from all sides of the house to the invaluable support given to India by the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister himself declared: The way the Soviet Union has helped us in a difficult period, will be impossible for us to forget. The bond of unity with the USSR will get stronger day by day. So strong has popular sentiment in support of the Soviet Union become, that even hard-boiled anti-Sovieteers like Minoo Masani are forced to admit the fact that the Soviet Union's friendship is necessary for India—to mask their dwocacy of an alliance with the imperialist powers. There is a deep realisation among the vast masses of our land that Indo-Soviet friendship is a vial national necessity for the defence of this country's integrity and sovereignty and for its eco-nomic advance. That is why there is a straight answer to the query. Tashkent or Washington? That answer is: Tashkent, YES. Washington, NOI

The American lobby in the Capital has begun to gloat over its latest "victories". Food Minister Subramaniam's nauseating campaign in defence of PL 480 food imports has been seen by Washington as a "proof" of the Gov-ernment of India's slide-back on its previous declarations of resistance to American blackmail.

W TTH the return of Sadoba to discuss PL 480, and for that Patil from his American matter everything else, and yatra, the Lobby has selzed on the obvious weakening in New What gives Patil the self-Delhi's stand on this crucial Issue, to step up its pressures. The Yanks now feel that they have only to turn on the screw for the Shastri government to

Since they feel they have won on PL 480, they believe they can take further advan-

won on PL 480, they believe they can take further advan-tage of India's present diffi-culties, to make sharper in-roads into this country's sovereignty and independence. The demand the Ameri-oans are making today is the mest outrageous in the history of imperialist pres-sures. In return for their "aid", for PL 480 and the rest, the Yanks now are pre-csurising for a shuffle in the Union Cabinet itself. This shuffle, they demand, should result in a shift in the balance inside the Cabinet in favour of right, pro-imperia-list politicians. Premotion and key jobs are demanded for ministers and would-be min-isters close to Washington's heart.

heart. The effrontery with which Sadoba Patil has been pro-claiming the "success" of his American mission arises from his cocksureness that he is ON THE WAY UP-backed by his network his patrons.

bis patrons, Patil landed in India to de-clare that he had kept the Prime Minister fully posted with all his doings in Wash-ington. This was meant to give the lie to the statement made by the Prime Minister just before Patil's return, that he (Shastri) was virtually ignorant about any proposal that he should visit Washing-ton. ("Fiverybody seems to ton. ("Fiverybody seems to know about it, except me!") Again this week, Food Min-ister Subramaniam has been given a public slap in the face

by Patil. Subramaniam had stated that Patil held no brief to discuss PL 480 in

brief to discuss PL 480 in Washington. The Lobby's darling was quick to reply in public, rudely asserting that since he was a Minister, he had every right

matter everything else, and required no brief. What gives Patil the self-confidence to put both the Prime Minister and another Cabinet colleague in the dock before the entire coun-

try, in this churlish fashion? It is quite clear that he rests secure in the know-ledge that the mighty Land of the Dollar is there to

of the bolar is there to back him to the hilt. No longer content with the Railways portfolio, Patil is in the field for a climb to a key portfolio.

portfolio; And the US blackmail has been switched on full steam ahead to back this demand, as well as other similar de-mands. Apart from certain other notorious ministers, there are candidates from out-side the ranks of the present government too. Among the

side the ranks of the present government too. Among the most important of them is at least one other "special en-vor" to the West. The nationwide campaign avainst PL 480 and avainst US blackmall round Shastri's visit to Washington, initiated by NEW AGE, has succeeded in creating widespread aware-ness of the sinister character of imperialist pressures on of imperialist pressures on India.

ndia. The Prime Minister him-self sensing the public dis-quiet at signs of weakening; before this blackmail, has solemnly declared before Pavliament that he mill not yield to any messures

vield to any pressures. This is indeed a welcome declaration. But the Indian people would do well not to be lulled into a false sense of complacence merely by of complacence mercey by this assurance. They must see the assurance in the back-ground of the kowtowing be-fore the US imperialists at

least on the PL 480. They must also view the Prime Minister's assurance in the light of the intensifica-tion of the American black-med mail.

The fact that the mass campaign against the American blackmail has begun to make itself felt, as witnessed in Shastri's declaration that he will not be pressurised, is proof of how effective popular action can he

In the coming days, the campaign against American blackniall must be intensified blackmail must be intensited as never before to ensure that there is no further bending before this blackmail at the cost of India's self-respect and dignity, and indeed our independence itself.



PAGE TWO

### NOVEMBER 27



THE NATIONAL DAY of Protest Against Ameri-can Blackmail (November 27) has been called at the

right moment. The country is being subjected to a planned propaganda campaign, which seeks to wash Indian brains with a poisonous detergent. The main direction of this brain-washing is to numb Indian senses into believing that Washington is NOT the home of the murderous Pattons and Sabres, but of the benevolent rich uncle, who fills our stomachs with milk and honey.

Fortunately, the Indian people's brains still belong to them, and have not been mortgaged to G. D. Birla or S. K. Patil-who have donned the robes of brainwashers-in-chief for the US imperialists.

The National Conference for the Defence of the Motherland and World Peace (Bangalore, November 5 to 8), in its call for the observance of the Protest Day, declared :

"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."

These words correspond to the deepest sentiments of the mass of our people. Only a short while ago, exactly similar expressions were used also by leading government spokesmen.

The key lesson of the Pakistani aggression is clearly understood to be that on no account should this country place reliance on the US or British imperialists for any form of "assistance", for any assurances or pledges they may give.

And yet, hectic preparations are afoot at this precise moment to compel the head of this country's government to go with a begging bowl to those very quarters, whose anti-Indian treachery has been proved conclusively once more, only so recently.

Paymaster of the ruling party G. D. Birla has again stated last week-end that further US "aid" is dependent on Shastri's visit to Washington. In the United States, White House aides have once again announced that President Johnson "would welcome visits" by Shastri and Ayub Khan, and "is looking forward to conversations with the two leaders".

As a result of the persistent campaign by the democratic forces, the Prime Minister has at last given up the equivocal stand he took earlier. He has announced that he IS contemplating a visit to Washington, but he has at the same time declared solemnly before the Lok Sabha, that he has no intention of yielding to US pressures. This is a welcome declaration and demonstrates the fact that public opinion can play a vital part in the shaping of policies. But the declaration is also an admission of the fact that American pressures are being exerted. The nation must remain vigilant and prevent any yielding before these pressures.

November 27 must be observed on a nation-wide scale through meetings and demonstrations; which proclaim the true feelings of the Indian people against American blackmail.

The American lobby has already begun to put across the line of surrender to imperialist intrigues on Kashmir -through Swatantra Party spokesmen in Parliament and elsewhere.

The attitude taken by government during the PL 480 debate in the Lok Sabha is indicative of a dangerous tendency to bend before the American blackmail.

The democratic forces must act as never before to prevent the dissipation of the mass anti-imperialist upsurge, which has followed the Pakistani aggression.

November 27 can and must be a landmark in the Indian people's struggle against' imperialism. It is significant that the date coincides with that fixed for the great Washington March of the American peace organisations in protest against Johnson's policies, particularly the aggression in Vietnam.

India's Day of Protest Against American Blackmail is part and parcel of the world-wide struggle against American imperialism.

(November 16)

# American Pressures **Beginning To Tell**

THE feeling of self-con-fidence and elation and the readiness to face the challenge of time which swayed our people during the conflict with Pakistan and after the ceasefire found powerful expression again on November 14, the birthday of Jawaharlal Nehru

The leaders attempted to respond to the sentiment of the people on the occasion. The speech of Prime Minister Shastri to the Congress' Parliamentary Party was note-worthy for the reaffirmation of fundamental national nolicles which have been the target of attack from the target of attack from the rightwing reactionary forces for some time.

to Washington and the pro-jected visit of Prime Minister Shastri to the USA for a meeting with President John-son have not been entirely dispelled. But sneeches notwithstand-

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The Prime Minister tried to assure the Lok Sabha that he-would not be pressurised into accepting anything which went against the national ining, a weakening in the face of the western pressure on the part of the policy makers and the administration can not be missed. This has be-come pronounced on the ecoterests. nomic front and more specia-But that he is planning the Washington yatra, though the dates have not been fixed yet, lly on the food issue.

The declarations about pushing forward in defence and economic development "with or without aid" have suddenly been modified. There is no more talk of preparing alternative plans to meet the situation without large scale western aid.

After the return of Rallway Minister S. K. Patil from his mission abroad and what is called soundings from diplo-matic quarters, the earlier assumption has been revived that economic aid on the scale available during the Third Plan would become available in the next plan period also.

Though the position is ex-pected to crystallise only after about six months, it is proposed to go ahead in plan-ning on this basis right now.

In regard to food. Food Minister Subramaniam has taken upon himself to actively campaign on the bless-ings of PL 480 supplies. He is now insisting that . no pres-sure was involved in this matter and it would be "foolhardy" to think that we could do without these supplies for quite some time yet.

The weakness on the home front, caused by the set-back



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the draught and the attitude of the Chief Ministers on procurement, seems to have com-pletely undermined his defences against Americal blackmail on food supplies. American sible.

In this context the misgivings about the Patil mission

New Delhi

Letter

is now quite clear and prepa

be already afoot.

sible without his personally meeting President Johnson. He urged Shastri to undertake the tour as early as pos

NOVEMBER 21, 1965

But Prime Minister is being more circumspect since he is more sensitive to public opinion. He wants more prepara-tions to be made to make a success of it. And Patil was advised not to speak about it too much in public.

As part of the preparations, t would appear the Americans have indicated their willingness to make some co on food supplies. The idea of six-month agreement in place of the present month to month arrangement is theremonth arrangement is there-fore being convased by the Americans as well as their active supporters here.

On the Government of India's part, Food Minister Subramaniam has disclosed that our agricultural production our agricultural production plans have been given to American authorities for their approval.

The American pressure is thus beginning to tell on a wide front But it has not yet secured a breakthrough. If the public opinion asserts rations for it can be said to Patil is understood to have impressed on the Prime Mini-ster when he met him last week that resumption of ecofully, it can still be held.

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NOVEMBER 21, 1965

On September 2, 1965 was published in China a 20,000 word statem by Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier and Minister of Defence of the People's Republic of China.

The statement is considered an authoritative and forceful reaffirmation and further clarification of the various positions of the Chinese Commu-nist Party in its prsent ideological dispute with the CPSU and the majority view of the world Communist movement. In this, apart from pre-senting a so-called revolutionary perspective of world-wide people's wars in the course of the mounting tempo of the struggles for national libera-tion, a summing up is presented of the essence of the experience of the Chinese Communist Party and apparently basing itself on its lessons is presented what is called a complete theory of the new democratic revolution.

The view is also advanced that like in the Chinese revolution where the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas had led to the encir-clement of the cities—the centres of political power, similarly taking the entire globe, the contemporary world revolution presents a picture of the encirclement of the 'cities'—that is North America and Western Europe—by the rural areas of the world namely, Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose peoples make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

of the CPSU who are accused of betraying this revolutionary upsurge and of trying to strike a political deal with US imperialism. But the level and virulence of the attack does reach an all time high as also an attempt is made of presenting the various Chinese positions on the issues dividing the world Communist movement the form of a cogent and interally coherent theory of world revolu-tion as a projection of and flowing directly out of the experiences of the Chinese revolution. It has been observed that no lie

or falsehood is more dangerous than the one which is partly mixed with truth. It is in this sense that this document is dangerous in that it seeks to graft on to the body of the experiences of the Chinese revolu-tion, its brilliant military victories, true political lessons and the great ige the erroneous and opporprestige, the erroneous and oppo-tunistic views which the Chinese leadership has been propagating since it adopted several years ago it present sectarian adventurist line in pursuit of its selfish hegemonic ambitions.

while it is impossible to critically review this long document in this brief article, we shall seek to examine some of its major points of attack against the majority view in the world

### FALSE CLAIMS OF AIDING STRUGGLES

It is true that a mighty wave of national liberation struggles is sweep-ing across the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America today effectively undermining the power of imperia-lism. This force is overwhelming in the sense that in individual countries the sum total of forces struggling for national liberation are together capa-ble of creating a degree of internal pressure that the colonial powers are itogether incapable of suppressing. But whereas the' Chinese leader-

ship falsely accuses the Soviet lea-ders of not aiding adequately the people engaged in the struggle people engaged in the struggle against imperialism, they simul-taneously attack the leadership of the Socialist countries for helping the same liberation movements on the morrow of their victory when as the Governments of their newly independent countries they are in acute need of external assistance for strengthening their indepen-dence and laying the foundations of their national economies. Then the their national economies. Then the Chinese accuse them of wasting Chinese accuse them of wasting valuable resources of the Socialist countries in strengthening capital-ism in these countries.

It is evident that what should be he class character of the leadership

NOT that there is anything funda- of a national liberation struggle can-Nmentally new either in the various theoretical formulations or in the concerted attacks on the leadership seen from the process of deco tion and the emergence of over fifty newly independent states since the end of the Second World War, the great majority of them are not yet under the leadership of proletarian Marxist-Leninist revolutionary leadership. But this fact in no way has nullified their anti-imperialist potentialities. In the new world situation, the changed balance of world forces and the new strength of the Socialist world has given new courage and to that extent significant positive role to the varia significant positive fore one vari-ous national forces in struggling aga-inst imperialism. This essentially is the crux of the new situation which has been reflected in all the changes in

> -By-BAREN RAY

Marxist understanding since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Similarly on no other issue is the internal contradic-tion between their theory and practice and the utter opportunism of the Chinese leadership more manifest than in this.

paganda alone.



newage



On the one hand the chief brunt of their propaganda is that they are the main champions of the national liberation struggles, forever ready to render every possible ald to the forces engaged in battle. From this position they attack the other Socialist countries for not giving enough aid to the struggling people belause of the for-mers' belief in the policy of peaceful coexistence and fear of provoking imperialism to precipitate a nuclear war. In reality, however, the quantum of such assistance (materially, and natu-rally, in arms etc.) given by the in-dustrially advanced Socialist countries remains far greater than that given by China which of course, it may be argued, may only be natural in view of the higher levels of their economies But the mischievous role of the Chi-nese leadership does not lie in pro-

An integral part of their "complete theory" of national-democratic revolu-tions through people's wars is that although in the present phase the revolution is against imperialism, feu-dalism and bureaucratic capitalism "it can only be, nay must be, led by the proletariat and the genuinely revolutionary party armed with Marxism-Leninism, and by no other class or party". In reality, however, the leader-ship of scores of such national liberation fronts engaged in battle are not under the leadership of such a not under the leadership of such a class or party and in such countries in practice the Chinese aid is chan-nelled not necessarily to its most proletarian wing but to the most op



tunistic who may be willing to lend themselves to side with China in fighting the influence and prestige of the other Socialist countries and the ex-isting Communist Parties who have refused to accept the Chinese line.

Examples can be multiplied, in South Africa the Chinese are openly supporting the newly formed Pan-African Congress as against the older African National Congress (South Africa) which is a united front orga-nisation that includes all South African Communists, Similarly in Rhodesia where the majority and older national organisation Zimbabwe Afri-can People's Union (ZAPU) is being opposed by the rival Zimbabwe Afri-can National Union mainly on grounds of tribal and factional differences, the Chinese are patronising the latter organisation. Similarly in Latin Amewhere the existing Communist Parties have refused to accept the Chinese line and the Chinese have not succeeded in creating new Communist Parties, the recepients of Chinese aid are recently formed political parties and associations of dubious character.

The Chinese frequently criticise the Socialist countries of giving economic aid to newly independent Governments under national bourgeois leadership who, they allege, will use such aid in suppressing the working classes and their Communist Parties. In reality, however, their own practice is exactly the opposite. After the recent changes in the Algerian government, when the future policies of the government were unclear to the outside world and in fact large-scale arrests of Communists fact large-scale arrests of Communists and other progressives were taking place, the Chinese were the first to recognise and congratulate the new Government. After the coup d'etat against the Kasem government in Iraq the greatest anti-communist massacres in recent times were per-petrated by the Baath Party. Later there were further changes, in Iraq there were further changes in Iraq and the Beathists were thrown out of and the Baathists were thrown out of the government and the entire leader-ship fied to Syria. In Syria too there were changes in the government and the Baathists came to power. Today Syria happens to be China's principal ally among the Arab countries, be-cause the Baathist Syrian leadership have a conflect with the UAR. Algeria. Iraq etc., who happen to be friendly with the Soviet Union. to be more

Thus we see that the Chin 'theory' that national democratic revolutions must be under proleta-rian Marxist-Leninist leadership is only a weapon with which to beat the Soviet leadership and the Communist Parties of those countries who are engaged in their democratic revolutions under a broad united-front banner according to the local front hanner according to the local objective situation, but this of course will not bind the Chinese leadership itself in any way or pre-vent it from allying even with the most reactionary sections in the name of tactic and expediency.

Similarly the Chinese 'theory' in-sists that the path of armed struggle is the only method of achieving victory in a national democratic or a so-cialist revolution. While Marxists have always been prepared for armed revo-lution it has been found from experience that as a result of the new international correlation of forces, the struggle for independence in a large number of countries has succeeded comparatively easily during the last decade without involving any large-scale armed struggle in the form of anti-colonial or civil wars. Not that the enunciation of their 'theory' prevents the Chinese leadership from re-cognizing the independent status of those states liberated without involving armed struggle, and establishing normal international relations with their governments as also taking various diplomatic initiatives in cooperation with them. But simultaneously with that practice they also give such slogans as "All Africa is ready for revolution" which drew the immediate report from Jomo Kenyatta, "Revolution against whom?"

PAGE THREE

Considering the Africa of today, can one possibly lump together the revo-lutionary anti-imperialist struggle against colonialism and racialist dictatorship in South Africa, the Por-tuguese colonies and Southern Rho-desia with the struggle for further social changes in the direction of socialism in such newly independent countries under the leadership of popular and highly respected national leaders, as Tanzania, Ghana, Kenya or Uganda. Obviously the two belong to completely different categories and there is nothing in Chinese practice either which shows that they themselves believe or are guided by such theories"

The theory is to be used entirely for demagogic purposes and as a handy weapon in disrupting the existing balance of power and influence obtaining in the ranks of the national liberation forces of differ-ent countries and to provide the Chinese leadership with a handle to interfere in their internal affairs!

#### THEY DON'T BELIEVE IN THEIR THEORIES

In fact the strongest criticism of these Chinese "theories" is not this that they seek to attribute a uni-versal validity to lessons and me-thods emanating from the limited experiences of the Chinese revolu-tion but that neither is there any evidence in Chinese practice to show that they themselves consistently that they themselves consistently believe in those theories nor do any of these new seemingly d left-sectarian adventurist dogmatist theories logically flow out of the actual Chinese experiences. In fact these theories have been invented as wea-pons to be used in so called ideo-logical battles which are being waged entirely for nationalist chauvinist purposes in pursuit of hegemonic ambitions,

It will be outside the scope of this article to consider as to why and how the leaders of the great Chinese revo-lution could be deflected into such such roneous positions where they show ch utter and cynical disregard of erron the national and revolutionary inter-ests of other peoples and countries. But all serious students of Chinese affairs will agree today that these positions of the Chinese Communist Party do not follow from the lessons of the history of the Chinese revolu tion and their origin is to be traced

+ON PAGE 13

## SELF-RELIANCE OR SURRENDER TO U.S.?

There are several facets to New Delhi's policy of Patil as Prime Minister's 'self-reliance", as could be judged from the vagaries of mind and attitudes reflected in pronouncements by Ministers and other prominent people in recent days.

WHILE some half-way measures are taken and announcements made of govmment's determination to without outside aid, if that aid is conditional, the more preocupation is on how to keep this aid from drying up. All kinds of postures have been taken for this purpose.

this a sign of flexibility, the authors of it have yet to prove it is so. To most care-ful observers, it has however appeared as a sign of con-fused thinking, lack of cohesion and of course, the ever-present hesitation to discard ideas which have been proved wrong and harmful in practice

Apart from the gold bonds, the campaign for Miss a Meal on Monday, the several other slogans and statements which fill newspapers, if there is any serious attempt to bring the nation to the path of self-reliance, it is not revealed.

In vital matters of economic planning to build up strength to meet external aggression, to reduce de-pendence on outside help

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gress already achieved in several segments of nation-al life, the spirit of selfreliance is the poorest today after the wave of excite-ment. On the other hand hand

counsels of despair have started coming back. It is the common feeling in circles in the capital today that all the hi-fi publicity of recent weeks, after the Pakistani aggression and the hitter lessons of looking to Washington and Londor support, has not achieved half object of imparting a mood of bracing optimism to the nation as a whole, which would not have been so i popular sentiment at its height had been taken proper

care of. It is the opinion in these circles that the failure of gov-ernmental policies to adjust to popular enthusiasm has caused the set-back.

The fumbling over the Shastri visit to US, the silence and circumspection over the country-wide 'Quit Common-wealth' demand—some miniswealth' demand—some minis-ters even trying to discourage and to continue the pro- it-the performances of S. K.

AN ILLUSTRATED

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'special envoy' and several other instances are pointed

Mewaqe

out in this conn rectio To the list was added last week, the reply of the Food Minister in Parliament to the debate on the Communist member's resolution to stop PT. 480 imports. After all the angry reac-

tions in the country against American blackmail on food—to which the Congress party has not been altogether immune—and the unanimity of opinion re-vealed in the debate itself on the need to develop selfreliance in food, the Minis-ter was still stuck with his love for PL 480.

Subramaniam was in the company of the Swatantra member, Gayatri Devi, in at-tributing political motives to the resolution and he excelled his predecessor Patil in talking about 'political suicide' if In-dia decides to do without these imports from USA here and now. Even the substitute motion

of a Congress member which declared that food should be imported only from such countries as did not attach strings, "political or other-wise, to such supply" could not be adopted because Congress members voted against it! Hardly a pattern to fit in with the talk of self-reliance. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Asoka Mehta has now en-larged the scope of this de-bate on 'dependence or inde-

pendence' by declaring that if non-project US aid is not available, imports of vital industrial raw materials and components would be affected and the economy will suffer eriously. He unfolded the picture of stand on the Rhodesian crisis. bleak economic situation It has extended full support seriously.

MPs at the meeting of the informal consulta-tive committee of Parliament for Planning Commission last the indica-was that the Friday. Among tions he gave state governments might raise land revenue by 25 per cent and the Centre may take action under Article 269 of the land

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stand on our own feet is

Stand Of GOI

THE statement made by

Sardar Swaran Singh in

Parliament on Friday on

the unilateral declaration of

independence by the white

may take to deal with the situation and declared that it

would recognize any provi-sional government represent-ing the people of Rhodesia

which is recognised by the

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the Foreign Minister,

quietly ignored.

**Rhodesia:** 

Welcome

nomic relations with Rhode Constitution to augment the sia, until such time as a gov-ernment of the people of But the main point to emerge from his talk to the Rhodesia is established

NOVEMBER 21 1985

MPs was that he, like C. The statement by Swaran Singh squarely placing the responsibility for the illegal Subramaniam is stuck with the idea of American as-sistance if the wheels of our responsibility for the illegal seizure of power by the Smith clique on the British Government and its "shillyeconomy are to be kept moving. Self-reliance will shallying," would likewise receive the widest support in this country. It is a long time since the therefore take a back seat and New Delhi would go on humouring Lyndon Johnson for his little mercies.

But are we really faced with Covernment of India has reacted so strongly and force-fully to developments in Africa which have their genea Hobson's choice of accept-- tainly we are not. But then, as in the case of from imperialist domination food imports, so in the case of and racial oppression. Industrial raw materials and components, the possibility of

components, the possibility of looking elsewhere other than the USA with the intention supporting all forces of freesupporting all forces of free-dom and independence everyof seeking only such help as is given without political strings and which will enable us to where.

The present stand of the Government of India. of "full solidarity and support of the African people of Rhodesia", should therefore help to re-move some of the misgivings and misunderstandings that had unfortunately developed in the past in African minds about our position in the stru-ggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Pursued vigorously, this course would help to streng-then the bonds of trust and friendship between our own country and the African nations-which is a vital need of our foreign policy —and become a substantial contribution to strengthen-ing Afro-Asian solidarity, which has shown signs of

ign Minister's statement by crete actions in support of the struggle of the Rhodesian people as well as all other freedom movements in Africa

by encouraging the setting up of the offices of the freedom movements of South Africa Angola, Mozambique and other countries in New Delhi, for which there has been a long-standing demand.

-K.U. WARIER OAU. Also India has severed eco- (November 15)

The additional defence expenditure is a strain, concentrated as it is over a comparatively short period of time. It is almost impossible to work out the exact magnitude of the strain as no approximately accurate figures have been made available. Making a heroic guess one could say that over and above what was alrady enticinated before the Pakistani aggression, another Rs. 1,000 crores would be the maximum necessary, taking replenishments into account. Again, how much of this would have to be in the form of foreign exchange is extremely difficult to estimate-perhaps not more than one-third or Rs. 300 crores.

If the interest charges

clearer.

added to this, as well as the fact that this "aid" is over-

whelmingly paid back is considered, its largely sou-

rious nature becomes even

In this connection H Ven-

katsubbalah's comments are very much to the point. He

quotes a US ATD study of point

out that in the past ten years the "debt service burden of

developing counfries has in-

creased as rapidly that it has

cancelled out much of the growth in total aid".

THIS by itself would scarely justify the alarm and upset felt in the government over the prospects of the Fourth Plan. The real reason for the flurry is the practical ultimatum by the imperialists that Indian planning would to get along without their "ald"

NOVEMBER 21, 1965

Since the first article was written (October 31) Janan has joined her US and British colleagues in suspending her pledged ven credit to the ex-tent of Rs. 23 crores—"a sur-prising development". it appears to New Delhi (THE HUNDI November 6).

In 1955 eight per cent of the external 'assistance to developing countries was off-What is more, the ECONOthis had risen to 30 per cent. He adds that "at the end of MIC TIMES (November 11) reports: "The £ 10 million UK predit for Judia announced just three weeks ago has been blocked. Official circles here the Third Plan India would have paid about 22 to 24 per cent of aid actually disbursed to it as debt services over the were expecting that the loan would be available immediatefive years". (THE HINDU, October 30). ly for imports from Britain as the hurried signing of the In the original projections for the Fourth Plan the gross foreign aid desired was Ps 4,009 crores. Of this Rs. 750 agreement by the UK on October 20 signified

"Concern is also felt at the apparently still unalloyed gloomy sentiments among the British banks and business interests about the prospects of ernorts to India. Some of the British export houses had stonned exports to India under the fear of India's inability to pay. Recently. it is learnt, some of the British banks which had arranged for the purchase of Boeing aircraft by the Indian Air Lines Corporation went back

There is every likelihood that the Aid India Consortium would not even redeem past pledges, let alone think of further aid. It is the need for a radical reorientation in foreign economic policy, the need for a sharn turn in an anti-imperialist direction that has n'aced the Congress government in serious difficulties,

It is necessary, therefore, to examine how valuable ex-activ is this imperialist "aid" and what should be done to rid ourselves of it.

Writing in the London FIN-ANCIAL TIMES Lombard points out that the flow of government and private aid in 1985 is likely to be lower than in 1961. He adds:

"The sombre truth is that as prices have risen by 10 to 15 ner cent over the develop-ed areas as a whole since 1961 the real value of aid to the developing areas has actually been contracting. If account is also taken— as it should be—of the fact that, thanks to the weaker turn in commodify prices, the behaviour of world trade terms has been such in recent years as to con-fer considerable benefits on the advanced countries at the excense of the developing ones, it can be seen that the 'have' countries have collectively behaved very poorly".

It has been calculated that since 1977 the terms of trade benefited the developed i.e., inverialist coun-tries by 11,000 million dollars a year whereas their "aid" to the underdeveloped countries never exceeded 10,600 million dollars a year.

# i.e., about 35 per cent.

payment of loans and Rs. 650 crores as interest on loans,

maintenance imports alone-overwhelmingly bought from the imperialist countries at highly inflated prices and constituting a built-in com-ponent of their "aid"—are ponent of their "aid"-are likely to cost about Rs. 5,300 the entire expected foreign

exchange earnings of Indian exports in the same year. The balance, then, left for capital equipment would be only Rs. 2,400 crores.

The FINANCIAL EXPRESS (October 23) is, therefore, quite right in reminding us that "in spite of a variety of

labels printed by the West to display its solicitude for the developing world, it needs to be realised that the Western aid so far has been at half of the promised goal of one per cent of the national in-come and that even this level might not be sustained in the years to come ... Bluntly put, the price demanded by Wash-ington for continuance of aid is prohibitive and we have rot to adjust our way of liv-ing without depending on the crutches provided by Wash-

ington" How is this to be achieved? Is the answer appeals for more and more private foreign investment? It is a piece of malicious anti-national absurdity to look for the answer is

that direction. First, if the cost of some foreign loans is exorbitant, the cost of private foreign

MADRAS: Alongwith the Quit Commonwealth campaign, the Ma-dras District council of the CPI has started a campaign to remove the statues of from the city. British rulers from the

city. On the opening day of the Madras Assembly, a proces-sion was taken out by the Party from the heart of the city to the Assembly premises It was led by A. S. K. Iyengar, K. Baladandayutham, M. K. Baladandayutham, Kathamuthu and others.

A deputation led by M Kalyanasundaram met the Chief Minister and submitted a memorandum demanding removal of all statues put up by the erstwhile British rulers

All these years of independence, the government did not see the need to remove the statues of kings and queens of England "as empe-rors of India" dotting all im-nortant centres of the star portant centres of the city.

Two statues have been re-moved in the past—that of

Neale and Willington-following agitations by the people. The Madras Corporation unanimously passed resolution requesting the government to remove the statue of George V and put up the statue of the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad in its place. But the government

has not done it. The Communist Party has decided to continue the agi-tation till all the statues of British rulers are removed from the city.

minority government in Rhodesia will receive the fullest support of all Inweakness in recent times. What is perhaps necessary now is to follow up the Foredians who are one with their African brethren in the fight against imperialism. colonial'sm and racial discrimination. The Government of India A beginning could be made to any measures which the

newage

### FOR AN INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY-III

capital is extravagant. Bhoothalingam worked out the annual returns on all private foreign capital at 15.76 per cent per year and stated that it was consider ably more in "soublicated industries" in which the US industrialists are likely to be more interested.

Drawing upon the data of the Reserve Bank, K. N. Ra has calculated that in the cas Bank K. N. Rai of 35 chemical companies with foreign capital participation the total foreign exchange outflow worked out to nearly 24 per cent of the capital invested by the foreign participants

Inspite of this private foreign capital has flowed in to India in quantities which are very small compared to the needs of our foreign exch From 1955 to 1961 the total addition came to Rs. 211 crores of which Rs 82 crores was on account of retained profits. In the same period Rs. 73 crores of private foreign capi-tal was repatriated. If to this is added the annual remitis acceutine annual remit-tances of profits, royalties, etc. the net foreign exchange gain on account of private foreign capital per year would not be more than Rs. 5 to 7 crores.

Recently, in the Lok Sabha the Finance Ministry stated that at the end of 1964 total private foreign capital stood at Rs. 768.76 crores compared We must bear in mind that to Rs. 681 crores in 1961. Of laborating parties in India to

on the basis of information supplied by the U.K. High Commission in New Delhi, gave credence to reports that India had stopped all sterling payments and ad-vised British businessmen to cancel their commitments or withhold them (ECO-MONIC TIMES, October 24).

It is quite evident that if India wishes to grow rapidly as an industrialised, independent nation, then private for-eign capital can be ruled out as a means to this end.

Here a lengthy quotation from K. N. Raj is in order:

"If nevertheless a case is being made in India at the highest governmental levels for relying much more in the future on foreign private capital for the development programme the reasons, it must be presumed, are more political than economic. From the point of view of certain interests in this country a more liberal attitude to eign private investment has, eral advantages everal advantages. "If tax and other conces-

slons are to be offered to foreign investors for attracting them a case can be made, on grounds of non-discrimi-nation, for the same or similar concessions to be made available to Indian business interests. lished Tie-up-with established foreign companies makes it possible for the colwith financial assistance to enterprises which have such foreign collaboration agreements.

PAGE FIVE

"Once a sufficiently large amount of foreign private capital has come into the country (even if a large part of the increase is due ploughback of profits rather than through actual remittances from abroad) the fear of a sudden repatrition of this capital precipitating balance of payments difficulties will also prevent any future government from embarking on policies which are not consi-dered helpful by private business interests. There is no economic case for a general relaxation of policy in regard to private foreign capital". (Nalanda lectures, Allied Publishers, 1965)

The only way to meet the challenge of imperialist eco-nomic blackmail is to adopt three-pronged economic offensive.

One of the prongs is to state that in view of the hostile attitude adopted by the UK and US, all foreign private capital belonging to nationals of these states is to be pationalised and prior to nationalisation all remit-tances. whether of profits tances, whether of profits or canital renatriation, are

stopped forthwith. In addition, a moratorium should be placed on all fore-ign debt services and repayments to these countries as nisations controlled by them. This would cut our Fourth Plan foreign exchange expendifure by approximately Rs

Next there should be really serious effort made to cut down all unnecessary, foreign exchange exnenditure. As will be explained in a further article import cuts to the extent of Rs 400 crores are

immediately feasible. Lastly, there should be a radical reorientation of our foreign economic relations in the direction of rapid excan-sion of ties with the Soviet Union, other friendly sociaumon, other friendly socia-list countries and Afro-Asian world.

It is precisely this economic offensive that the democratic movement must compel the vernment to initiate here



this Britain had the biggest share with Rs. 477.50 crores and the largest capital inflow in this period of Rs. 30 crores. Next came the US with Rs. 125,19 crores and a capital inflow of Rs. 29 crores. No figures of repatriation,

profit remittance were suppli-ed but even leaving this aside the total foreign private capital inflow over four years worked out to Rs. 88 crores or Rs. 22 crores a year-a negligible sum despite all the new incentives, propaganda, etc., put out by the Government of India

N. Pattabhi Raman writing from Washington (COM-MERCE, October 16) com-ments on all these frantic efforts: "It is somewhat simpleminded to declare, as some do, that only if the newly emergent nations would shed their fear of capitalism and imperialism, roll out the red carpet and generally make the welcome hospitable and the welcome hospitable and the entry smooth by removing investment conditions and controls, foreign private capital would surge in and help develop their economics.... Business being what it is, private capital flows in the main to the secure, more familiar and high income markets". It was quite typical of the "courage" and "solida-

rity" of foreign private monoply capital that at the rity or monoply capital that at rue height of India's conflict with Paistan the British reportedly exploit patents and the names of well-known companies for gaining monopoly power and capturing a larger share o the domestic market for them share of selves.

"Special financing institutions for industry sponsored by the Government (some of which are provided with counterpart funds from the sale of foodgrans under PL 480) are also often more liberal

ARTICLES and SPEECHES This volume contains articles and speeches of Ajoy Chosh, the former Ceneral Secretary of the Communist Party of India former General Secretary of the Communist Party of India who died in January 1962. They concern the major social, economic and political problems of India and they show the way to solving them. The articles and speeches are chronologically arranged and they will be of immense help for an understanding and solution of present-day problems of India. In SIG pp. 303 Rs. 1.55 Postage extra ORDER FROM .

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### DOWN WITH JOHN BULL, UNCLE SAM

### From SUBODH MEHTA

A was observed all over John Bull and Uncle Sam were hujarat as "Quit Common-burnt. The effigies were bran-realth Day", on a call by the ded pound and PL 480. A was observed all over Gujarat as "Quit Common-Communist Party state coun-

PAGE STX

nstrations were held Demo in several places, where bon-fires were made of anti-In-dian. British and American The m newspapers.

Resolutions were passed in meetings demanding that India should quit the Commonwealth and stop all imports under PL 480. The Soviet Union's steadfast friendship for India' was hailed.

ad held a hig demons- seen in the picture.

vou"!

rialists c

decontrol o

press to announce the agree-ment between the Covernment of India and the cement indus-

An interesting point which would have struck anybody

An interesting point which would have struck anybody was that it was not the Gov-ernment of India which came forward to make the first an-nouncement of the terms for

that the government came for-ward to inform Parliament of this deal.

Why? Was the government

fighting shy of its complicity in allowing the cement mono-polists an unprecedented "free for all" loot of this country?

Well, the terms of the agree-ment, and even more clearly, the explanations of the cement body chief G. D. Somani, hide

nothing. It is as clear as clear could be.

Explained Somani, about the objectives of the new arrange-ments: Rs. 150 crores was needed for expansion of cement production capacity during the Fourth plan. Rs. 15 crores

ontrol of cement but the in-trialists. It was much later

distribution of cement.

n decontrol and future

HMEDABAD: November 7 tration at Nadiad. Effigies of

A procession held before the burning of the effigies was led by veteran Indulal Yagnik, Shivubhai Dave and Rasik

The meeting passed resolutions demanding quit Com-monwealth, boycott British goods, nationalisation of Bri-tish concerns, stopping PL 480 imnorts.

Picture on the right shows Union's steadfast friendship or India was halled. Indulal Yagnik leading the procession. Shivubhai Dave On November 9 the Janata and Rasik Bhatt also can be



### **ALL-PARTIES MEET** FOR PUNJABI STATE

### From B. S. SARAO

C HANDIGARH: An allparties convention to demand the formation of garh on November 7.

Representatives of all parwhich stand for the linguistic reorganisation of Punjab like the Communist Party of India, the Samvukta Socia list Party, the Republican Party, the Marxist Commu-nist Party and the Akali Dal led by Sant Fatch Singh atthe convention.

Among the representatives were legislators of different parties, members of zilla pari-shads, samitis and pancha-yats, municipal committees and leaders of other public leations numbering about 1.500.

The convention was unique in that it was for the first time in the history of the struggle for a Punjabi state that all these parties and individuals came on a common platform.

#### Unanimous Resolution

The resolution moved by CPI state council secretary Avtar Singh Malhotra and unanimously adopted by the convention said:

"This convention of representatives and legislators of different political parties, members of zilla parishads, block samitis and panchayats, municipal committees and town committees, members of the SGPC. of other public bodies and professions of Pun-jab has considered the ques-tion of the state reorganisation of Punjab state.

"The convention is of the considered view that the only just and democratic basis for the solution of the problem is to form a Punabi-sneaking state on the of language as has

been done in other parts of the country.

**NOVEMBER 21, 1965** 

"The convention holds that Punjabi state on linguistic basis was held at Chandi-will strengthen unity and national security.

> Among those who spoke were Harcharan Singh, for-mer Congress Minister in Pepsu; Charan Dass Nidharak, vice-president of Republican Party; Baba Gurbux Singh of the Marxist CP; Net Ram, Samyukta Socialist Party MLA; Jaswant Singh Kanwal, famous Punjabi writer. Sathi Roop Lal of Moga and Bihari Lal of Ludhiana,

Gurcharan Singh, president of the Republican Party pre-sided over the convention.

An important decision of the convention was to sup-port fully the demand of the people of Hariana for Harlana Prant.

To mobilise wider sections of the people in support of the linguistic reorganisation of Punjab, district level conven-tions will be held in the coming weeks.

The convention decided to set up a committee with two representatives each from the participating parties and some leading personalities for this purpose.

Last month, representatives of political parties and pro-minent individuals had organised a big convention at Rohtak in support of the Hariana Prant demand.

District level conventions in the Hariana for the formation of Hariana Prant is now being held. Recently, a convention was held in Karnal.

Though the Jan Sangh organised a counter-conven-tion in Rohtak, this proved to be a miserable failure. Still communal elements have not given up their disruptive proagainst the linguis Dagand tic reorganisation of Punjab.

NOVEMBER 91 1085 -

### DISTRESS SALE OF WHEAT BY PEASANTS From B. K. GUPTA

B HOPAL: There are D places in the country where wheat and rice are not available: if available unbearably high prices have to be paid for them.

But here in Madhya Pradesh are places where there is wheat but nobody, to buy it; if at all there is anybody,

it; if at all there is anybody, he is prepared to pay too low price only. During a campaign tour of Bhind and Gohad, which is an irrigated area, I found peasants bringing wheat to the mandis to be sold to whosoever wanted them. But the peasants were dis-appointed, if they had any expectations. There were no appointed, if they had an expectations. There were n buvers in the mandis the peasants after a long futile wait, had to make dis-tress sale of the wheat they had brought.

had brought. The price which these pea-sants got was around Rs. 56 a quintal—too low to be remu-nerative for them, not to speak of incentive to produce

Will the Will the government do something to help these pea-sants? The best way to help them is for the government to go in for direct purchase of wheat and rice from the peasants at reasonably remunerative prices.

ed to the government over the tribunal's decision. And

And meanwhile, the Raja



V. K. Krishna Menon addressing the closing public rally of the National Conference for Defence of the Motherland and World Peace at Bangalore

### **Bihar CPI Council Plans Defence** Convention From K. GOPALAN

**P** ATNA: The Bihar state council of the Communist Party of India has expressed its concern at the serious food crisis in the state as a result of the food policy of the state govern-ment with its pro-hoarder

The council meeting, which was the first since the mas-sive August food movement, was attended by the CPI ge-neral secretary, C. Rajeswara

The meeting reviewed the political situation as well as the food situation in the state. and underlined the Party's role in the task of national defence and to protect the vital interests of the people Among the decisions taken was to consult other

left parties and democratic organisations to hold a joint national defence convention in the month of December. It was also decided to hold series of local defence and production conferences during the next three months

and to organise a mass de-monstration before the state legislature during its budget

• NE of the most un-disguised acts of loot by the monopolies in this country, with open com-plicity of the government, would be treated as straight plicity of the government, would be treated as straight has just come to pass. A gift by the cement monopo-lists and gobbled up, and about tidy sum of Rs. 65 crores the remaining loan-well—the will soon be extorted from the common people and the common people and the common people and gobbled up by the mono-polists without even say-ing the customary "Thank after a year from now, cement companies will increase their

polists without even say-ing the customary "Thank dividends: they will nearly double the dividends, and set double the dividends, and set the pace for the future rate of profitability of the industry. Well done, social productivity, gobbled up by the sharks. I was a witness to the un-folding of this drama of day-light plunder when the chair-man of the Cement Manufac-turers' Association called in the

The amount of Rs. 65 crores is of course that which is spelt out by the cement body chief. That which may come from below the table is otherwise. I would not like to work the figures for that.

And more good job done-the "public sector" cement cor-poration has been liquidated before even it came to life, and so too the STC. Henceforth in the field of cement the mono-polies will have it all their own way.

### JAN SANGH'S ANTI-SOVIET PHOBIA

Explained Somani, about the of policy and ideology.

big the source of the new arrange-ments: Rs. 150 crores was needed for expansion of cement production capacity during the Fourth plan. Rs. 15 crores-would come from the increase in price which the government had consented to. Rs. 50 crores-would be available from the existing profits. The balance-approximately Rs. 75 crores-would be taken from "institu-tional loans". Socialism and the socialist to the obscurantists and neo-fascists who cloak their ideo-context of the original being correct. Of course, if the OR-songh to occasionally welcome even friendship of the Soviet Union. But this is an expedi-



newage

ent to be thrown away at the earliest opportunity.

The Sangh mouthpiece OR-GANISER has been running a systematic campaign against the Soviet policy on the Indo-Pakistani relationship by trying to make capital of a mistran-slation of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's recent in the Security Council.

The sentence "neighbouring States, India and Pakistan" had been wrongly translated in the Soviet embassy publication here as "non-aligned States, India and Pakistan", a mistake which was quickly corrected by the Soviet publication.

The ORGANISER it seems is unhappy over this correction and insists that the word "non-aligned" and not "neighbour-ing" was the correct transla-

THOBIA THERE are good reasons for the RSS-Jan Sangh to be against the Soviet Union as a matter of policy and ideology. Socialism and the socialist



### From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: The Raja of Challapalli is trying to keep his illegal hold on some three thousand acres of land with the connivance of the state govrnment.

A signification has developed delegates from all parts of the taluk, has therefore de-Recently a conference of agri-cultural workers in Divi taluk and Hyde business. It called Recently a content of the same and have upon all workers and pea-demanded distribution of this sants to forge united struggle land under the illegal occu-pation of the Raja to field palli's game. habour cooperatives. An interesting development

attitude of Marxist' Commu-nists to this hot agitational dict dismissing the claim of the Raja to the land. But the issue for the agricultural labour of the taluk. government has so far not moved to eject the trespasser no doubt because of his in-

For all their tall talk about revolutionary strug-gle against feudalism they just are not keen to join the battle against one of the biggest feudalists in the state

has been busy collecting advances to sell the land over which he has no right, whatsoever. He goes about saying that he has appeal-The only reason which ob-servers could find for this is the government is one in which he is a minister!

On this and other issues facing the agricultural labour there is meanwhile developing a strong agitation in the whole state.

Agricultural workers are rallying everywhere under the banner of the Agricultural Workers Union to fight for the realisation of their demands such as, increased wages, distribution of banjar lands, allocation of housing sites, setting up of fair price shops in villages etc.

Taluk and district rallies have been held in some places and more such rallies and conventions are to take place in various parts of the state during the harvest season

The plight of the agricul-tural labour in the state-

that the compulsions of their convenient coalition ethics have inhibited the 'Marxists' from taking up the fight against the Raja of Challa-Those who produce food do not even set a square meal a not even get a square meal a day.

> In the dry parts of the state, the dranght and near-famine conditions have made their lot worse even in the better days of harvest. The position in the delta areas is slightly better, but not satisfactory.

The Minimum Wages Act for agricultural labour passed some five years ago needs radical revision in view of radical revision in view of the steep rise in prices. What is more surprising, the mini-mum wage fixed by this Act is actually lower than what the workers used to get in coastal districts

And even this piece of inlequate legislation is more observed in its breach. There is no machinery to imple-



#### From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Statutory rationing in the state is in a sorry mess, thanks to bureaucratic bungling. The worst expression of this is found in the distribution of ration cards, which has resulted in a denial of the meagre rations to thousands of families. Large numbers. have not received the ration cards.

S IMILARLY, on the streng-th of 'blanket assessment' of yield from the top for a whole district or taluk, without going into the crop pros-pects of individual plots, ration cards of many tillers vere frozen in rural areas.

Since rice is hardly availoble in the onen market

through executive orders and the proposal to impose surcharge on land revenue and new tax on urban lands.

It suggested alternate sources of revenue for raising additional finance. Also monopoly purchase of foodgrains and statutory rationing were demanded.

A largely attended mass meeting, held at the end of the council session, was a manifestation of the growing

id to ... nonstration berow egislature during its buuge-session. The council reiterated the demand for the release of the nearly 200 persons detained under DIR in the state since the August food movement, withdrawal of all cases and the August food movement, withdrawal of all cases and the August food movement, withdrawal of all cases and the August food movement, the August food The council strongly con- ma, RSP leader spoke at the facilities. demned the imposition of meeting. Indradeep Sinha. The secretariat further new taxes amounting to MLC and secretary of the several crores of rupees state council presided. urgent steps to seek people's

with the introduction of statutory rationing a fort-night ago, this has meant starvation for hundreds of families of actual producers.

These and other defects in the present administration of statutory rationing were dis-cussed in a meeting of the secretariat of the Kerala state council of the CPL

The council called upon the government to remedy the situation by taking the help of local bodies like panchayats and municipal councils.

The secretariat also urged the government to exempt all cultivators with less than two acres of irrigated lands or three acres of nonirrigated lands from the purview of assessment.

Till new cards are allotted to these, they may be permit-ted to draw rations on the old cards

The secretariat has supported the universal de-mand to raise the government to raise the govern-ment rate for paddy, which is fixed very low. The ma-chinery set up to collect paddy from the producers is also faulty.

It is necessary that cultivators' cooperative societies should be entrusted with the job of procurement and the government should arm these societies with adequate credit

cooperation for increasing production. It suggested con-vening of block level confer-EDCES bution of fallow lands.

The difficulties experienced in the matter of kerosene rationing, the inadequacy of two litres per month for homes which do not use elec-tricity and the defects in the distribution tion agencies are also pointed out by the secretariat

The resolution of the secretariat ends with a call to the government to look into the serious complaints that have been voiced by many in regard to defence fund collections.

For instance, a primary school student is compelled to pay a minimum of one rupee, while his parent whether in factory or in office pays day's wages.

This could be welcome if it is voluntary. But when com-pulsion is used and the rich and well-to-do sections, including high officers, are given the freedom to fix their own quotas, discontent is bound to





FOR SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD

Self-reliance has become the watchword of our country since Pakistani aggression. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri has declared on behalf of the Government of India that we have to attain self-sufficiency in defence equipment, food and other key industrial pro-ducts if we are to safeguard our freedom, to defend the country from any attack. We have learnt this bitter lesson because of the per-

fidy of American and British imperialists, their open support to Pakistan in its aggression on our country and their application of all-sided economic pressure at a time when the country was fighting a life and death war for humiliating us and making us give up Kashmir to Pakistan.

THOUGH over 70 per cent to make us surrender to their

doles. Failure of the monsoons

the US with beggar's bowls.

It will be possible for us to resist US pressure only to the extent we reduce our depen-

-dence on them for our food. The Prime Minister has called on our people to make the country self-sufficient in

food, by increasing food pro-

But the concrete mea-

sures put forth before the country by the Union Food Minister, C. Subramaniam on behalf of the Govern-ment of India do not give much hope in this matter. The plan of the Government

tion is engaged in agriculture, They are refusing to sign it is a matter of shame that long-term foodgrains agree-we are not yet able, even 18 ment, but are giving monthly years after the attainment of freedom, to produce the food-grains we require and we are fall in foodgrains production as compared to last .year, still dependent on imports as compared to last year, under PL 430 from the United have made them much more haughty. And we are witness-ing the shameful spectable of our ministers running after States

NOVEMBER 21, 1965

Since independence till the end of 1964 we have imported foodgrains to the tune of Rs. 2,342 crores, mostly from the United States. These imports have not helped our country to increase its food produc-tion, as was claimed by its chief protagonist S. K. Patil, then Central Food Min-

duction, reducing consump-tion of cereals (miss-a-meal a On the other hand, it has been conclusively proved that our dependence on the US for foodgrains has been stea-dily growing because of these week); developing other food-stuffs like potatoes, fish, eggs; starting vegetable kit-chen gardens in towns, etc.

imports. This has actually made our government complacent and acted as a disincentive for inreasing food production. The US imperialists have chosen this critical time for using the foodgrain imports as a pressure against us

of India, according to the Food Minister, for increasing Food Minister, for increasing food production during the course of the Fourth Five-Year Plan is the following:

"A package programme of intensive agriculture in 35 million acres of land, based on the study of sol-water management, use of new varieties of crops together with larger doses of fertilisers, plant protection measures and crop insur-ance, would certainly yield 20 to 25 million tonnes of additional foodgrains.

"He (Subramaniam) said that of 320 million acres of land currently under culti-vation, 72 million acres get an assured water supply. Half of this irrigated area would be cultivated using new techniques of science and technology. More credit would be made available to the farmers. This programme he said, would be implemented through the ex-tension and block machine-ry set up in the rual areas.

"Mr. Subramaniam said that it was estimated that the use of new varieties of paddy would bring under culivation 2 to 3 million acres of land in the first year of the Fourth Plan. The Mexico variety of wheat, treated to a process of multiplication, would bring under plough an additional lakh acres. "In the first instance, he 5 lakh

said, six crops—paddy, wheat, hybrid maize, bajra, radi and sorghum—would ragi and sorghum-would be brought under the package programme." (ECONO-MIC TIMES, November 14)

The Central Food Minister has also declared that the Government of India is considering the encouragement of joint stock companies to de-velop modern largescale me-chanised farms i.e. capitalist farms, on government fallow lands. Birla has already been given 1,000 acres in Punjab.

### MINISTRY'S PROGRAMME

For the quick production of the foodstuffs this year to re-lieve pressure, the Food De-partment proposes the fol-lowing immediate measures:

"In the context of cur-"In the context of cur-rent emergency, the Minis-try of Food & Agriculture have taken certain steps to promote quick increase in food production by reorlentating the Agriculture Plan. The special measures pro-posed in this connection are: (1) to introduce additional crops over and above the existing ones in a few selected irrigated areas, (ii) to promote cultivation of subsidiary root crops such as potatoes and tapicca, (iii) to organise vegetable cultivation in urban and suburban areas, (iv) to pre-pare and bring under culti-vation some land falling within the command areas of new irrigation projects of which the full potential is not being used, (v) to arrange for the preparation of farm manure in compost pits on well-planned basis.

and (vi) to mobilise

using flow

tric and diesel pumps for using flow and surface

elec

water by means of lift irri- lords to develop modern,

joint teams of officers from the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and Central Water & Power Commission and it is estimated that a total area of 2.5 million acres can be brought under paddy, wheat ragi, maize, etc. under rabi and summer The Congress Working

water by means of lift irri-gation... "The first problem is uti-lisation of water to the maximum. A programme is proposed to maximise water availability for growing two crops or more where only one grew before and thus one grew before and thus bring an additional area of 2.5 to 3 million acres under rabi and summer crops im-mediately. These proposals have been discussed with the concerned States by joint teams of officers from

reported that other big busi-ness houses are trying to enter agriculture in a big way. This is a big retrograde step

agricultural land in terms of nitrogen, phosphates, etc., while Japan uses 94 kilograms The average yield per hectare (2.5 acres) in India of paddy is 13.8 quintals whereas in Japan it is 52.6 quintals (1952-63). As a matter of fact, where such facilities are available even to a limited extent in our country, as in Punjab and big project areas of Andbra Pradesh, Tamilnad and other states, the yield of agricultural products has reased significantly. But they are only small islands in a vast sea of backward and dry tracts. Hence the average yields are very low. If the feudal burdens are removed, land is given to the tiller and vast tracts of land are given some of the abovementioned facilities.

Render All Help To Peasants

Committee which met recently which the government is in New Delhi has supported in taking and it will put the de-toto the measures of the gov-velopment in full reverse gear ernment regarding the tack-ing of the present food criss. not intervene in time to pre-It has not suggested any new vent it. measures. It has appealed to Till the capitalists produce the people to produce more, enough to eat, the government

gress leadership in solving the food crisis and making the country self-sufficient is to develop capitalist agriculto develop capitalist agricul-ture by applying "new techniques of science and technology", without carrying out any genuine agrarian reform, which will sweep off the feureform, dal burdens on agriculture and give land to the actual tillers

### REVERSE GEAR

There is not even a mention of giving government fallow land to the agricultural labour and poor nea-sants, which costs nothing to the government, not to speak of giving landlords' land through the application of ceilings.

On the other hand an open departure is made in the opposite direction, that is, dein the eloping largescale mechanised canitalist farms even on government land by providing them all facilities.

The FICCI has always been opposing ceilings on land-holdings under the plea that this would act as a disincentive to food production by discouraging modern scientific methods of cultivation. It has demanded of the government to put an end to the legislation on ceilings and allow the capitalists and land-

Committee which met recently which the government is need not be any scarcity of in New Delhi has supported in taking and it will put the de-foodgrains and other agricultural products. 70 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, let us not think of mechanisation

meal in a week. It has asked and miss a meal. It is all the Congress workers to pro-pagate among the people suffering from indigestion by these proposals and make over-eating. The them a success. nolicy of the Congress them also to improve their nents and the Con- health and reduce the doctor's bill. But what about those overwhelming majority of our people who are already

half-starving, because of the shooting prices and scarcity conditions? There is a wrong notion

There is a wrong notion, among a section of the edu-cated and even among some economists of our country, that the legislation on cell-ings is responsible for the slow rate of growth of our-agriculture and the conse-quent food crisis. They think, selentific methods cannot he scientific methods cannot be applied on small farms.

If this is true, what about Japan where the farms are much smaller than in Tudia and whose yield of paddy is the highest in the world, going unto even 100 maunds per acre? The real reasons for the

low yields in India are the feudal burden of rack-rent-ing over a large section of the peasants, heavy debt-burden and lack of credit, facilities, lack of sufficient irrigation facilities, fertilisers, improv-ed seeds, pesticides etc.

If the feudal burdens are removed and sufficient faci-lities provided, Indian peasants and agricultural labourer can attain high yields and produce enough foodgrians and other agricultural products

To give one example: India uses 1.3 kilograms of fertili-sers on an average per acre

vided with power-tillers, pump sets and other simple agricultural appliances to re-Hence even these facilities are not reaching the ordinary peasant. Much of it is going in bribes to the officials and duce their back-breaking toil. swindling by those who are in the good books of the Congress group in power. Third, the policy of depending on PL 480 imports has made the government complacent and they are neglect-ing the need for improvement of agriculture, spending less e da and less for its improvement. Whatever they may talk, it is not yet certain that they are prepared to spend sufficient amount of funds for agricultural improvement. The meeting of the Left



along the road of socialism, then we can think of intro-duction of modern machinery in agriculture through the edium of collective farms.

In a country, where about

immediately because this will

further intensify the unem-ployment problem which has already reached serious pro-

portions: Peasants can be pro-

The point here is that the government is not adopting the preently necessary agwhich are rarian reforms which are have to be radically altered if pation of landlords and rich needed to enthuse agricul-tural labourers and poor effected." Though it has been declar-peasants, who constitute It demanded that for in-about 70 per cent of the creasing agricultural pro-erural households, to put all duction, all cultivable fallow waste would be distributed to their heart and soul into lands of the government be agricultural labourers and



They will produce more if there are sufficient incentives (Photo: VIRENDRA KUMAR).

#### Any returns for their labour

# Implement Radical Land Reforms

increasing agricultural pro-duction.

Secondly, even the facilities for improving agricultural production, the government provides through the bureau-cratic machinery with all its corruption and inefficiency. with all its inefficiency. Moreover, it tries to use these facilities for the narrow partisan interests of bolstering the prestige of the Congress party.

When the country goes Parties held in Delhi on November 2 and 3 considered. the problem of national emergency and food crisis and came to the conclusion that "the entire policy of the gor-ernment with regard to pro-duction, procuring surplus foodgrains, fixing prices and organising distribution will have to be radically altered if

given free of cost to the agri- poor peasants, the state govcultural labourers and poor peasants. The fallow lands held by the landords also be taken over by the state and leased out to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

All loopholes in the existing land reform and ceiling legislation be removed and the surplus land of the landlords be distributed among agricultural labourers and lords poor peasants.

Adequate credit irrigation facilities. fertilisers, improve seeds and land improvement measures be provided for the peasants and agricultural labourers.

. No new tax burdens, reduction of water rates and bet-terment levies where they are heavy and remunerative prices for agricultural pro-ducts were the other demands made by the left parties.

Some of the above demands need to be elaborated in the light of the discussion that is going on about attainment of sulf-sufficiency in food.

According to the statistics of the government, the total cultivable land under its title throughout India. its title throughout India, that is, lying waste, is 932 lakh acres. Other private land, mostly of the land-lords, that is lying fallow is 520 lakh acres. There is still another category of lands held by the covernment held by the government which is lying fallow and that is the so-called forest land, where no trees are there.

Some of the government land and socalled forest land are cultivated by the agricul-tural labourers and poor peasants. Part of the government land is under the occupation of landlords and rich

ernments have not found time during the last 18 years to fulfil this promise. On the other hand, the gov-

ernments are harassing agricultural labourers and poor peasants by imposing penalties ten to fifteen times the land revenue under the plea of unauthorised cultiva-tion and sometimes even tion and sometimes even standing crops are destroyed, while the land under unauthorised occupation of land-lords is left untouched.

### DISTRIBUTE FALLOW LAND

There is no reason why this land should not be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants till now except that landlord interests that are firmly entrenched in the state governments do not like the poor people getting land.

If the government is serious of increasing food production, it should immediatels stop all harassment of poor people in occupation of these lands, make these lands available to agricultural labour and poor peasants free of cost with title deeds and give them adequate aid for bringing them under. cultivation. In the same way, it should take over the fallow land of landlords give them to the poor neasants and agricultu-ral labourers on lease.

🖌 Many states have passed ceiling legislations, but the agricultural labour and poor peasants have got very little land

According to the Mahalanobis Committee's report, the land concentration is still Twenty per cent of the rural households i.e. of agri-cultural labour do not even any land; five per cent of the

\* OVERLEAF

PAGE TEN

### Soviet Land Nehru Awards For Prominent Writers and Journalists

The awards are being given by the Fund for Stronger Soviet-Indian Friendship, established soon after Jawaharlal Nehru's death by the SOVIET LAND bi-weeky. The award committee has K. P. S. Menon as its chair-

Urdu poets, Sumitranandan Pant and Ali Sardar Jafri for their books "Lokayatan" and "Ek Khwab Aur"

The first and second prizes for the best works of journalism, went to Banarsidas. Chaturvedi for his Ki Sahityik Yatra" and to Ravi Shankar Raval for his Cujarati collection for articles "I Saw A

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NEW DELHI: Prominent writers and journalists in Indian languages were among those who received the SOVIET LAND NEHRU AWARDS on November 15 from Indira Gandhi, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting. The awards are being given by the Fund for Stronger Soviet Indian Friendship, established

### Prize For Children

The prize for children is awardman. For the best literary works, the children's camp "Artek" and first and second prizes were a month's hospitality there. Other awarded to eminent Hindi and awards carry cash prizes as well Urdu, poets, Sumitranandan Pant as visits to Soviet Union.

> The third literary prize for 1965 was divided between Jagjit Singh Anand, for his translation in Punjabi of Sholokhov's "Virgin Soil Upturned", and the three Gujarati jabi of Sholokhov's Virgin Soil Upturned", and the three Cujarati translators of Sholokhov's "And Quiet Flows the Don". Suresh Joshi, Jayant Pathak and Ramanlal Pathak.

Five Additional Prizes for lite

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NOVEMBER 21, 1965

**OR LOCKOUT ?** MADRAS: Produce more, says the go vernment. For. according to it, there is national emergency, and higher

PRODUCE MORE

production is a must for lefence preparedness. Do the capitalists care for what the government prea-ches? Certainly not, if the instance of Coimbatore is

taken. The owners of the C.S. and W. (Stanes) Mills in Coim-batore has closed down the mill from November 8 after mill from November 8 after five months of haggling with the workers over the latter's rights and privileges. The closure has thrown as many as 2,400 workers on the streets,

### **Steps For Achieving** Self Sufficiency In Food

All Sardar Jafri receiving the award from Indira Gandhi.

### **\*FROM CENTRE PAGES**

cent of the smallholdings are

1. C.

below 6.64 acres. Even according to govern-ment statistics, a good part of the land of the landlords is either kept fallow, poorly cul-tivated or leased out. Apart from the question

of social justice, if food production has to increase, production has to increase, it is urgently necessary that ceilings legislation is modified to plug all the loop holes and the excess land is given to agricultural labour

such legislation strictly and protect the tenants.

Cone of the reasons why the peasants are not able to invest sufficient money for

According to the Reserve

Bank's latest all-India rural debt survey, covering the year 1961-62, the total rural debt stands at Rs. 2.380 crores, out of which only 10 per cent is payable to the cooperatives and as much as 77 per cent is payable to the moneylenders traders and landlord

several states have passed legislations controlling the rate of interest it is being flouted openly and exorbi-

tant interest is charged on the The government, instead of

interest taken in the form of grain is even 100 per cent per annum. Even the interest ing food production. charged by the cooperatives is cnarged by the cooperatives is not cheap. It comes to 8.5 to 9.5 per cent in different states, while the Reserve Bank lends at a cheap rate of four per cent to the cooperative per cent to the cooperative

This is so because the credit given by the Reserve Bank has first to go to the State Bank of India, then the State Apex Cooperative Bank and several other layers of the cooperative system before reaching the primary society. Other banks do not lend credit to the cultivators but only to the traders for induly.

ing in speculation in food-grains and other agricultural commodities, which is one of the main reasons for increase in the prices of foodgrains.

### Liberal Credit

Hence it is necessary that the government eliminates private moneylending and gives adequate credit to all parties, it is necessary to cultivators. Branches of the State Bark have to be government schemes like State Bank have to be opened on a much wider scale in the conntryside so that credit can be given through the local coopera-tives or directly to the cul-tivators eliminating the intermediary layers at low come. rate of interest. (November 15, 1965)

top households own 40 per cent of the land, while 70 per that in backward regions, the grains, can use it to provide grains, can use it to provide ample cheap credit to the cul-tivators who will help increas-

are technically possible. It is reported that the yields of new varieties of seeds im-ported from other countries are as follows: Tai-chung Native 1 paddy—60 to 72 maunds per acre; Mexican varieties of wheat—like Sonara 64 and Lerma Rojo 18—60 to 80 maunds per acre. Hybrid maize, sorghum, bajra and ragi va-rietles are also giving high

For these improved varieties what is needed is ade-quate water and fertilisers. If the government makes them available liberally it is possible to wipe out the deficit in foodgrains in a matter of a few years. While propagating for a change in the policies of

tunise the good aspects in government schemes like irrigation facilities, improved varieties of seeds, rural cre-dit, etc. for increasing food production and helping the peasants and agricultural labour to increase their in-come.

"A dream will come true—a world without war, without fear for tomorrow, of freedom and progress: a world where children can grow up in health and happi-

THESE words of Madame Rosa Panteleon-Jasovich. General Secretary of the Wo-men's International Demo-cratic Federation echoed the feelings of confidence of the two hundred delegates assembled at the recent Council meeting of the WIDF, cele-brating the 20th anniversary

NOVEMBER, 21, 1965

of its foundation. The Council session held at Salzburg in Austria from October 24 to 27 was attended by representatives of women's organisations. from 67 coun-tries. It marked a long jour-ney from the days in Paris in 2007 1945, when women from 41 countries, who had been dri-ven by the experience of the horrors of fascism and the brutal destruction of life in the Second World War came together to strive to put an end to all wars and to accept greater responsibility building the future world. for

As the final Message to the Women of the Whole World passed by the Coun-cil stated, the WIDF had become a huge mass organi-sation, bringing together hundreds of millions of women in all continents through active solidarity with women in all countries fighting for national independence, peace and demo-cracy, as well as those sub-jected to repression and im-

prisonment. Together with all forces for peace, it had acted trelessly to prevent the universal blood bath, of another world war. The WIDF has also struggled for equal rights, respon-sibilities and opportunities for women and for the happiness of children. In 1952 it was of children. In 1992 is wiDF under the initiative of WIDF that an International Confer-ence in Defence of Children was held in Vienna. In 1953 at the Copenhagen



**Eugenie** Cotton

Congress the Charter of Women's Rights was formu-lated. In 1955, the World Con-gress of Mothers in Defence of Children and Against War

was held in Lausanne with wide participation of women from 66 countries. In 1958 the Fourth Congress of the WIDF was held in Vienna with the central theme: "The role and respon-sibility of women in the modern world." In 1959 in Sweden a meeting took place on disarmament with the slo-gan: "Today's dream; to-morrow's reality."

In 1960 was celebrated or a grand scale, the 50th anniversary of Internatio-nal Women's Day at Copen-hagen. In 1962 in Vienna at the initiative of the WIDF the world gathering of wo-men for disarmament took place.

The next year the Fifth Congress of the WIDF was held in Moscow amidst great enthusiasm, laying down once again firmly the main objec-tives of the WIDF, which were



Karl Marz, the brilliant theoretician and leader of the prole-tariat is one of the greatest thinkers and scholars whose names will live through the ages. This book gives a brief sketch of the life and work of the founder 'of scientific socialism. The centre of attention is the analysis of the most important stages of the political and scientific scientific of Marz activities of Marx.

### Author: Y. Stepanova

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banks and poor peasants. In the same way, where rackrenting is rampant in-spite of legislation, the gov-ernment should implement

carrying on improved me-thods of cultivation is lack of availability of adequate cre-

In spite of the fact that



again reiterated at this Coun-

cil meeting. So much for the past history of the growth of the WIDF. Turning to the present, the WIDF took note of the grave turn that has taken place re-cently in international events.

The Council adopted a special resolution on Vietnam. It denounced the barbarous acts of the American aggressors and exposed the hollowness of the peace-appeal of President Johnson when at that very moment he continues to bomb and kill thousands of Vietnamese.

The Council decided to redouble its efforts in ever-grow-ing campaigns to stop the war in Vietnam which is threatening to escalate into a world war, and to help these heroic sisters who are fighting for their independence; to win their legitimate aspirations—

other delegates we heard that fascist groups in South Tyrol which now forms a

part of Italy want it to be joined to Austria and are raising the demand for self-determination. But it is significant that no progressive party has supported them, because they consider that this will strengthen reaction.

These examples have so many lessons to teach us re-garding the question of selfdetermination which is being purveyed as the only demo-cratic solution for Kashmir, that it was of intense interest to the Indian delegation.

to the Indian delegation. When we pointed out the danger inherent in the de-mand for self-determination in the case of Kashmir and

not being able to attack direc-tly this proposal of ours to organise a campaign against military pacts said they could not understand this proposal as it had not been discussed! Therefore they reserved their opinion on it and did not vote for it!!

Their main attack was on the Soviet delegation and they mentioned by name its leader and for 20 years Vice-President of the WIDF, our dearly-beloved Nina Popova. The grey-haired Jeanette Vermeerch; the veteran of the French resistance and leader of the powerful Union of French Women also did not escape their attention.

The Chinese leader Kho-Chun, the same person who had created the uproar at the Moscow Congress of Women, declared her opposition to the Message to the Women of the World passed by the Council with overwhelming approba-tion, because as she put it, "although the world imperialism appears here and there the general line is of peaceful coexistence and disarma-

ment". The WIDF, she said, has now become soft to imperia-lism, having fallen from its earlier aim of fighting fascism and imperialism. Her peroration at the end shot out against Nina Popova and Jeannette Vermeerch saying they had become akin to the German revanchists! Nothing could be more despicable and

### Chinese Isolation

But the dignity with which Nina and Jeannette behaved raised them in the estimation of all present and in like degree lowered the prestige of the Chinese. And so rose Jean Marti,

the General Secretary of the Pan-African Women's Congress and in eloquent terms, spurning the epithets and derogatory remarks the Chinese speaker had used regarding the WIDF, paid handsome tribute to this great organisation in recog-nition of the help and inspiration it and its leaders like Eugenic Cotton had given to African Women in their fight for liberation and emancipation.

She promised further closer cooperation between these two important organisations of women. There could be no more fitting reply to the

Chinese. Except for two or three nega-tive votes like those of China, Albania and Japan and a couple of abstantions like Vietnam, the entire Council by overwhelming vote endors-ed all the resolutions of the Council, thereby giving their assurance to the last appeal made by Eugenie Cotton in

her report: "United, dear friends, we "United, dear interest, was will make of our great hope, that the Chinese delegation, the reality of tommorow."

**RENU CHAKRAVARTTY** 

which are the aspirations of all mankind.

But Vietnam is not the only arena of tension. As the Indian delegate pointed out, "We should like to assure our sisters of Vietnam that as far as we in India are concerned, we can never tolerate the in-terference of troops and arms in Vietnam, because we know in a small way how the USA and Great Britain interfered in the internal affairs of our nation". In this connection, she

pointedly drew attention to the question of military pacts and foreign bases like SEATO, CENTO, Japan-South Korea pacts, not to speak of NATO and the OAS forces in Latin America.

"If we really want to struggle for peace and disar-mament this struggle against foreign military pacts and bases has become an urgent concrete issue, which can rouse into great activity all the continents of the world and can isolate the imperialists . . . These hat-ed pacts must be opposed."

We clearly told all friends that the Kashmir question will be settled peacefully only if there is no pourning of US arms into Pakistan by the Seato and Cento powers.

In this relation, the report of the Sudanese delegate Wahida, was of deep interest to us in India. It threw im-portant light as to how the British imperialists are seeking, as they do in Kashmir, to divide Sudan by using the dif-ferences of religion, language and ethnic groups in South Sudan and by raising the demand of self-determination. They are even pouring in Cento arms to this end.

The Cyprus delegate also spoke of how Turkish people and Cypriots lived together in peace so long. But now the imperialists were trying to

eferred to the above

the various friends we talked to, seemed to receive new light on this question.

Finally in the plan of work accepted by the Coun-cil, besides the holding of an international conference on the health, education and welfare of children in 1966 and the campaign of solidarity for Vietnam, we were successful in getting the Council to decide on a Day of Protest to be organised throughout the world in February 1966, against military bases and pacts.

Another proposal too is to write to women in Seato and Cento countries through the WIDF appealing as mothers to mothers, not to send arms to kill our children who need not death but life, education not guns, health not bombs and guns, heath not bombs and thereby create new thinking for peace among them which ultimately may become a new source of strength for the eace movement as a whole. It was also decided to hold

a meeting of women from Warsaw and Nato Pact coun-

divide them, so as to keep their hold intact. In the course of talks with

PAGE TWELVE

PL480 Main Cause For SMITH'S UDI SHOCKS Failure On Food Front

FREEDOM FROM FOREIGN FOOD—Pernicious Effects of PL 480 by Dr. Sulekh C. Gupta; Blitz Natio-nal Forum, New Delhi; pp ; Price 50 praise. I UCH has been said \_\_\_\_\_\_ Effects of PL 480 by Dr. Sulekh C. Gupta; Blitz National Forum, New Delhi; pp ; Price 50 praise.

MUCH has been said about PL 480 and its evil influence on India—the political blackmail, the economic stranglehold, the agricultural stagnation and the other many adverse effects of these imports.

To Sulekh Gupta goes the credit of putting all these as-pects into a composite book-let form, and to the Blitz Nat form, and to the Block and onal Forum, New Delhi, for publishing it at a pric can be afforded by the com-

At no time in the past than during the recent conflict with Pakistan have the political strings attached to the socalled "food for peace pro-gramme" of the American imgramme" of the American im-perialists been more evident.

Using food, in which India so pitifully deficient, the American imperialists sought to impose a solution to the socalled Kashmir problem which was all to the benefit of Pakistan, the military ally of the United States.

Only a few weeks before the Indo-Pak conflict, the nernicious effects of the PL 480 imand the counterparts ports which accrue from them to the United States, were the subject matter of discussion among economists and people in this country.

Sulckh Gupta has analysed these aspects of the PL 480 and sharpy put forward his conclusions. But it is in dealing with the depressing influ-ence which these imports have d on India's agriculture that he is brilliant. And it should naturally be so, for he is an expert on Indian agri-

The aggreement for PL 480 imports was entered into by the Government of India at a time when it was not absolu-

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tely necessary to meet the food requirements of the peo-ple. Today, the situation has changed in that the country has come to the pass that it cannot do without it.

Gupta attributes this devein his foreword to the book-let, "what emerges from his (Sulekh Gupta's) analysis is lopment to the myopic influ-ence of the PL 480 imports. Massive imports under this programme, initiated by S. K. Patil, led to a complacent apple's movement for freedom food". The booklet does a very timely service in exposing the inevitable and cumulative reproach on the part of the gov-ernment to food production and escapism in implementing radical land reforms. percussions of the Yankees' food supplies. Another evil effect of the

PL 480 imports was to depress

four main parts.

### DOCUMENTATION ON POLAND'S BORDER

WESTERN FRONTIER OF POLAND: Documents, Statements, Opinions; Polish Institute of International Affairs-Western Press Agency, 302 pp.

HERE is an excellent and its allies for a change in collection of documents the border, it is important for all Indians to understand the on the crucial question of the Oder-Neisse border. facts of the case. border. The book is divided into The present publication

fully serves this need, and exposes the West German propaganda against the Oder-Neisse border for the dange-First we have the docu-ments of the war-period, 1939-45; then the post war decisions, up to 1951; the third part covers government statements; and the fourth, public opinion in the West rous bellicosity which it is. Of interest to Indian readers are relevant quotations from the late Jawaharlal Nehru. Speaking in Parliapublic opinion in the West.

began coming to India.

the imperative need for a peo

-P.V.P.

In the context of the re-vanchist propaganda of the West German government ment on August 22, 1961, he said "You' cannot rule out all \*\*\*\*

that has happened as a con-sequence of the last war. Therefore one has to accept these frontiers and accept them clearly... any kind of talk of changing those frontiers, or even hinting at the possibility of change, makes the situation much worse."

Another quotation from Nehru included in this very comprehensive collection is from a speech made by him at a public meeting in Delhi during the visit of President Zawadski of Poland. Nehru clearly pointed out

on this occasion that "any effort to change the frontier on the Oder and the Neisse must lead to the outbreak of a new way". a new war." He added:

"No one in his senses can question this frontier. The matter cannot hang over the world like the sword of Damocles."

All those interested in international affairs will do well to secure a copy of this book. No reference section of a library devoted to serious study of foreign affairs should be without it.

# WORLD'S CONSCIENCE

T HE world has been shocked to learn the unilateral de-claration of independence by the racist white minority government of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe of Ian Smith in (Southern Rhodesia).

HEWAGE

though they themselves push-ed up the prices for the con-sumers neting huge profits in the process. In fact, this has been the one biggest disincentive to the farmer to produce more. Also the dissuading factor in the case of land reforms. One cannot but mention that it It has taken this step inspite of the threat of economic sanctions by Britain and other countries because it knows that it has a solid base of support amongst the South African racists, Portucannot but mention that it was after the Nagpur Cong-ress session and its resolution on cooperative farming that guese . imperialists and their friends and allies in the NATO huge imports under PL 480 ountries.

As N. C. Chatterjee has said They know well that the for-ces which are supporting the Verwoerd Government in South Africa and Portuguese colonial-Africa and Portuguese colonial-ists in Mozambique, Angola and other parts of Africa will come to their help and support. This move is a conspiracy of the racist and colonialist forces to organise a solid unified base in Southern Africa and it is a serious threat to the independence of Africa and to the peace of the world.

We strongly condemn the conspiracies of these racist and imperialist powers and fully sup-port all the efforts of the Zim-babwe people and the govern-ments and, people of Africa in their determination to meet and defeat this challenge.

We appeal to the people and governments of Asia, Africa and other freedom loving govern-ments and peoples, specially our own government to give every possible support and help to Zimbabwe people in their strug-gle for their rights. Our govern-ment and people have always supported the freedom struggle gle for their rights. Our govern-ment and people have always, supported the freedom struggle in that part of the world and we are sure that at this time of the crisis it will extend its support. We are sure that immediate recognition will be given to the exile government which the people of Zimbabwe intend to establish.

We appeal to our people and specially our committees to mobilise public support for this noble cause in everyway possible.

### BRITISH STATUES MUST GO

UNDER the title "Removal of Statues", Manasarovar has written in THE MAIL, Madras, dated November 7. A statue dated. November 7. A statue which is a work of art is a joy for ever. So are the statues of Michael Angelo and other great masters.

But the statues of British But the statues of British rulers in India, put up in all ber 7 and immediate restoration of the country in their of the full rations.
but the statues of British Bhagalpur central fail on Novem-rulers in India, put up in all ber 7 and immediate restoration of the country in their of the full rations.
but the statues of British Bhagalpur central fail on Novem-rulers in India, put up in all ber 7 and immediate restoration of the country in their of the full rations.
but the statues of British Bhagalpur central fail on Novem-rulers in India, put up in all ber 7 and immediate restoration of the country in their of the full rations.
but the population with the might of the Statement that cases the British rulers and next, to of detenus are being reviewed, more than 200 persons are still in wistors that these were put up jail. They must all be released immediately. rowularity of British rulers in Patna JACANNATH SARKAR

### LETTERS

NOVEMBER 21, 1965

As long as the Bri the country, we had no means of doing away with these relics of British imperialism. A soveof British imperialism. A sove-reign and free country has the right to remove these perpetual reminders of our past slavery.

It was not the British rulers who put up the statue of Annie Besant. We have still to put up a statue of C. F. Andrews. Free India would only be too happy to put up statues of those Englishmen who were friends of India and who stood by us in our long travail for a New India.

Gandhiji is misquoted by Manasarovar, Gandhiji never said that the statues of Englishmen should remain in public places. All that he said was that he had All that he said was that he had no quarrel with the Englishmen in India as such. But when Gandhiji called the British go-vernment in India as "satanic", did he mean that the British rulers were angels?

Why does Manasarovar weep of slavery and oppression in Madras? Nobody suggests that these statues should be dumped into the sea; they may we'l be kept in a museum of antiquities. The statues of British rulers and remote such and the sea for the statues of the statues of the statues and generals must disappear from public places. This is a matter of our national honour and dignity.

Comparisons are odious, it is said. It is shocking to find Manasarovar making a commari-son of the Gandhi Memorial Hall in London and Raia Ram Mohan-Rov's prave in Bristol to the relies of British imperialism in India

A.S.K. IYENGAR

### RATIONS IN BIHAR JAILS CUT

Madras

New Delhi TARA CHAND President, Indian Associa-tion for Afro-Asian Solidarity

The cut has been of two chhataks of rice and wheat and half a chhatak of gram per day. The ration of mustard oil has been reduced to one-fourth, that

This cut in the rations led to a spontaneous hunger strike by over two thousand prisoners in Bhagalpur central tail which was followed by merciless beating of prisoners on November 7.

It appears that the lathis and bullets rained on the food de-monstrators by the Sahay govern-ment have followed them into the jails. I demand a public enquiry into the unwarranted enquiry into the unwarranted assaults on the prisoners of Bhagalour central fail on Novem-

Patna JAGANNATH SARKAR

MADRAS: Tamilnad is to have one more uni-versity. An act founding the Madurai University has been passed in the monsoon session of the rev university It moves that monsoon session of the new university. It proves that Madrae Legislature. the government is not at all

**ONE MORE UNIVERSITY** 

FOR TAMILNAD

From D. PONNIVALAVAN

NOVEMBER 21. 1965

 $\begin{array}{c} \mbox{Madras Legislature.} \\ \mbox{T AMILNAD has already} \\ \mbox{two universities} & \mbox{Madras} \\ \mbox{and Annamalai. While Madras} \\ \mbox{University is an affiliating} \\ \mbox{university is an affiliating} \\ \mbox{university. Annamalai. is a} \\ \mbox{residential one.} \\ \mbox{The phenomenal growth in} \\ \mbox{the demand for educational} \\ \mbox{facilities and the number of} \\ \mbox{colleges had made the nexal} \\ \mbox{for another university in tae} \\ \mbox{state -acutely felt.} \\ \mbox{Madurai is an ancient city} \\ \mbox{with a hoary tradition of cul-} \end{array} \right) \\ \mbox{the demand for educational} \\ \mbox{for another university in tae} \\ \mbox{for another university in tae} \\ \mbox{tabular} \\ \mbox{for another university in tae} \\ \mbox{for another university reduct of cul-} \\ \mbox{for another university in tae} \\ \mbox{for another university reduct of cul-} \\ \mbox{for another university in tae} \\ \mbox{for teaching at the new university.} \\ \mbox{for teaching teach of teaching at the new university.} \\ \mbox{for teaching teach of teaching at the new university.} \\ \mbox{for teaching teach of teach o$ 

Madurai is an ancient city with a hoary tradition of culture and learning and hence its selection as the seat of the third university

Madurai was once the capi-Madural was once the capi-tal of Pandiyas and was the seat of the "Tamil Sangan" —a literary body maintaining high standards.

Ingn standards. It was hoped and anticipat-ed in this background that the new university at Madu-rai would be a Tamil Uni-versity. Such a step would have met the demand of the people and prevented duyli. people and prevented dupli cation of the work now being done by the Madras Uni versity

But the government is determined to pattern the Madurai University on the same model as the Madras University. The new uni-versity has only meant a division into two of the exist-

ing one. Let alone a Tamil University, the government has not considered it proper even to set up a technological or

S HILLONG: Standing paddy, almost ready for p the sickle, has been damaged over an extensive area

subject for tea new university.

by a hailstorm that lashed lower Assam on the evening of November 7. The total loss caused is vet

to be officially assessed but the damage is said to be heavy. Its effect will be felt fully next year. The report of the hail-storm has dashed all houses of the food situation easing

Earlier official circles wer predicting a bumper winter crop on the basis of which they hoped the food situation to ease next year.

### «Revolutionary» Theories To Mask Chauvinist Practice

#### \* From Page 3

only upto the end of 1957 or the beginning of 1958 when the Party made an absolute about turn in its declared theoretical policies.

It is true that in reality China is It is true that in reality China is thwarted only by objective condi-tions of its own centuries-old un-derdevelopment and the sheer phy-sical force of US imperialism which has been causing it grievous harm, ostracising it and perpetrating gross injustices against it. But the Chinese leadership, in pursuance of its greet-nower ambitions to estabits great-power ambitions to estab-lish itself as one of the world's two or three super powers and finding itself unable to take on in a frontal lisen has chosen instead, in cynical disregard of all political morality, to seek to establish its hegemony over the two forces-the two communities that have been friendly to it and that have have given it their comradely support, namely the world communist movement with the Socialist countries as its base and the community of Afro-Asian-Latin-American counof Afro-Asian-Latin-American coun-tries still engaged in the struggle for seming their independence from

Taking the present world situation it would be considered logical that all revolutionaries and freedom fighters will seek to realise to the fullest the total anti-imperialist potentialities of all the non-imperialist, non-collabora-tionist classes and forces in the world for the earliest abolition of the hated colonial system and the most rapid method of breaking down the power of international monopoly capital by disintegrating the hitherto integrated world economy under the domination of imperialism. This in essence was the new international Marxist strategy that was first suggested by the Twentieth Concress of the CPSU and later further elaborated and perfected at the Eichty-one Parties' Conference in Invatient of their insufficient 1960. One of the important compo-nearess in undoing the wounds in-nearts of this strategy is the process



flicted on it by imperialism, the Chinese leadership has chosen the "shorter" path of seeking to streng-then itself by establishing its hege-mony within the two friendly communities which had accepted it and where it still belongs. Inspite of all the revolutionary demagogy, China's aims, in practice, are not to rally together all international forces for weakening and battling against im-perialism but to strengthen itself at the cost of its other fellow members within these two friendly camps.



PAGE THIRTEEN

Bengal: P.C. Sen Admits Failure On Food Front From AJOY DASGUPTA Opening the debate Chief

C ALCUTTA: Food situation has further wor-sened in West Bengal. Areas just outside the statutory rationing area are the hardest hit. Rice is selling at Rs. 2.25 to Rs. 3.00 a kilogram in the blackmarket. Supply to modified ration hops has completely stopped r they are supplied with or they are supplied with gram and wheat. No rice has been sont to the en sent to MR shops for the last three weeks. Absenteelsm has increased

in factories and offices in raised a privilege motion. Calcutta as workers and employees have to spend much of their time in search of rice. The acute food scarcity has already resulted in the suicide of a whole family in Kasba, south-eastern

suburb of Calcutta. The issue was raised in the Assembly and the government had to promise an enquiry. The critical food situation has become the focal point of opposition attack in the winter session of the Assembly which opened on November 1

On November 2, as many as 19 opposition MLAs tabled adjournment motions on the food situation. The Speaker disallowed all of them which led to a storm and CPI mem-ber Panchugopal Bhaduri

All this forced the government to accept for a debate on food at an early date. The debate itself showed up the callous atti-tude of the government to the problem.

Shillong: One Lakh People, **Five Lakh Ration Units ?** From M. BHATTACHARYA

This year, the target for procurement had been 100 lakh maunds of paddy. Till September only 67 lakhs maunds was procured.

When it was made clear that the state could not expect any more supplies from outside, the government went in for procuring another 15 lakh maunds of paddy. This is claimed to have been done by October 15. Still the shortfall is of 18 lakhs maunds.

Statutory rationing • has been introduced in Gauhati and Shillong from November 1. But how successful it would be can be seen from the fact that five lakh units

of ration cards have been issued in Shillong, which had a population of 1.12 ' lakhs according to the last census.

One of the varieties of the ration rice-at least 50 per cent of the ration is given from this particular variety —is inedible. Even officials do not deny the poor quality of this rice

The Industries Minister has publicly said after a tour of the border areas, that food was still being smuggled across the borders.

Had there been no surplus stocks with the unscrupulous traders, there could not have been any smugeling.

Minister P. C. Sen admitted the government's failure to control prices, but sought to shift the onus to the central government for the latter's failure to send its promised quota in time.

He glossed over the fact that though four lakh tons of rice were due for delivery from the rice millers, they have given only 2.75 lakh tons. All that Sen had to say was that the shortfall would be filled in two months.

Communist leader Somnath Lahiri castigated the govern-ment for its unholy alliance with jotedars, millers, bankers and wholesale traders He said that when G. D. Birla threatened of heads rolling, the Union Home Minister himself had come down to himself had come down to Calcutta and the West Bengal government was forced to release the unscrupulous hoarders and blackmarketeers whom it had jailed under DIR.

Sen had no reply to this except the hollow bravado that nobody, not even Birla would be able to deflect him from the right path. And he took credit for introducing ration-ing in Calcutta. With the deepening crisis,

people have begun to act for food. On November 5 about 200 women marched from Jadavour area to the District Magistrate's office at Alipore and submitted a memo demanding full ra-tioning and regular supply

of rice to the MR shops. At Harophat in 24 Parganas in the same day, 117 maunds of rice was seized by the neople from a person who was carrying it without licence. The person was arrested. Some of the rice was sold to the people at lower price.

of strengthening the independent national economies and freeing them from the confines of world imperialist economy (where they are permanent victims of imperialist monopoly of capital goods and of adverse terms of trade in the raw materials produced in their countries).

One essential element in this process is the fruitful economic coopera-tion between the industrially advanced socialist countries and the newly in-dependent developing countries. Such cooperation has been going on for over a decade now on the basis of the selfiess aid given by the socialist coun-tries in developing fundamental in-dustries in the underdeveloped countries who in their turn have also bene-fited the Socialist countries by regu-larised supply of important raw materials previously under imperialist control. Nobody can possibly fail to ac-knowledge the correctness of such a policy which strengthens the national independence of countries, weakens the nower of imperialist monopoly capital and strengthens world peace The greatest evidence of how the fundamental basis of this policy of cooperation has been accepted by the countries concerned was the Geneva Conference on Trade and Develop-ment in 1964 when without exception not only all the underdeveloped coun-

tries but even most of the non-imme-rialist developed powers voted toge-ther with the Socialist countries in enurciating a set of just terms for fruitful economic cooperation between countries with a view to the earliest development of the economically back-ward countries and the ending of their present miserable existence

But the Chinese leadership opposes this. They oppose this policy from hoth ends. First they oppose the in-dustrially advanced Socialist countries giving such large quanta of assistance out of their limited economic resour-ces to the newly independent under-developed countries who have not yet developed countries who have not yet taken to the socialist path instead of channelling such aid to the under-developed countries within the socia-list countries. Obviously the demand is for channelling all the available re-sources to China itself and this was one of the points of origin of the Sino-Soviet differences. They also ob-iected to the allocation of even larger tected to the allocation of ever larger quanta of available resources of inter-nal consumption in the Socialist coun-tries for raising the standard of living of their peoples. They contended that these available resources instead should be concentrated on the fastest development of the economically back-ward Socialist countries, again meaning China itself.

But simulfaneously with this the Chinese leadership is now openly warning the underdeveloped coun-tries to beware of the economic astries to beware of the economic as-sistance from the Socialist coun-tries, which it alleges is motivated by the desire to interfere in their internal affairs and extend their own interests and influence.

PAGE FOURTEEN

### Indonesian Developments In Retrospect of the peasants; 3) the system of rent-pay-ment in the form of work on

alenage

A tragedy beyond description has been taking shape during the current events in Indonesia. The Republic which came to be regarded as a bastion of anti-impe-bracies relied mainly on rialism in Asia, and which stood on the brink of a major social transformation, has been engulfed in a gruelling turmoil which threatens all the gains of the Indonesian people's struggle for freedom and socialism. Presently the Indonesian scene is marked by a reign of white terror, a campaign directed against the Communists and the popular organisations of workers and peasants they have built.

IN Java where the reactio- have brought about this sud-IN Java where the reactio-nary forces using the garb of religious fanaticism do not have much strength, the armed forces lead the terror. In towns and villages, detachments of the army shoot, kill, burn and destroy anything which has some con-nection with Communism. In Sumatra, especially those areas where the reactionary.

areas where the reactionary forces have built up their bases, fanatical religious mobs have been stirred up by the reactionaries—the Masjumi and the Nahadatul IIIema who have for long been lying in wait for such an op-portunity—to let loose a fascistic terror.

We no longer hear of President Sukarno's "concept". Nasakom—his doctrine of uni-ted front of religious, nationalist and communist trends —has been given the go by. Instead, we hear Sukarno drawing a parallel between contemporary happenings and the 1948 Maduin affair—that butchery without parallel of leaders of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party). Re-ferences to Maduin are indeed ominous, since the Maduin massacres of 1948 were touched off by some incidents in Central Java, which the Hatta clique and the Masjumi leaders used to allege a "Communist uprising", and to launch alround massacres of adonesian progressives. What are the factors which

den change in the Indonesian situation? The Untung coup is claim-

ed to be the cause of the present holocaust. What re-lation had the Untung coup The Indo-nist Party with the PKI? The with the PKI? The Indo-nesian Communist Party has disclaimed any connec-tion with the coup. While some aspects of this abor-tive coup are still hazy, it should be clear enough that the Untung affair could only have provided an immediate pretext for unleashing the current developments in Indonesia. There are, no doubt. quite apart from the Untung coup, fundamental and more basic causes of these recent happenings and these have existed for quite some tim

### Imperialist Conspiracies

Ever since the proclamation of Independence in 1945, Indo-nesia's liberation movement has always had to contend with imperialism's attempts to subvert the Republic and the unity and freedom of the Indonesian people. While in earlier years, Dutch imperia-lists, backed by American and British imperialism resorted to open war and armed at-tacks to force the Republican Government into submission, ever since the signing of the



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

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progressive movement of the people. Another ally which the imperialists have never the imperialists have never failed to cultivate in Indonesia is the class of top bureaucrats, leading army officials and other segments of society prone to unlimited

of society prone to unlimited graft and corruption. The strength of the reactio-nary forces in Indonesia may be gauged from the fact that of the four big parties which emerged from the Indonesian elections in 1955, the Masjumi-a party of the extreme right-wing, a sort of proto-

State of Indonesia" and car-ried on arson, loot and mur-der till the gangs were finally liquidated in 1962. Then there was the Lubis affair in 1956, when a pro-Western army

commander sought to capture power by a coup in Jakarta. The most serious of the attempts to subvert Indonesian freedom and unity came in 1957-59 when a series of revolts led by reactionary army commanders Simbolon has to be noted that besides the appeal of religious obscu-rantism, the reactionary army commanders also spoke about "Sumatra" interests versus "Java"—an outright pro-im-

perialist separatist slogan. In the midst of this challenge from imperialism and its stooges, the role of Presi-dent Sukarno was important in reinforcing the unity of the patriotic progressive forces and protecting the Republic's integrity. Using his trementhe landlords' land, a fact which places the peasants in the position of slaves;

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4) and finally the accumu-lation of debts which are shackles round the necks of the majority of the peasants and which place them in a position of slavery vis-a-via the landowners". The fact that the Sukarno-

led administration failed to deal with the problem of land reforms and other pressing economic problems of the peoeconomic problems of the peo-ple for a prolonged period could not but weaken the patriotic and progressive movements. In later years after 1962 the PKI was inclu-ded in the Sukarno cabinet and the reactionary forces notwenthy pittlend these fett tained was an important ded in the Sukarno cabinet achievement for the progres-sive and patriotic forces. It naturally utilised these failures, to descredit the PKI even though the PKI had al-ways advocated a clear-cut programme of land reforms and relief for the peasantry.

The growth in the role of the PKI after 1959-60 undoubtedly sharpened the behindthe scene machinations of the reactionary forces, as well as the middle elements. The army generals, who held a considerable stake in statepower, constituted an impor-tant aspect of the situation.

#### Error Of Progressives

It has also to be noted that the progressive move-ment has also not been free from errors at various pha-ses of the post-independence history. An admission was made by D. N. Aidit regarding attempts to copy Chi-nese methods and ideas even where they did not fit in with Indonesian conditions. He wrote about the situation which the PKI faced in 1948: "One of the basic mistakes of the party in studying from the Chiin studying from the Chi-nese revolution at that time was that the party only tried to know the similaritles between the Chinese revolution and the Indone-sian revolution, but did not try to get to know the differences, did not notice the peculiar conditions in Indo-nesia."

While the PKI learnt a great deal from its mistakes in try-ing to apply artificially some of the hypothesis of the Chi-nese revolution during the forties, some of these failings appear to have stuck on. The fact that under the logic of Peking's spell, the PKI lent support to the Chinese party's witting in 1953, D. N. Aidit, leader of the PKI, noted the acute situation on the rural sphere: "Besides the eco-nomic power of the impe-out of place to analyse or rerialists, important and view these errors of the pro-heavy remnants of feuda-gressive movement which lism still hold sway in played into the hands of the Indonesia, such as: forces of domestic reaction 1) the right of the big land- and imperialism.

India's patriotic and pro-gressive elements have however to take an objective view of events in Indonesia and refuse to be guided by the bitterness which recent mis-takes on the part of their counterparts in Indonesia have engendered. In the final analysis, the interests of the peoples of India and Indone-sia are profoundly complementary and do not contra-dict each other in any sphere.

NOVEMBER 21, 1965 -1.32 The World

The Rhodesian crisis has now broken out along expected lines. Undeterred by all the concessions of Harold Wilson, the white racialists' unilateral decla-ration of independence has come, accompanied by a series of draconian regulations gagging the press and radio, dragooning industry and the civil service, and and rightless Africans. While the crisis may have deand rightless Africans. While the crisis may have de-veloped a comic aspect as to whether the British ap-pointed Governor Sir Humphrey Gibbs or the new Regent' to be appointed by Ian Smith and his cronies will occupy the Government House in Salisbury, the very lives of Rhodesian African leaders and thousands of political detainees illegally held in concentration camps are in immediate danger.

THE British government Smith that in recent weeks which has throughout he had been subjected to an been countering Afro-Asian unbearable pressure by his criticism at the United Na- colleagues and the reckless tions of the worsening situa-tion in Rhodesia on grounds of the colony being a British tions of the worsening situa-tion in Rhodesia on grounds of the colony being a British responsibility, now that its is still refusing to fulfil that responsibility to stop this re-bellion by all the necessary means including the use of

force. Even speaking at the spe-cial Parliament session called only a few hours after the announcement of UDI, Wilson still seemed to be justifying

extremists of the Rhodesian

sanctions cannot do much harm to the Rhodesian eco-

## Pravda Comments On Left Unity In India

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: The efforts being made in India to bring about unity of action among the left parties and to fight for people's demands and in view of the com-ing general elections have been highlightd in an article in PRAVDA, official organ of the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

AS is wellknown, the ini- up military blocs has become tiative in this regard was weaker and those forces taken by the Communist which are for retaining mem-Party of India in July when a bership of the Seato have be-letter was sent by it to all the come stronger. other left parties. In India, there is a talk of

The first consultation was held in September, the latest in November. Another meet-ing is planned for December. The PRAVDA article held this to be a healthy and signifi-cant development. Interest in Indian affairs

has been shown in another article also, in the World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism). The article pointed out the danger of a new flare-up in the Indo-Pakistan conflict. The problem is the result

The problem is the result of age-old imperialist policies of fanning religious and communal hatred, the article said. The same imperialists are trying to use it again. Plans of nuclear shields

and umbrellas are being pushed forward again and the reactionaries are trying to use the situation in both countries, it noted.

Premier Kosygin and has met other top Soviet officials. Dange, Krishnan and Bhu-On Monday, Kosygin gave a dinner in Krishnamachari's honour, which was a special gesture of friendship towards India. It is understood that nesh earlier paid a courtesy pesh earlier paid a courtesy call on P. Sundarayya, general secretary of the Marxist Com-munist Party, who is recover-ing in another hospital after his operation for stomach ulcer last month. The article points out that discussions between the two in Pakistan the trend to give have been fruitful and the



together with the platform of a theocratic State—ranked fairly high up. The other leading parties which came to the fore in 1955 were the Nationalists (FNI), the Communists (PKI) and the Nahadutul Ulema. while the PNI and the NU constituted the middle forces, the PKI formed the vanguard of the Indonesian patriotic and progressive forces.

The rise of the PKI after the Maduin plot in 1948 which was engineered by the reactionary forces was a phenomenal one By dint of its service to the working people and stupendous organisational work, the PKI continued to enlarge its influence after the

enlarge its influence after the 1955 elections while the PNI and NU declined. In Indonesia's specific political pattern, the forces of domestic reaction, utilis-ing the prolonged political instability at home, as well as imperialist subversion from without, acted as im-portant impediments in the way of the Indonesian liberation movement. The existence of a situation in which the army shared power almost continuously since the proclamation of independence, and the fact that a number of key posts were held by pro-imperia-list and pro-Masjumi army commanders facilitated the reactionary plots.

Thus the Indonesian Republic had to face an alm interrupted chain of plots of subversion. First came the rebellion of Darul Islam gangs, openly financed by the Dutch. The Darul Islam, in the very first few years of the Republic proclaimed an "Islamic

type of the Muslim League in undivided Indian, openly es-pousing a pro-Western course together with the platform of Sukarno's "concept" took Sukarno's "concept"

———— B y —————

shape. In 1959 President Sukarno gave shape to his ideas by calling for a "gotong-royong" Cabinet and Nasakom. The two slogans elaborated a pro-gramme of united front which included for the first time the Indonesian Communists. The loose, ill-defined united front, over which

President Sukarno held a decisive voice, failed above all to tackle even the most elementary economic re-forms. The economy which was in a dangerous state was in a dangerous state, with inflationary pressures rising at a stupendous rate and the consequent mount-ing burdens on the working ing burdens on the working people, remained out of the reach of the progressive im-pact of the new Sukarno-led united front, thanks to the influence of the landed and comprador vested inter-ects.

lords to monopolise the owner-ship of land worked by the peasants, the majority of whom cannot own land and are therefore forced to rent land from the landowners on terms fixed by the landlords; 2) the payment of rent to the landlords in the form of goods which account for an important part of the crops produced by the peasants, all of this resulting in impover-ishment for the vast majority





**GUERILLA STRUGGLE STARTS IN ZIMBABWE** 

put down the rebellion by Smith and his minions".

mewaqe -----

While protests and indignation have been voiced by peo-ples and governments from all parts of the world and the Security Council is discussing a draft resolution submitted by the African states demanding the invoking of wide-spread UN penalties including the use of military force, the five-nation committee set up by the Organisation of African Unity in Accra last month is meeting in Addis Ababa on November 19

The meeting of the com-mittee, which consists of Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, the United Arab Republic and Nigeria will be attended by military experts, The com-mittee is expected to draw up a programme of action and prepare the budget for the operations. It will also deal with the question of forming a provisional government for free Zimbabwe.

nomy. In the circumstances Rhdesia's major African tional Union on November 12— political party, the Zimbab- within a day of the UDI—

we African People's Union, that a "People's Government" has rightly declared, "the has been formed by the ZANU people are entitled to use in Sokombela where a num-all measures to resist and ber of ZANU leaders, are in-put down the rebellion by terned is not to be taken terned is not to be taken seriously as obviously this was

> tempted mass strike in Bu-lawayo, the home town of the ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo and also that "guerilla fighting" has begun and that all member-coun-tries of the OAU have agreed to support the strug-

Naturally the still existing division in the ranks of Rho-desian patriots in the form of the ZAPU-ZANU rivalry makes the task of organising effective resistance against the racialist offensive and for a final bid for independence more difficult.

Meanwhile Conakry, radio reported that Guinea has offered the OAU a battalion of troops for "Operation Rhoville is also ready to place volunteers at the disposal of the OAU. Ghana had earlier announced its readiness to render all necessary assist-

As for the economic sanc-As for the economic sanc-tions announced by Britain, they are not expected to be effective. The withdrawal of Commonwealth preferences on Rhodesian tobacco and sugar would result in a loss to the Rhodesian white businessmen of only 10 million pounds a year—9 million pounds from tobacco and 1 million pounds from sugar.

While Britain has frozen Rhodesia's sterling balances which total 15 million pounds, ments Rho desia amount to a much larger figure being well ove million poundns sterling.

Moreover, British manufacturers, who depend on Zambia's copper to the extent of seriously as obviously this was only a factional move to score a point against the majority organisation ZAPU. Reports have come of at-tempted mass strike in Bu-lawayo, the home town of to the Portu-bique port of guese Mozambique port of Beira. This might necessitate a costly Anglo-American air lift of copper and the conse-quent sharp rise in its price in Britain.

On the whole, therefore, economic sanctions might hurt British business in-terests more than Rhode-sia's and it will be merely a matter of time before Bri-tish big business succeeds in toppling the Labour Gov-ernment or bringing pressure to hear on it to relax the economic squeeze an-nonnced by Wilson. This alone explains the consis-tently weak and hesitant steps that the Labour Gov-ernment has been taking ever since the threat of UDI had come up.

World public opinion must continue to demand the use of force by the British gov-ernment in cooperation with the independent African the independent African states neighbouring Rhodesia or under the banner of the UN to put down the illegal seizure of power. At the same time even within the constitutional field Britain must immediately abrogate constitution, release the 1961 all poli-Rhodesia tical prisoners. in and cooperate with Rhodesian African leaders to establish majority rule and the transition to genuine independence in the colony.

### -BAREN RAY



lowering the rate of economic development and increasing tax burdens. The monopolies are trying to reap profits from the situation at the cost of the people, the article said. Meanwhile reports of the repression and arrests as in Bihar, talk of the private sector getting into vital de-fence production and statements of people like S. K. Patil abroad have caused anxiety and bewilderment in Soviet circles.

But that has not affected Finance Minister T. T. Krish-namacharl's visit to Moscow. It has made a good start. He had a two-hour talk with possibilities of further expansion of collaboration in all

fields are good. The Soviet Union is ex-The Soviet Union is ex-pected to increase consider-ably its aid to India's next Five Year Plan. Concrete details of some additional projects which could be built with Soviet help are being considered. Those which had been agreed in principle during Prime Minister Shastri's visit are

CPI leaders S. A. Dange, N. K. Krishnan and Bhupesh Gupta also had discussions with Soviet leaders and participated in the October Revolution anniversary celebrations.

Dange and Krishnan had come to Moscow after attend-ing the congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Warsaw. Bhupesh had come to the Soviet Union as a mem-ber of the parliamentary delegation, had stayed on to have an operation performed on his ear. This operation has now been

done jointly by a famous American doctor and a Soviet and Bhupesh is now convales-cing in the Bothkins Hospital.

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#### REGD. NO. D597 -



T HERE is a strange dichotomy developing on the national scene. The Western lobby appears to be in complete confusion. But that has not come in the way of the Indian tycoons getting their war bonuses.

The foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha pinpointed the utter disarray of the anti-Nehru brigade. Even Minoo Masani was forced to state that the Soviet Union was somewhat help-ful to India; so strong is the pro-Soviet feeling in the country.

And when he halted at that. Frank Anthony took him to task for his "dangerously loose talk" on Kashmir and went on to shower praise on the Soviet Union and East European countries.

Another sign of the changing times -or rather the mood of the masses-is the belated finding of Ravindra Varma that "nonalignment has serv-ed the interests of India."

This shift forced by public opinion among the crusaders of right reaction is virtually all-pervasive. The only in-corrigible exceptions are Kripalani and Hanumanthayya.

But when the Gandhian complained that it was foolish on the part of the control to the part of the government to have attempted to solve "international problems with the principles of non-violence", he gave notice to his audience that he was not to be treated seriously.

Like the former Congress Predent, the former Mysore Chief Mi-nister also does not command much influence. Hanumanthayya's command performance on the British role has further isolated him even though he may soon be out of the doghouse, thanks to his reported in-clusion in the administrative re-forms commission to be headed by Morarji Desal.

This disarray in the Western lobby is not confined to foreign policy. Even on PL-480, a person like Tarakeshwari Sinha expressed her unhappiness over the arm-twisting which the United States has been doing.

People like Satyanarayan Sinha have started talking of cent per cent friendship with USSR. Editors like Frank Moraes have been demonstrably angry with his erstwhile British Mende friends.

DISCOVERY OF NEHRU: The same crowd is slowly discovering

Jawaharlal Nehru. Here even again, only Acharya Kripalani stood out. To him Nehru's non-alignment was "unmitigated nonsense."

On the other hand, even Guru Golwalkwar in a speech otherwise full of reactionary outpourings had to pay



lip service to Nehru for forging national unity.

Obviously the Jan-Sangh-RSS crowd, after their ignoble perfor-mance in the Delhi municipal corporation, have been forced to shift their position—at least in public.

This swing was most evident in Lal Bahadur Shastri himself. Apart from Banadur Snastri himseit. Apart from the complaint, privately heard, that he has hardly done anything for the collection of the Nehru memorial fund, the message he issued on the birthday eve was cold stuff.

What was one to make out of such gems strewn in that message as "that is the road (marked out by Nehru) to greater prosperity, expanding freedom and increasing dignity for every Indian."

Or read this piece: "It is the road leading from squalor and slavery through freedom to dignity and fulfil-ment." Fulfilment of what?

But this shilly-shallying gave w when the birthday came to be cele-brated. Shastri, in two specches, completely reaffirmed the Nehru legacy in all matters setting at rest fears here and abroad.

He said we owed everything to Nehru and the world "socialism" was specifically mentioned.

THE SULKING RICH: Thus in the field of foreign policy and in the matter of remembering Jawaharlal Nehru there has been a positive, forward-looking trend—a reflection of public opinion.

In the midst of that some of the Congress leaders have been denounc-ing the affluent for sulking and not doing what it can for the defence effort.

In Madras. Congress President Kamaraj spoke of a gold mobilisation scheme from among the common people. He is annoyed. The rich have let them down. The subscription to gold bonds till November 15 is only of the value of Rs. 1.59 crores at Indian price. Precious little!

UP Congress Chief Kamalapati Tripathi was more specific is giving vent to his injured feelings, Addressing a press conference at Lucknow on November 12, he said "gold bonds have provided an opportunity to the rich to convert their black money into legal wealth. They however preferred to behave like traitors even in this hour of crisis."

TYCOONS GET WAR BONUS: Traitors! But it is these traitors, none else, who are getting the war bonus. Even before the guns are silent these "traitors" all over the country have gone to court to challenge the Bonus Act.

to fatten the monopolies like ACC and

tri, coolly informs us that the pub-lic sector Cement Corporation was incapable of developing the required capacity.

To add insult to national injury, this gentleman has the gumption to tell us that cement docontrol will not harm consumers!

That is not all. They are consider-ing sugar decontrol also. Is there adeuate production this year to go round? They are not yet sure, if one is to go by the City Notes of the TIMES OF INDIA of November 17.

But the chums of "traitors" ..... dying to put more into the pockets of sugar barons. But lest it provoke public indignation, they are con-sidering decontrol of only 75 per cent of the production,

While the Centre is treating the monopolists lavishly, it is heartening to hear the call of some Congress Committees like in Punjab and Mysore for nationalisation of banks and state trading in food. But alas the tail can-not wag the dog!

HARE RAM-II ORE slips are showing as INDIA

Bharat Ram Charat Ram & Co. rush out with apologias about their handsome donation to Pakistan's war fund.

They gave one lakh to Shastri and 20 lakhs to Ayub. When the Pakistan 20 lakhs to Ayub. When the Pakistan Radio disclosed the discrepancy they came out with an explanation that their mill at Lyalpur (West Punjab) which made the donation had been taken over by the enemy.

That explanation served the purpose of giving the benefit of doubt to them. But now I have before me the balance sheets of the Delhi Cloth & Ceneral Mills managed by the two Lalas.

Lalas. These contain a long list of donations to political parties and other organisa-tions. The list is revealing. The pro-Pakistani bias is writ large on it. Upto January 31, 1965 donations aggregating to Rs. 1,78,922 were made by the managing agents of which Rs. 1,57,881 went to Pakistan. Samples:



Rs. 3,500; \* Prime Minister's National Relief Fund --Rs. 10,000;

\* YMCA Building Fund-Rs. 5,000; \* Deputy Rs. 490, etc. Commissioner, Hissar-

Rs. 50,000; \* Pakistan Muslim League, Lahore-Rs. 50,000;

Rs. 50,000; \* Officer Commanding, 103 M.V.P.A.F. (Pakistan Air Force)—Rs. 15,875; \* President, Pakistan Muslim League, Labore:—Rs. 39,370;

\* SHO, Police Station, Factory area-

\*SHO, Police Station, Factory mea-Rs. 400, etc. In the next lot of donations from February to March-end the Indian Na-tional Congress has fared slightly better. \*All-India Congress Committee, New Delhi-Rs. 10,000; \* Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee.-Re 1500.

Rs. 1,500; \* District Congress Committee, Kotah-

Rs. 1.000.

Rs. 1,000. A small portion went to deserving people and institutions also. For instance, Gangaram Hospital, New Delhi, got Rs. 10,000, some Hissar wrestlers, Rs. 1,000 and Lady Shri Ram College was, supplied with vanaspati worth Rs. 97. Here again, the Lalas did not forget Pakistan. The Pakistan High Commission staff. children's school in New Delhi re-ceived Rs. 299 whereas the Principal, Covernment College, Hissar, got Rs. 180. stati children's school in ryow, beam-ceived Rs. 299 whereas the Princinal, Government College, Hissar, got Rs. 180. The pro-Pak bias is not confined to distribution of donations. It spills over into investments also. Investment figures of provident fund assets in the 1964-65 balance-sheet are indeed telling. \* Investment in Indian government securities—Rs. 1,81,079; \* Investment in Pakistan government securities—Rs. 35,67,299. In this background the Lalas' expla-nation about Rs. 20 lakhs for Ayub's war against India will not carry much con-viction.

viction. Of course, the Indian government is not disturbed. Indeed, it is honouring. Bharat Ram not with a Bharat Ratna for his one lakh but by giving him a place in the forthcoming Administrative Reforms Commission.

Nehru Jayanti was

observed on a wide scale all over the country on November 14. On left is a view of the children's mass PT display in Delhi marking the occasion.



-INSIDER