

CANCEL YOUR VISIT TO WASHINGTON

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Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

You have at last informed the country and the Parliament that you are visiting Washington. For several weeks now, the Government of India has been preparing for this visit, and yet there were constant denials and evasions. The manner in which the Indian people have been deliberately misled during these weeks in a sordid story, full of deceit and lies.

"Independent" Kashmir, and anything else which would enable them to grab the strategic Kashmir Valley, directly or indirectly.

The open support given to Pakistan by the US government and through the SEATO and CENTO is no longer denied by Washington itself.

To rush to Washington at the call of President Johnson at this time, without any stop to the hostile actions of the US government, amounts to white-washing the villainy of the US imperialists, and nothing else.

You know well, Mr. Prime Minister, that the chief Indian sponsors of your visit are Messrs G. D. Birla and S. K.

deceive himself will agree that it is not.

It has been a matter of considerable relief to us to hear from your own lips on the floor of the Lok Sabha that you will not surrender to any pressures from the US government on the key question of Kashmir. This shows that you are aware of the pressures.

You have also clearly said in Parliament in your most

THIS paper has for the last one month and more sought to make the nation aware of the dangers inherent in any visit by you to Washington at this time. We believe we have performed a signal service to our people in this regard.

The very fact that news of the visit was sought to be denied so adroitly proves that those in authority are well aware of the unpopularity among our masses of any move to compromise with the US imperialists.

It is the US rulers who have been so greatly responsible for the Pakistani aggression, providing the armaments to the Ayub dictatorship with which to rain death on our jawans and on unarmed civilians of our land.

It is an amazing lack of a sense of self-respect which can describe a visit such as yours at this hour, as a "goodwill visit". Goodwill for the Sabre jets and Patton tanks?

We know that you have argued that this visit is only in response to the earlier invitation, which was cancelled so rudely by President Johnson because of your firm stand against the US bombings of North Vietnam.

Unfortunately, it is impossible for the Indian people to forget the fact of the horrors of the recent Pakistani aggression so soon. We are unable to accept the suggestion that this visit is merely the same as had been planned earlier. It is NOT the same, and every one who does not wish to

recent speeches, that you are well aware that the position of the US government is different from that taken by India on Kashmir.

This is indeed to put the issue rather mildly. The US and British governments have been pursuing an anti-Indian stand on the issue of Kashmir for the last eighteen years. How many times in the Security Council have they moved resolutions against the interests of India?

Since the Pakistani aggression, again the US and British governments have striven to compel India to surrender to their demands for the so-called plebiscite in Kashmir, for the stationing of a UN peace force in Kashmir, for an

Patil. Your Ambassador in Washington should have sent you a detailed report on their activities in the USA, and what exactly the US administration desires to achieve as a result of your visit.

Perhaps you will say that your Ambassador has not informed you and that you know nothing at all about it. But then you had earlier said that you knew nothing about your visit to Washington!

However let us assume that your Ambassador did not inform you. Let us also assume that you have not read the reports of Patil's statements to the press in Washington, that you are unaware of the reports in the American press, of the White House spokesmen's statements on your visit

and all the rest. And let me tell you the facts:

★ You are being summoned to Washington, first because the US government wishes to compel you, under threat of abandonment of its so-called "aid", PL 480 and all, to accept a solution under its auspices of the so-called Kashmir question. You will also be told that unless you agree, the US authorities will not be able to stop the conti-

Tibet, bases in the Indian Ocean, etc. India's stand on Rhodesia has been sharp and clear.

All this is to the good. All this has helped to gain friends for this country among anti-imperialists all over the world.

But the news of your acceptance of the demand that you visit Washington in January, and the unseemly manner in which the whole business has been prepared by such known pro-imperialist reactionaries as Birla and Patil, has caused serious misgivings among India's anti-imperialist friends.

The fact that President Ayub is also to visit Washington at the same time has equally caused concern. It is true that the visits will follow one another, but you will go to see President Johnson after he has met the Pakistan President. It is quite clear that the US government wishes to "mediate", just as the British at the time of the Kutch aggression.

We know well the meaning of such "mediation". The imperialists created Pakistan in order to continue their policy of "divide and rule". They are not interested in a peaceful solution. They only wish to ensure that the tension continues, to give them greater opportunities to interfere in our internal affairs and exploit our people.

To go to Washington at this time is to consent to continued American interference. It is to surrender to blackmail. It is to spit upon the genuine efforts of the Soviet Union and other friendly countries to assist in a principled solution through direct negotiations without foreign interference of any sort.

Millions of our people have serious misgivings in this matter and we would strongly urge you to cancel your visit to Washington in the interests of India's self-respect and dignity and indeed of India's sovereignty and independence.

Yours sincerely
EDITOR, NEW AGE

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER SHASTRI

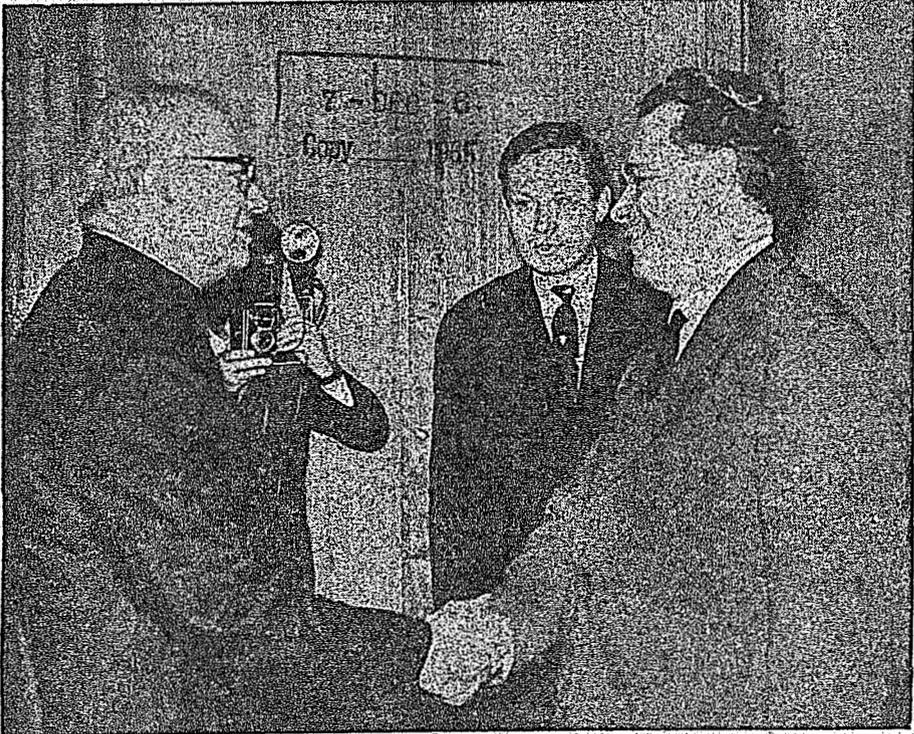
nuation of arms flow to the Ayub dictatorship.

In other words, the blackmail will be a simple one: surrender OR we shall starve you and arm Ayub.

★ You are being summoned, Mr. Prime Minister, so that the wave of anti-American feeling which has swept through this country following the Pakistani aggression, may be extinguished.

★ You are being summoned to Washington so that you may be offered the full "assistance" of the US imperialists, provided you shift your foreign policy in a pro-imperialist direction, accept the "umbrella" (call it a "shield" if the word stinks less) and talk less about stopping the bombings in Vietnam or recognising the South Vietnam Liberation Front.

All this is not the imagination of a set of sensation-mongering journalists but is written in cold print in the American press, in Patil's and Birla's reports and statements and further confirmed in recent speeches by the American Ambassador in India and his aides. It has been a welcome sign that you have strongly repeated your determination to adhere to the policy of non-alignment and have opposed the reactionary demands for a shift on such issues as the making of the atom bomb,



Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari with Nikolai Patolichev, USSR Minister of Foreign Trade, during his visit to Moscow (Story on page 14)

AITUC Session Postponed

The session of the All-India Trade Union Congress which was scheduled to meet in Indore from December 24 to 30 has been postponed.

The Secretariat and the Working Committee of the AITUC have taken this decision in view mainly of the deteriorating economic situation in the country, the famine conditions in some states, the closures and retrenchment in many industries, which are making mass mobilisation for the session difficult.

There is also the fact that many trade union leaders are in prison, and some unions have asked for postponement for that reason also, in the interests of unity.

The Working Committee has taken all these and other factors into consideration and decided on postponement of the session to April end or May 1966 before the country gets busy with the elections.

High Cost of Splittism

editorial

THE LEADERSHIP OF the Chinese Communist Party refuses to respond positively to all the appeals of other Communist Parties for united action in the common struggles against imperialism and war. On the contrary, November 1965 has seen a new record in the disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders.

The now notorious article of November 11 is an ominous development, which must be seriously studied by all who sincerely desire peace in the world and the national independence of all peoples. Titled "Refutation of the New Soviet Leaders' Plea for United Action", the Chinese article categorically declares that in the view of the Chinese leaders, unity is impossible with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties which do not agree with the Chinese line.

The Chinese leaders in this article give their conditions for unity as open admission by the CPSU leaders of their "mistakes"; giving up the policies outlined by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Party and "publicly guarantee not to repeat the errors of Khrushchov revisionism".

In other words, the Chinese leaders insist that there is only one way to unity, namely for other Communist Parties to abandon their own point of view and conform to the Peking line of adventurism and dogmatism.

The article is full of abusive language, ill-befitting a discussion between fraternal Parties. It describes the leadership of the CPSU as "more cunning and hypocritical than even Khrushchov", as "political representatives of the privileged stratum of Soviet bourgeoisie", between whose interests and "those of the mass of the Soviet people is an antagonistic contradiction."

Here is an unashamed and open call to the Soviet people to overthrow the Soviet leadership! If it were not so dangerous, one could dismiss the outpourings of the Chinese leadership as amusing hysteria.

The high cost of Chinese splittism is known to every Communist. The latest article is the most blatant act in the history of splittism.

The Chinese leaders, to the delight of US imperialism, are specially eloquent on the question of Vietnam. Spurning the repeated appeals for unity of the world communist movement in defence of the Vietnamese people against US aggression, the article condemns the Soviet Union, describing its assistance to Vietnam as being "far from commensurate with the strength of the Soviet Union" and as being aimed at "hoodwinking the people at home and abroad" and "to keep the situation in Vietnam under their control".

The US imperialists have used the splittism of the Chinese leaders to intensify their aggression in Vietnam. More US troops are being poured in. More and more diabolical weapons of war are being introduced.

Most significant in the article is the call to all "true Marxist-Leninists" (namely, those who are ready to act at Peking's behests) to "demarcate" themselves "not only ideologically but also organisationally."

This clearly implies that Peking's mandate now is for an intensification of its splittism at all levels—international and national. How far this will go is not yet clear. But it is possible that international organisations will be sought to be split openly and no longer covertly. It is possible also that Peking will insist on adventurous and disruptive actions by its supporters in different countries, to "demarcate" themselves.

All Communists and democrats in India, as in the rest of the world, will strongly condemn this new high-point reached in Chinese splittism.

It is necessary at this moment in world history to unite all the anti-imperialist forces more strongly than ever. The core of that unity is the unity of all Communist and Workers' Parties. Despite the provocations of the Chinese leaders, the Communist Parties will continue steadfastly in pursuit of this goal.

(November 24, 1965)

Karyanand Sharma

THE sudden death of Comrade Karyanand Sharma, veteran leader of the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha, in Moscow on November 19 following a heart attack has shocked the Communist and Kisan movement in India.

Comrade Sharma was 64. He was a member of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of India and a member of the secretariat of its Bihar state council.

Comrade Karyanand Sharma was for the last few weeks in Moscow for rest and treatment at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

He was receiving treatment for heart ailment and diabetes. A few days ago he had a severe heart attack from which he had recovered. But on Friday morning he got another stroke and despite best efforts of the Soviet doctors, the tragic end came at 8.40 in the evening.

Sunil Mukherjee, who is also under treatment in Moscow, and other Indian comrades were by the bedside of Comrade Sharma when the end came.

The body of Comrade Karyanand Sharma was flown to Delhi on November 22 and from Delhi it was taken by train to his home village Sahur near, Lakhisarai in Monghyr district of Bihar.

Before the body was flown from Moscow, wreaths were laid on it on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Indian comrades in Moscow. Among those who spoke on the occasion were Bhupesh Gupta, Sunil Mukherjee, V. G. Yakovlev on behalf of the CPSU, Claude Lightfoot of the CPUSA, Hassan Zaruq of the Sudan CP, P. Sundarayya of the Marxist CPI who is convalescing in Moscow, and Shanti Roy.

Comrade Karyanand Sharma hailed from a poor peasant family in the Monghyr district of Bihar. Inspired by patriotism from his early days, he gave up his studies to join the non-cooperation movement in 1921. Since then he has been continuously active in the fight for the country's freedom.

In the late thirties, he plunged into the organisa-

tion of the tenants and peasants in Bihar together with the late Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. He was in the forefront of the mighty struggles of the Bakasht peasantry of Bihar of 1937-38, facing imprisonment and lathicharges. In all he has been in jail for eight years.



These struggles had lit the torch in the countryside of the kisan movement out of which grew the All India Kisan Sabha.

Comrade Sharma was president of the All India Kisan Sabha for five years.

Joining the Communist Party in 1940, Comrade Karyanand Sharma worked tirelessly for the Party among the peasants and agricultural labourers of Monghyr and Bihar. He was as loved and trusted by the downtrodden peasants of Bihar, as he was hated by the reactionary vested interests.

Comrade Sharma had to face brutal physical assaults at the hands of the hired goondas of the landlords several times. His ill-health was in no small measure due to one such assault he suffered in the days before independence. But he continued to work undaunted for organising and conducting struggles of the peasants and agricultural workers of Bihar for land and better life, right till the end of his life. Even when writing from Moscow days before his death, he had expressed regrets that his stay there would be a little longer than earlier expected.

Comrade Karyanand Sharma had also raised the voice of the Bihar peasantry inside the legislature. He was elected a member of Bihar Assembly in the 1957 general elections. He was the leader of the Communist Group in the Assembly during the 1957-1962 period.

His latest contribution to the cause of the Bihar peasants was a remarkable survey and exposure of the pitiable conditions of work and life of the landless labourers in the state, which was published only last year.

In a statement issued on behalf of the National Council of the CPI, C. Rajeswara Rao said:

"The Communist Party mourns the loss of its beloved comrade and pays its homage to the memory of an outstanding patriotic and self-sacrificing and fearless servant of the people, particularly the peasants. The Party calls upon its members to emulate his example."

"The National Council shares the deep sorrow of his relatives and friends and send them its heartfelt condolences."

K. G. Sriwastava, secretary of the ATTUC, in a statement said: "The ATTUC expresses its heartfelt and deep sorrow on the sad demise of Comrade Karyanand Sharma in Moscow."

The statement added: "In him the country has lost a truly noble person and particularly the peasant and working class movement a devoted comrade."

Madhu Limaye, SSP leader and MP, in a letter to the General Secretary of the CPI said that he "knew that Comrade Sharma was ill and had gone to Moscow for treatment, but we all hoped that he would soon recover and take his place in the van of the people's movement in Bihar. His absence, owing to illness, during the great August struggle in Bihar was deeply felt."

"I salute the memory of this brave fighter, who devoted his entire life to the people's cause. Please convey to his bereaved family my condolences and tell them that my Party and I share their grievous loss."



ONE GREAT COUNTRY ONE GREAT PEOPLE

DA 65/110

OPPOSITION TO UNITY OF UNDERDEVELOPED & SOCIALIST COUNTRIES: CHINA'S MAIN AIM

The most characteristic feature of recent Chinese attacks against the USSR and other Socialist countries—apart from their greater virulence—is their direct opposition to the acceptance by the newly independent countries of any economic assistance from the Socialist countries. In this, from the earlier stand of mere disapproval of the "wasting" of the limited economic resources of the socialist countries in helping the national bourgeois leaderships to remain in power and thus aiding the growth of local capitalism, the emphasis has now shifted to their present stand in which the policy of rendering of economic assistance to the developing countries by the Socialist countries is described as a clever and selfish manoeuvre by the Socialist countries to be able to interfere in the internal affairs of the newly independent countries and to gain control over them.

THIS today is official Chinese policy as projected in the Chinese press and radio as well as at all international conferences. Not that there has been any change in the meantime in the class character of the leaderships of these newly independent countries but Chinese policy has moved half circle from opposing the giving of assistance to them to the giving of advice and warnings to the same leaderships and governments to beware of the "evil designs" behind the assistance given out by the socialist countries! This again is a remarkable change of policy to say the least. Again examples can be multiplied:

This is the second and concluding part of the article commenting on the latest formulations of the Chinese leadership as contained in the policy statement by Lin Piao. The first part appeared in NEW AGE dated November 21 under the title: "Chinese Leaders' New Testament—'Revolutionary' Theories to Mask Chauvinist Practice".

Nan Han Chen, head of the Chinese delegation at the economic Seminar in Pyongyang in June 1964—which China organised contrary to the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization—said that the aid "of modern revisionists is a consequence of their chauvinism and hegemonistic nationalism". He then added that in granting aid the "modern revisionists" frequently do not respect the independence and sovereignty of African and Asian countries, and instead of helping them to develop their national economies they establish control over them.

China Equates Imperialist and Socialist Countries

Liao Chen Chih, head of the Chinese delegation at the Fourth Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference, which was held in May 1965 in Winneba (Ghana) said that international division of labour and assistance on the part of the industrially developed countries to underdeveloped countries means the application of neo-colonialism in the countries of Asia and Africa in order to "condemn" the nations on these two continents "forever to a state of economic dependence and subjection".

Chinese representatives at these and other international meetings have at the same time glorified the economic and technical aid which China is giving to the underdeveloped countries, which supposedly is genuinely for the purpose of developing their economies and reinforcing their independence.

The Chinese leadership, then, is putting the aid of all countries in the world—both socialist and capitalist countries—into the same category; the only exception they make is China.

The total aid which China has so far promised to other countries is estimated at about 800 million dollars, extended to 18 countries—10 in Africa, and 8 in Asia—out of which by the end of 1964 the share of Africa was 250 million dollars.

Apart from the fact that this amount is considerably less than what other Socialist countries have already given to the developing countries, the long-term projects for heavy industry constitute less than 20 percent of the total Chinese promises. One should also bear in mind that the assistance which has actually been given is considerably less than the total amount promised.

The Chinese leaders promise assistance under exceptionally favourable

conditions, but they fulfil these promises extremely slowly and with great delay, or they do not fulfil them at all. One can take a few examples on the basis of 1964 figures which illustrate this. The period for granting assistance to Nepal expired in March 1963 and none of the three projects which China had taken on itself to build in that country was complete. Of the several facilities which China promised to build in Guinea, it has begun to build a tobacco combine, but the period has already run out. A cement factory in Cambodia whose construction was provided for by an agreement made as early as 1966 has not yet been completed. In addition, construction has not even begun on any of the five projects in Cambodia which were provided for by the agreement between the two countries in 1960. China has not begun construction of a single one of the projects in Burma and Indonesia which were supposed to be equipped with credits promised in 1961.

That China's total aid should be of a relatively small volume can be easily understood if one considers that China itself which only in the recent historical past had the status of a semi-colony, belongs to the world of underdeveloped countries. China needs enormous resources itself to achieve some sort of victory over its own underdevelopment and therefore needs economic aid and economic co-operation with all countries. In other words, for its normal economic development China needs to become an integral part of the world economy.

False Theory of Absolute Self-Sufficiency

A few years ago, however, the Chinese leadership proclaimed its so-called "self-sufficiency policy", according to which every country should first rely on the work of its own people and its own resources. In itself this may be quite laudable, since there is no doubt that every country must first of all utilise its own potentialities as rationally as possible. A policy of unilateral insistence on, or more accurately, making an absolute of self-sufficiency construction, actually means under these circumstances an attempt to separate the underdeveloped countries from the Socialist states and to exclude them from international economic relations and processes. Today when most of the former colonial countries have won their political independence, the focus of the struggle for further national emancipation and affirmation lies primarily in bringing the countries out of their economic backwardness. The economic gap between the developed and underdeveloped has been widening in recent years.

This makes the problem even more difficult. Given this situation the forces of imperialism also are attempting to shore up their political hegemony precisely through pressures which takes advantage of the economic backwardness of the recently liberated countries. Hence it is obvious that the success of the developing countries depends to a large extent on whether or not their aspirations for economic independence will obtain the necessary material and political support on an international level. It should also be remembered that in the present world situation as a result of the existing international correlation of forces even imperialist countries can be compelled, contrary to their natural desires, to offer useful economic aid to the developing countries in order to maintain certain minimum good relations with them in an attempt to counter and limit the influence and popularity of the socialist countries.

Thus we see that this attempt to isolate the underdeveloped countries from cooperation with other countries—and especially the socialist countries—for the purpose of emancipation and prosperity, naturally cannot possibly be in their own interest. It can only be in the questionable interest of those forces which demand and carry out such a policy. Therefore this Chinese policy objectively plays into the hands of the neo-colonialists who are attempting to perpetrate the exploitation of the

***** by *****
* BAREN RAY *

newly liberated countries and to control their future political orientation in one way or another.

Today instead of strengthening the unity and cooperation between the two anti-imperialist camps in the world today—namely the socialist countries together with the world Communist movement and the community of Afro-Asian-Latin American countries engaged in the struggle for attaining or securing their national independence—the immediate objective of the present Chinese policies is to break down the existing relations between these two worlds and to reduce them to the minimum.

Regarding the policy of peaceful coexistence which the Chinese leadership persistently represents as being directed against the liberation struggles of peoples and the revolutionary policy of the working class or as a policy of conciliation between the oppressed and the oppressor, it is not that the Chinese leadership does not know that the majority view in the world Communist movement and the socialist countries have always considered and emphasised that the struggle of peoples for independence is an indispensable component part of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and vice versa. As we have already discussed in the article published last week that this is plainly not a matter of dogmatism or revolutionism but of quite ordinary political opportunism which only makes use of "theories" in order to achieve quite definite, practical political aims—aims which have nothing in common with the interests of the peoples struggling for independence or the humanistic and democratic ideology of socialism.

The atmosphere of the cold war and the orientation towards the in-

vitability of a new world war and of escalation of all existing conflicts favour this Chinese policy. The Chinese leaders hope that in such an atmosphere of increased international tension they will find it easier to impose their demands and political conceptions upon the socialist forces as well as upon the newly independent countries.

On the question of nuclear weapons, the Lin Piao statement says:

"The Khrushchov revisionists insist that a nation without nuclear weapons is incapable of defeating an enemy with nuclear weapons, whatever methods of fighting it may adopt. This is tantamount to saying that anyone without nuclear weapons is destined to come to grief, destined to be bullied and annihilated, and must either capitulate to the enemy when confronted with his nuclear weapons or come under the "protection" of some other nuclear power and submit to its beck and call. Isn't this the jungle law of survival par excellence? Isn't this helping the imperialists in their nuclear blackmail? Isn't this openly forbidding people to make revolution?"

China Wants Cold War To Bully Friends and Allies

But China's own frenzied development of the atom bomb was surely not a defensive weapon of retaliation against US imperialism, which it does not have the necessary means of delivery to hit, but primarily a weapon to impress upon its neighbouring countries and as a means of fulfilling its great power ambitions. In contrast to the inter-imperialist rivalry among the Western powers which is seen in the scramble for the possession of the so called independent national nuclear force by Britain and France, one would have thought that the Socialist world would not present the same spectacle and not contribute to the danger of proliferation. There can be no doubt that even now it is not China's own military power that is the primary factor responsible for ensuring the effective defence of China and preventing imperialism from hitting against its territory. That is not to say that imperialism could possibly conquer or occupy large areas of Chinese territory but it certainly could render immense harm to China's industrial or other vital installations by bombardment which China by itself will be quite incapable of either preventing or retaliating. This may not mean any longterm victory for imperialism but will certainly immensely retard China's rate of industrial and economic progress. Imperialism is denied such liberties to interfere and national security is ensured primarily as a result of the total international balance of forces and the upto date military might of the USSR. The Chinese leadership however does not accept this at all.

The Lin Piao statement further says:

"The Khrushchov revisionists assert that nuclear weapons and strategic rocket units are decisive while conventional forces are insignificant, and that a militia is just a heap of human flesh. For ridiculous reasons such as these, they oppose the mobilization of and reliance on the masses in the Socialist countries to get prepared to use people's war against imperialist aggression. They have staked the whole future of their country on nuclear weapons and are

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THE 'GOODWILL' VISIT

The Prime Minister's statements from Madras and his replies to questions in the Lok Sabha on Monday have clarified that his proposed visit to the United States might take place soon. Washington sources expect Shastri to go there in January '66.

THE Prime Minister has been at pains to stress that he had never said that he would not go to the United States. That left the question when he would go, and the answer now is known. Though Shastri himself has described it as a "goodwill visit", discussions on Kashmir and economic "aid" are not precluded from the agenda of talks in Washington.

The Prime Minister when he intervened in the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha last week had said that he would not bow to any pressure to persuade him to change from the stand he has taken in Parliament in regard to Kashmir.

Underlying this was a recognition of the deep anxiety that is felt in several quarters in this country on the nature and outcome of a Shastri-Johnson meeting at this critical juncture in Indo-US relations. The House therefore applauded this assurance from the Prime Minister.

However, the effect of Shastri's statements in Parliament and outside on the subject of his visit—more

particularly his willingness to undertake an early trip to meet Johnson and his silence on the activities of S. K. Patil who had much to do with this project—has been such as to diminish the impact of such an assurance.

Rather, what is noticeable is the exorcising anxiety of New Delhi to please Washington at the moment, and the visit has assumed supreme importance in this context. The very nature of the position now being taken by the Shastri Government in regard to the American pressure to make a Shastri-Johnson meeting a precondition to resuming "aid" has revealed a weakness, which cannot be plugged by a mere assurance of strength by the Prime Minister.

At least the Washington lobby in this country had never been in doubt about the purpose of this visit, which Shastri describes as a "goodwill" one.

It has been bluntly stated that Johnson is waiting for Shastri to go to him first in a humble frame of mind, if US aid is what New Delhi is seeking. In itself a humiliat-

ing proposition, and yet the Prime Minister is not able to show any annoyance, let alone repudiate it.

This is in marked contrast to his dignified retort when in last April his visit to Washington was unilaterally cancelled by President Johnson and Shastri then could undertake a trip to Canada and ignore the US.

All that happened since

Faced with a difficult foreign exchange situation and the food crisis which threatens to upset the whole economy, New Delhi now thinks that it has to satisfy the US condition for resumption of "aid", but wants to make the people believe that Shastri's is a "goodwill" visit and carries no other significance.

But already it has become considerably weak in its desire to oppose US pressures, as the PL 480 debate in Parliament proved. Also, the once brave declarations of going without American aid are be-

on the granting of independence to colonial territories. Since Mauritius is to attain independence next year, the plan is to retain these islands in British possession even after that.

The threat to India from these bases is real, since the distance from the Chagos base to the Indian shore is only a little over than 1,000 miles and the possibility of these bases being used in the imperialists' nuclear war strategy is also to be taken into account.

The US-British plan for a "nuclear umbrella" to dominate the Afro-Asian scene is not entirely given up.

Comment

then have only confirmed the animosity of the US imperialists towards India—the Pakistani aggression with Patton tanks and Sabre jets, the sudden freezing of all arms and economic "aid" to India by Washington, the diplomatic pressures to make New Delhi respond to imperialist demands on Kashmir, the venomous anti-Indian propaganda in the American press and so on to prove the story of American "goodwill". But Shastri does not see any incongruity in his going to Washington now in the face of all this animosity, blackmail and insult.

ing given up. Instead, there are more references to a seeming change in American attitude, references to how the USA is no longer insisting on a plebiscite in Kashmir and statements like the Pentagon not likely to give any more arms to Pakistan.

BRITISH BASE IN INDIAN OCEAN

THE Anglo-American move to set up military bases in the Indian Ocean is a sinister development threatening the security and independence of countries in Asia and Africa.

The Government of India has voiced its strong opposition to this imperialist move and it has co-sponsored, along with 21 other non-aligned countries, a resolution in the UN General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee condemning the UK plan.

While the Indian disapproval to the British plan to establish bases in the Chagos archipelago, and in islands near Seychelles had been made known to the British Government, even during the "stage of investigations", it is regrettable that this was not followed up by a formal protest and further positive action to rally world opinion and Afro-Asian nations to resist the move.

The equivocal stand taken earlier by New Delhi, when the US Seventh Fleet was extending its arms to the Indian Ocean, has emboldened the imperialists to come with their new plan. Even so, the present stand of strong opposition to these bases voiced by Dinesh Singh in the Rajya Sabha is a welcome step though a belated correction of the earlier complacency.

The British plan to set up a new colony to be known as the British Indian Overseas territory in these islands, by detaching them from the territory of Mauritius and Seychelles, and to use it as military base jointly with the United States is in clear violation of the UN declaration

COMMUNAL AGITATION OVER BHU

THE agitation that has been worked up by the Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and RSS elements against changing the name of the Banaras Hindu University deserves severe condemnation by all secular and democratic forces in the country.

The fact that students of the University have been drawn into it does not alter a bit the character of this agitation which is that of majority communalism trying to disrupt national unity and subvert the secular foundations of our universities. Their face is set firmly against progress in the cultural life and thinking of the people.

It is open to anybody to argue that changing well-known names of places and institutions is not the best way to promote secularism or broadmindedness. But here in this case, those who are sabre-rattling to retain the word Hindu are not motivated by any love for the name of the University or for its traditions.

Under the cloak of preserving traditions, what they want to parade is their intense love for Hindu communalism and opposition to secularism. It is therefore not fortuitous that the worst anti-national elements are gathered in this agitation centering round an institution which has a national past.

What is more astounding is that even some Congress leaders are involved in this agitation. Surely, the ruling party's faith in the ideals of secularism cannot have weakened so much that the Union Education Minister should be forced to come forth in Parliament and say that he would leave the issue to a free vote!

In the set up of our secular democracy, educational and cultural institutions carrying communal labels are an anachronism. The decision to change the name of the Banaras Hindu University was therefore a right step and the present moment of national unity could be used for such good purpose.

But the communal elements like the RSS and Jan Sangh are not interested in this unity. Nor do they want to support a measure which will add to the secular character and strength of our democracy.

(November 22)

—K. U. WARIER

THE food situation has assumed extremely grim dimensions this year. Unless energetic action is taken immediately to remove the root causes of this alarming position all talk of building a self-reliant economy will be so much piffle.

And the essential nature of this action is radical, democratic changes in agrarian relations. The food front—its present crisis and essential remedies—provides an excellent example of the intertwining of the drive to economic independence and the drive to democratisation of the economy.

Foodgrains production had reached 82.7 million tonnes in 1961-62 and had risen to 88.4 million tonnes in 1964-65. It is now feared that the kharif crop "might be about six million tonnes short of last year's output instead of three million tonnes as stated by Sri C. Subramaniam a fortnight ago." (TIMES OF INDIA, November 20).

This literal stagnation is a frightening fact of our national economic development. It also is the most serious menace to our drive to achieve economic self-reliance.

Unfortunately, the government has adopted a policy of trying to meet this situation by means which will only drive the roots of the crisis still deeper.

PL 480 Saps Production

The first facet is continued reliance and begging for PL 480 "aid". Sulekh Gupta's study Freedom From Foreign Food has irrefutably presented the case that PL 480 has considerably dampened the drive towards rapid growth of our foodgrains production.

His point has been reinforced by the study of the problem by Amartya Kumar Sen where he comments "dependence on PL 480 must be viewed as an alternative to having an effective system of storage and rationing, and not as an alternative to starvation and famine" (NOW, November 12).

The argument is advanced by the Government that PL 480 imports are useful since no foreign exchange cost is incurred by India. This is totally false and has been shown to be so in a strong editorial in the ECONOMIC TIMES (November 19).

"The time has certainly come for the Finance Minister to make a clean breast of the financial implications of PL 480. It can now be asserted that the assumption that PL 480 imports do not cost us anything is far too facile.... 12.8 per cent of the counter part funds is put to American uses in India and 6.8 per cent is distributed as Cooley loans to private enterprise.... On an average (also taking into account the increased pace of PL 480 imports) it may be assumed that the foreign exchange lost under the two heads mentioned above will be about Rs. 60 crores annually.

"The latest burdens upon our slender foreign exchange and other resources consist of the sale of counterpart funds in lieu of tourist dollars (estimated at a likely ceiling of Rupees one crore annually),

shipping freight to the extent of Rs. 40 crores annually.... and the proposed convertibility of a part of the counterpart funds (3.5 per cent—M.S.) into foreign currencies for the exclusive use of the US authorities.

"There is also another foreign exchange element involved in the obligation to continue our normal commercial imports of grain, cotton and edible oils if we are to accept even a single consignment of commodities from the US under PL 480."

"On the whole, it may be assumed that despite the utility and magnanimity of PL 480 assistance to India and its role in wiping out our food deficit, this country spends Rs. 110 crores annually in foreign exchange to arrange for this assistance."

That is, during the Fourth Five Year Plan as much as Rs. 550, crores of foreign ex-

change would be the cost of PL 480, or about 14 per cent of the entire estimated foreign aid component of the Plan.

Incidentally, it has taken the government a very long time to wake up to the fact that while in the name of exports the textile industry imported Rs. 50 to 60 crores of long staple cotton annually, the actual export of cloth in which this kind of cotton was used came only to Rs. seven crores annually—the rest was used to manufacture superfine cloth for the conspicuous consumption of the wealthy in India.

More Cotton Than Rice

It was pointed out recently that more cotton was imported under PL 480 than rice, coming to a total value of 275.80 million dollars since September 1956. After all these years and faced with bliantant US blackmail through PL 480, the Finance Minister is reported to have stated that there would no longer be any imports allowed of cotton under PL 480, while it was under consideration which other non-food items could be curtailed.

The government, however, continues to commit a national crime by refusing to take courage in both hands and stop depending on PL 480 for foodgrains as well. At the very least, it could have chalked out a programme for the progressive lessening of PL 480 food imports. Instead, it has decided to go on playing the role of the shameless supplicant.

Thanks to the miasma created by PL 480 the government has not tried as

FOR AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY-IV

hard as it could to look for alternative sources of supply from abroad for the short period prior to attaining self-sufficiency in food and other essential agricultural commodities.

Instead of trying to appease Washington the government could have done much more to work out plans for rice imports from the UAR, Burma and Thailand, cotton from the UAR, Uganda and Sudan; wheat from Venezuela and possibly Canada. It could have a long time ago tried to work out such agreements as the latest one signed with Sudan where the bilateral trade agreement is mutually beneficial.

With a certain minimum

sociological problem of agriculture, i.e., implementation of the ceiling law, eliminating informal tenancy and improving terms of tenancy legislation in favour of the sharecropper...."

It has been rightly pointed out that the largest underutilised industry in India is agriculture. The government monograph on growth rates in agriculture states that from 1952-53 to 1961-62 the productivity per acre increased by only 1.76 per cent annually, with foodgrains showing a still lower figure of 1.45 per cent. India still has, perhaps, the lowest productivity per hectare in the world.

Unfortunately for them, Wolf Ladjinsky's investigation of the package programme areas, has underlined that the failure to implement proper land legislation has led the bulk of the tenants and cultivators to "treat the package programme as a means of survival rather than as a tool for lasting agricultural improvement".

His findings have been further confirmed by the Ford Foundation consultant Dr. Carl C. Malone in his investigation of Thanjavur district recently.

It is a monstrous fact that the Ladjinsky report submitted in May 1963 was kept as some sort of a closely guarded secret for 18 months.... Even now its comparatively mild recommendations (ban on most resumptions; preparation of records; lower rents to be paid in cash; abolition of sharecropping) only have been endorsed by the Planning Commission and that, too, as a mere formal exercise.

If rationing and procurement continue to be treated with indifference, land reforms of any kind are given an aggressively hostile reception by the government. The class interests of the rural rich, the wholesale traders, speculators and monopolists are dearer to the government than the interests of the nation.

There can be no economic independence for India without agricultural self-reliance. And there can be no agricultural self-reliance without a democratisation of the rural structure. Freedom and democracy are indivisible.

matching of increased technical inputs and structural change a veritable revolution in Indian agriculture could take place in the next five years. It has to be realised that in this largest underutilised industry in India the largest underutilised element is labour, that is, the skill and the enthusiasm of the Indian peasant.

This used to be dismissed in

By.....
MOHIT SEN

The third aspect of government policy on the food front which greatly hampers the drive to agricultural self-reliance is the open abandonment of even the pretence at agrarian reforms.

The latest gimmick is reliance on joint stock companies to take on the job of rapidly raising agricultural production on giant farms.

It should be noted that here also, as in the case of industry, the great private entrepreneurs of India are willing to take on the job only after the state reclaimed the wasteland, assured them power, irrigation, fertilisers and even credit.

The entire expensive infrastructure has to be provided by the state and then Birlas and company will graciously contribute their so-called "managerial skills".

Quite apart from the question of social justice and a fair deal for the peasantry, the joint stock companies are just not the appropriate agency to rely upon to deliver the goods.

And it is extremely unlikely that the betrayal of the peasants would be compensated by some huge production upsurge on the giant farms of Birla and Co. It has long been shown that in India, at any rate, farms cannot be treated like factories.

As an article in the FINANCIAL EXPRESS, November 10 asserted, "the government has failed to solve the basic



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ASSAM : Starvation Stalks Border Areas

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: The distressing economic condition of the people living on the Assam-East Pakistan border needs special attention of the central and state governments. Reports speak of starvation in the area and of people forced to live on wild roots.

THE Pakistani aggression has focussed attention on these border areas. It has also aggravated the economic hardship of the people in these areas.

Godpara and Cachar of the plains and Garo Hills, Mizo Hills and United Khasi Jaintia Hills constitute the districts of Assam bordering on East Pakistan. Of these, the economy of the three hill districts had been considerably dependent on the trade with and through areas which are now in East Pakistan.

Since partition, this traditional trade channel has been frequently unusable for the people of the border areas. Sometimes there was bilateral trade agreement which for a period boosted the border trade, followed by uncertainty and slump.

When the traditional trade channel was snapped, there was demand from all

sections, including Congressmen and Communists, for developing a network of roads in the entire area which will help the cash crops grown in the area to find an alternate market.

The government too recognised the imperative need for this, but little has been done all these years to set right the dislocated economy of these border areas. Cultivation of cash crops have declined, unemployment has increased.

Before the hostility between India and Pakistan burst out, the trade across the border continued somehow or other under severe restrictions. But in the wake of Pakistani aggression, their side of the border has been sealed and consequently even the limited trade has stopped. The people of the area find no way out of the situation.

Recently, when the Prime Minister visited the state, the

Chief Minister is understood to have appraised him of the distressing economic conditions in the border areas. Nicholas Roy, M.L.A. of the All Parties Hill Leaders' Conference also made a representation.

It is now learnt that the Assam government is sending a detailed memorandum to the Centre elaborating the problems of the state as a whole and of the border areas in particular. The need for transport facilities will be specially emphasised, it is learnt.

The Hill leader in his talks with the Prime Minister is understood to have also suggested offering subsidy to the border people to help them tide over their immediate problems.

He is also reported to have pointed out that since the orange season is on now the growers have to be immediately helped to find markets for their produce.

All-Party Protest Against Land Gift To Birlas

From B. S. SARAO

CHANDIGARH: The people's protest against the Punjab government's decision to gift a thousand acres of land to the Birlas was given demonstrative expression in the State Assembly on November 18.

The entire opposition walked out of the house when the Home Minister, Darbara Singh stood up to defend the deal. Harijan members belonging to the Congress Party also joined the walk out.

Irrespective of party affiliations, all sections in the house were critical of the government's gift of the land to the Birlas. The lease is for 25 years at the nominal rent of Rs. 30 an acre.

None of the members, six from the Congress and four from the opposition, who participated in the four-hour debate supported the deal. It is significant that only the Home and Agriculture Ministers were there to support the government deal—not even a single Congress member!

The debate was initiated by Shamsar Singh Joshi, Communist M.L.A. who is also the secretary of the Punjab Kisan Sabha.

Joshi revealed that the government had already spent Rs. 107 lakhs on the Sutlej reclamation project. A development farm already existed in the area. And so there was no reason why Birlas should be invited to start a seed farm with the government providing the capital investment.

The government was going back on its policy of giving land to the actual tillers and to the Harijans. It was gifting the land to the capitalists in repayment for the donations they give to the Congress party funds.

He said that the organised peasantry would soon launch a movement to get the deal cancelled and get the land allocated to landless labour.

During the debate, some members suggested that this particular plot of land given to the Birlas be distributed among those persons who have been uprooted from their villages due to the defence operations against Pakistan.

OWNER-GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST TEXTILE WORKERS

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: The crisis in the textile industry in Maharashtra is nowhere near solution.

Twentytwo thousand workers in the Indo Group Mills are facing starvation. They have not been paid their wages for October.

In two out of the six mills in this group, the managers and labour officers have run away. Only the ordinary workers remain, and they are

running the mills with whatever raw materials are available to them.

The owners have of course not paid these workers the bonus due to them for the year 1963.

Not only that, the defence fund which the workers had built up with one day's extra work has been pocketed by the owners. The government has failed to appoint the enquiry com-

mittee it has promised. From November 20, the 22 thousand workers are doing their duties without taking any food. This novel method of struggle was evolved by the joint committee of the representatives of the workers.

The committee has decided that the indefinite fast will continue till the demands of the workers are met.

The government is employing a wait and watch game. The plan seems to be to allow the scandalous situation to continue till things go out of hand.

The Naik government itself is in league with the employers in making inroads into the living standards of the workers. It took the lead in cutting down dearness allowance of workers by 30 per cent in the government-run Model Mills at Phulgaon in Vidarbha.

Under the plea of stockpiling of cloth and scarcity of raw materials, the textile millowners are retrenching workers by the thousand. The crisis has spread to the whole state.

The rise in prices is also hitting the workers. It is estimated that during the last one month prices of consumer goods have gone up by 30 per cent in Bombay, Nagpur, Sholapur and Poona; and by 21 per cent in the rural areas.

It has already declared that any agitation by the Model Mill workers would not be tolerated and anybody taking part in it would be punished under the DMR. Moves are afoot in labour circles to plan united action against this combined onslaught of the employers and government. An all-party textile conference has been called at Nagpur on November 27 and 28.

Among those who will attend the conference are S. A. Dange, S. M. Joshi and Dadasaheb Gaikwad.

RAM KISHEN AGREES TO SHIFT MILLS FROM AMRITSAR

AMRITSAR: The struggle of the Amritsar workers for unemployment relief and job security entered a new stage when Satyapal Dang and three workers began a five-day hunger-strike on November 21.

Ever since the Indo-Pak conflict, mills in Amritsar and Batala have been lying closed. Even those which reopened later have since shut down or have made largescale retrenchment.

More than that, the employers are planning to shift the units from Amritsar. Some have already removed their new machinery. Faridabad seems to be the popular choice for new location.

The Punjab government has given the green signal to this move, though outwardly it proclaims that it is on the side of the workers.

Chief Minister Ram Kishen recently announced that the government would not permit the factories to be shifted to places outside Punjab.

The hint is clear: the government is with the employers if they want to pull

out of Amritsar; only they should not go out of the state.

Another important admission has also been made by the government now. Labour Minister Rizak Ram has said that 75 per cent of the factories in Amritsar are not working.

He added that ten thousand workers have migrated to other places while 10 thousand more are still in the border town. This is a gross underestimation about the number of workers thrown on the streets.

Even while admitting the magnitude of the problem, the government is not taking any effective steps to improve the situation.

When Union Home Minister visited Amritsar on November 13, the workers requested for an interview to present a memorandum detailing their grievances and demands. But Nanda did not have time (!) to meet the workers.

Even the INTUC was refused the benefit of a meeting with the Union Home Minister in Amritsar, though it got the same in Ludhiana.

COIMBATORE TEXTILE WORKERS TO STRIKE ON DEC. 1 FOR BONUS

From Our Special Correspondent

COIMBATORE: On December 1 textile workers all over Coimbatore district will go on a strike. All mills in the district will resort to direct action to enforce their common demand for bonus.

THIS decision was taken by a special conference of the Coimbatore textile workers held on November 14.

The conference was held in response to the call of the united Committee of AITUC, HMS, DMK trade unions in the textile industry, and the trade union wing of the Communist Party (Marxist). Over three thousand delegates attended. The conference was presided over by P. S. Chinnai-

dural, president of the HMS union.

The delegates had come from all parts of the district, and represented everyone of the mills. Over thirty delegates participated in the discussion and amongst them were women workers also.

The delegates called for firm and united action against the millowners to get their rightful bonus for the

year 1964, and all unanimously urged that a strike notice should be served immediately and preparations made for a strike.

At the end of the discussions, Parvathi Krishnan, president of the Coimbatore District Millworkers' Union (AITUC) moved the main resolution of the conference, calling for united action for bonus, and announcing the date of the strike—December 1. The resolution was adopted unanimously amidst thunderous applause.

The discussions and decisions of the special conference showed clearly that the unity that had been growing during the struggle for bonus advance before Diwali had been further strengthened. Tributes were paid by all to the INTUC workers who had defied their leaders and joined in the struggle.

On behalf of the unions it was argued that in view of the national emergency and the difficult situation facing the workers as a result of rising prices and the electricity cut which had seriously affected their earnings, to refer the question to adjudication would

lead to inordinate delay and ensuing labour unrest. In the interests of industrial peace and in keeping with the spirit of the Industrial Truce Resolution of 1962, it was imperative that the bonus issue should be settled peacefully in the shortest possible time. Conciliation talks having failed, the matter is being now referred to government for appropriate action.

Workers throughout the district are quite clear that they will be satisfied with nothing short of a settlement of the bonus issue.

Though the managements are trying their level best to break the unity and morale of the workers by resorting to suspensions, show-cause notices, and other such harassment, there is firm unity amongst the workers which will be the guarantee for a satisfactory settlement of the bonus issue in this District.

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FAMINE CONDITIONS PREVAIL IN ANDHRA

From C. Raghavachary

HYDERABAD: Famine conditions in several parts of the state have assumed serious proportions, forcing even the complacent officialdom to sit up and take notice.

Particularly alarming are the reports from Rayalaseema, Telengana and the upland areas of Sarkar districts.

The Collector of Anantapur, who only a fortnight ago denied there was any famine in his area has now sent an SOS to the Food Minister requesting for an immediate supply of 10,000 tons of foodgrains to the district.

Mass starvations and exodus of agricultural workers to other parts of the state in search of food and work have become the general feature in the districts of Anantapur, and Kurnool. The fact of migration is admitted even in official circles.

Thus, official sources have admitted that 70 able-bodied youth from the village of Muddalpur in Anantapur taluk have left the village. The non-official estimate is however more than 100.

Similarly hunger deaths are on increase. A report

from Rudrampur village speaks of the suicide of a Harijan boy, Naganna, unable to bear starvation.

While drought conditions have caused complete failure of crops, the sky-rocketing prices have added new gravity to the situation. The fair price shops have not proved beneficial to the mass of rural people.

In Nellore, several taluks have been affected by drought and famine. Demands for remission of revenue, exemption from paddy levy and immediate starting of relief work have been made from the district.

While the plight of the people is steadily deteriorating in the districts, official reaction to the threat of famine has been slow and halting. Also with the connivance of the corrupt bureaucracy, smuggling of foodgrains to neighbouring states has been on the increase.

There have been cases of people stopping grain lorries and distributing the grain among themselves. The government, however, seems to regard such symptoms of famine and acute shortage as only law and order problems.

CROP GOES INTO BIG TRADERS' GODOWNS

From Ajoy Dasgupta

CALCUTTA: Ministers and even officials are busy issuing statements on the proposed state trading in foodgrains in West Bengal, but precious little is being done to buy the crop which has begun to come in.

And in all these statements certain very vital points are being evaded which will affect the peasants adversely and may even jeopardise the entire scheme of state trading.

Most of the peasants have to take loan or advance before harvest, not only in cash but also in seeds, even paddy for consumption. But the government is totally silent as to what responsibility it is going to take of the loans or advances, particularly where repayment is stipulated in kind, when they will buy paddy from cultivators through levy at a fixed price.

In the Malda district the

early Aman crop has begun to be harvested. A peculiar feature was witnessed. The paddy was whisked to the control of the big traders direct from the field. They did not wait even for a day.

The secretary of the district council of the CPI approached the District Magistrate who said that he was ready to buy and his procurement machinery was ready, but he had no instructions!

Also labour is short for harvesting work. That is because the government has so far kept completely silent as to whether the labourers would be permitted to take the paddy they get as wages to their homes.

There is widespread apprehension that such paddy will also be confiscated by the police and the jotedars and traders are spreading such rumours. This has led to rotting of paddy in some areas.

This is the situation in all the districts. Government has so far not taken serious notice of these developments or shown any inclination to save its policy of state trading from becoming a fiasco.

POLICE LET LOOSE AGAINST KAKKI PROJECT WORKERS

From S. Sharma

RIVANDRUM: P. T. Punnose, member of the National Council of the Communist Party of India and C. K. Vishwanathan, joint secretary of the Kerala State Trade Union Council, together with seven other workers' leaders have been arrested while they were on their way to Sabarigiri, to study the labour agitation there.

The workers employed by the Hindustan Construction Company engaged in civil works in the Sabarigiri Hydro-Electric Project have been carrying on an agitation against the refusal of the management to implement an agreement with regard to the bonus and service conditions.

The agreement itself had been arrived at in May last in negotiations between the management and the union.

Having failed to move the Labour Department authorities to intervene in the dispute, the union served a strike notice on the management, making it clear however that the notice will be withdrawn the moment the management implemented its agreement.

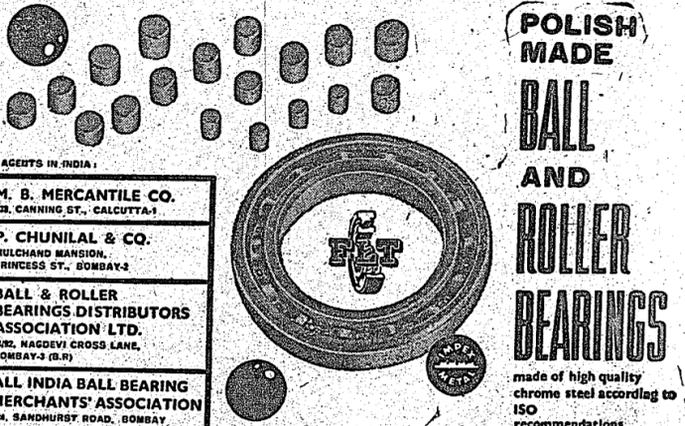
Still the government failed to intervene and force the management to do the right thing. On the other hand, it has lent its police to help the management and suppress the workers' struggle.

The police have arrested the union president and another

worker, provoking a rapid deterioration in the situation. Punnose and Vishwanathan were going there in order to study the situation and try if a satisfactory settlement could be possible and the strike could be averted. Their arrest has come as a further provocation by the police.

Criticising these arrests and the role played by the government in this labour dispute, C. Achutha Menon has asked whether the government's declaration of the area as protected area is designed only to protect the management in its anti-worker plot.

He has urged the Governor and the Advisor to intervene and release the arrested leaders and see that the just demands of the workers are conceded.



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FIFTEEN DAYS IN KASHMIR VALLEY

A Kashmiri mother and child



As luck or chance would have it, I have visited Kashmir at almost every turning point in its chequered political history since independence. I was there soon after the tribal invasion from Pakistan in 1947. I was again there in 1953 when Sheikh Abdullah was actively working out his formula of an "independent Kashmir". I saw the huge mass outburst that took place in the Valley after his arrest. And in subsequent years, both before and after the formation of the Democratic National Conference, I visited Kashmir several times. Last month, Avtar Singh Malhotra, and I went to Kashmir on what may be called a search for truth.

A visit to Kashmir Valley is always a happy and enjoyable experience. We landed there in the midst of autumn, the most colourful of all seasons when the entire landscape is a soft-hued mosaic of unparalleled chastity. We gasped for breath as suddenly, on crossing the Pir Panjal range, the entire Valley of Kashmir rolled itself out before our eyes, more beautifully adorned than the costliest carpets ever possessed by a Shah of Iran.

BUT as we descended into the Valley and raced towards Srinagar, uniforms, guns, soldiers, policemen began to appear more and more on the roads, in the villages, in the townships that we passed—in fact everywhere. And I suddenly felt sad.

I am sure, whoever has known Kashmir in the past and sees it today, will feel unhappy. For this land, which nature intended to lend peace, happiness and beauty to human life is today under a dreadful pall of man-made weapons of death and destruction.

HAVOC WROUGHT

What havoc imperialism and its henchmen in their lust for territories, strategic areas, air-bases, etc., can cause to the life and labour of a simple, peace-loving people can be seen straightaway at a glance in Kashmir.

For the last two decades, the imperialist rulers of the USA and Great Britain have been trying to detach Kashmir from India through sus-

tained intrigues and machinations carried on with the help of the ruling cliques of Pakistan and certain ambitious and unprincipled politicians inside Kashmir.

TRUMP CARD

It is well to remember that they pressurised Maharaja Hari Singh in 1947 not to accede to India. When the powerful democratic movement of Kashmir, led at that time by Sheikh Abdullah, made this an unfeasible proposition, they organised a tribal armed invasion of the Kashmir Valley through Pakistan, led by British agents like Russel Haught.

When that, too, failed, they caught Abdullah in their net, promised him the absolute rulership of an independent kingdom, offered him unlimited funds to build an Asian Switzerland and made him the spearhead of a movement for the establishment of an independent State of Kashmir.

When even this line of action did not yield immediate results, they played their last

trump card, which was to arm Pakistan to the teeth for an eventual invasion of Kashmir. That project has now materialised and the imperialists now stand fully exposed.

LET US LEARN

During this whole period, the common toiling people of Kashmir had had to pay a terrible price for these international intrigues and machinations in the form of a complete disruption of their political and economic life. Kashmir has not shared with the rest of the country the normal course of economic and political development. In fact, since 1953, it has been in a state of permanent emergency.

HARRASSED, BEWILDERED

No wonder therefore that the Kashmir people are today a harassed and bewildered people, disillusioned and divided, not knowing what to look forward to in the future.

Reaching Srinagar late in the afternoon on October 13 we found the streets half deserted, all shops closed, soldiers and policemen every-

where and a look of bewilderment and confusion on the faces of the bystanders. No one seemed to be in a fighting mood. The commands of the policemen were readily obeyed and none made even a show of resentment or resistance.

The hartal had been ordered by the Plebiscite Front in protest against the arrest of Maulvi Farooq. But it was a peaceful hartal. Hindu shops were carrying on a brisk trade with perfect immunity. Muslim customers were freely buying from those shops and there was not even the semblance of rancour or ill-will. As the evening shadows fell, life in the streets began to thin out, since there was an all-night curfew.

A short stroll by the riverside before the curfew hour revealed that all house-boats, those graceful floating structures of Srinagar, the usual abode of tourists, were vacant. For, there were no tourists in the Kashmir Valley. And it was a pathetic sight to watch those boatmen who had been squatting in front of their boats night and day since August last, patiently keeping a vigil on the road for tourists to turn up, but none came.

Nearly one-third of Srinagar's working population draw its livelihood from houseboats and hotels and with the dreadful Himalayan winter approaching, when everything is snow-bound, what would happen to these men and women, one knows not.

The next morning, I peeped out of my hotel window. The streets had started buzzing, but the hartal was still on. Towards noon, Avtar Singh and I, accompanied by our veteran jeep driver Khela Singh, drove straight into the heart of the town, Khane-yar and we met there a strange and interesting sight.

PEOPLE'S COHESION

The town was closed and yet it was very much alive. Hundreds of persons were walking up and down the narrow streets and lanes, talking, laughing, discussing, joking as if there was nothing abnormal in the situation. Watching this stream of humanity—men and women, Hindus and Muslims mixing freely as one people, I got the feel of the basic cohesion of the Kashmiri nationality about which I had heard so much earlier.

It was no ordinary sight in that situation to find respectable Pandit women in their flowing robes walking with perfect ease and grace alongside burly bearded Muslims; Muslim women without purdah talking freely to Hindu men; walking about quite unperturbed in Hindu-majority areas, and so on.

All Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, of all classes, will tell you proudly that in the Kashmir Valley, during the last 18 years, not one

Hindu-Muslim incident has taken place. Even in those dark days after 1947 when the rest of Northern India was torn by communal riots and massacres, the Hindu minority led a safe and secure existence in the remotest villages of the Valley.

In the towns, most of the mohallas have a mixed population, but a unique atmosphere of communal goodwill, amity and harmony prevails. It did one's heart good to see all that

LET US LEARN

Let many of those in other parts of India who boast about their own 'nationalism' and 'patriotism' learn something from the Kashmiri people in this respect. I only hope and pray that the Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir Valley will never allow anything to snap or weaken these immortal bonds of human brotherhood which hold them together.

The news of our arrival in Srinagar spread rapidly in political circles. The Kashmir Valley is a small world in itself. Minor events, which would normally go unnoticed in bigger states, sometimes assume considerable public importance. Information spreads quickly by word of mouth. And so a stream of visitors started calling on us. Some of them were old friends who were happy to meet and talk to us; some others were curious busybodies who wanted to know what we had come to Kashmir for.

In the meantime, a little stir was created in the town by some student demonstrations held inside the engineering and medical colleges. They were not big demonstrations, each being of not more than about a couple of hundred students. They were easily dispersed. However, their slo-

function? We could not see that for ourselves since the hartal was on and everything was closed. But we were told that in Srinagar, the Front has a fairly widespread and efficient organisation with whole-timers, area and mohalla committees and offices from where instructions, directives and news are disseminated.

The Plebiscite Front which is functioning through its so-

intelligentsia, including a section of college students. This explains why the slogan of "Independent Kashmir" is more popular than the slogan of accession to Pakistan in these circles. There seems to be an objective basis for such a demand in the interest of these classes. The trading and business communities look forward to doing better business by

in Kashmir on the ground that the political situation there was likely to be disturbed seriously in the near future.

Today, is there any naive person, even among the Central Government Ministers, who still doubts that the latest phase of Pakistan's aggression with its new technique of infiltrators, who were to be followed by paratroopers and a regular invasion of the Valley

UNIQUE ATMOSPHERE OF COMMUNAL HARMONY

called "Action Committee" is no doubt quite influential in the towns of the Valley today. Its main components are the mass of Sheikh Abdullah's



political followers, the followers of Maulvi Farooq who owe their political descent to the

dealing both with India and Pakistan simultaneously in an independent state rather than when they are tied up to one of them. The same prospect tantalises the artisan class and the sections dependent on tourist traffic.

The Abdullah and the Farooq group are today united only on one slogan inside the Front, that is, the demand for a plebiscite. The understanding is that in the event of a plebiscite, each would be free to advocate its own solution.

The Plebiscite Front was seriously languishing when Sheikh Abdullah was released last year. Its propaganda and activities had almost come to a dead end. But with the Sheikh again at the helm of affairs, it was reorganised and activated. It is now clear that the Sheikh's visit abroad, in the name of Haj pilgrimage was a well calculated move inspired by certain foreign powers for working out an international line of action on Kashmir.

I have it on good authority that before leaving India Sheikh Abdullah quietly dissuaded several industrialists from investing in industries

by Pakistan forces at the call of the so-called "Revolutionary Provisional Government" of Kashmir, was discussed and worked out abroad with Sheikh Abdullah by the agents of Pakistan, Anglo-American powers and China?

How imperialist powers are whipping up anti-India feelings internationally on the question of Kashmir can be seen in the activities and writings of Anglo-American newsmen and correspondents who still infest the Valley. It is indeed a strange and significant fact that these correspondents always appear on the scene just a day or two before every major incident.

WESTERN "PRESSMEN"

For example, the infiltrators started pouring into the Valley from August 4 onwards. On August 5, when hardly any Indian correspondent knew about this development, the foreign correspondents started flying into Srinagar and by August 8 they were there in large numbers. Then again, just a couple of days before the latest student de-



monstrations, they were all there with their paraphernalia—cameras, tape recorders, television sets, etc.

They roam about freely in Srinagar town, talk in sympathetic and encouraging terms to Plebiscite Front workers, tell them big yarns about how much international support they are getting, and so on.

We saw for ourselves many young students belonging to the Front, sitting and chatting in a very friendly manner with the Anglo-American correspondents in the Nedou's Hotel, where they usually stay.

These correspondents also display prominently in the mass meetings of the Front generally held after Friday prayers, in one of these meetings, Mohiuddin Kara created a ridiculous situation by addressing the audience in his broken English, because in the front line stood a host of foreign correspondents and UN observers.

We wondered why it is not possible for the central or state government to ban the entry of such correspondents into the Valley.

Many well-meaning and patriotic Muslims in Kashmir told us that the Plebiscite Front would collapse the moment it is known that the status of the Valley is no longer negotiable or open to discussion in the UN or as between India and Pakistan. If the Indian Government takes a firm and unqualified stand on this point, the Front would begin to disintegrate.

WEAKNESS IN JAMMU

Because, it is the hopes and expectations that were roused by the international focussing of the question, coupled with the sympathetic publicity that the Front gets in the Anglo-American press that enables Sheikh Abdullah and other Front leaders to keep up the sagging morale of their supporters.

Another fact that was brought to our notice was that the weakness of the secular democratic movement in the Jammu part of the state and the domination of the Jan Sangh there creates serious subjective complications among the Muslims of the Valley. There is no doubt that the rabid communal propaganda of the Jan Sangh in the Jammu province reacts very adversely in the Valley and brings grist to the mill of the Plebiscite Front.

"WHAT IS OUR FUTURE?"

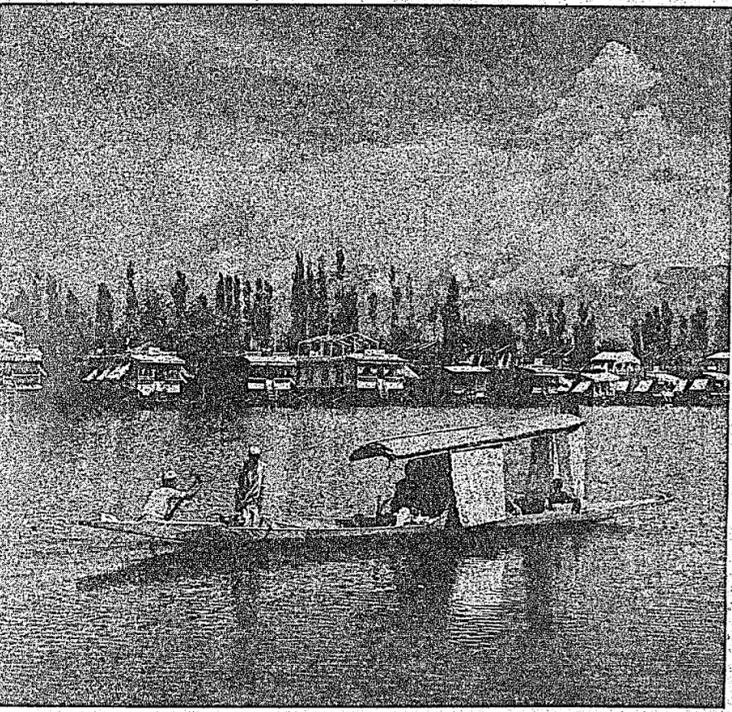
We were interested in finding out the views and reactions of the Muslim middle-class intelligentsia, which in the Plebiscite Front plays the role of the theory giver. We found very few of them to be fanatically pro-Pakistan. In fact, many of them argued against accession to Pakistan. But the idea of a Plebiscite seems to have caught the imagination of many of them. Somehow they attach a peculiar democratic sanctity to this demand and begin to argue in the realm of political morality.

But on closer examination we found that the whole super-structure of their political thinking is based on an acute discontent with the prevailing economic condition of their own class. Some of them frontally posed certain questions to us.

They asked: "What is our future in this small valley, 80 miles long and 30 miles broad, where there is no industry worth the name, no development of trade and commerce; where government services have reached the saturation point and agriculture is uneconomic; we do not get employment in other parts of the country and so what have we to look forward to excepting chronic poverty?"

I felt the weight of their argument.

(To be concluded)



No tourists to go boating on Dal Lake!

By
Z. A. AHMAD

gans were noteworthy. No one shouted "Pakistan Zindabad!" or "Hindustan Murdabad!" Their main slogans were "Sheikh Abdullah Zindabad!" "Plebiscite Front Zindabad!" "Plebiscite shall be held!" The absence of the slogan "Pakistan Zindabad!" seemed to me to be significant.

We were told by responsible persons that these and a couple of other student demonstrations held in the Lal Chowk a week earlier by the Plebiscite Front were meant only for international publicity, particularly to provide some basis for Pakistan's claims at the UN that mass resistance inside Kashmir was continuing.

OBJECTIVE BASIS

The Front is much weaker, both organisationally and politically in the countryside though it has some support in the comparatively well-to-do sections of the peasantry, particularly among orchard owners. The main social base of the Front in the towns is composed of the traders, shopkeepers, artisans and urban

erstwhile Muslim Conference, and a small group led by Mohiuddin Kara who formerly belonged to the so-called Political Conference.

The Farooq group represents the die-hard pro-Pakistan elements, but it is in a minority. The overwhelming majority of the supporters of the Front owe allegiance to Sheikh Abdullah, and politically uphold the line of "Independent Kashmir."

What is in store for him?

Focus On Foreign Policy

ANTI-IMPERIALIST TENOR OF NON-ALIGNMENT EMERGES

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The debate on foreign affairs which the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha have just concluded has been perhaps the most lively foreign policy discussion in Parliament for a long time. It has served a useful purpose—the policy of nonalignment is no longer a hazy thing, or an amorphous declaration but once again a vigorous policy applicable to Rhodesia as to Aden and the proposed British base in the Indian Ocean. It is also more concrete in dealing with India's neighbours and Afro-Asian friends.

But the most important outcome of the foreign policy debate has been to focus the change in the Indian people's stand in relation to the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, and the Anglo-American camp.

Indo-Soviet friendship has come to be recognised as one of the important planks of India's foreign policy.

There was a clear expression of this reality in Prime Minister Shastri's statement in the Lok Sabha—“The way they (Soviet Union) have helped us in a difficult period it will be impossible for us to forget. The bond of unity will get stronger day by day.”

On the other hand, Shastri pointed out, India has “differences” with America and Britain over their attitude towards Pakistan. This was evidently an understatement, but the implication was clear.

Within the framework of nonalignment India sees more clearly who are its real friends

and who are the ones in disguise! The debate of course provided a valuable setting for clarifying the perspective on Indo-Pak relations. India had accepted the Soviet Prime Minister's move for Indo-Pak talks in Tashkent under Soviet mediation.

Shastri also made it clear that he was planning to visit Washington—obviously to mend the fences of the dilapidated relationship with America. Shastri used the occasion of the parliamentary debate to make India's position on the Kashmir issue quite clear. Bargaining on Kashmir was not a fit subject for Indo-Pak discussions. But the government was prepared to discuss Indo-Pakistan relations in their “totality”. Presumably, this included ways of removing tensions between the countries over the Kashmir question too.

While the Prime Minister's statement on this score in the Lok Sabha debate left room for doubts, his later elucidation in the Rajya Sabha made the position absolutely clear.

The distrust and hostility towards the Anglo-American imperialists revealed during the debate in both Houses was one of its marked features. A typical example of the swing in members' sentiments was provided by the speech of Frank Anthony in the Lok Sabha, as also the speeches of Congress MPs generally. From being a staunch advocate of the Swatantra line, Anthony's slashing attacks on the two imperialist powers showed that he had moved along with the mood of the House and the country.

But probably the most interesting expression of the shift in relation to the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers was indirectly provided by the Swatantra spokesmen. Minoo Masani the architect of Swatantra's anti-Soviet line, put forth a new slogan—friendship for both USA and Soviet Union. Of course, this was only a new trapping for essentially the same policy objective that the Swatantra has been pursuing in the past.

Perforce, according to Masani, while India should seek help from both the major powers, only USA could provide effective help—that of PL 480! And so, once again, American friendship and help should be sought (perhaps even on our bended knees).

The undertone of an apology in the new advocacy of Masani threw ample light on the strong sentiment now prevailing in favour of Indo-Soviet friendship. The answer to the new Swatantra line came from Communist spokesmen in the two Houses. Who gave Pakistan the Patton tanks and Sabre jets to attack India—this was their query.

In the Lok Sabha Renu Chakravarty also revealed the logic of American policy in Vietnam and in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. In Vietnam it is direct invasion by American imperialism, in the Indo-Pak conflict it is an indirect one—through provision of murder weapons to Pakistan for attack on India.

Over a wider canvass, the foreign policy debate gave a sharper edge to some of the features which now mark out the policy of nonalignment in the current phase.

Rhodesia and Aden were typical examples of the forceful anti-colonialist outlook which should characterise India's stand. Another example was provided by the statements made by the Deputy Foreign Minister in the two Houses on the question of the British base in the Indian Ocean. The strong attacks on Britain's decision to set up this base revealed the growing anti-imperialist sentiment now prevailing in Parliament.

Only a little while ago there was a tendency to ignore or even whitewash the Anglo-American proposal for a base in the Indian Ocean on the plea that it would be a potential ground for air support to India in the event of a Chinese attack. Now that attitude has been reversed and a correct stand is being taken with regard to this extension of the British military net work.

When Abdul Hamid drove his jeep forward on September 10, advanced to the flank of the Pakistani tank brigade with his recoilless gun and hurled defiance at one Patton tank after another, was his action the result of a courage which is dauntless because it does not know the consequence—an act of bravery which is purely physical? Or was his action, which is claimed to have saved about 8,000 Indian jawans from sure death, something more, something which truly wins the highest honour for a soldier—an act of conscious and deliberate courage carried out with clear-sighted planning and sure aim?

I visited the village of Abdul Hamid as hundreds have done during the last few weeks, as thousands will do in the years to come. I found a tract of land poor in yield and bereft of water. Dusty roads, hastily repaired in recent days lead to Dhampur. A mud plastered house with a thatched verandah shelters the proud father and the weeping mother of the hero.

What was there in this and surrounding which made Hamid stand out amongst his fellow fighters? Who awakened the loyalty to his motherland which made the Havildar knowingly stake his own life for the defence of his country?

Abdul Hamid did what he knew to be necessary because from his very childhood he had been surrounded by men who fought for their rights and, in the face of heavy odds, did not hesitate to risk their lives. As a youngster playing round the village chaupal, Hamid had heard from the older men the daring deeds of fighters for freedom.

Dhampur is in Ghazipur district. Ghazipur, once famed throughout India for its roses and jasmine, from which came the famous scents exported to the Far and Middle East, was by the beginning of the century one of the most poverty stricken districts of the United Provinces.

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What are the political divisions between the two factions? The Madhok group's charge is that Golwalkar is allied to the Congress leadership of Shastri, that they are helping Shastri to consolidate his hold on the country and thus helping anti-national and socialistic ideas to get the upper hand.

On the other hand, the RSS supremo considers Madhok to be the purveyor of American influence and orientation in the Sangh. Madhok hardly disguises his pro-American outlook, and this has come in handy for Golwalkar's lieutenants to give him a sound thrashing. It was in this context that the Jana Sangh-RSS demonstration against the American embassy was staged recently. In the context of current realities, this appears to be a patriotic gesture indeed. But Madhok is not likely to take all this lying down, and is busy planning out counter-moves. A big clash is in the offing. Unless, of course, the supremo descends down to a compromise with the pro-American Madhok group.

From his position of supreme leader, a *fuehrer* in every respect, Golwalkar is now a bruised man. While the outer halo remains, the decay in his authority has set in. The top aides who together with him constituted the RSS supreme command is now divided and battered.

Ekmath Ranade, the ideologist behind Golwalkar, has wavered and gone over to the Madhok group. Bhayyaji Dani, the Southern and Western

chief, is dead. Only Madhokrao Mule, the organisational boss, remains with him.

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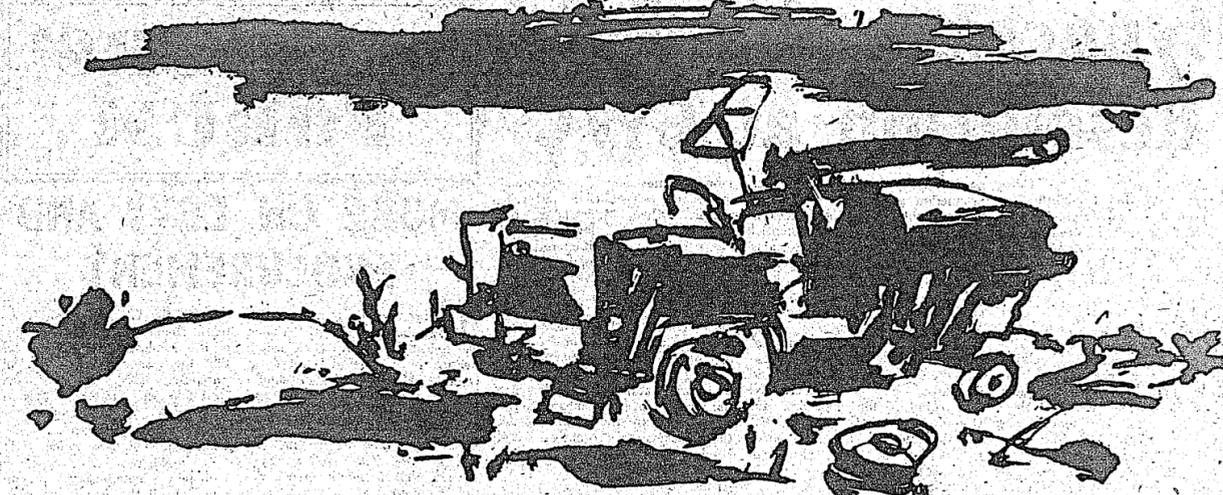
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A sketch by renowned painter M. F. Hussain, who visited the forward areas recently, showing Havildar Abdul Hamid's jeep mounted with a recoilless gun. On left is shown martyr Hamid's grave somewhere near the frontlines.

The entire country is familiar today with the name of Havildar Abdul Hamid. Poems have been written and songs sung in his honour, a book about him and a film based on his life are being publicised. To me, however, the question which seemed most important was—“Why did he do it?”

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HAV. ABDUL HAMID BACKGROUND TO THE MAKING OF A NATIONAL HERO

Hamid was amongst the volunteers who marched with the red flag from village to village canvassing for Sarju Pandey.

Later, amongst the Muslims, a tremendous wave of nationalism was aroused by the patriotic example of Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari who led the Khilafat delegation and was one of the closest supporters of Gandhiji in the late twenties and early thirties.

In 1942 it was but natural that Hindus and Muslims should jointly support the anti-imperialist wave of revolt in the course of which Sarju Pandey emerged

as the courageous and daring leader of the Quit India movement. Hamid as a boy of nine years heard of the many exploits of this young man and dreamt of himself one day performing acts of equal heroism.

Hamid was to hear this name on many other occasions. After independence, for example, when Dhampur village together with neighbouring kisans joined in a mighty wave of protest against the repression of local zamindars under the leadership of Har Prasad Kaptan, and Hamid's father took part in this struggle, Hamid heard for the first time of the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party and learnt that his hero was one of its leading workers.

During the days when the government launched the notorious “Chichor Kand” case against Sarju Pandey, Jai Bahadur Singh and other Kisan and Communist workers, Sarju Pandey's name was on the lips of every man, woman and child in Ghazipur.

Actually, when in 1952, Sarju Pandey, absolved from the charges of murder and dacoity, stood before the people as the Communist candidate for the Assembly and Parliament seats, Abdul

Hamid himself did not differentiate between Hindus and Muslims as far as association went. His last letter in which he requested his friend to look after his wife and children was written to his closest friend, Bachcha Singh of the same village.

This was the man, one truly deserving the honour and homage of his countrymen, who was conscious of his duty to his motherland, who was free of prejudices and bias and who had always supported the cause of those fighting for justice and for freedom. Together with other countrymen the Communist Party and the Communist Party, Hamid pays its homage to him.

By **HAJRAH BEGUM**

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had a tremendous respect for Party leaders and thought them to be the most brave and courageous amongst patriots.

Ghazipur has always maintained the traditions of Hindu-Muslim unity. Even in the worst days of communal riots the people of Ghazipur proudly claim that no disturbances broke out in their district.

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WAR-STRICKEN REFUGEES URGE IMMEDIATE RELIEF

A large deputation of war-stricken refugees from the Khemkaran sector, led by the Communist MLC Teja Singh Swatantra, met Union Rehabilitation Minister Mahavir Tyagi on November 10 and Prime Minister Shastri on November 11.

These refugees come from the 13 villages which were over-run by Pak tanks and are at present in Pakistani hands.

The refugees demanded that Agricultural land should be allotted to them somewhere else till normal peaceful conditions are restored on the border and their villages liberated.

Among the refugees are residents of villages which were completely destroyed, have become unsuitable for living and whose water outlets remain in Pak hands. They also should be given land on temporary basis.

Other demands made by them were: Adequate compensation be paid for their standing crops which were destroyed by war operations, stray cat-

tle, shortage of water or left uncollected in the field. Compensation should be paid for the cattle, dead and lost during the war. Supply of adequate fodder for the rest should be arranged.

Claims for the lost tractors, crushers, tokas, tubewells, bullock carts, etc. should be received and compensation fixed.

The refugees have left stocks of grains, wheat, gram, oilseeds and gur in the vacated villages, besides household goods, beds, utensils, etc. Adequate sums be paid against these articles.

CHELAS REVOLT AGAINST GURU

The RSS monolith, imposing though it is, shows signs of decay. It is in fact no longer that monolithic entity under an all-powerful *fuehrer* that it is generally thought to be.

There are cracks in the organisation, a relentless tussle for power, and division of areas of power has begun involving the top junta. The Rashtriya Swyam Sewak Sangh's supreme Guru Golwalkar and his principal aides are no longer a united group but are split.

The tussle actually began long ago when the Jana Sangh's leader in Parliament, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, raised the standard of revolt against the RSS guru's right to dictate things to the Sangh. Vajpayee clashed with Guru Golwalkar on the occasion of the last session of the Jana Sangh because of the latter's efforts to impose Bachraj Vyas as the Sangh's president.

Fortunately for the RSS and its political platform, the Jana Sangh, the Indo-Pak conflict came in the way. This was a god-send for them since the war with Pakistan shelved for the time being the internal divisions and tussles in their ranks.

That however proved to be a temporary relief. With the Indo-Pakistan war over, the storm inside the RSS as also in the relations between the Jana Sangh and RSS has

broken anew and this time all the more virulently. It is Balraj Madhok, once a favourite of Golwalkar, who has now raised the issue. Having become persona non grata with Golwalkar, Madhok is outside the precincts of the charmed circle.

But he is far from being a helpless outcast whom Golwalkar can deal with at his pleasure. As the Northern Zonal Secretary of the Jana Sangh, Madhok has challenged the authority of the RSS and especially of Golwalkar in interfering in the policies and day to day affairs of the Sangh.

From his position of supreme leader, a *fuehrer* in every respect, Golwalkar is now a bruised man. While the outer halo remains, the decay in his authority has set in. The top aides who together with him constituted the RSS supreme command is now divided and battered.



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That however proved to be a temporary relief. With the Indo-Pakistan war over, the storm inside the RSS as also in the relations between the Jana Sangh and RSS has

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—BHIMA

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Hypocrisy of A Food Resolution at CWC

THE resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the present critical food situation says that "a united country facing an invasion on its borders cannot afford to have an unequitable distribution of essential foodgrains".

Strangely enough, the food situation is gradually deteriorating with reports of acute scarcity and famine conditions stalking one state after another. An indication that the present quota would be further reduced from 12 ounces to 10 ounces has already been given by the Central Food Minister.

It is an irony of fate that our country despite 15 years of planning should be in a mess in regard to such a vital issue as food. The country's foodgrain production is to the extent of 93 per cent of its total consumption leaving a deficit of only 7 per cent. Why then the present acute scarcity should obtain even after the per capita consumption having been reduced by 33 per cent only two months ago?

The answer is that the country's distribution system of this vital commodity suffers from serious defects. Reports appearing in the press indicate that the arrivals of foodgrains in the

market are not to the extent of production and reveal a drop of 38 per cent over the previous year. Logically, a substantial amount of foodgrains remains hoarded and is sold in black-market.

While in many parts of the country condition of famine is reported on account of crops failures, the agrarian economy of the three border districts of Punjab—Ferozpur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur—has been shattered as a result of the Pakistani invasion. Reports from West Bengal that rice is smuggled across the border or sold locally in blackmarket have appeared in the press.

The monopoly traders are bent upon blackmailing the public and the governments in those states particularly where the wholesale trade of major commodities has been taken over. Bihar's Minister for Irrigation and Power, stated publicly as early as in May 1965 that "a good quantity of foodgrains, mainly rice, was being smuggled to China through Nepal from Bihar and UP".

In the face of this grim situation what has the government to say? The Prime Minister in his recent broadcast to the nation called upon the countrymen to

READERS' FORUM

MORE ON LEVY AND PROCUREMENT

IN his letter (NEW AGE, November 14) K. S. Menon has objected to my suggestion (made in Economic Notes of October 24) that the state should operate as "both producer and purchaser, but operating with two different sets of prices". He feels that this might first be against the CPI policy and, second, that it might favour the rich peasants.

What the CPI insists on is that there should be state monopoly of the wholesale grains trade and that there should be monopoly purchase. This purchase may well take the form of procurement (levy) at a minimum price as well as of purchase at a somewhat higher price. The CPI nowhere has asked for monopoly compulsory procurement of all the surplus of every body.

The procurement (levy) would be on a graded basis. The smaller peasant would be excluded altogether and the largest marketable surplus with the landlords mopped up completely while the rich peasant would still have some surplus left after the levy. The CPI does make a differentiation between the rich peasant and the landlord in favour of the former.

Price incentive is an important stimulus for increased agricultural production and see no reason why the CPI should not demand its effective use to help all peasant producers.

Menon should know that the small peasant also comes on the market with his grain in order to buy essential consumer goods, meet debts, etc. The state buying this at the higher purchase price, as compared to procurement price, would benefit him.

In any event, the problem of social inequality in the countryside would remain even if there was compulsory procurement of all existing surplus. This problem has to be tackled by land reforms and taxation.

GIVE PRIORITY IN LAND GRANT TO JAWANS

ASSIGNMENT of government waste land to military personnel is a practice in vogue from the times of British rule. After the dawn of independence, a new section of people, "political sufferers" were also made entitled to it with higher preference.

Military and ex-military personnel held a second position since then and it continues so to this day in the matter of allotment of land. The discrimination exists even after the assignment is over.

If the assignee is a "political sufferer" he can sell it immediately. If the assignee is not a "political sufferer", but a military person or some other landless poor, he has no right to sell it and thus he is deprived of the benefits accruing therefrom.

Nobody questions the noble idea of rehabilitating our soldiers of freedom struggle. But the term "political sufferer" has gradually come to apply only to those who belong to the ruling party. Thus a good section of people who served the national cause but are not in the Congress were deprived of this benefit.

Now there is rarely a direct applicant as "political sufferer". Only the sons or the grandsons or other heirs of "political sufferers" apply for the assignment of land with slender means of vocation.

In our recent resistance against Pakistani aggression, our jawans put up a magnificent performance. The nation owes them so much. Our ministers paid eloquent tributes to their selfless acts of heroism and chivalry. If they are earnest about recognising the services of the Jawans, let the top most priority in the land assignment be given to the Jawans.

Let the word 'Jawan' be substituted in place of 'political sufferer' in all government orders concerning land assignment.

FOOD CRISIS HITS CHATTISGARH REGION

CHATTISGARH, which is known as the rice bowl of Madhya Pradesh is today in the grip of a severe food crisis. Added to it is the acute scarcity of water as a result of drought and lack of rains.

In Raipur district, Dhariswara, Neva, Baatpara and Fingshwar are the worst affected. People are actually starving in these areas for want of food. Water scarcity is also the most acute in these areas.

In the whole of Gariyaband, Mahasamund and Dhantari tahsils, the crop has completely failed. The main reason for the crop failure is lack of irrigation water. Absence of rains meant not a drop to irrigate the fields.

The state government is still complacent over the whole issue. Much is being talked about food production campaign by all the

Hyderabad MOHIT SEN

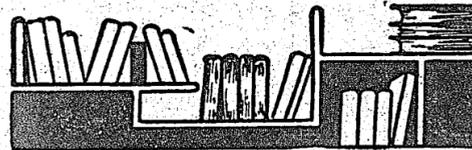
NEUTRALITY OF 'MARXISTS' EXCEL!

JANASAKTI, organ of the Andhra unit of the CP (Marxist) adopted a strange attitude in celebrating the 49th anniversary of the October Revolution. It brought out the significance of the event by a quotation from Mao Tse-Tung. It noted Soviet achievements up to about the death of Stalin but was silent on the period thereafter (as also the PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY editorial).

Finally, the only article carried on the event was a translation of one by Baba Gurmukh Singh. This article criticised the present Soviet leadership for giving aid to India, and for boosting Nehru, who was criticised as an enemy of Indian socialism!

It is strange but true that the JANASAKTI editorial board has a dislike for Soviet aid to India, similar to Minoo Masani and the Chinese dogmatists.

Will Nambodiripad care to explain if this is the official view of his party and if it is another example of its so-called "neutrality" between the CPSU and CPM?



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Exhibition On Space In Moscow

by DILIP BOSE

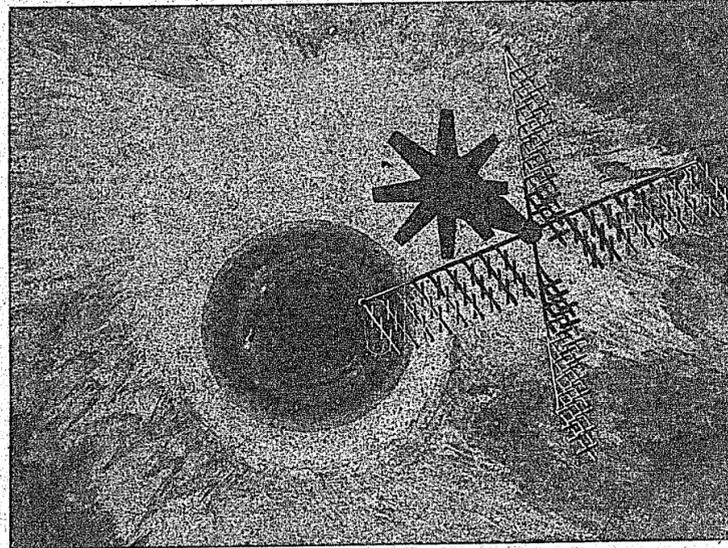
As one approaches the Exhibition of Economic Achievements of the Soviet Union in Moscow, the first thing which is seen even from a distance, is a giant tower, slightly curved in the middle and with a rocket atop. The tower is so tall that an impression is created of the rocket at the top fading away into the sky. On misty mornings of the Moscow winter, this impression is made more vivid.

THE tower marks the section on space in the exhibition. It is built entirely of titanium, the metal used for making rockets. The exhibition itself, put up by the USSR Academy of Sciences, is housed in two separate houses. One of them is of a specialised character, while the other gives general information about achievements in space.

Complete models of the various artificial satellites of the earth and the sun, the automatic space laboratories which photographed the hidden side of the moon and exact replicas of the cabins of the cosmonauts are all exhibited in these halls.

None of the cosmonauts complained of any space sickness. Inside the hall, there are many models of future space stations. These are to be constructed in space by projecting

they would have to be assembled in space by men coming out of their space ships. Leonov of Soviet Union and White of the United States have already achieved the feat of a walk in space. The Soviet Union has also made efforts at putting multiple artificial satellites in the same orbit by launching several of them from one single rocket. The rendezvous in space has also been tried by dual flights. All these bring the flight to the moon nearer to reality. A journey to the moon may take off from such a station in a special lunar space ship. This ship need not have any streamlining if it is taking off from the station in space. For, the station in space will be outside the atmosphere and the moon is vacuum for all practical purposes of rocket propulsion. This is the reason why the lunar space ship will be assembled in space.



Artist's impression of a spaceship approaching Venus. Drawing by G. POKROVSKY

The exhibition itself begins with photographs of Galileo, Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, Lomonosov and others. A status of the Russian scientist, Tsiolkovsky, father of cosmonauts who first propounded the theory of rocket propulsion in space as early as 1903, is placed just in front of the rocket tower.

The starting point of modern astronomy may be said to have been the heliocentric conception of the universe, expounded by Aristarchus in 230 BC. The present concept of the universe, wherein the sun is only an ordinary star among billions of others scattered over in several galaxies, is described galactocentric.

The cosmic age in which we live began on October 4, 1957 when the Academy of Sciences in the USSR launched the first sputnik. It was the very first step of man into the vast world of the universe beyond us.

The second sputnik carried the dog Laika. The cabin of this space ship with a model of this first martyr in space is shown in the exhibition along with a chart giving details of his heart beat, respiratory system and other relevant information.

2 The two Van Allen radiation belts have been thoroughly studied with emphasis on the inner surface of the belts. This has helped in protecting the space ships from radiation hazards when they are sent through them on to the moon.

3 The secret of the cosmic rays has been partially unravelled. There are large numbers of lithium, beryllium and boron nuclei in the nuclear component of the cosmic rays. This means that the cosmic rays emanate from far-away stars.

4 The relationship between the sun and the earth has now been studied and established with a certain degree of finality.

5 The magnetometers installed in the artificial satellites of the sun have provided information on the geomagnetic field, how far it spreads, its effect on the solar corpuscular and other radiations.

The unseenside of the moon has been photographed by both Lunik III and Zond III. The American space station has also provided fairly clear pictures of the seen side of the moon which would help to determine the actual landing conditions on moon when it is attempted.

Lunik III which made the first direct hit on the moon established that the moon has

unseen side of the moon has enabled Soviet scientists to make a lunar globe for the first time in man's history. It is indeed exciting to see this lunar globe prominently displayed in the space exhibition in Moscow.

The main difference between the unseenside and the seen sides of the moon is the predominance of mountains on the unseenside. In contrast, only two seas (called 'marias', probably valleys in reality since there is no water on the moon) hitherto unknown were discovered. This is a part from a large ridge and several craters.

A model of Gagarin's space ship Vostok is a great attraction in the exhibition. So also its later more sophisticated versions in Polyots and Voskhods.

Charts have been provided giving every detail of the conditions of human body under increased weight (g-load) at the time of the initial powered flight and later under conditions of weightlessness when the rocket is in free flight.

It had been thought earlier that weightlessness might produce a kind of space sickness due to the non-functioning of the otoliths (earstones). But the flights have shown that though human beings are rather frail structures, they can adapt themselves to different conditions with suffi-

ROAD TO THE STARS

Y. GAGARIN

The world's first cosmonaut tells in this book of his childhood, his school years, his training at the flying club and his service in the Air Force. He also describes in detail the extensive training he had undergone for the great day, April 12, the first flight of the manned spaceship Vostok.

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Moscow Talks On Additional Aid For India's Fourth Plan

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: With Bhutto's visit, T. T. Krishnamachari's talks with Soviet leaders and reports of fresh contacts by the Soviet government with Delhi and Rawalpindi, the proposal for the Tashkent meeting between leaders of India and Pakistan has again come into the limelight. The Soviet Union has not given up her offer of good offices and has not allowed to let it fizzle out as Western propaganda tried to show. On the contrary it is felt here that the usefulness and relevance of the Soviet proposal remains in the light of the present situation.

THE Soviet view still remains that India and Pakistan should meet directly to settle differences peacefully without interference of third parties.

The Soviet Union does not want to propose any agenda from its side and there is no going to be any attempt from here to try and impose any solution. It would only like to create an amicable atmosphere in which talks could be possible.

It is felt here that difficulties over the scope of the talks need not be insurmountable.

It is realised that the question of the ceasefire line, its stabilisation on some rational basis and cessation of hostilities, prevention of incidents across the ceasefire line—these are urgent matters for consideration if further trouble and another escalation is to be avoided.

It is felt here that India's interests would not be best served by avoiding any con-

ference at the present juncture.

The Soviet position firmly remains that Kashmir is an integral part of India. Krishnamachari after his recent talks with Soviet leaders, which covered a wide range, declared that there was no change in Soviet attitude on Kashmir or towards India in general. "I am satisfied with this consistent attitude" he said.

The talks here have paved the way for further and greater collaboration and increased Soviet assistance for India's next plan and doubling of trade by 1970.

Soviet assistance to make India self-reliant economically and in the sphere of defence is to continue. Dependence on the West in these matters and its harmful consequences and Western attempts to blackmail and pressure India have shown the dire need for the country to stand on its own feet.

The Soviet Union fully sympathises with this objective.

This is probably one of the reasons why Soviet leaders have been willing to consider additional projects for Soviet collaboration in India's Fourth Five Year Plan over and above those which were agreed to in principle during Prime Minister Shastri's visit.

Krishnamachari pointed out to Western correspondents that unlike the West the Soviet Union did not stop any of its supplies or aid to India during the Kashmir crisis. "We would not like to depend on temporary chagrin of such friends" he said referring to Western aid.

Additional alloy steel plant, aluminium plant, addition of an electrical stamping plant, two hardware heavy electricals, technical aid in development of agriculture, coal and coke production etc. are being considered by the Soviet Union.

Soviet aid for India's development plans from 1957 to 1965 has been about Rs. 383 crores. The aid for the third plan was about Rs. 250 crores.

Now it is expected that for the Fourth Plan Soviet aid would be double of the Third Plan—about Rs. 500 crores including the first phase of the construction of Bokaro. On India's request the Soviet Union is considering to expedite the building of the Bokaro plant.

Another important development is the increase in the scope of commercial credits

to India on a long term basis. The Soviet Union is willing to consider much longer terms for India than given to other countries.

The trend of further developments is to be a changing emphasis from aid to trade in economic dealings as India becomes more and more self-reliant and capable of paying in goods of her own making.

Indo-Soviet trade which is now between Rs. 75 to 80 crores each way yearly is expected to reach the figure of Rs. 150 crores each way by 1970. Joint study of mutual needs and India developing new specialised plants in the public sector to meet Soviet demands for a large number of Indian goods are being mentioned.

Some joint effort and collaboration for the setting up of plants for these needs is being considered. Setting up of joint economic committees and further teams of Soviet experts for India to study the additional projects and strengthening of the economic set up at both embassies in Delhi and Moscow to deal with the steadily increasing pressure of work in this field are being planned.

Although much cannot be revealed in the field of defence, satisfaction on the part of Indian representatives concerned is a good indication. The MIG project is being expedited further and senior Indian officials are here for this purpose.

JAPAN STEPS UP ARMAMENT SPENDING

TOKYO: Japan's National Defence Administration plans to spend almost two thirds of the annual budget for the modernization of the Japanese army, navy and air force in 1966-1971.

The new five year programme (the Third Plan for strengthening the defence forces), drawn up by the Administration, will be more than twice as expensive as the Second Five-Year Plan which is being accomplished this year and which cost 1.4 trillion yens.

Under the new plan, a helicopter-borne "air cavalry" unit will be set up for the Japanese ground forces. The Japanese navy will get new submarine chasers during this period.

The obsolete "Nike-Ajax" missiles will be replaced by the new "Nike-Hercules" ground-to-air-missiles in the airforce units. These missiles are able to carry nuclear warheads.

Japan will start producing "sidewinder" guided air-to-air missiles. New planes will replace the "F-104-J" fighters and "C-46" transport planes.

These plans of the Japanese rulers to step up the armament expenditure were revealed in a report which appeared in the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI.

Who Refused "Unconditional Negotiations"? U. S. Lies Against Hanoi Exposed

After the long spate of cynical declarations by the United States urging "unconditional discussions" and right when the American aggression in Vietnam is facing perhaps some of its fiercest battles and the number of US soldiers in Vietnam has exceeded the 150,000 figure, came the revelation last week, that acted as a bombshell in Washington, that a year ago when Hanoi sought a discussion with the United States on ending hostilities in Vietnam, it was Washington that had refused.

At that time both before and after the 1964 Presidential elections there were many voices in the United States that called for efforts to seek negotiation with Hanoi before any further escalation of the American involvement took place.

While Johnson actually embarked on a policy of expanding the war and hotting it up in a big way, taking the war to the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with large-scale aerial bombardment and generally involving a far larger quantum of American men and material in the fight against the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, in order to silence this voice of reason and commonsense in the USA itself and to confuse the worldwide demand for peace in Vietnam, in April last was given the much publicized Johnson call for "unconditional discussions".

The Hanoi offer was originally conveyed through the UN Secretary General U. Thant in August 1964 that is eight months before the sham Johnson call for talks and in fact also before the US decision to take the war to the north and bomb the DRV.

This shows that it was precisely when the Administration refused to heed to the Hanoi offer and decided on a policy against negotiations that it had told the big lie that it was Hanoi that was not prepared to talk and that no "proposal" had been received from the Secretary General. The Secretary General had proposed direct US-

politic of international relations.

Here was yet another occasion that showed the primary responsibility of United States imperialism for this enormous injustice whose victim today is no longer the People's Republic of China alone but all the peoples of Asia where peace is threatened and it cannot be restored without the proper participation of this vast country which pulls not an insignificant weight in its neighbourhood.

Once again it was the same machinations and pressures brought about on the voting machinery, and the manoeuvre on the "important resolution" clause, which made the issue of China's representation require a two-thirds majority, that showed Washington's determination to continue to exclude China from all

international discussions for the solution of outstanding issues.

No wonder the majority of Afro-Asian delegates characterised this obduracy as an expression of the USA's refusal to solve the crises in existence. No one who hopes for the steady development of a universal United Nations machinery for keeping peace in an explosive world—a truly representative world platform that will reflect the real balance of forces as it actually exists—can afford not to be angry and furious at this mad, obstinate, unilateral and utterly unrealistic denial to seven hundred million people the right to participate in the affairs of the world.

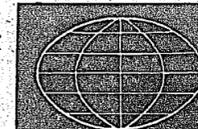
It was typical of the debate that the two votes at its conclusion helped to blur rather than clarify the true opinion of the Assembly. It is clear that in a straight forward

roll-call vote a majority of the 117 member nations of the UN would have voted for China's admission.

But by first voting on the US-sponsored "important resolution" clause a number of countries which supported the US resolution in effect ensured the rejection of China's admission even though their own votes were cast in its favour.

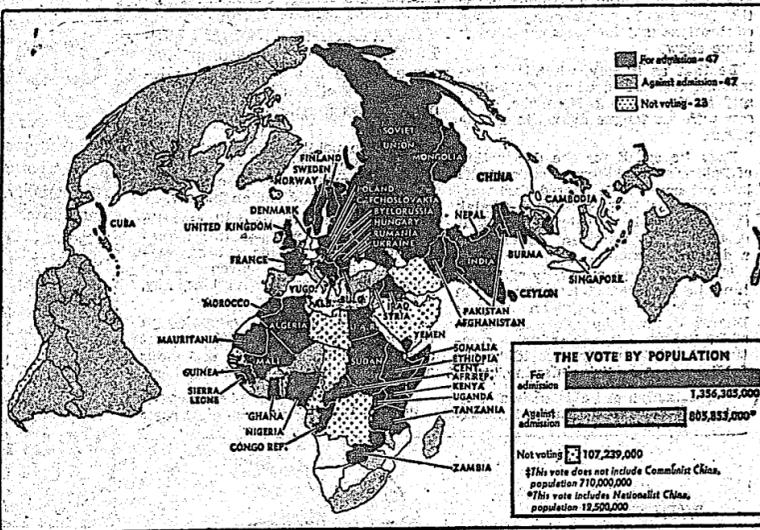
That it is the fact of international life that require Peking's presence in the United Nations if ever it is to deal effectively with the to the proposed world disarmament or peace in Asia, however, has once again been underlined within a week of the UN voting by the General Assembly's Political Committee's decision to open the door to participation to Peking on the proposed world disarmament conference.

—BAREN RAY



The World

The pattern of the 'China Vote' as seen by the NEW YORK TIMES.



*FROM PAGE 3

ANTI-SOVIETISM OF CHINESE LEADERSHIP

engaged in a nuclear gamble with US imperialism, with which they are trying to strike a political deal. Their theory of military strategy is the theory that nuclear weapons decide everything. Their line in army building is the bourgeois line which ignores the human factor and sees only the material factor and which regards technique as every thing and politics as nothing."

This again is an example of mixing part truth with absolute falsehood. It has been seen in the course of the development of the national liberation struggle since the Second World War that if in the course of a struggle the determination of the fighting people and the support they receive from the entire population reach a certain level no amount of imperialist obduracy and military power can subdue or defeat it. In this no doubt both the political strategy of locating the principal contradiction and the main enemy, of building the broadest united front with all other classes and forces, and also the military strategy as developed in the course of the Chinese revolution, the Vietnamese war of independence, the Cuban revolution and now in the struggle against US aggression in South Vietnam, they have all contributed in equipping such people's struggles with an invincible strategy and technique. But this truth neither contradicts the fact that struggles for independence have also followed other courses and as a result of which the independence attained have been no less genuine, nor does it contradict the paramount importance of the need to struggle against the danger of a nuclear war and the conscious and especial effort that has to

be made for not allowing imperialism to make use of any possible handle to precipitate such a war.

The whole question of the existence and the danger of nuclear weapons is utterly irrelevant to the issue of the struggle for national liberation. Imperialism has never dared and cannot possibly dare to use nuclear weapons in order to suppress a national liberation struggle in the present world situation. The struggles for national liberation in Algeria, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Cuba and Vietnam have all continued and there never has been any suggestion from any quarter whatsoever either in the world Communist movement or the Afro-Asian-Latin American liberation movements to the effect that a particular people's liberation struggle should be retarded or quietened down in order to avoid the danger of a nuclear war. Even in South Vietnam where the liberation struggle has been waged in the most intensified form the insane Goldwater suggestion of taking to nuclear weapons was defeated.

Peace Movement Never in Way of Liberation Struggle

A particular national liberation struggle will choose its method of struggle, whether it will be armed or peaceful, on the basis of objective factors and the question of intensification of an armed struggle if it is taking place will also similarly depend on the total situation obtaining there. This is in no way contradicted by the need to struggle against the danger of a nuclear war and the conscious and especial effort that has to

international tension, for ending the cold war etc. In fact such a world wide movement for peace, disarmament and relaxation of tension is of the most paramount importance in the interest of the various liberation movements themselves.

The armaments drive and the growth of international tensions come directly in the way of the struggles for national independence. Through military pacts, establishment of military bases, foreign armed intervention, stationing of troops on foreign soil etc., imperialism violates and seeks to undermine the national independence of peoples. It is with such external aid alone that tottering regimes are able to suppress the struggles of their peoples for national independence and democratic advance and stay on in power. Disarmament by providing for the ending of military bases on foreign soil and accompanied by relaxation of international tension will make it increasingly difficult for imperialism to continue with such military aids to unpopular regimes. This will provide the most favourable circumstances for the most rapid advance of the liberation movements against colonialism and other dictatorial regimes. There has never been a case of the needs of the broad and universal movement for peace coming in conflict with the needs of the liberation struggles.

As for the theory of the so-called racial areas of the world—Asia, Africa, Latin America being the re-

volutionary base areas which will 'encircle' the 'cities'—the centres of political power, namely North America and Western Europe—this again is a peculiar mixture of part truth and utterly unprincipled demagoguery. As for the revolutionary upsurge in these countries this is a patent fact but we have also seen that in order to maximise this potential possibility and create the most favourable condition for its consummation, what is of paramount importance is the unity and cooperation between this 'third' world struggling for liberation and the Socialist world with its new economic power in the common struggle against imperialism. In practice the Chinese leadership is trying their hardest to cause the greatest possible damage and break down this unity and cooperation. To hide this monstrous reality to which the Chinese leaders have driven themselves, they indulge in this demagoguery which jumps together the imperialist and Socialist countries and perhaps even seek to appeal to the masses of these three exploited continents on racial grounds as well. Acting as international agents provocateurs in inciting along misleading paths 'the revolutionary movements of the three continents into adventurist' policies of mere intensification of their struggles while at the same time preventing them from collaborating with their most trustworthy and reliable natural allies of the Socialist world, in reality the strategy of the Chinese leaders leave these peoples alone and helpless in the face of imperialism.

UN Again Fails To Admit China

THE continued failure of the United Nations General Assembly to admit the country that accounts for a quarter of the world's population underlines more than anything else the deep malaise in the present body

TWO FACES OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON: The New York Times carried on November 23 as a paid advertisement an appeal by the organisers of the March on Washington to be held on November 27.

Said the appeal, "we see no gain coming from the war in Vietnam. We see only the growing victimization of the Vietnamese people, the erosion of a better society at home and the clear possibility of a world conflict. We ask that our Government call for a ceasefire, and to this end: halt the bombing of North Vietnam, halt introduction of additional men and material."

The authors of the appeal

declared that the US should reiterate its support for the principles of the 1954 Geneva accords and recognise the right of all sides including the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam to take part in talks.

That is the noble sentiment of the American people who are disgusted with the 'dirty' war in Vietnam.

But there is another America of munition kings and Pentagon Generals. The reports appearing in the American papers (not as advertisements) suggest that Pentagon Generals are exerting ever greater influence in shaping American policy in Vietnam.

General Limay, who recently resigned as the Chief of Staff of the US Airforce, issues one bellicose statement after another. Yesterday he again called for new and

heavier air strikes against the DRV, insisting on the bombing of more important targets.

General Lewis Walt, Commander of the Third Marine Division, recently made a call for an all-out effort to win this war. A statement on the need for stepping up military action in Vietnam was also issued in Chicago last week by General Spivey, Chief of the Planning and Policy department at the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The continued military build-up by the USA in Vietnam and the adjacent Pacific region indicates that the White House lends an attentive ear to the brasshats.

On the other hand the people who refuse to offer themselves as cannonfodder for this war are threatened with fines and prison terms.

LENIN AGAINST

LEFT OPPORTUNISTS

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

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

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Muslim Baiting & War Mongering By RSS Fuhrer

THERE are ominous signs of a virulent upsurge of Hindu communalism. The reptiles who crept back into their holes after Gandhiji's assassination by the disciples of Golwalkar were only hissing so long as Nehru was alive.

But today with the Fuhrer getting as many audiences as he wants with the powers that be, the reptiles are spoiling for a bite. The peroration of the Indian Goldwater in Delhi on the Nehru birthday lasting for 115 minutes should be a warning to all in this country who believe in democracy and socialism.

Golwalkar addressed an RSS gathering in front of the Red Fort, presumably a Hindu monument, according to the Indian history re-written by the Janasanghs.

Incidentally, it is for the first time that the grounds opposite the historic Red Fort was leased out for a meeting by a political party. And it is a sign of the changing times that the first party to get permission was the party of Gandhi murderers.

Certain reports have indicated that the ground is under the charge of the Defence Ministry. Only twice a year it is put to use: on August 15 for the traditional Independence Day celebrations and for the annual army horse show.

Be that as it may, what is of immediate interest is what Golwalkar said at the meeting. He spoke, so to say, with his tongue dipped in deadly poison.

First, he called for the destruction of Pakistan. In the grand style of the late but none too lamented Nazi warmongers, the RSS Sar-Sangh-Chalak enjoined on his worshipful flock that destruction of Pakistan would be a divine fulfilment.

"The aggressive mentality of Pakistan," he pontificated like Manu, "can end only when Pakistan ends... Bharat is naturally one and indivisible. Pakistan is an artificial creation whose destruction would be the fulfilment of a divine destiny."

Destruction of Pakistan is a long-term project for him. Golwalkar's

immediate target is the Muslims in India. Foaming at this mouth, he thundered:

"Muslims in this country would realise that they too were once Hindus, that it is their duty to be loyal to this land (as if Havildar Hamid and Subedar-Major Ayub Khan have not yet realised it!), to serve it honestly..."

And then the Fuhrer bemoaned that "attempts made over decades to assimilate them have not succeeded."

Yes, assimilation of Muslims in this country and destruction of Pakistan

THE WEEK

are the twin-advice of the RSS chief to his followers. This is dangerous demagogy and some in the government in whom is visible "the glint of saffron" are letting Golwalkar go on with his dangerous game.

RE-WRITING INDIAN HISTORY: In certain matters what some people in authority do is deliberate. In others it is unwitting, but no less pernicious and dangerous.

A case in point is the appointment by the Union Education Ministry of R. C. Mazumdar as head of a commission to re-write Indian history.

In what manner he will re-write Indian history is not a matter of speculation. In his prolific writings Mazumdar has already given ample notice of his anti-Muslim bias, nay, his morbid obsession.

In a recent article in ORGANISER this gentleman has proclaimed that a composite Indian nation of Hindus and Muslims is not a practicable ideal.

He writes: "If past history of India has any meaning, we must come

to the painful conclusion that a real integration between the two communities—political or emotional—will remain beyond the range of practical politics, unless they adopt a common religion."

This is surely something for M. C. Chagla to ponder over. Some Muslim leaders are unfortunately prone to some kind of inverted thinking out of sheer fear of being dubbed communal by Hindu communalists. The appointment of Mazumdar seems to be the product of such fear complex.

THE BREEZE IN BANARAS: Chagla is already in a soup with regard to the Banaras Hindu University. To change the name and drop the appellation "Hindu" was not an official decision; it was a consensus that was evolved in the Raja Sabha.

But when the storm broke in the university some of the Hindus among the Congress MPs got cold feet. Some time ago people like Raghunath Singh demanded that both Banaras and Aligarh should shed their religious stink. But now he says (and many others too) that it was wrong to change the name of the Banaras University.

Some reports say that the Prime Minister is also against the way the change was brought about.

Yes, Hindu communalism is galloping like an unbridled horse. Pakistan can take care of itself against the Guru and his horses, more known for bravado than bravery, but we cannot certainly take for granted our secularism under such pressures.

MEMO AGAINST TTK: On his return from a successful visit to the Soviet Union T. T. Krishnamachari was given a gift by the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and other reactionary forces.

The gift was in the form of a memorandum listing several charges of corruption and nepotism against the Finance Minister and demanding a public enquiry into them under the Commission of Inquiries Act.

The SSP line-up with the rightist MPs in signing the memo is probably to be interpreted as a prelude to Lohia's anti-Congress front which finds better company among the right than the left.

Whispering Gallery

COYNESS IS GONE!

It was the inimitable Rajaji who once remarked that Madras reporters, well versed in stenography, kept to the letter but missed the spirit while Delhi reporters were so absorbed in detecting the spirit that they missed the text.

I was reminded of this wisecrack when I heard Lal Bahadur Shastri bemoaning in Parliament that he was misreported by fellow journalists in Madras.

Misplacement of the word "early" can create only semantic confusion. All other confusion about his visit to Washington has been cleared.

Now how early or late is the first or second week of January? American correspondents who got a special briefing from Chester Bowles last week tell me that the maiden is no more coy. He is leaving around January 10.

He has to be back in India to attend the annual Congress session inside the Chittore fort in Rajasthan on the 18th of that month.

We have been assured that all that he will do in Washington or Texas is to exchange views with Johnson for the general good of the world. He has no demands to make.

Meanwhile, Patton Patil (that is how he is known these days in Parliament lobbies) has told a select crowd of Congress MPs that he had told the higherups in the United States that if they didn't give us enough PL-480 food and for long enough time, the Congress would lose a great deal in the next general elections. And his hosts were impressed by his argument, he told them.

This was stated in confidence so much so that the reference to PL-480 business in relation to elections was kept back from correspondents when they were briefed on Patil's peroration.

Patil has only one worry—a minor one. He is wary of Subramaniam who is trying to steal his show. Subramaniam has been going about telling confi-

dants that Chester Bowles is his great chum and he is going to fix up PL 480 for ever.

But Patil has some one still higher up—Orville Freeman, the magic man in Washington.

Obviously, Freeman has a leg up. Otherwise, Subramaniam would not have eaten his words with as much relish as he eats his *idlis* and *mulagu podi*.

Before Patil landed back at Santa Cruz the Food Minister said in the Raja Sabha that Patil had no business to talk food in Washington.

But after he landed and told correspondents that he had been sending reports to the Prime Minister about his perignations in the States, Subramaniam yielded but has not yet given up entirely.

He almost chartered a plane for Rome to carry his blueprints for agricultural programmes in the Fourth Plan for obtaining the approval of Orville Freeman, Patil's special friend.

Though there was no charter plane, he has carried several trunks of literature to Rome where Freeman is present for the meeting commemorating the 20th anniversary of the FAO.

What is going on between Patil and Subramaniam is an all-out competition, each one trying to prove that he is a better salesman of Americanism in India.

INSIDER had seen Subramaniam in 1958 at the Nagpur Congress as a busy aide to Jawaharlal Nehru working out the draft on land reforms exciting jealousy in some of the Dadas.

He has travelled far and long from that. It was discernible at the Jaipur AICC session in 1963. The preamble of his first draft on democracy and socialism, subsequently rejected, contained an uncalled for diatribe against Marx and Marxism.

Now with his unabashed advocacy of entrenching Birlas and Tatas in agriculture flying in the face of the Nagpur programme he seems to be vying with Patton Patil to please the Yankees.

—INSIDER

WITH STRINGS OR
WITHOUT STRINGS?

