

# CALLING ALL DEMOCRATS

# Unite Against New Right Offensive

# new age

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XIII No. 51 New Delhi December 19, 1965 25 paise



A soldier in the freedom battle of the heroic Vietnamese people. December 20 this year marks the fifth anniversary of the South Vietnam Liberation Front. See centre pages for special feature.

It would be fatal to blind ourselves to the grim reality that the monopolists and right reactionary forces have launched a new offensive against the basic policies of this country. What is more ominous is the fact that they appear to be having their way at least in regard to certain major questions.

A catalogue of dangerous portents could be made. But this is perhaps not necessary for the purposes of this appeal. Suffice it to mention just a few of the more striking straws in the wind:

● It is not an accident that the question of land reforms appears less and less in the food policy statements of the central government leaders. The direction in which government policy appears to be drifting is indicated simultaneously by the decision to hand over large tracts of land to joint stock companies; the gift to the Birlas in Punjab, which is rousing so much popular indignation, is intended to be the start of a downhill process, full of peril for the nation.

● The humiliating statements of the Food Minister in regard to PL 480 imports, coupled with his panic-mongering calls for the abandonment of self-respect and the acceptance of American "bounty" virtually at any price, are also tell-tale foot-

Retrenchment and unemployment have become all-pervading, affecting the lives of tens of thousands of workers in this country.

● In foreign policy, the virtual reversal of India's stand on Vietnam (expressed through a studied silence) has been noted as significant. The latest line-up with the imperialist lobby in the United Nations on the question of Tibet is an open reversal of old policies, which has not helped to raise India's stature in the Afro-Asian world.

It is necessary to draw urgent attention to these signals, not with a view to suggest that right reaction has "taken charge" of the country. This has NOT happened. The basic policies have NOT been abandoned. It would be foolish to suggest this at the very moment when important steps have been taken to step up Indo-Soviet economic co-operation for the building of the mighty Bokaro plant, on the eve of the Tashkent meeting.

Nevertheless, it is no longer possible to be complacent about the drift indicated in recent policy decisions, some of which have been highlighted above.

This drift can and must be halted. Only the action of the masses on a broad and united national platform in support of the basic policies, against imperialism, monopoly and reaction can be an effective obstacle in the way of this drift.

The recent Left Parties meeting took important decisions, which, if taken unitedly to the people, can help to galvanise democratic opinion against the dangers of the new right offensive.

It is a welcome sign that sections of Congressmen, particularly the rank-and-file, are beginning to stir themselves against the anti-people policies pursued by the Congress ruling cliques at the centre and the states.

(December 15)

by  
**ROMESH CHANDRA**

prints on the sands of policy-making. Contrast these abject statements with those of the period immediately after the cease-fire regarding self-reliance and doing without PL 480, and you can see in a flash the red signal for the democratic movement.

● The decontrol of cement was not just an ordinary administrative measure. This was noted as a retrograde act, indicative of a drift to the right, even by a large number of Congress Members of Parliament, who strongly denounced the decision.

● Planning Chief Asoka Mehta's policy pronouncements at the annual general meetings in Calcutta of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry have been rightly seen as a breakaway from previous positive statements regarding self-reliance and independence from imperialist "aid".

Apart from shameful appeals for "mutual confidence and cooperation between government and business", Mehta openly asked the imperialists to increase "aid" in order to bolster reactionary policies and prevent any advance in a radical direction.

● The industrial policy has been rightly described by the recent meeting of Left parties as "pro-employer".

# How Did GSI Bulletin Disappear and Why?

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

**NEW DELHI:** On November 13-14, urgent telegrams went from the top bosses of the Geological Survey of India calling for the immediate return of all copies of a Government of India publication.

The publication concerned was the Bulletin of the Geological Survey of India in which the incriminating evidence of South African management of India's only copper mines is printed.

The dates are significant; for on November 13 NEW AGE which carried the exposure had hit the news stands in New Delhi. And then began the frantic efforts to destroy the evidence.

NEW AGE had brought to light the shameful fact that India's only functioning copper mine was being technically managed by South Africans. The Union Minister for Steel and Mines denied this when the matter was brought up in the Lok Sabha by Communist MP, Homi Dajl.

We are now in a position to give exact details. We refer the readers to the BULLETINS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA Series A—Economic Geology, No. 23: Copper by J. A. Dunn as revised and enlarged by A. G. Jhingram, S. P. Nautiyal and M. K. Roy Chowdhury.

It carries a foreword by B. C. Roy, Director General, Geo-

logical Survey of India. The foreword is dated August 14, 1962.

The number of the publication is GSI 47.23/1230. On the cover page it is stated that it is "published by the order of the Government of India". On the cover page the date of publication is given as 1965 and on the inside cover page as 1964. The price is Rs. 4.95.

From page 53 to 57 of this volume, we are given a rapid survey of the "history of copper mining in India". On page 55, para three, it is stated:

"In 1924, exercising their option the Cordoba Copper Company purchased the mining rights at Mosabani from the Cape Copper Company. Simultaneously the Company was reconstructed as the Indian Copper Corporation...

"In 1931 the technical management of the Corporation was handed over to the New Consolidated Goldfields, South Africa Ltd., under whose management operations still continue." (emphases added).

Note the use of present tense in the last sentence.

Sanjiva Reddy was denying the NEW AGE allegation either by telling a deliberate lie or on the basis of falsehood supplied by his department.

Even when he was denying the allegation, Sanjiva Reddy had ordered the destruction of the copies of the incriminating book. This certainly shows the guilt of the Minister.

The least that the Minister can do now is to retract his false statement. May be, the technical management is not in the hands of South Africans now. If that be so he should place all relevant facts before Parliament and the public.

Also, steps should be taken at least now, if the South Africans are still managing the firm to end the ignoble situation wherein an important field of industrial activity in the country is controlled and managed by the South Africans.

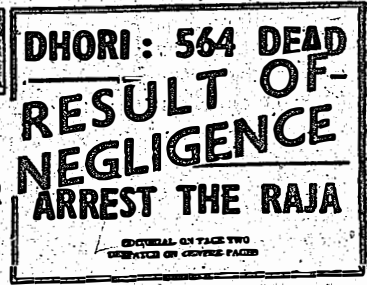
# NEW AGE WAS RIGHT

A LONGSIDE is a facsimile of the captions to the NEW AGE special despatch on the Dhori mine explosion on May 28 which resulted in the death of hundreds of mine workers.

The despatch had put the blame for the disaster squarely on the owners and management of the mine. The SORDID RESULT OF NEGLIGENCE, it had said.

Now, the court of enquiry set up by the Government of India has corroborated what NEW AGE had said. The Dhori colliery explosion was caused by "NEGLIGENCE ON THE PART OF THE MANAGEMENT," the court says in its report.

The court also corroborated another fact which was said by the NEW AGE at that time: the explosion was "caused by a fire-damp explosion initiating a coal dust explosion".



We are yet to receive the full report of the court of enquiry, and so do not know what has been said about the role of the Mines Inspectorate. The inspectorate certainly cannot avoid its share of responsibility for the disaster.

Now that the court of enquiry has indicted the management, we

again demand: PROSECUTE THE MANAGEMENT INCLUDING THE OWNER, THE RAJA OF RAMGARH. They are responsible for mass murder of innocent workers, motive being profit greed.

(More on the report of the Court of Enquiry will be published next week.)

## COMMUNISM'S BANNER CAN NEVER BE DESTROYED

editorial

THE IMPERIALISTS and the world's reactionary forces are gleefully announcing day after day, more and more barbaric attacks on the Communist Party of Indonesia. Burning, killing, filling the prisons, the agents of imperialism and reaction in Indonesia appear to be having it all their own way.

So hateful has become the anti-Communist drive that President Soekarno himself has had to speak up more sharply than ever against this violence, in a major pronouncement over the week-end. The President has pointed out that innocent people are being murdered and thrown into concentration camps on the wave of this reactionary offensive.

In another continent, in Sudan, anti-Communism has also raised its head, banned the Communist Party, removed Communist MPs from their places in Parliament, sealed Party offices, confiscated Party property.

The Communists of Sudan have answered back with a defiance which is proof of their confidence in the support of the Sudanese people. They have said that all the bans and prisons can never crush their Party and the cause of Communism, which is invincible.

The Communists of Indonesia and Sudan know that they are part and parcel of the worldwide Communist movement, that they are not alone in their battle against reaction. From all parts of the world, the voice of democrats is being raised against the butchery, the tyranny and the dictatorial conspiracy, which uses the dirty weapon of anti-Communism to destroy the elementary rights of the working masses.

It is important that the non-Communist democrats in Indonesia and Sudan are beginning to understand that imperialism and reaction seek not only to crush the Communist Parties, but the entire democratic movement. The outlawing of the Communist Parties is only the thin end of the wedge for attacks on other patriotic forces in each country, for the imposition of a pro-imperialist dictatorship.

Imperialism and reaction seek to use the absence of unity between Communists and non-Communist democrats to carry out their nefarious purposes. Silence on the part of the non-Communist democrats in the face of the reactionary anti-Communist offensive only assists in paying the way for attacks on them at a later stage.

The Communists have always pointed out the vital necessity for a broad alliance in each of the newly liberated countries, of all revolutionary and democratic forces of the people. Such an alliance is of vital significance. Without it, reactionary forces cannot be prevented from subverting democracy, as they have sought to do in Indonesia and Sudan, despite the immense strength of the Communist Parties.

The broad alliance must be a clear-cut alliance against the forces of reaction, for the non-capitalist path. If in the name of "unity", the alliance is "broadened" to include the worst reactionary forces, the pro-imperialists and religious fanatics... the flood-gates are thrown open for the black forces to pursue their conspiracies against the progressive movements, starting in the name of anti-Communism.

The hands of all Indian democrats go out in solidarity with the toiling masses of Indonesia and Sudan and their Communist Parties. The Indian democratic movement will wage a ceaseless struggle in defence of democracy in Indonesia and Sudan, denouncing the power-mad reactionaries, who seek to destroy the gains of the liberation struggles of these countries, and turn the wheel of history backwards.

These efforts are doomed to failure. Nothing can crush the onward march of the peoples to socialism. The banner of Communism cannot be destroyed by the agents of a dying order.

(December 15)

## AMERICAN LOBBY'S REARGUARD ACTION

A good thing about Railway Minister S. K. Patil is that he is quite frank and even blunt in presenting his views in public meetings. It is a different matter that when this good habit creates difficulties for him and he is called to account, he neatly gets out of them by blandly denying press reports about his speeches.

He indulged in one such frank speaking at a small get together early this week. Much of what he said there can be ignored since it was repetitions. But he made a significant disclosure when he said that though he did not think much of the coming Tashkent talks, he had taken care to "warn" Prime Minister Shastri not to be "trapped" in the proposal without first "consulting" the US.

This should explain the rather intriguing holding back of the Prime Minister from making a statement, in Parliament on his Tashkent programme for several days till he could simultaneously announce his visit to Washington and talks with Johnson on February 1.

The American lobby is now evidently satisfied that its rearguard action after Premier Kosygin's initiative to convene the Tashkent meeting, has proved successful. The operation was neatly executed. Its purpose was to keep Washington right in the picture in any discussion on Indo-Pak relations and thus bedevil the Tashkent prospects and direct negotiations between the leaders of the two countries without imperialist interference.

S. K. Patil's mission to the USA can now be comprehended not merely as an individual effort but part of a systematic plan of the powerful American lobby which was set afoot immediately after the ceasefire. In the then climate in the country, an attempt was made to strike a pose of aloofness by the powers that be from Patil's doings, only to confuse the people.

Food Minister Subramaniam talked of Patil not holding any brief for PL 480 talks in the USA. He even heroically talked at the time—in a press conference on November 3 to be precise—of people's readiness to starve rather than that the government should beg for food. He also denied any intention of going on a follow-up visit to the USA.

It is now clear that even then arrangements were under way, with the good offices of US Ambassador Chester Bowles at this end and Patil in Washington, for a meeting between Subramaniam and Agricultural Secretary Orville Freeman at Rome.

It is no longer a secret that immediately after these arrangements had been made, the talk of self-reliance and making do with reduced rations if necessary was replaced by larger and larger

food deficit estimates and the imperative need for PL 480 imports. At Rome, the deal was struck but was not announced. Some loose ends had still to be tied up, among them policy modifications with regard to settling up of fertilizer units with American private capital participation and the larger question of Shastri's visit to Washington.

These were taken in hand poste haste after Subramaniam's return from Rome. The political question of Shastri's visit to Washington assumed special urgency with the dates of the Tashkent

### New Delhi Letter

meeting fixed. Hectic work followed which was completed within a matter of days.

The proposal jointly mooted by Subramaniam and Humayun Kabir to accept the notorious terms of the Bechtels for fertilizer units like guaranteed profits, full management control and freedom from price restraints and distribution controls to operate in the Indian market, which had been rejected outright when they were made, was revived.

The resistance to their acceptance by Finance Minister Krishnamachari and Home Minister Nanda was overcome in a hurriedly called meeting of the Cabinet sub-committee which one of the members of the committee—Ashoka Mehta was even unable to attend on account of a previous engagement.

In Parliament, Subramaniam was shameless enough to openly declare that feeding the people—by PL 480 imports—was more important to him than even national "self-respect".

The decks were thus cleared for the announcement from

Johnson for a grant of 1.5 million tons of foodgrains and 50 million dollars for fertilizer imports. This was followed by Shastri's announcement on his Washington visit and later by Subramaniam's plan to go earlier, on December 17.

The spectacle of surrender and national humiliation, combined with the shady attempts to throw dust into the eyes of the people, cannot but be regarded as ominous.

★

The remarks of Head of the GDR Trade Mission at a press conference last week that trade between India and East Germany could be stepped up manifold, with East Germany willing and capable of meeting some of the more urgent of our requirements including chemicals provided there were long term arrangements for development of trade and political relations between the two countries have been widely noted.

Our relations with GDR are a case of the extent of political pressure to which this country has been made to submit by Bonn and her Western allies.

These pressures are so powerful that even in the sending of large number of delegations to various countries to explain India's position on the conflict with Pakistan, GDR was left out.

The West German lobby, it appears, functions quietly but effectively. The latest bait, it is stated, is Bonn's offer to replace Britain as main supplier of maintenance goods for Indian industry in the private sector.

This is of course conditional on India's willingness to give special economic incentives and on acceptance of Bonn's political terms with regard to GDR. This is another area of Indian surrender which has not received the notice it should have.

—B.M.

### CELEBRATION OF 40th ANNIVERSARY OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has decided to observe the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Party on Sunday February 6, 1966.

On the anniversary day public meetings will be held by Party committees all over the country.

It will be recalled that the Seventh Congress of the Party had decided to observe the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Party.

## MONOPOLIES ENQUIRY COMMISSION REPORT—A QUICK APPRAISAL

FROM being the subject of controversy, concentration of economic power and monopolistic tendencies has—at long last been raised to the status of an accepted fact. All the worst fears of the people in this regard have been fully borne out by the report of the Monopolies Enquiry Commission which was presented to Parliament last week.

The commission has done excellent work considering the short period in which it has produced the report. Starting its work in May 1964, it submitted its findings to the government by the prescribed date, that is October 31, 1965—a rare feat by itself. Added to this is the fact that its survey of the field of economic activity is extensive.

A distinction between product monopoly and economic concentration has been made by the commission and both the aspects studied, though this has tended to diminish the importance of the threat posed by the vast concentration of economic power in the hands of a few business houses. This drawback has been very rightly pointed out in his dissenting notes by R. C. Dutt.

Product monopoly has been defined by the commission as where in respect of the production and distribution of any particular commodity or service, the controlling power whether by reason of ownership of capital or otherwise is in a single concern or comparatively limited number of concerns controlled by a single family or a few families. This, the commission calls "productwise concentration".

Economic concentration is where a large number of concerns engaged in the production or distribution of different commodities are in the controlling hands of one individual or family or group of concerns connected closely by financial or other business interests. This is termed as "country-wise concentration".

### High Rate Of Concentration

In both, the commission found an abnormal rate of concentration despite the contrary claims of business interests. In 65 products out of 100 which the commission surveyed, there was a high degree of concentration in that more than 75 per cent of its production was in the hands of three or even less number of producers. The commission also found that 83 groups controlled as many as 2,259 companies with assets amounting to more than Rs. five crores, Tatas led the field with 53 companies possessing assets of Rs. 417 crores, Birlas coming second with 151 companies having assets amounting to Rs. 292 crores.

Contrary to all the claims of the big business, the commission found enough and more evidence of monopolistic and restrictive practices in distribution trade. There were horizontal fixation of prices, resale price maintenance, allocation of markets, discrimination between purchasers, boycott, exclusive contracts and tie-up agreements. Hoarding and creation of artificial scarcity was prevalent on "a fairly large scale".

All this forced the commission to come to the conclusion that "the dangers from monopolistic and restrictive practices are not imaginary but do exist in a large measure, either at present or potentially". The term "either at present or potentially" could only have been used by the commission to soften the blow, since whatever findings the commission has cited go only to prove that they do exist today itself.

Having a veritable heap of evidence to show that the evil of monopoly is widely prevalent, the commission however errs on the soft side when making its recommendations on how to deal with the problem.

The reason is that they are based on the premise that "we need not strike at the concentration of economic power as such, but should do so only when it becomes a menace to the best production (in quality and quantity) or to fair distribution".

This itself is based on the commission's opinion that "concentration of economic power has helped the economic betterment of the country" and therefore "may be relied upon to make an important contribution to industrial development in the crucial years to come"—a dangerous conclusion indeed.

Again, the commission says that countrywise concentration of economic power "arises from some successful entrepreneurs launching into diversified lines of production" and therefore it "is a necessary evil in the economic interests of the country. It would not be right at the present stage of our industrial development to attempt to place any curb on diversification".

This of course has been disputed very vehemently by R. C. Dutt in his dissenting note. Dutt has asserted correctly that "economic disparity, which is a consequence of undue concentration, affects economic growth in the long run and inhibits it, for such growth is not sufficiently widespread to be self-generating". He has therefore demanded that "proliferation in different industries resulting in concentration of economic power should be discouraged, especially in respect of groups which have reached a certain size".

## ILLS OF ECONOMY HIGHLIGHTED BUT RECOMMENDATIONS ARE INADEQUATE

By PAULY V. PARAKAL

Both the majority report, signed by K. C. Das Gupta (Chairman) and G. R. Rajagopaul, K. R. P. Aiyangar and I. G. Patel (members), and the dissenting note by R. C. Dutt agree that a permanent machinery to deal effectively with the consequences of monopolistic and unfair trade practices should be set up. But on the powers of such a body, they differ substantially.

While the majority report has tended to restrict the powers of the proposed permanent body to selective fields, Dutt has suggested that, besides having these powers (except the one which stipulates that this body should review applications for industrial expansion), it should have investigative and advisory powers on any matter relating to company finance and management which is referred to it by the government.

Dutt is likely to find popular opinion on his side, for if the terms of reference of the permanent, statutory body is fixed beforehand, it will only lead to unending disputes later whenever any industrial empire comes under scrutiny as to whether the body is empowered to do so or not. Which tycoon would like to have a searching probe into his empire, even if it be by a body headed by a Supreme Court justice?

Again, Dutt will find popular opinion on his side when he wants to exclude the public sector from the purview of the proposed permanent body, for, as he says, "a purposeful use of the public sector to counter-balance concentration of power in the private sector" is what is necessary. Parliament and the government have ample powers to see that no

harmful practices are followed by the public sector concerns themselves.

Another valid point raised by Dutt is regarding managing agency system. The report has said that it was one of the causes of concentration. Dutt in his dissenting note asserts that it is "a system devised to facilitate concentration" and therefore "an instrument of concentration". The majority report pleads helplessness in dealing with this evil saying that "even if the managing agency goes, its place would be taken by some other system of group management". Dutt calls this "a counsel of despair", though he has also not suggested concrete steps to deal with the problem.

This is not to suggest that all that Dutt has said in his dissenting note are entirely satisfactory. For example, the effort to show that private sector's contribution to political parties and the ruling party in particular is not a major reason for the favours granted to it by the government. Everybody knows the pull which the Birlas enjoy in the government because of their liberal contributions to the ruling party's coffers.

The commission did correctly say that the patronage extended by big business houses to political parties posed a grave threat to political democracy. But in suggesting that the

regulations has been linked to this by Dutt in his dissenting note.

Thus, many of the ills of our society have been traced to their real origin by the Monopolies Enquiry Commission. The stranglehold of the few monopolistic business houses on the economy as a whole and their anxiety to keep this vicious grip in tact at all costs is at the root of many evils like corruption, fall in moral values and greed for wealth. These are over and above the economic evils like high prices, slow rate of growth, disparity in incomes and living standards, and the abject poverty of the millions of our people.

### Banking Is Left Out

Most of the varied aspects of the functioning of monopolies have been covered by the commission. However one field of activity of big business which has helped it to spread its tentacles more wide and firm has been omitted from its survey by the commission. And that is banking. The commission itself, in the first chapter of the report has said that the "advantage which big business has over smaller people in obtaining assistance from banks and other financial institutions is another factor which has helped in the growth of concentration".

It is regrettable that the commission did not go into this aspect in detail and make the necessary recommendations to provide curbs from this quarter because it felt that "a big businessman would ordinarily be able to get advances from any bank easily and on convenient terms". The commission overlooked the fact that it is not only a case of getting advances but that of control over the entire economic structure through interlinking of the industrial and banking structure through a handful of industrialists dominating the boards of directors of the major banks.

So also is the case with the press monopolies. The commission has observed that there is "some force in the contention that the section of the press which is under the control of big business tends to obstruct free formation of public opinion". A long-standing complaint of democratic opinion is thus confirmed. But the commission fails to suggest any steps to remedy the evil on the plea that the Constitution guarantees freedom of opinion. Dutt has emphasised in his dissenting note "the danger of the small man being stifled", but he too has no solution to offer except the setting up of another commission to study this particular problem.

Despite these lapses, it must be said that the commission has done signal service to the nation by highlighting the evils of concentration of economic power and putting this fact above dispute by the big business mouthpieces. The press controlled by the monopoly powers has tended mostly to belittle the findings of the commission or to deride its conclusions. And this was only to be expected since this particular segment of the press is controlled by the very same gentlemen who have been put in the dock by the commission.

One hopes that the government would act on the report now that it has been placed before Parliament and people. The monopoly powers which have considerable pull and influence in governmental circles, both ministerial and official, (as the commission itself has pointed out) would leave no stone unturned to see that this report is put in cold storage. It is for the government, if it has even a trace of faith in its professed ideals of "democratic socialism" to act expeditiously on this report of the year.

## DETRACTORS' LINE ON TASHKENT

The proposed visits of Prime Minister Shastri to Tashkent and Washington (or is it Texas?) in the New Year occupied the centre of attention of observers in the capital as the week closed with the adjournment of Parliament's winter session.

THE intense lobbying for Washington that preceded the decision on the dates for the Tashkent Summit showed the influences which were working, both inside and outside the government, to undermine the hopes of an Indo-Pak disengagement under Soviet auspices. Their purpose was to force a visit by Shastri to the United States before his meeting with Ayub in Tashkent.

That phase is now over since it has been announced that the Prime Minister would first go to Tashkent and then to the United States to meet President Johnson. But the US lobby's work to wreck the Tashkent meeting is neither over nor given up.

One of the most notable aspects of their campaign has been the subtle propaganda that while the Tashkent meeting is good and with good motives, one should not expect much to come out of it.

There have been several writings in the press to give a sceptical touch to the Tashkent meeting. Grudging praise for Moscow's initiative in a sphere which had so far been the preserve of imperia-

lists is mixed with calls for caution.

Simultaneously, the same circles have run a campaign to sell the view that Soviet position on Kashmir is not as firm as it was earlier, that the Soviet Union has not condemned Pakistan as aggressor and therefore Moscow's initiative may not ultimately turn out to the liking of New Delhi. Some have even talked of the Soviets being "embarrassed" by India's avid acceptance of Moscow's support in the conflict on Kashmir.

Incidentally, it is noted that this is the line of both the Swatantra—Masani and crowd—and a section of so-called leftists, who do not like the Soviet initiative, for different reasons of course. Once again, there is a curious alignment in our politics.

That apart, what is noteworthy in the attempts to detract the importance of the Tashkent Summit, is the anxiety of the US lobby that it may lead to some improvement in the relations between Rawalpindi and New Delhi under Soviet auspices and not under the aegis of the imperialists, who all these years have

tried to sour those relations in several ways and more particularly by their support to Pakistan on Kashmir.

Consequently, the valuable Soviet support to India during the recent conflict—a support which was publicly acknowledged by government—is kept out of the columns of the capitalist press when Indo-Pak issues are discussed.

The inconvenient fact of US and British embargo on arms deliveries to India during the conflict and the contrast involved in Moscow's fulfilment of all its commitments is also avoided in their discussions about Tashkent and its prospects. The touts have to do a difficult job of rewriting recent history.

However, not all are prepared to go by this pattern of sophisticated pro-American propaganda.

There is a rabid section which takes a more open stand of opposition to the Tashkent meeting between Shastri and Ayub. In that category are the communists, the Jan Sanghis and the RSS mouthpieces, ORGANISER.

The latter in its last issue carried an interview with Golwalkar in which the RSS fuhhrer declared: "Nothing good will come of Tashkent". As usual, the bellicosity of the RSS is revealed in the talk of the fuhhrer and his advice to Shastri not to go to Tashkent. "After all, what is there to talk" for Shastri

in a meeting with Ayub Khan, the RSS leader asks.

Tashkent is a sore subject for reaction in the capital. The popular welcome for the Soviet initiative and the Prime Minister's stand that even though the climate for talks with Pakistan is not so good, he is prepared to meet Ayub and seek all possible ways for better relations between the two countries make it difficult for many of

ranch where he convinced the President of India's strengthened intent to meet her growing food crisis with due gravity. The presidential announcement then followed. It too is based on give-and-take.

"Mr. Subramaniam has obtained from his Government a greater allocation for fertilisers than originally intended. He has produced a food plan which is in keeping with U.S. agricultural concepts. He

## Comment

the detractors to oppose the Tashkent summit outright.

But they would want to underplay the significance of Tashkent both for the foreign policy of the country and for the future of Indo-Pak relations.

### FREEMAN & NOT-SO-FREE MEN

THE Minister for "Food Imports", C. Subramaniam has little need to worry for the time being, since right on the heels of his speech in the Lok Sabha last week, the US President has authorised an additional 1.5 million tons of PL 480 wheat for India plus a 50 million dollar loan for fertiliser purchases.

As the champion of PL 480 the minister declared in that speech that he proposed to stick to imports even at the risk of losing self-respect. The question involved in the controversy was not the self-respect of Subramaniam, but of the country.

According to a report in the TIMES OF INDIA of December 13 from its Washington correspondent regarding a new "give and take" approach in Indo-US relations, the content of Subramaniam's speech in the Indian Parliament was known well before hand to White House.

The sequence of events in this murky drama should better be recorded in the words of the Times scribe in Washington himself. He starts with Subramaniam's meeting with Orville Freeman in Rome.

"The two men parted company after establishing a firm rapport. Mr. Subramaniam returned to Delhi to work on his revolutionary food plan which Mr. Freeman had approved in advance. Mr. Freeman, in turn, flew back to Washington and from there to President Johnson's ranch in Texas.

"He filled in the President with the Indian Minister's thinking. US leaders tentatively decided to give India more food on a long-term basis and also the money she needed for fertilisers.

"They withheld the announcement to let Mr. Subramaniam make his speech in Parliament. There could be many a slip, they feared, between a Food Minister's plans and their Cabinet acceptance. No sooner had Mr. Subramaniam delivered his speech in Parliament than its copies were made available here through both embassies—the US in New Delhi and the Indian in Washington.

"Carrying one in his pocket, Mr. Freeman flew back to the

has successfully removed ideological hindrances which have sought to confine fertilisers to the public sector. He is prepared to open the door wider to foreign collaborators. The outlays on Agriculture have been substantially increased."

This is therefore the "give-and-take". India should give up her self-respect and surrender her agriculture plans to imperialist inspection and dictation and in return she can take some more from the US PL 480 stocks.

But read with this the following also from the same TIMES OF INDIA report: "Washington Post" claims that "the USA has every legal, ethical and moral right to shape the terms of its assistance so as to achieve the political and economic goals which it wishes to reach in the Indian sub-continent."

Men like Subramaniam make it easier for the US imperialists to pursue their political and economic aims in the Indian sub-continent.

### REARRESTS IN PUNJAB

THE rearrest of a number of Marxist Communist detenus, who were ordered to be released by the Punjab High Court, shows a scant respect for the judiciary on the part of the Punjab Government.

The High Court had found the previous detention orders served on these detenus illegal and accordingly released them. The Court declared that the Punjab Home Minister had no power to issue those detention orders under the DIR.

The obvious thing for any government which respects law and the opinion of the law courts would have been to release the detenus and make amends for the wrong detention.

That the Punjab Government has chosen to act just in the contrary manner, by rearresting the released detenus, shows that the executive is determined to pursue its own authoritarian path, irrespective of what the courts in this country might say. The Punjab incident proves further the misuse to which the DIR has been put to in the states by the Congress governments.

The democratic opinion in the country should vigorously assert itself and protest against this dangerous course. It should demand the immediate release of all the detenus as ordered by the Punjab High Court.

—K.U. Warier

(December 13)

## For An Independent, Democratic Economy—VII

# Fourth Plan Must Be Public Sector-Oriented

ASOKA MEHTA might have thought that he would raise a scare among the British big business magnates through his recent address at Calcutta to the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

In reality, he was only expressing too clearly the anti-national terror of the Indian ruling class confronted with a crucial choice. It is the terror of radical democratic structural change.

Its fear of democracy prevents any decisive step being taken to quicken significantly the face of development towards an independent economy.

Asoka Mehta's remarks, slickening in their obsequiousness, were only an SOS to foreign capital to come to the rescue of the Indian ruling class, as otherwise it would be compelled to resort to radical economic reforms by the compulsions of the situation.

The ruling party and its government claim to be great believers in pragmatism. They say they never act upon preconceived theories and on "ideological grounds". Asoka Mehta has blown up this myth. They do act upon a dogma—the dogma of so-called "moderate capitalism". Their theory is the theory of capitalist development, of slow growth with the minimum marginal adjustments. They dogmatically rule out any other course even if India's interests and the lessons of the recent past dictate otherwise.

Take the public sector in industry. In any modern, de-

veloping economy, industry and its pattern and growth, act as the pacesetters. To steer national economic development as a whole in the direction of rapid democratic growth, it is essential that the public sector should be the dominant force occupying the commanding heights and with full control of strategic levers. This is by no means the case in India today.

The net output of government enterprises as a percentage of net domestic product moved from 3.0 per cent in 1950-51 to 4.3 per cent in 1962-63 (at current prices). The net output of government administration moved from 4.5 per cent to 7.6 per cent during the same period. The net output of the private sector moved down slightly from 92.5 per cent to 88.1 per cent in these years.

### LACK OF SPEED

The position is somewhat better as far as the trend of company development is concerned. The number of government companies in 1955-56 was 61 with a paid up capital of Rs. 66 crores. In 1964-65 the number had increased to 660 with Rs. 1,030 crores as paid-up capital. Non-government companies, in the same period, went down in number from 28,813 to 26,486 but their paid-up capital increased from Rs. 958.2 crores to Rs. 1,533.4 crores (ibid, p. 57).

If government draft on private income is taken, we find

that the proportion of direct taxes to total private income went up from 2.4 per cent to 3.1 per cent, of indirect taxes from 4.5 per cent to 8.5 per cent and miscellaneous fees, etc., from 1.1 per cent to 1.3 per cent.

These figures (the latest available, p. 29 of the 1965 edition of the Pocket Book of Economic Information, published by the Ministry of Finance) revealed a startling lack of speed in growth in the government control over the economy and, therefore, in its ability to shape its growth.

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## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK PATTON SPEAKS!

THE Oracle of Chowpatty has spoken again. This time it is about aid and strings. He has again discovered that there are no strings attached to the PL 480 "aid" which Uncle Sam is giving India.

He deprecated the "unholy fear" of strings in "any aid". What is more, "it did not come to quarrel with those offering aid and question their motives". They certainly can't by any motives in the gifts of uncles!

There was "no future either for India or Pakistan unless something happened". And that something should certainly be under the august auspices of Uncle Sam. For what else does he provide the PL 480?

The Oracle then started shooting questions. Himself. What is India's aim in giving aid? "Did not India have any interest in giving a loan of Rs. 20 crores to Burma? And to Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim? At least one string was that Burma would be with us."

With us in what? The Oracle did not care to reply. Is there anybody in responsible positions in Burma who says that because India has given that country a loan, the policies pursued by her should be on the dictates of India?

There cannot be, for the very simple reason that the Burmese government has no Pattons in leading positions; Pattons who have mortgaged their bodies and souls to imperialists and go round pleading the imperialists' case.

But the Prime Minister and the Minister for External Affairs have to take note of this Indian Patton who is shooting off his loud mouth. It might lead to complications in the country's relations with Burma, Nepal and other such countries whom Patton mentioned in his peroration.

Patton did the same trick sometime back too. During the jaunt to the dollaland in his role as the Prime Minister's special envoy he had created a diplomatic flutter in the Latin American capitals by denigrating his own visits to these countries.

And the pity is that the External Affairs Minister had to swallow the bitter pill and keep quiet about the whole business because he was "special envoy of the Prime Minister". Patton had no brief from the Ministry of External Affairs and he was reporting direct to the Prime Minister!

But Patton's journalist friends in dollaland are not exactly helping the cause. For, on the very day his speech appeared in the press, there was a despatch from the capital of dollar-

land which disproved all that Patton was saying. "Give and take", the despatch called the new policy which Uncle Sam was evolving in his relations with the poor relation, called India. "Give" some wheat to the poor beggars and "take" away all the pride that is left, that was the new slogan for Uncle Sam. Conversely "give" up all the accepted policies and "take" PL 480 wheat, that was the slogan of India's ruling class.

Even the correspondent who reported this new "give and take" policy, himself no hater of the Uncle or the Patton, felt that "this can mean a new form of subservience". It seems Patton and his like lap up this kind of servility rather than be a bit empty in stomachs. Hear Patton himself:

"PL 480 food aid should not be sneered at since lack of it would mean starvation. Critics of PL 480 aid would never die of starvation because those who talked never spoke on an empty stomach" (including the present speaker).

Well, one hopes that Mr. Patton will go on filling his stomach with PL 480 and all the rest that comes from the dollaland and keep on singing hymns to his benefactors and mentors. But self-respecting Indians should award him the Order of the Boot.

—P. V. PARAKAL

This relatively more rapid growth of government companies has been accomplished in the most expensive manner possible and with the minimum amount of nationalisation. Indeed, in the recent period the government seems to be acting upon a strict commandment, "Thou shalt not nationalise".

In the past six months or so it has declared its intention not to nationalise: oil, banking, coal, general insurance, cement, sugar and foreign trade. The demand for nationalisation was concretely raised in the Parliament by a

by  
**MOHIT SEN**

wide spectrum of the people's representatives—Communists, Congressmen and Socialists. In each case the government was obstinately negative.

No wonder that speaking in Poona on November 21, Humayun Kabir "assured the private sector that at least for 20 years to come it need have no apprehensions about the impact of the expansion of the public sector in the economy". This is the approach that has to be radically altered.

### JOINT VENTURES

If India's trade is going to be sharply increased with these countries, and along these lines there will be a sharp increase in the demand for industrial goods of different types as well as of consumer goods.

In addition to joint export-oriented public sector projects in India, the government should participate in the setting up of such ventures in other Afro-Asian states. This is envisaged in the recent trade agreement with Yugoslavia.

Above all, it should be seen to that big business in India does not try to enter this field and begin an export of capital with state help.

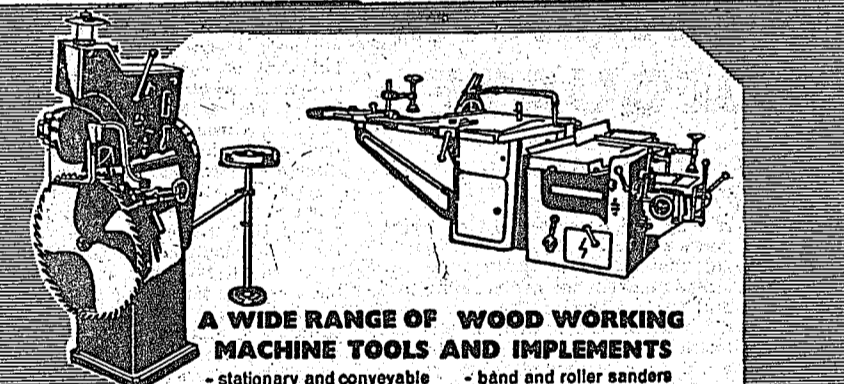
Fifth, strict control including requisition and even nationalisation has to be enforced over private sector units producing vital materials like steel, coal, pig iron, cement, etc. The present disastrous trend towards de-control has to be reversed.

Sixth, the functioning of the public sector has to be vastly democratised and improved.

Private sector propaganda about the "inevitable inefficiency" of the public sector is, of course, nonsense. The recent study of the parliamentary committee has correctly complimented the public sector for its performance despite inexperience.

The Koyali public sector oil refinery, according to the

\* On Page 16




### A WIDE RANGE OF WOOD WORKING MACHINE TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

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Removal Of Machinery From Amritsar

RAM KISHEN SEEKS TO DUPE PEOPLE, HIDE FACTS

AMRITSAR: The statement by Chief Minister Ram Kishen in the Punjab Assembly, which concluded its session recently, that no machinery would be allowed to be shifted from Amritsar has caused surprise and no satisfaction to trade union circles here.

They pointed out that already machinery is being removed from here by industrialists and retrenchment of workers has also taken place. The statement of the Chief Minister was therefore amazing to them and workers are sceptical about the government's policy.

To corroborate this, the following facts are cited.

One of the biggest engineering mills in Amritsar, Ohsan Industries have taken out of Amritsar more than half of its machinery.

India Woollen Mills, Chheharta has dismantled and removed from Amritsar all their modern looms. About 50 per cent of the worst spinning machinery has likewise been taken out of Amritsar.

Universal Screw Factory of Chheharta has also removed considerable part of the machinery from Amritsar.

A number of factories of Batala Road have taken out of Amritsar a good deal of their machinery.

Many other mills are at present busy reducing their labour strength by various means so that they can later on dismantle and remove their modern machinery.

The Hindustan Rayon Woollen Textile Mills, India Woollen Textile Mills and Model Woollen and Silk Mills have already effected retrenchment. A number of other mills have put up retrenchment notices.

Managements of some of the mills like Khanna Silk Mills, Hemla Textile Finishing Mills, Chheharta have adopted underhand methods to reduce their labour strength.

BHILAI PROJECT AUTHORITIES' DONATION TO INTUC

BHILAI: Housing shortage? Yes, it is acute all over the country and in particular in cities and industrial centres.

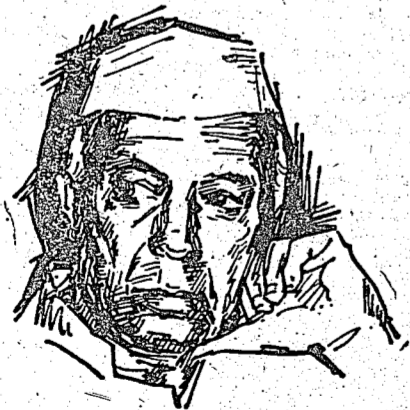
But in Bhilai hundreds of quarters which have been built by the Bhilai Steel Plant for the workers are lying vacant.

Not because the workers do not want to live in them. Actually the workers have been given allotments and they want to move in. But they are not allowed to do so.

Reason? They are kept reserved for a special occasion that is coming. The INTUC is holding its annual mela in Bhilai this year. And the quarters are reserved for the stay of delegates.

This INTUC mela is to be held from December 24 to 27. So, the houses would not be allowed to be occupied till January.

The number of quarters which are thus lying vacant is 1,500.



"If we want to earn money by export, we must do without things here and export them. It is not a question of surpluses. I want to lay stress that we must starve ourselves of goods and things and export them to get foreign exchange".

Jawaharlal Nehru

We export Silk Scarves, Precious and Semi-Precious Stones, Synthetic Stones Handicrafts to U. K., Italy, Switzerland, G.D.R., Czechoslovakia, Canada.

BHARAT BANIDYA (P) LTD. NEW DELHI

ADMARK

They have also purchased plots in places like Faridabad to start mills there. Their plan appears to be to take their modern machinery to these places while leaving the old machinery—almost junk—in Amritsar, to run which they will demand big concessions.

Heavy cut in foreign exchange for imports of wool-tops has provided another excuse to the spinning mills to resort to large-scale lay-off and retrenchment.

The small units, whether owned by really small capitalists or otherwise, have reduced the rates of weavers by at least 20 per cent, in many cases even by more. It may be recalled that 20 per cent increase in rates of weaving was won by the Amritsar workers as a result of their 52 days strike.

A memorandum drawing the attention of the Union Government to this serious situation caused by the continuous closure of nearly 1,500 industrial establishments since September 6, and large scale retrenchment of workers in Amritsar has been submitted to Union Industries Minister T. N. Singh by the Amritsar Textile Labour Union (Hind Mazdoor Panchayat) and the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union (AITUC).

Trade Unions Decide On United Fight Against Automation, For Job Security

A Convention Against Automation held in New Delhi on December 7-8 has set up a committee and a secretariat to carry forward the united campaigns and struggles against the menace of automation and to safeguard job security.

Participating in the convention were all central trade union organisations except the INTUC and the national trade federations as the All-India Insurance Employees Association, the All-India Bank Employees Association, the All-India Petroleum Workers' Federation, the National Federation of P&T Employees, the All-India Audit and Accounts Employees Association and several other organisations in the private and public sectors.

The conference set up the secretariat comprising of one representative each from the AITUC, UTUC, HMS, HMP, AIBEA, AHIA, NFPE, AIPWF and the All-India Audit Accounts Employees Association.

The declaration adopted by the Conference demanded:

1 Government should stop import and use of electronic computers and auto-

mation equipment for offices and factories;

2 Government should issue policy directives to establishments in public and private sectors to abandon schemes of automation in offices and factories, particularly in servicing industries;

3 Government should review the 15th tripartite decision on safeguards on rationalisation, particularly of job security in the light of the gross violation of the tripartite agreement on this subject by the employers.

The conference also decided to organise a campaign on the implications and consequences of automation in general and of clerical work in particular and against the anti-working class bias with which the 15th Indian Labour Conference decision on rationalisation has been implemented.

It has been planned to issue leaflets and brochures and organise city, regional and state conventions seeking the cooperation and assistance of largest number of trade unions.

The observance of an all-India day against automation and employers' violation of tripartite agreement on rationalisation has also been decided upon on or around February 28, 1966.

GOVT'S SCHEME TO TORPEDO EXPERTS' REPORT ON DELHI INDEX

BEFORE the year is out, another black deed of hiding the culprits who manipulate with the consumer price indices will have been processed at the highest level in the Government of India.

This dastardly step is currently being carefully prepared at the instance of political decisions emanating from the ministers themselves, it is learnt.

The victim is going to be the working class in India and, in particular the Delhi workers. The object of the tampering at the high level is to set at nought the major concessions the workers would obtain if the unanimous recommendations of the expert committee on Delhi index are upheld.

Following the protests and complaints from the trade unions, the Delhi Administration was compelled to appoint the expert committee to probe into the faults in the Delhi index. It is reliably learnt that prior to the appointment of the committee, the Union Labour Ministry was consulted and concurrence taken.

The unanimous report of the expert committee has upheld most of the contentions of the trade unions. On housing index alone, the experts agreed that the index was artificially depressed by

about 10 per cent. The experts were to probe into the 1944-based index and establish a new linking factor. It is understood that the experts committee conceded that the corrections to the tune of 21 points (in the year 1960) will have to be admitted.

That would mean that the 1944-based index for 1960 should be not 153 but 179, or in other words, the linking factor between the 1960-based and the 1944-based indices would be not 1.53 as established by the Labour Bureau but 1.79.

Operation Scuttle

Therefore, applying the new linking factor, the 1944-based index for September, 1965, would be 245 and not 216 as claimed by the Labour Bureau, on the basis of the incorrect linking factor. It would mean that the original fault of 21 points has grown to 29 points as in September this year.

The "operation scuttle" which is being done is reportedly being masterminded by a so-called technical sub-committee of the Finance, Industry, Commerce and Labour Ministries.

It is rumoured that the "technicians" of the government would concede only about 8 points as fault

in the Delhi index, that is, as against the 14 per cent fault established by the experts, government would concede not more than five per cent.

The sinister game will be all the more clear when it is seen that the Labour Ministry is committed to correct other Labour Bureau series in the index and the escalation in the index merely by the correction would be quite huge.

The all-India consumer price index which stands extremely depressed because of the faulty indices of local centres will have to look up, if the corrections which are necessary in the various local indices are ordered, as committed earlier by the Labour Ministry.

By refusing to do this and by tampering with the experts' report on Delhi index, the Government is deeply cutting into the real wages of workers in all those sectors where the D.A. is linked up with the All-India index.

The textile workers in Delhi are already contemplating direct action against the attempt of the government to perpetuate the index fraud.

The government's latest move will not only raise a storm of protest; it will mean the loudest declaration that there can be no more tomfoolery about the "scientific" accuracy of government statistics!

Trivandrum ISCUS Function

ISCUS branch at Trivandrum gave a reception to G. I. Kaverin, Consul General at Madras, when he visited the capital of Kerala on December 5.

Photo (below) shows a section of the big gathering which packed the Senate Hall to hear the Soviet diplomat speak on his country's esteem and friendship for India.

On right, C. R. Das, former Mayor of Trivandrum and Congress leader, who is the president of the Trivandrum ISCUS, is seen welcoming the guests and the gathering.



A "MARXIST" LIE NAILED Gajen Mali Repudiates People's Democracy

On October 3 PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, central organ of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), published a news item with a full page banner caption, 'Another New Age Lie Exposed'. It purported to refute a news item published in NEW AGE on July 18 regarding jotedars' conspiracy to evict Gajen Mali, hero of Kawkwidip kisan struggles, from the land he cultivates and the complicity of some of the Marxist Communists in that.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY said: "It has taken quite some time for us to get at the real facts because of the present conditions of Government repression. But unlike New Age, we wanted to be sure of our facts. And what better fact can we produce than a letter from Gajen Mali himself to give lie to New Age."

But NEW AGE was quite sure of its facts: Gajen Mali, a member of the 24 Parganas District Council of the Communist Party of India had made those facts available to the NEW AGE!

After the publication of the slanderous letter purported to have been written by Gajen Mali in the PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY he was contacted again. When he came to attend the meeting of the district council, he made a statement on the subject and signed the statement in the form of a letter, which was signed by two witnesses also.

Suren Dhar Chowdhury, secretary of the 24 Parganas

connection with those who have split the Party and have formed the Marxist Communist Party.

"I found out subsequently that their Party organs DESH HITASHI and PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY had published as my letter things which I never said. Nor is the published letter the same as was read out to me; rather it contains many things which were never read out to me. What has been published in PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY has been translated for me by my Party which the members of the Marxist party call 'Dange Clique'.

"The above-mentioned two members of the Marxist Party one day told me that it was necessary to write in detail about my right on the land I was cultivating so that everybody could understand the exact position in relation to the land I was cultivating. I considered that writing such a letter was in no way improper. Accordingly I narrated my rights on the land and that part is faithfully reproduced in the letter published in my name.

But all other portions of the letter are not my words at all and have been concocted by them. We should involve some Left Communist workers including the local Left Communist leader Mon-

DEC. 19—MADRAS PROTEST AGAINST ADDL. LAND LEVY

From D. PONNIVALAVAN

MADRAS: December 19 is to be observed in the state as protest day against the imposition of increased levy on land revenue.

The government bill to impose an additional levy of 25 per cent on land revenue was passed in the last Assembly session (see NEW AGE, dated December 5). The measure has come in for severe criticism from opposition and kisan organisations.

The provincial executive committee of the Communist Party of India which met at Tiruchy in the first week of this month has called upon all Party units and mass organisations to observe December 19 as protest day.

The Kisan Sabha also has given a similar call. The Sabha suggested alternate sources of revenue for raising additional finance.

It pointed out that while the government hoped to raise Rs. 1,60 crores by this additional burden on the peasants it was not prepared to collect taxes from 'tax evaders' amounting to Rs. 24 crores.

The provincial executive of the CPI also passed another resolution calling upon the government to stop forcible and bureaucratic methods of collecting money for the National Defence Fund.

There has been numerous complaints of forcible collection to the NDF from small traders and small lorry owners in the state.

By another resolution the CPI welcomed the donation of gold by certain temples, at the same time pointing out that the temples could have paid much more in that way. It urged the temple trustees to do so.

SECULAR FORCES TO THE FORE IN BANARAS

BANARAS: Secular and democratic people of Banaras have joined together to fight the communal forces which have been unleashed in the city following the Jan Sangh agitation over the renaming of the Banaras Hindu University.

A meeting of the old boys of the BHU and citizens of Banaras was held on November 29 to give form to this anti-communal sentiment among the people.

The meeting adopted a statement which said: "We consider it our duty to inform the public at large and the students in particular that the name of this institution, from the day its foundation stone was laid on February 4, 1916, has been Kashi Vishwavidyalaya in Sanskrit and Hindi.

"The name on the Tamrapatralakhi is also Kashi Vishwavidyalaya. In English, it has been Banaras Hindu University. The world 'Hindu' was not there with the name Kashi Vishwavidyalaya.

"The present agitation therefore is aimed not against the removal of the word 'Hindu', but at adding the word 'Hindu' or in other words to impose the English name over the Hindi name."

The statement added that "those who raised the slogan of incorporating the words 'Hindu' or 'Muslim' in the names of educational institutions are trying to break the unity of the nation, are unable to free themselves of the slavish mentality imbibed under the British rule."

The statement demanded that words imparting a communal tenor to the names of educational institutions should be removed forthwith.

The meeting set up a 21-member committee to collect signatures on the statement and to fight communal forces, with Congress leader Anandeshwar Prasad Singh as its convener. Representatives of the major political parties and other social workers are on the committee.

Among them are SSP leader Rajnarain Singh, Congress leader Rajkumar, CPI leader Rastom Satin, Journalist Chandra Kumar, Industrialist Radharaman, youth leader Bijaya Bahadur Singh.

Witness: Jatin Maity Balaram Sen 25-10-65 25-10-65

Truthfulness of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY stands self exposed!

# LEFT PARTIES INDICT ANTI-PEOPLE POLICIES

A three-day meeting of the Left Parties concluded in New Delhi on December 11. The meeting adopted five important resolutions on food crisis, on trade union demands, on quit Commonwealth, on nationalisation of the oil industry and for withdrawal of the emergency.

The meeting was attended by C. Rajeswara Rao, Z. A. Ahmad, Bhupesh Gupta MP and N. K. Krishnan of the Communist Party of India; Indulal Yagnik MP of the Mahagujrat Janata Parishad; Dajiba Desai MP and U. S. Patil MP of the Peasants' and Workers Party; B. K. Galkwad MP of the Republican Party of India; Sudhindranath Kumar of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India; B. Wellington of the Karshaka Thozhilali Party of Kerala; N. C. Chatterji MP (independent); Tridib Kumar Chowdhury MP, Prateekant Nair MP, Keshav Prasad Sharma and Pratul Chowdhury of the RSP; Ramsewak Yadav MP, Madhu Limaye MP and Kishan Patnaik MP of the SSP; and E. M. S. Namboodiripad of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

THE Revolutionary Communist Party of India and the Bolshevik Party of India have been admitted to the all-India meeting. A representative of the Karshaka Thozhilali Party of Kerala, B. Wellington also attended this meeting.

The meeting decided that all parties which are constituents of the united Left Parties formations functioning at present in the various states will ipso facto be admitted to the all India meetings if they so desire. It was agreed at the meet-

ing that each Party will send instructions within a fortnight to its state units to implement the resolutions adopted by the Left Parties meetings jointly with the other participating parties.

It was also decided that the next meeting of the Left Parties will be held at Delhi on February 12 and 13, 1966. The resolution on the food crisis adopted at the meeting strongly indicts the Food Minister's "new" policy. It says: "The Food Minister seeks to

face the present situation by heavier reliance on US food imports under PL 480 and by what is called intensive agricultural production in selected areas secured by giving extra concessions and facilities to landlords and other richer sections of landholders.

"It is even proposed to hand over large areas of cultivable fallow land at nominal prices to joint-stock companies and even to individual capitalists for raising agricultural output.

"Such retrograde steps cannot but cause the gravest concern to the mass of peasantry and all other sections of the people."

The Left Parties have once again pointed out:

"The implementation of a truly national policy for overcoming our dependence on US food imports and making India self-reliant in food has now become an imperative necessity. The present crisis emphasises all the more the supreme urgency of effective measures for garnering the internal food resources of the country.

"To this end, monopoly purchase and procurement of foodgrains must be introduced forthwith without any hesitation or qualifications in all states and the entire marketable surplus must thus be secured by the government. All profiteering and hoarding in foodgrains must be ruthlessly suppressed. In this context a vigorous drive to unearth existing hoards of foodgrains in cooperation with the people naturally assumes particular urgency."

The resolution on working class demands draws urgent attention to the fact that "the offensive of the reactionary vested interests against the working class in the form of wage cuts, mass retrenchment through lay-offs and closures, refusal to pay bonus and curtailment of TU rights has sharpened in the course of the last two months, particularly in the textile, engineering and metal industries."

Stressing the need for the development of the Quit Commonwealth movement, the Left Parties have called for the boycott of the planned visit to India of British Prime Minister Harold Wilson.

The Left Parties demand the immediate nationalisation of the foreign companies engaged in oil distribution in our country.

A special resolution condemns the suppression of civil liberties. It says:

"Fundamental rights and elementary civil liberties are being trampled underfoot. The rule of law is cynically subverted and undermined. All this has put India's parliamentary system in the gravest jeopardy and clearly makes for the establishment of 'constitutional dictatorship'."

The meeting of Left Parties emphatically demanded that the emergency be lifted without further delay and DIR scrapped. The meeting in particular demanded the release of all political detainees and prisoners and restoration of full rights to opposition parties for their normal political activity and for discharge of their duties to the people.

## BIHAR: 150 DETENUS ON HUNGERSTRIKE

PATNA: About 150 political prisoners detained in various jails of Bihar have gone on hungerstrike since December 13 in protest against the insufferable conditions in the jails.

Their demands are: uniform higher division to all detainees, adequate family allowances, increase in quantum of clothing and sundry allowances, removal of restrictions on getting newspapers, and release or trial in law courts.

Most of these hungerstriking detainees are Communists, students, journalists, government employees who were arrested in connection with the food movement in last August.

There can be no justification at all for keeping them in detention since all the leaders of the food movement have already been released.

These detainees have made repeated representations and petitions to the authorities for improving conditions in jails and other facilities.

But Chief Minister K. B. Sahay, who personally deals with the cases of detainees, has shown callous indifference and contempt for their demands. And it is out of sheer vindictiveness.

On December 9, representatives of the SSP, the CPI, the RSP, the Jharkhand Party and the Janata Party made a joint appeal to the Chief Minister to concede the demands of the detainees and avoid the hungerstrike.

The Left Parties leaders also sought an interview with the Chief Minister. But Sahay could not find time to receive a joint deputation of the five opposition parties!

# JAN SANGH LICKS DUST IN ITS STRONGHOLD

From N. H. ANSARI

KHALILABAD: The Jan Sangh plan to 'capture' the secondary school teachers' organisation in the state has been foiled. The Sanghis have been trounced in the organisational elections in a number of districts.

THESE elections were held in the annual district conferences of the UP Madhyamik Shikshak Sangh which is the only organisation of secondary school teachers in the state.

The organisation which had earned the overwhelming support of secondary teachers of private schools all over the state in the last year's united struggle has remained a united platform for teachers of all views. But the Jan Sanghis in the organisation have been eagerly trying to give a reactionary orientation to the organisation.

In the elections to the district units, they tried all their vile methods, but thanks to the united stand of democratic and progressive-minded teachers they were trounced.

The worst discomfiture of this reactionary band came in the districts of Gorakhpur and Basti which are

Sensing the mood of the conference, the Sanghis made a bid for 'no vote'. But the resolution was passed by overwhelming majority. Only three out of 90 delegates dared oppose the resolution.

Angered by this, Bhatt who was presiding over the conference launched a virulent attack on socialism. But he was called to order by the delegates who pointed out that a debate on socialism was not on the agenda and there was no occasion for the president to air his personal views.

Not only was he thus made to stop, but he also lost his presidency. Such is the discomfiture of the Jan Sanghis in their strongholds. It is to be recalled that with their five MLAs the Sanghis have all along maintained an important place in the district politics.

But the teachers who in these conferences saw the real face of these reactionaries have rejected them. Recently their Municipal Chairman in Basti has also severed connections with the Sangh.

# Automation, Closures, Lay Off Cause Unemployment

A favourite theme in mobilising for civilian defence efforts in the more active phase of the present emergency was that to back up one jawan at the front, efforts of a hundred workers and peasants in the rear were essential. Production and more production was therefore the call of the hour.

Not even the 90 days of grace have passed since the One Jawan, Hundred Non-Jawan ratio was proposed. We have now no let-up in the propaganda, no doubt, but if the ratio was any indication, the jawan at the front has far less rear support.

To speak only of the industrial sector, in two leading branches, textiles and engineering, there is talk only of closures, retrenchment and lay-off.

In some centres as in Punjab where special problems arose on the industrial front as in Amritsar and neighbourhood in the wake of the emergency, these problems have only got accentuated and not resolved in the last three months.

The Golden City of Amritsar, for long the industrial hub of the border state, might soon be a village, with 75 per cent of the industrial workers now out of jobs.

If the Hon'ble Ministers of the Government of India are to be believed,—they are, of course "carefully watching" the situation—there is only some "temporary" difficulties and everything will resolve itself in the end!

## 'Carefully Watching'

"There is some low off-take in cotton textiles and so some mills have closed, others have retrenched or laid off some thousands. In any case, we are going to have a shortage in cotton supplies (there is less internal production and Uncle Sam will not be so liberal with his PL 480 cotton) and production will automatically get reduced and we will be out of the mess of accumulation of stocks soon."

Why then should the Minister be bothered, since the causes and the solutions are so ready at hand? Some workers should be patriotic enough to get sacked in the bargain. In any case, the Hon'ble Ministers can have no time for such small problems!

That is as far as the cotton textile sector is concerned. In the art silk sector, what if the entire industry in Surat district in Gujarat has closed down, the gambling den of the satta merchants who do the "forward trading" in art silk yarn has only prospered by leaps and bounds.

And if the art silk mills in Punjab cannot afford to buy the yarn because the speculators are keeping the prices up, let these mills also close down!

And in woollen mills, wool tops are to be imported and foreign exchange is scarce and so production has in any case to be curtailed. The people should learn to "miss" woollens as they are learning to miss meals.

Engineering units are of course the key sector in the

plan for defence support. Most of them have sizable defence orders. But here again, foreign exchange is scarce and so cut out all production, retrench and order lay-off, and all non-ferrous stocks would be frozen by government.

The Minister of Industry was candid enough to tell the Rajya Sabha the other day that the government can't do a thing about the workers who are laid off. They should have probably consulted the astrologers before joining up in such firms as are now declaring lay-off and retrenchment!

Astrologers are, indeed, having a booming business looking up the fortunes of the VIPs, and the patrons of "forward trading" and specu-

latable to sell the raw material import quota outright in the black rather than process them and make a legitimate profit.

The wholesale corruption in this racket of licensing has come home to roost. Foreign exchange has been squandered, black money has swelled and now the jittery government has taken some steps to "freeze" the stocks, with disastrous consequences.

It is for this very reason that the government has refused to take the organised TU movement into confidence in solving the problem of critical shortages of essential raw materials.

If the nation is to unitedly face the crisis of foreign exchange shortages, the govern-

ment will have to tell the workers' squarely what the present position is and own up to the misdeeds which have led to this catastrophe. By putting on a saintly mask and preaching a fake "self-reliance", the ministers are not going to fool the workers.

they prefer to come to grief the hard way.

But this Ayub-style foolishness can be a costly misadventure for our country. Already, economic planning has succeeded only to swell the number of the "backlog of unemployed" with the end of every Five Year Plan.

This "computerised" automation in offices as in LIC, banks and oil companies and other offices will not only dislocate violently the pattern of the services sector but render several thousands unemployed.

And this is precisely what the central TU organisations and trade federations warned the nation. The convention held on December 7-8 in New Delhi was an important landmark in the struggle of the organised workers for job security as much as in the path of united action.

## Against Automation

The convention has correctly emphasised: "It is imperative in planning for development in our present level of economy that projects and schemes under the Plans should have as large an employment potential as possible and utmost care taken to ensure that precious resources are not wasted in proposals which go against this objective of increasing employment potential."

"Introduction of new techniques will therefore have to be carefully examined and in no case should the country, in its present level of development, invite the menace of automation in offices and industries which has already created huge social problems

ment will have to tell the workers' squarely what the present position is and own up to the misdeeds which have led to this catastrophe. By putting on a saintly mask and preaching a fake "self-reliance", the ministers are not going to fool the workers.

It is not only India which has had to fight with arms to defend its territorial integrity against external aggression. There are countries which have had to fight bloody wars for years facing colossal destruction, but no such country had probably seen such pre-emptive, irresponsible and arbitrary policies taken by this government in an emergency situation.

For instance, zinc was being bought and stocked by a Bombay dry cell manufacturing company on an extensive scale from the black market—and the price was about six times higher.

Where did these stocks come from? And what indeed is the logic of pricing and profits when established concerns pay such fantastic 'black' prices and yet make huge profits?

The steps taken by government and its manner of approach would appear as if we were only waiting for someone to push us into disarray. This is not what the brave jawans showed or what the civilian population showed when called upon to rise to the occasion.

The politics of defence and self-reliance, in real terms, yet remain to be brought home to the policymakers.

And that lesson on defence and economics is also illustrated by the collapse of Ayub Khan's borrowed Patton tanks on the Indo-Pak frontiers. Patton tanks were fitted with electronic computers but that was no match for the skill of our jawans.

Nevertheless, the ill-fitting sophistication of switching over commercial office jobs to electronic computers is still the craze with the people at the top here and

in the capitalist countries of the West, depriving several lakhs of workers of their means of livelihood."

The trade union movement in India is not opposed to technological improvements. The convention has however pointed out: "In today's context, technological innovations become nothing but an instrument in the hands of big employers with large capital to spare with, to enhance their already higher rate of profits without conferring any gain on consumers or society in general, either in the matter of prices or supply and hence they become objectively an anti-social act in the path of man's progress towards freedom from poverty and drudgery of work. It only results in reduction of employment and wages. In India today, it also leads to our mortgaging our national resources to vested interests."

The convention against automation represents, indeed, the timely intervention of the organised trade union movement on questions of employment planning and on economic planning in general.

The decisions of the convention will, no doubt, be backed by the required sanctions as can help provide the correct solutions.

And this is the path of united action, which alone can pass before the nation concrete alternatives for real economic progress based on national honour and self-reliance.

The path to progress is not by closures and lay-offs—that is the traditional capitalist solution to solve its crisis. There is and there will be an alternative.

## By M. ATCHUTHAN

lation, hoarders and profiteers are naturally prone to look to the fortune-tellers since the riches made on the nation's misery cannot be very long lasting.

But no soothsayer can save them when the shady deals which go in the name of emergency planning are uncovered—and these will have to be uncovered if this nation is to be salvaged from the economic ruin for the vast majority of its people.

For instance, it is an open secret that despite quotas and licensing all these years over imported industrial raw materials, particularly non-ferrous items, quite a number of engineering factories were relying mostly on the blackmarket to satisfy a good part of their production requirements.

For instance, zinc was being bought and stocked by a Bombay dry cell manufacturing company on an extensive scale from the black market—and the price was about six times higher.

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Nevertheless, the ill-fitting sophistication of switching over commercial office jobs to electronic computers is still the craze with the people at the top here and

## Calcutta Students Say

# BUZZ OFF, YANKEE!

From AJAY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: Public indignation has been roused by the insulting behaviour and anti-Indian remarks made by an arrogant official of the USIS in Calcutta to a group of students. There is strong demand from various sections for government action against the USIS official concerned.

THE incident happened when one John R. Lepper, Programme Officer of the USIS in Calcutta, invited some students to a dinner party thrown in honour of the visiting Attorney General of Wisconsin.

After the homily of the visiting dignitary to the students about the prosperity of United States, questions were invited. Some of the students asked questions about unemployment problem in USA. The Attorney General arrogantly replied that even the unemployed in US enjoyed a higher standard of life than the upper middle class people in India.

Then one Bhattacharya who had lately visited US was put up to address the students saying they should hear from one of their own countrymen about the situation in USA. This recipient of USIS gifts began to sing panegyrics about US affluence and the generosity of Uncle Sam. It was too much for the students who were discussing among themselves how to protest this.

This enraged the USIS official who shouted at them that they were pro-Chinese elements and should go out. When the students asked

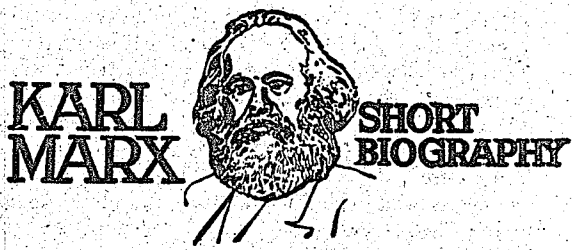
Lepper to apologise, he shouted at them: "Buzz off you Indian dogs."

The students told him that they were invited and so had come, but they had no intention of staying with such impolite hosts, but he would have to feel the consequence of such insolence.

The USIS is now having the taste of the student community's anger. The USIS outfit at College Street had to close down in the face of student demonstration. Daily demonstrations are being held by students of different colleges with the demands: "Lepper must publicly apologise" and "Lepper must quit India".

On December 11 there was a huge demonstration in front of the main USIS office in the Esplanade area organised by the Students Joint Action Committee. The Committee is planning further action including round-the-clock vigil in front of the USIS office.

The USIS is trying hard to soften the impact of this agitation. They made one Social Secretary of St. Xavier's College that Lepper could not and did not pronounce such harsh words. But then the boy had to publicly withdraw his statement.



Karl Marx, the brilliant theoretician and leader of the proletariat is one of the greatest thinkers and scholars whose names will live through the ages.

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Happy Vietnamese children going to school



### INDIA AND DEC. 20

THE cat is out of Yankeeboy Patil's bag. Speaking in Bombay over the week-end, he not only sang hymns to PL 480, but also spat out the glad tidings that Boss Johnson wants India's help in regard to the Vietnam problem. For all his sweet words, Patil was really giving notice that the price of US "aid" now has been raised to include not only Kashmir, but also a reversal of India's Vietnam policy in favour of the American aggressors.

Recent foreign policy trends have been noted by observers to indicate a weakening of India's policy on Vietnam. The most ominous of developments in this direction was the complete omission of all references to Vietnam in the Foreign Minister's speech in the UN General Assembly.

American blackmail is obviously hard at work. The Government of India's stand on two important questions has not been to the liking of the imperialists: FIRST of all, the Indian demand for a halt to the US bombings of North Vietnam have irritated the gods of Texas; SECONDLY, the clear-cut declaration that the South Vietnam Liberation Front must be represented in any talks on Vietnam has also displeased the givers of PL 480 "bounty".

It would appear that the US aim is to secure Indian support for its aggression, or at least silence on such issues as the bombings and the recognition of the Liberation Front.

The voice of the democratic movement has made itself felt decisively on November 27. In all the meetings and demonstrations held on the National Day of Protest Against American Blackmail, the issue of Vietnam was linked closely with that of the anti-Indian stand of the US imperialists. In all demonstrations, posters denouncing US aggression in Vietnam and expressing solidarity with the Vietnamese people, were carried. Messages of solidarity were sent by the All-India Peace Council and other organisations to the Vietnamese people and to the American marchers in Washington.

The democratic movement understands full well that our battle is a common battle. The same napalm which rains down on the Vietnamese people was used against our people. The American imperialists seek to rob our people of their freedom; in the same way as they seek to deprive the Vietnamese people of their's.

On December 20, the democratic movement in this country must pledge itself to intensify its actions of solidarity with the Vietnamese people. It must demand a strengthening of the government's policy on the question of the US aggression in Vietnam.

When the Prime Minister meets President Johnson in February, he must convey to him the Indian people's firm demand that the US aggression must stop and all US troops withdrawn without delay. Any attempt to buy Indian policy on Vietnam for American "aid" must be repelled with the vehemence required of a self-respecting nation.

The voice of the Indian people was heard in the nationwide demonstrations on November 27. The croaks of the Patils are the echos of the Voice of America: they have nothing to do with the will of the masses of this land.

### NLF SLOGANS

THE Central Committee of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front has issued slogans on the occasion of the front's fifth anniversary which falls due on December 20.

Fourteen million people in the South, shoulder to shoulder with their 17 million compatriots in the North are determined to crush the American imperialist aggressors and the gang of traitors to the homeland, to liberate the South, defend the North and achieve unity of the homeland, one of the slogans says.

The Central Committee of the National Liberation Front calls on all-South Vietnamese, whatever their political and religious views, to rally around the Front in the common struggle against American aggression.

The National Liberation Front hails and thanks socialist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the peace-loving peoples of the world for their sincere and wholehearted assistance to Vietnamese patriots in their struggle to liberate their country.

# Salute Heroes Of S. Vietnam National Liberation Front!

On December 20 this year falls the fifth anniversary of the formation of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front. These have been years of the expanding battles fought and important victories won in the struggle for the liberation of the country from the puppet forces and the ever-increasing US military aggression.

From the earlier facade of a few thousand American military 'advisors' directing the military operations of the ever-changing puppet regime, the US soldiers have increasingly been drawn into the direct fighting with the total US soldiers now in Vietnam numbering in the vicinity of 200,000.

This does not include the tens of thousands in the Seventh Fleet operating in the Tongkin Sea and the numerous bases in the Philippines and Guam which alone now provide the stable bases for the daily air raids not only against the territory of North Vietnam but also against the hamlets and villages in South Vietnam.

FROM 1960 when the National Liberation Front was formed bringing together all the patriotic forces under one common leadership, under the Presidentship of Tho—, the liberated areas in South Vietnam have now risen to over four-fifths of the total territory (see maps) covering more than three-fourths of the entire population.

Never in the history of liberation struggles has a people been faced with a more superior military power with almost limitless economic and military resources. Yet the political victories of the liberation front, the isolation of the puppet government from every section of the people, the completion of the land reforms in the liberated areas, the participation by the entire people, including the entire intelligentsia and even the richer sections of the population, in the struggle for self defence against the US and the puppet armies, have all gone apace with the gallant and brilliant victories scored by the Liberation Front in direct battles.

While it is in the power of the US leadership to further escalate the Vietnamese war beyond all limits, the US will never find itself in a "position of strength" in Vietnam, where not only the organised forces of the front but the entire people are fighting against this foreign aggression.

It is this total victory of the Front that has made the puppet army increasingly ineffective and drawn in the US

being the effective provisional government of the country. In possession of the greater part of its territory and commanding the loyalty and support of the overwhelming majority of its people.

Administering over ten million out of the total population of 14 million in South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front is in fact the only stable administration in South Vietnam, with the same personalities occupying the same leading positions since the Front was formed five years ago.

The chief administrative organs in the liberated zones are the Commissions, which are in fact de facto Ministries. There are, for example, Commissions for Military Affairs, Public Health, Information,

### By BAREN RAY

Cultural Affairs and Education, External Relations, Economic Affairs, Communications and others.

The Commissions function at the national level, and there are corresponding Committees, Teams and Groups at the provincial, district and village levels respectively. The local Self-Management Committee is elected, as soon as practicable following the liberation of a village. Then they designate Teams to look after the different affairs.

The achievements registered in the liberated areas are truly magnificent. Over two million hectares of land have not only been distributed, but the land still remains in the possession of the peasant and is regularly used for cultivation. Out of the total of over 3,000 "strategic hamlets" (virtual concentration camps) built by the American invaders, all but a bare 1,000 have been broken down and brought within the sway of the Liberated Zones.

Perhaps it is not sufficiently remembered that apart from napalm and poison gas, the most modern and sophisticated tactical weapons, developed since the Second World War, are in use in Vietnam. Both the largest and the longest-range bombers, as well as special planes, helicopters, amphibian equipment and other weapons specially developed for the tropics, are in use in Vietnam. The biggest US aircraft carrier Enterprise is now operating in Vietnamese waters.

American papers have estimated that it costs nearly 7,500 dollars a year to keep a US soldier overseas, and that the present cost of the Vietnam war has mounted to FIVE MILLION dollars a day...

Against this background, US Secretary of War McNamara, after his recent visit to Saigon, has decided to send in an additional 40,000 US soldiers into Vietnam. Thus we see that backed by its unlimited economic might, the United States is determined to expand and escalate the war still further.

However the hopes of breaking down the Vietnamese people's resistance by increased violence and use of greater armed force are doomed to failure. In taking the war to the North—bombing the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—the US had hoped to force it to accept the US terms for negotiations.

But this was not to be. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, supported as it is by the might of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, and by the peace-loving forces throughout the world, cannot be black-mailed.

On the other hand the policy of escalation is meeting a growing opposition, all over the world, including within the USA, where protest meetings and demonstrations have become the order of the day, drawing in every thinking section of the population. The March to Washington of November 27 clearly showed the broad character and the unprecedented strength of the protest movement against the war in Vietnam.

Similarly, on increasing number of governments have given their opinion on the most crucial issues pertaining to this tragic war. They have demanded the immediate stopping of the bombing in the North recognition of the National Liberation Front in the South, for the beginning of negotiations following a ceasefire and that the future of Vietnam be settled according to the terms of the Geneva Agreements. This is the position taken

not only by the majority of Afro-Asian and other non-aligned countries, but a number of Scandinavian and other countries as well.

The lying propaganda conducted by the US government that it stands for "unconditional discussions" was exposed a few weeks ago when it had to admit that it had turned down last year proposals for beginning negotiations made by the UN Secretary General U Thant which had been accepted by Hanoi.

Now when the US government in open defiance of the universal condemnation of its aggression in Vietnam seems bent upon taking the path of heaping massacre and still further misery on the people of Vietnam, it is the task of all supporters of independence for peoples and peace for the world—democratic movements as well as the right-thinking governments—to take new initiatives to restrain the mad men in the Whitehouse and the Pentagon.

As for the people of South Vietnam themselves, their will to independence and determination to be masters of their own country in which to build a new life, will not be undone by any amount of brute force. Their quiet confidence and the hope of a victorious future are amply expressed in the slogans issued for the fifth anniversary by the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam:

"... the 14 million people in the South shoulder to shoulder with their 17 million compatriots in the North are determined to crush the American imperialist aggressors and the gang of the traitors to the homeland, to liberate the South, defend the North and achieve unity of the homeland."

In this declaration the valiant freedom fighters of South Vietnam can count on full support of freedom loving people all over the world.



The casualty list is getting longer and longer

## NGUEN THI DINH, A FIERY PATRIOT



At seventeen Nguyen Thi Dinh was an active participant in the national liberation struggle. She met and married a fellow partisan, a colleague in the same struggle in which she was engaged.

Only three days after the birth of their son, the husband was arrested and thrown into prison. Nguyen Thi Dinh was spared, only to be thrown into prison six months later. That was in 1940.

In prison she went through severe ordeals. Torture, interrogations... hunger was ever present; to drink there was only putrid water... After three years of this hell, she was freed because of heart trouble.

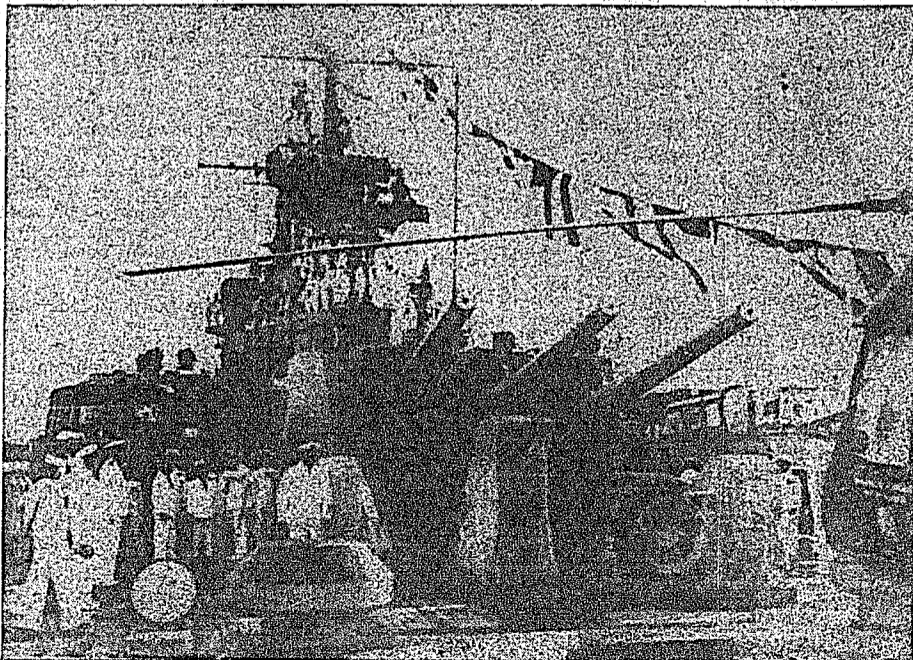
During the prison term her husband had died. Her son was only four when she was released; he had not known what parental love and care meant. He too died a while later, leaving Nguyen Thi Dinh, a mother without a husband, without a son.

On release, she again plunged into the liberation struggle. She played a big part in the formation of partisan detachments formed to resist the fascist terror unleashed in 1956.

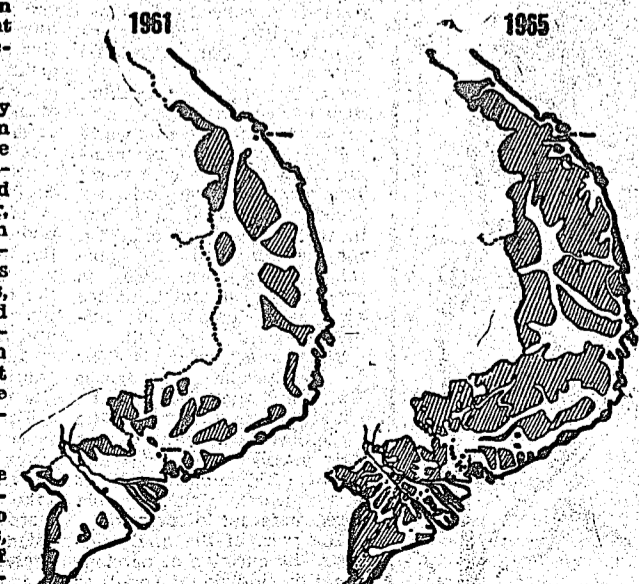
She became the staff leader of the revolutionary forces in Ben The province. It was here that the revolution, which was soon to spread throughout the country, began on January 17, 1960.

When the events of January 1960 led to the formation of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of South Vietnam, Nguyen Thi Dinh became its vice-commander.

She has also an additional job: that of the president of the Union of Women for the Liberation of South Vietnam. She was elected president at the first congress in March last.



A US warship unloads arms into South Vietnam



South Vietnam; Shaded areas are under the control of the NLF

# National Liberation Movement and Intermediate Strata

**NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT: VITAL PROBLEMS**, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow.

OVER 1,500 million peoples of Asia and Africa have broken away from the political system of imperialism. The colonial system has collapsed. With it, the national liberation movement enters a new stage of its development. The struggle for economic independence and social progress comes to the fore.



## BOOK REVIEW

historically short period of time—such is the essence of the problem confronting the newly freed nations, in the new stage of their development.

The newly independent countries are still part of the system of world capitalist economy. And in the world capitalist economic relations, with its unequal division of labour, they continue to remain the agrarian hinterlands —“the world village”—of the big imperialist monopolies. The per capita production in these countries is anything from 4,000 to 2,000 per cent lower than the advanced capitalist countries.

Elimination of this extreme economic backwardness and catching up with the industrially advanced countries by creating and developing a national industry, raising the standard of living of the people and realising of national, social and cultural progress and achieving all these in a

These can be realised only by destroying the economic and the remaining political roots of imperialism in these countries. They can be realised only by solving the agrarian problem and eliminating feudal survivals and democratising social and political life. The successful accomplishment of these tasks very much depends on what road these countries are going to choose in their further development.

Will the national liberation movement develop into a profound national democratic revolution, consistently implementing its democratic

tasks and going over through a transitional noncapitalist path of development to the socialist stage? Or will the revolution mark time and drag along the tortuous path of capitalism?

The struggle around this issue is the determining factor in the further development of the revolution in the countries of Asia and Africa. It is necessary therefore to assess the prospects and possibilities in this regard from the point of view of the working class struggle for socialism.

What are the social forces in the “third world” that are capable of carrying to the conclusion the democratic revolution and going over to a noncapitalist development? To what extent has the working class emerged as a social political force in these countries? Will it be capable of uniting and consolidating all the progressive and patriotic social forces to such an extent that they become the dominant factor in political life?

In the majority of the countries of Africa and Asia, the intermediate social groups, that is, the small producers of town and countryside including the broad mass of peasantry, army officers,

petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, etc., have come to power. What role can this stratum play in the further development of the revolution?

These questions have to be answered. The problems call for urgent analysis theoretically and on the basis of the concrete experience of the nearly two decades of national liberation struggles. It is to this important task that the present volume, “National Liberation Movement: Vital Problems”, is devoted.

It is a collection of nine articles prepared by prominent Soviet experts on the problems of developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These articles, taken together, deal somewhat comprehensively the manifold aspects of the national liberation movement.

The national liberation movement of today is one of the three streams of the world revolutionary process that characterises the transition from capitalism to socialism. Objectively it is part of the world struggle for transition to socialism.

By the very fact that the struggle is directed against imperialism—the highest stage of capitalism—and that its success will smash the established system of world capitalist economy, lends it an objectively anti-capitalist direction.

These aspects of the national liberation movement are discussed at length in the present volume. Attention is focussed on the possibilities of directing the development along noncapitalist path. This requires forging of a united national, all-inclusive democratic front of all progressive, democratic and patriotic forces in these countries. The state of national democracy may serve as an instrument of transition. It is not excluded, however, that in the process of development of the revolution, some other state form might emerge.

Where the national bourgeoisie is in power, as in India, in practice the “building of socialism” takes the form of struggle for an independent capitalist state with a strong state sector and elements of democratic planning in economy.

It is not difficult to understand this “socialism” either. Undoubtedly, it has certain positive features like public sector, planning etc. All the same, what is taking place is the growth of capitalism.

But the socialist doctrines propounded in countries where the middle strata is in power have much more significance. In the UAR, Burma, Ghana, Mali and such other countries, these doctrines represent a serious aim of the internal social forces. This aim is expressed in the state policies and measures. These countries are proceeding along the noncapitalist path of development.

It is necessary to analyse the socialist doctrines advanced in these countries more carefully. They have to be understood in the context of the new and specific phenomenon of the emergence of the intermediate strata into power. In fact more research and discussion has to be undertaken to assess the role of the middle stratum itself in the new period.

These are some of the problems discussed in the present volume. The volume is not an exhaustive study of the issues taken up but it provides rewarding reading to all interested in the problems of the present day national liberation movement.

In more than one contribution the authors bring out in sharp focus that this direction in the development of national liberation movement is made possible by the fact of the existence and development of the world socialist system.

The international working class movement and its highest achievement, the world socialist system, are performing today the role of a world vanguard of the revolutionary process, the world hegemony in the struggle of mankind for the transition from capitalism to socialism. This is exercising profound influence on the development in individual countries as well.

Today this aspect is clear to most people. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are rendering to the underdeveloped countries not only massive economic and political aid and support but are shielding them from direct external intervention.

However, in the final analysis, the question of development in individual countries is determined by the internal correlation of class forces and

by the outcome of the class and political struggles in each country.

Despite the other new favourable factors of this period, and despite the possible independent progressive role of the intermediate social strata in many of these countries, the working class is still destined to play the key role in this struggle. This aspect is discussed in an interesting article in the volume, “The Working Class and the National Liberation Struggle”.

This article brings out the fact that already a certain economic development is taking place in these countries, that some elements of national capitalism is sprouting and the numerical strength and political influence of the working class is increasing. It has important bearing on the future course of development.

A crop of new “socialist” doctrines have sprung up in the “third world”. One fact about these doctrines is that they are a tribute to the colossal popularity of socialism and the socialist system among the peoples of Asia and Africa. An article in the volume discusses these doctrines.

## Class Nature Of Power

“The best criterion for analysing the socialist doctrines of a national type is the class nature of power in the given state”, it points out, “although even this criterion is vulnerable”. In those countries where the power is in the hands of feudal landlord and pap-imperialist elements, socialist doctrines are sheer demagoguery aimed at concealing the real nature of the regime and its policies.

Where the national bourgeoisie is in power, as in India, in practice the “building of socialism” takes the form of struggle for an independent capitalist state with a strong state sector and elements of democratic planning in economy.

It is not difficult to understand this “socialism” either. Undoubtedly, it has certain positive features like public sector, planning etc. All the same, what is taking place is the growth of capitalism.

But the socialist doctrines propounded in countries where the middle strata is in power have much more significance. In the UAR, Burma, Ghana, Mali and such other countries, these doctrines represent a serious aim of the internal social forces. This aim is expressed in the state policies and measures. These countries are proceeding along the noncapitalist path of development.

It is necessary to analyse the socialist doctrines advanced in these countries more carefully. They have to be understood in the context of the new and specific phenomenon of the emergence of the intermediate strata into power. In fact more research and discussion has to be undertaken to assess the role of the middle stratum itself in the new period.

These are some of the problems discussed in the present volume. The volume is not an exhaustive study of the issues taken up but it provides rewarding reading to all interested in the problems of the present day national liberation movement.

-U.K.

## SAJJAD ZAHEER IS SIXTY

ON December 10 the Progressive Writers' Association, Delhi, organised a largely attended function to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of veteran Communist leader and writer Sajjad Zaheer.

Hiren Mukherjee MP presided. Among those who congratulated Zaheer were G. Adhikari, Ram Manohar Lohia, A.S.R. Chari and several writers. Messages came from writers' unions in the USSR and other countries.

A small exhibition of photographs showed many episodes from Zaheer's life, above all the days when as General Secretary of the Communist Party of Pakistan, Zaheer was tried for treason in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy case.



## VAIN CLAIM OF 'TAX HOLIDAY' IN ANDHRA

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: The series of tax measures initiated recently by the state government completely belie the claim of Andhra's Finance Minister Chenna Reddy that his government intends to give a tax holiday next year.

CHENNA Reddy told the state Assembly last week that there will be no fresh taxation next year.

Opposition circles see in this a use to mollify public feelings which have been roused by heavy additional taxations resorted to by the government this year.

It has become a practice with the government not to inflate any new taxation measure during the budget session of the legislature but to come later with measures to levy all kinds of additional taxes.

This year in the monsoon session of the legislature, measures were adopted to raise sugar cane crop cess, entertainment tax rates and levies under the Motor Vehicles Act.

These steps were initiated on the plea of rationalisation,

integration, uniformity in rates for both Andhra and Telengana areas etc. The three measures would cumulatively bring in a sum of Rs. 10 crores to the exchequer.

Again in the recent winter session, the Sales Tax Act was amended to fetch another Rs. five crores annually.

With a record like this, the state Finance Minister's claim that there will be no fresh taxes next year cuts no ice. Commenting on the minister's promise, Opposition leader Pillalamarri Venkateswarulu told a press conference that it was motivated by compulsions of election strategy.

Meanwhile, the state has suffered yet another shock in the cut in Plan allocations. The original estimates of Rs. 165 crores has been slashed to less than half that amount, that is, Rs. 80 crores.

## BIHAR TUs BOYCOTT TRIPARTITE BODIES

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: All the central trade union organisations in Bihar have boycotted the tripartite labour bodies set up by the state government. The action was provoked by the arbitrary methods and anti-labour practices of the Bihar government.

THE INTUC was the first to boycott the Bihar Labour Advisory Board and other tripartite committees. It was followed by the AITUC, HMS and UTUC.

While the INTUC decided to boycott the tripartite bodies to protest the “arbitrary turning down” of its nominees for the various committees, the AITUC, HMS and UTUC have boycotted the committees to mark their protest against the “arbitrary and unrepresentative composition” of the committee as well as the “illegal and undemocratic” procedures adopted in the functioning of these committees by their chairman, that is, the Chief Minister himself.

This is the first time such a situation has been created in the state when even the

## RECOGNISE GDR PLEA BY ENVOY

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: A fervent plea for the political recognition of the German Democratic Republic and stationing of a permanent mission in Berlin has been made by Herbert Fischer, new head of the GDR Trade Representation in India.

AT a well-attended press conference in New Delhi on December 11 Fischer based his plea for diplomatic relations on two counts: it was necessary both for increasing economic relations between the two countries and for maintaining world peace.

Fischer said without diplomatic recognition it may not be possible to increase economic cooperation and trade between India and GDR though his government wanted efforts to be made in this regard.

GDR was prepared to increase the trade turnover two-fold or even threefold. But this would not be possible at the existing level of year-to-year trade agreements; it needed a long term agreement by which the economic planning of both countries could be devolved.

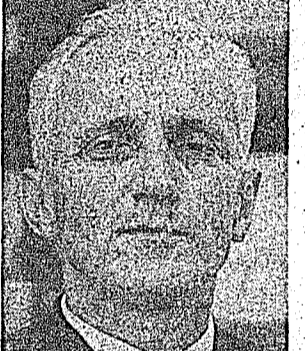
His country was also prepared to give aid, as much as it can to India. Fischer said that GDR had offered a Rs. 22 crores credit to India. It was not accepted by this country, because acceptance would have necessitated political dealings on a government to government basis.

The GDR representative said that there was identity of approach between India and GDR towards world problems and the necessity to safeguard peace. He recalled a speech made by the late Jawaharlal Nehru in 1961 wherein he had warned against the danger of rearming West Germany.

The rearming of West Germany is going on apace, Fischer said. The Potsdam Agreement on the prevention of

German rearmament was not being enforced in West Germany, with disastrous results for world peace.

Had the Potsdam Agreement been strictly enforced, West Germany would not have been in a position to supply Pakistan with the Cobra anti-tank missiles or to help in producing them in Pakistan, he said.



(Cobra missiles were used by Pakistan against India in the recent conflict.)

Fischer asked: “If it was Cobra missiles today, who knows whether it would not be nuclear weapons tomorrow?”

The danger of West Germany getting hold of nuclear arms was not imaginary, he

said. The West German militarists were trying all tricks to get hold of nuclear weapons, from NATO and otherwise. They were collaborating with South Africans to manufacture nuclear weapons too. Fischer said West Germany had the capacity to produce nuclear weapons independently.

The GDR representative drew a parallel between his country and India in that both had neighbours who laid claims to their territories, encouraged constant disturbances on the border, resorted to military action and indulged in largescale infiltration.

Fischer said: “Now you must be knowing why we had to build a wall in Berlin, with your country facing the problem of infiltrators and activities of sabotage.”

Fischer said he had come in 1936 to India in “quest of peace” away from the Nazi terror and Hitler fascism. (Fischer was in the Wardha Ashram of Gandhi) for some years and worked in the national movement. When the second world war broke out, the British interned him. He returned to Germany in 1940.

Now again, a situation reminiscent of the period of rise of Nazi terror was developing in the centre of Europe. He has come to India on the same mission as before, namely, in quest of peace.

India can contribute very much to the cause of maintaining peace in Europe, and in the world, by recognising politically and diplomatically the German peace state, that is the GDR, Fischer said.

## MARXIST CP FACES CRISIS IN UTTAR PRADESH

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: The Marxist Communist Party is facing a “crisis of defection” in Uttar Pradesh. Even the “stormy tour” of Acting General Secretary, E.M.S. Namboodiripad towards the

politics to study before his arrest.

Another fiery leader of the party has written to a minister from jail that he is innocent and was not doing anything!

Another leader in Deoria, Jagannath Dubey has left the party and gone over to the filthy factional politics of the Congress.

In Lucknow, the leaders of the Mohana rural branch of the Marxist CP, Lajji Singh and Rohas Singh, have joined the Congress along with their followers.

Inside the jails, the Marxist CP leaders are bitterly quarrelling among themselves. In Azamgarh jail, they had reached the state of not talking to each other and the fight would have burst out but for their timely release on the High Court's orders.

In Lucknow jail, the six leaders of the Marxist CP could not even live in the same barracks. They have been put in two separate barracks at their own request.

Similar trouble is brewing in the Varanasi jail also.

Outside the jails, the followers of the Marxist CP are, as in Kanpur, ganging up with the most reactionary elements in the Congress—all in the name of fighting the Communist Party of India.

One of the Marxist CP's stalwarts in Varanasi, Khattri, has bought his release from jail by tendering an abject apology and promising to go out of politics.

Another at Sultanpur, Kedar Nath Singh has come out of jail by denouncing the Party itself. The same thing has been done by its spokesman in Barabanki.

The lone member of the Marxist CP in Ghazipur, Rajnath Singh, has offered his services to the government to fight the Pak invaders.

The same has been done by the Party's leaders in Ballia and Deoria, Mangal Deo Pandey and Sher Singh—all from behind prison walls.

The Marxist CP leader in Deoria had been talking of taking five years' leave from

the situation.

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# JOINT FRONT AGAINST SAHAY CLIQUE

## New Developments in Bihar's Political Scene

Big and significant developments have been set in motion in the political life of Bihar. As soon as the winter session of the Bihar Assembly started on December 6, the various political parties and groups started drawing upon their experiences in the mighty August movement which was immediately followed by and in a way intertwined with the mass upsurge of September-October against the Anglo-American inspired Pak aggression on India. What stands out as the focal point of the experiences of these two mighty mass upsurges is popular unity against the corrupt, tyrannical and anti-people regime of K. B. Sahay and his coterie which goes by the name of Congress government in Bihar.

ON December 9, a joint press conference was held in Patna by five opposition parties to spell out their common experience. Karpuri Thakur (SSP), Indradeep Singh (CPI), Gurbachan Singh (RSP), Paul Dayal (Jharkhand Party), and K. N. Singh (Janata Party) addressed this conference. They announced that despite their serious, ideological and political differences, they have chalked out the following ten-point programme of joint action:

- 1 Strong opposition to the dictatorial policy of emasculating parliamentary democracy, violation of civil rights, brutal repression and terror being pursued by Chief Minister K. B. Sahay in particular and Congress government in general.
- 2 Immediate release of all detenus, including NGOs, withdrawal of all cases, cancellation of all arrest warrants and compensation to the victims of police firing in connection with the last August movement.
- 3 Release of all political prisoners detained under the DIR.
- 4 A high-power commission to inquire into the charges of corruption against Congress ministers and high officials.
- 5 A special high-power commission to go into the serious charges levelled against Chief Minister K. B. Sahay.
- 6 Strong opposition to the enhancement in taxes made by the Bihar government in the name of emergency planning, particularly sales tax, electricity tax, irrigation tax, bus-fare, urban land tax and land revenue. Necessary resources for the plan should be obtained by curtailing wasteful expenditure, weeding out corruption and by total realisation of the existing taxes.
- 7 Opposition to Bihar governments' Grain Levy Order in its present form. Demand to replace it by a popular food policy by stopping hoarding, profiteering and speculation and by making foodgrains available to the people at cheap rates.
- 8 All possible resources should be speedily made available to the peasants at cheap prices for increasing agricultural production and all fallow land should be immediately distributed among the landless peasants.
- 9 Control of prices, parity in the price of agricultural and industrial goods, proper prices to the peasants.
- 10 Effective policy to defend national sovereignty and territorial integrity of India. All economic resources and human material should be mobilised to the maximum possible extent for self-sufficiency in food, defence and industry in the interest of defending national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.

The opposition leaders announced that they will try their best to further broaden this unity in action by bringing in other like-minded parties, groups and individuals. They also announced that they will fight the next general elections on the basis of adjustment of seats among themselves. A committee to coordinate the activities of these parties inside the legislature has been set up. At the moment, four of them (the RSP has no representation in Bihar legislature) together have a strength of 78 in a house of 320 in the Bihar Assembly.

The opposition parties which stand outside the above united action programme are the PSP, the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh which have respectively 12, 4 and 4 members in the Vidhan Sabha. These three opposition parties are distinguishable from the other opposition parties by their open opposition to the August movement and sympathetic attitude to the K. B. Sahay clique.

party, which in reality is the erstwhile Janata Party, did not know what to do. The isolation and discredit of the Sahay clique in particular and the whole Congress regime in general as a result of the August movement emboldened this group to turn its face away from the Congress door and revive the Janata Party.

The August movement has reversed the whole process which had degenerated into corrupt and dictatorial rule in the service of hoarders, profiteers and gangster politicians who can go to the length of selling the country if

But the movement by its popular mass character gave the lie to K. B. Sahay's slanders and exposed him as the enemy of all those national values which have inspired the Indian people to fight for national independence, its consolidation and defence.

Nor had anybody visualised that almost all sections of the people—from school children to government employees, from pedestrians to MLAs belonging to all parties and no parties—will be subjected to such police repression. In some respects, the repression surpassed even the British repression of 1942 movement.

For sometime, parliamentary democracy was abolished in Bihar by ejecting all opposition MLAs from the Vidhan Sabha and attempting physical liquidation of CPI and SSP leadership. Such being the Sahay regime, it was no wonder that "Down with K. B. Sahay" became the most popular and loudest slogan second only to "Down with Ayubshahi".

This popular and fighting unity forged in the fire of unprecedented repression turned to the national defence efforts and became an inalienable part of the popular upsurge against Pak aggression in the months of September and October.

With the ceasefire agreement started the process of the same popular unity for civil rights and against repression, for a national democratic food policy and against hoarding and rising prices, for relief to the people and against new tax-burdens on the common people.

The Sahay clique tried to utilise the mass patriotic upsurge against Pak aggression for stabilising and strengthening its own position. But the bitter experience of the wild misuse of the Defence of India Rules did not go in vain.

This was evident when Union Home Minister Nanda came to Patna and addressed a crowded meeting of Patna University students in the third week of November. The students cheered him when he made patriotic appeals to them. But as soon as he concluded his speech, the same students shouted vociferous slogan condemning K. B. Sahay.

The popular unity of the August movement again asserted itself when the government promulgated the Paddy Levy Order. While welcoming the principle of levy, its pro-trader and anti-people provisions were strongly opposed by all sections of the peasantry.

Instead of amending those provisions and going in for procurement of the major part of the marketable surplus. If not the whole, together with rationing, K. B. Sahay decided to withhold the paddy levy order and thereby left the field free for the speculative traders to corner the new paddy which has started coming into the market. If this is allowed to proceed like this, 1966 will witness a worse food crisis than even 1965.

It is in this background that the five opposition parties have come together on the basis of a ten-point programme of action. Every constituent party of this limited united front is free to propagate and implement its own policy and programme from its platform. But they will jointly act for implementation of the above-mentioned programme.

The announcement of even this inadequate united front has been hailed by the common people. It is creating fissures even in the Congress, the radical sections moving away from the ruling clique towards the united front.

Bindeshwari Mandal, a Congress MLA from Saharsa crossed the floor in the Vidhan Sabha on December 12 in protest against police vandalism and the unashamed support given to it by K. B. Sahay.

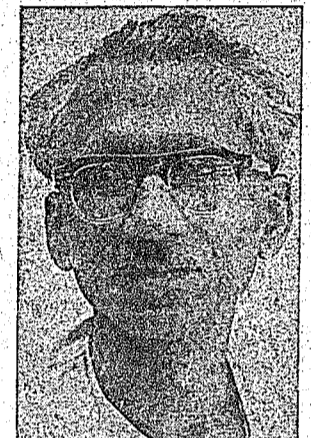
The launching of the united front has created a serious crisis inside the Bihar PSP too. One section is advocating merger with the Congress while the other is demanding that the PSP join this united front.

The Jan Sangh which of late has started enjoying the confidence and patronage of K. B. Sahay has come out with a statement condemning the united front on the ground of its being "anti-Congress" and "anti-national". The Jan Sangh statement exposes them for what they are.

The first act of this united front has been joint support to the demands of about 150 detenus consisting of Communists, Marxist Communists, students, non-gazetted employees and others who have gone on hungerstrike in jails from December 13. Seventy MLAs of Bihar, belonging to these parties, as well as a few PSP and independent MLAs have jointly demanded a discussion on the jail conditions in Bihar Assembly.

Popular expectations have been roused. Political circles in Bihar are seriously discussing far-reaching future possibilities. Much depends on the stability, broadening and deepening of this united front, getting its sustenance from the mass unity in action and enriching and carrying forward the ten-point programme on a progressive and democratic plane.

(December 14)



By YOGINDRA SHARMA

While the five opposition parties have thus come together to fight the corrupt, dictatorial and anti-people ruling clique of the five-month-old unity of the Bihar Congress, has started cracking and group rivalries inside it are erupting.

Not long before the August movement the trend in Bihar was just the opposite. Congress forces were uniting and consolidating whereas the opposition forces were getting disintegrated.

This trend in the pre-August movement period had started in the wake of Chinese aggression in 1962 with splits in the Communist, Socialist, Jharkhand and Swatantra ranks. At one time, it appeared as if the whole Jharkhand Party, the Swatantra Party and a good chunk of the PSP will join the Congress.

The Jharkhand Party not only joined the Congress but its unpredictable leader, Jaipal Singh, also played a part in bringing about unity between the two major factions of the Congress—one led by K. B. Sahay, present Chief Minister and another led by Binodanand Jha, former Chief Minister.

Out of 50 members of the Swatantra Party in the Bihar Vidhan Sabha, seven joined the Congress, four stayed with the Swatantra Party and the remaining 39 led by the Raja of Ramgarh, K. N. Singh, remained waiting at the Congress doors for months to be admitted.

Their admission inside the Congress was opposed by K. B. Sahay, realising the danger to his majority inside the Congress party once this group joined it. But the other group of the Congress supported their admission for the same reason for which K. B. Sahay opposed it.

Having become a pawn in the chess-game of Congress factional fight, this group of the Swatantra

# FOURTH PLAN MUST BE PUBLIC SECTOR-ORIENTED

**\*FROM PAGE 5**

ECONOMIC TIMES of October 20, "represents a remarkable achievement and those who contributed to the planning and construction of the refinery deserve unstinted praise". It was constructed ahead of schedule, on less than estimated cost (saving Rs. 30 crores) and threw up enough designing capacity as a by-product to form the nucleus of a Central Design Organisation at Baroda.

Similarly, the study by the Reserve Bank (Bulletin, September 1965) of the 1963-64 operations of fully operating non-financial government companies shows that these companies have turned the corner and should produce increasing surpluses from year to year.

The time has come to work out a fully integrated public sector policy: pricing of products, commercial cost accounting, profitability criterion, greater autonomy for enterprises, managerial personnel recruitment and placement policy, internal democracy in enterprises, labour participation in management and collective agreements and labour.

The strategic goal should be set before the public sector of becoming the main source income for the government by the middle of the Fifth Plan at the latest. Till such time as this happy position is reached, the government must help the public sector as its first priority.

Lal Bahadur Shastri had stated on Jawaharlal Nehru's birth anniversary this year that the public sector must be expanded as the late Prime Minister had envisaged to break the concentration of economic power and to speed the nation forward to self-reliance. The democratic movement must hold him to his pledge to the memory of the departed leader.

(Concluded)

# J. B. S. HALDANE

Professor J. B. S. Haldane left us this time last year. He underwent an operation on the intestines for cancer (rectal carcinoma) but the rot had gone much deeper to which he ultimately succumbed.

HE, the classical scholar as well as the great savant in several branches of science, and the father of a new scientific discipline, 'biometry', which is the application of mathematics to the science of biology, joked about his rectal carcinoma in a poem, published in the NEW STATESMAN. The poem was witty and yet gave physiological details of the operation in very simple terms. In short it was brilliant.

He invokes at the beginning the "voice of Homer to sing of ractal carcinoma, which kills a lot more chaps in fact, than were bumped off when Troy was sacked." He goes on:

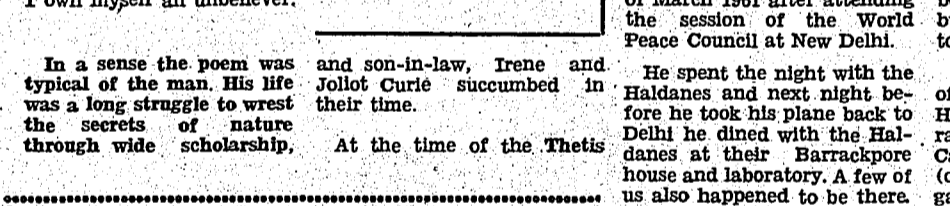
"... The microscope returned the answer  
That I had certainly got cancer,  
Where holes were made to make one better.  
One set is in my perineum  
Where I can feel, but can't yet see 'em.  
Another made me like a kipper  
Or female prey of Jack the Ripper.  
Through this incision, I don't doubt,  
The neoplasm was taken out,  
Along with colon, and lymph nodes  
Where cancer cells might find abodes.  
A third much smaller hole is meant  
To function as a ventral vent;  
So now I am like two-faced Janus  
The only god who sees his anus..."

About the "only god" in the preceding last line, he added four-line footnote:

"In India there are several more  
With extra faces, up to four,  
But both in Brahma and in Shiva  
I own myself an unbeliever."

In a sense the poem was and son-in-law, Irene and Joliot Curie succumbed in their time.

At the time of the Thetis



**Y. GAGARIN**

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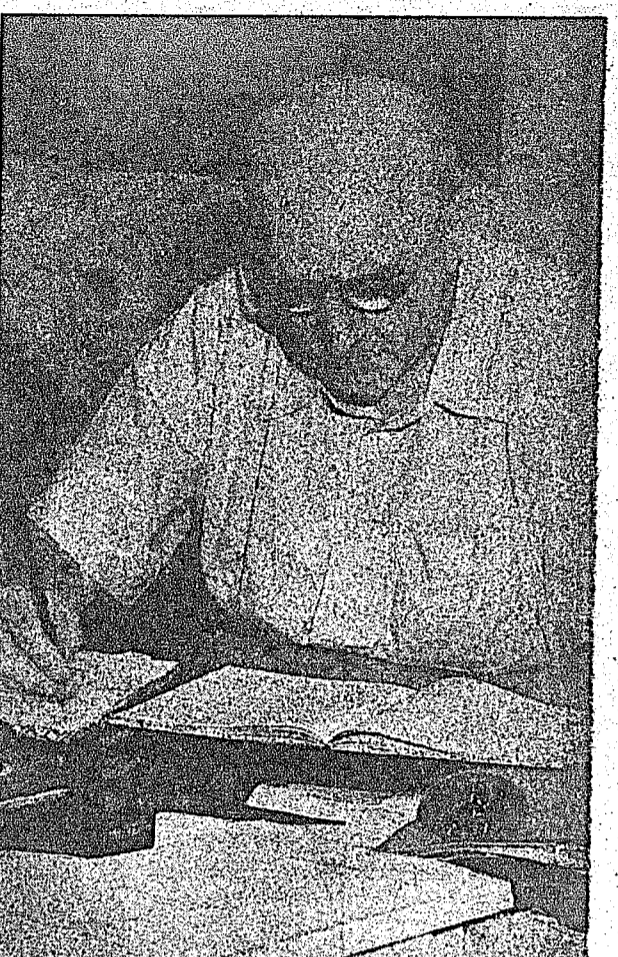
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The two savants were carrying on a conversation which soon developed into the new knowledge that had been obtained with the help of the artificial satellites (Gagarin was yet to launch out in space in person on April 12, 1961). Prof. Bernal was describing the structure of certain mountain ranges under the Atlantic Ocean.

The talk inevitably drifted



## A TRIBUTE TO THE GREAT SCIENTIST ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DEATH

Prof. J. D. Bernal, another scientist of the same mould, with an encyclopaedic knowledge of many branches of the sciences and the arts, had come to Calcutta at the end of March 1961 after attending the session of the World Peace Council at New Delhi.

He spent the night with the Haldanes and next night before he took his plane back to Delhi he dined with the Haldanes at their Barrackpore house and laboratory. A few of us also happened to be there.

I have also heard from one of my friends that when Prof. Haldane was given a Doctorate (honoris causa) by the Cambridge University in 1963 (or was it 1962?), the rector gave a speech in Latin. It was a well-prepared one. Prof. Haldane's extempore reply, in Latin no doubt, drew the general comment from those who understood whether he should not be given another honorary degree for his knowledge and proficiency in the Latin language!

Prof. Haldane was a life-long fighter for the cause of humanity, for ending all exploitation among men, as also for carrying on a relentless struggle against nature to wrest her secrets. When towards the end he came to realise that his cancer was not cured, he blamed the doctors for not telling him.

He probably would have made some more daring experiments on himself. He would have led away his mortal body to a hospital in Andhra for dissection. It was obeyed to the letter by Mrs. Haldane. It reminds us of our ancient rishi 'Dadhichi' who staked his own life to learn the secrets of thunder and lightning of god Indra.

Prof. Haldane was a master of English prose though we have seen a sample of his sim-

ple poetry at the beginning of this article. He was a Marxist by outlook and conviction and joined the Communist Party in Britain in the middle thirties, fighting for democracy and against fascism.

His scientific integrity did not allow him to accept the Lysenko "theory" in 1949. He did not waver, he bowed to his understanding and conscience. He resigned from the Party but not from the movement. The Party reluctantly accepted his resignation. It must be said that Lysenko has been discarded since in the Soviet Union after the twentieth Congress of the CPSU in 1958.

This stormy petrel naturally never knew any peace in the ordinary sense of the word. He came to India, accepting our nationality towards the last decade of his life, because he had a deep love for our people and our country, for its flora and fauna and its animal world. According to him, India provided the most admirable field for biological research.

He was probably not very happy because he had to come constantly against our inefficiency and bureaucracy. But he had a deep love for his Indian research workers and often spoke quite outspokenly of their tremendous talent, as he did when he addressed a meeting on the occasion of Tagore's birth centenary in Calcutta.

We pay our loving and respectful homage to the great savant who has left behind him his immortal works which will inspire us to work for science and humanity.

The facts relating to carbon dioxide poisoning have also been of considerable use in devising the cabin of the cosmonauts in their space explorations. This knowledge helped our defence forces in conditions of fighting at high altitudes at the time of the Chinese invasion of our country in October-November 1962.

Prof. Haldane's versatility was phenomenal. His memory and store of knowledge were almost beyond the imagination of us, ordinary mortals, and the reach even of research workers under him.



# For the Attention of Home Minister Nanda

MY husband Panna Lal Chatterji of Gamaria village, police station Adityapur in Singbhum district of Bihar is a well-known social and political worker and a member of the Communist Party of India. He is also a student of B.A.-II (previous) of the Jamshedpur Workers' College.

He was arrested on August 28 allegedly in connection with the student movement though nothing had happened in our district during the August movement. He was arrested under section 151 IPC and later on three cases were filed against him under 107 Cr.P.C., 9 BMPO Act and 147/447 IPC by the subdivisional officer, Seraikella.

According to the police, these cases arose from a disturbance at the Gamaria High School. The fact is that this so-called disturbance was between the headmaster and the students of the high school. My husband is not a student of this school nor is he connected with it. But the local

authorities have chosen to implicate him in this.

This was not the end either. All the cases were bailable. The court passed bail orders and my husband submitted his bail bond in all the three cases on September 8. But he was not released on bail on the ground of bailor's verification. While he was still in custody, he was served with detention orders under rule 30 of the DIR by the district magistrate, Chaibasa, on September 22.

I had great hopes of having the pleasure of my husband's release when Nandaji announced in Parliament that state chief ministers have been directed to verify individual cases and to detain only those who must be detained under the DIR.

Nandaji also announced that all those who were arrested in connection with the August movement in Bihar would be released so that national defence effort was strengthened.

The Bihar High Court had also given a ruling that no person who is charged under 107 IPC or such other clauses and are already in custody should be detained under the DIR. The Chief Minister of our state also made a declaration that persons against whom cases have been filed would not be detained under DIR.

But none of these has helped to get my husband released from the jail. He is in jail since August 26. Ever since he was arrested I am left alone to look after myself and my six-month-old child. My husband has no relatives to whom I can turn for help. The government has refused to give any family allowance to me despite the fact that my husband was supporting me before his arrest.

I request Nandaji, the Hon'ble Home Minister of India, to consider my plight and advise the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Bihar to release my husband at the earliest.

Gamaria SUNITA CHATTERJI

# READERS' FORUM

## Colour Prejudice of Labour Govt

LAST year 42,000 aliens and 30,000 Irish immigrants entered Britain compared with 14,000 from the Commonwealth. With the new immigration policy of the Labour government only 8,500 vouchers will be issued this year, including 1,000 from Malta, 1,000 from the rest of the Commonwealth and only 7,500 from the rest of the Commonwealth.

Only 15 per cent of the vouchers will go to any one Commonwealth country. From past experience it seems likely that 45 per cent of the vouchers will go to Australia, Canada and New Zealand and only 55 per cent to the rest of the countries. The discrimination behind these measures is obvious and the "Economist" has commented, "Labour has pinched the Tories' trousers." (August 7).

At the Labour Party Conference Prime Minister Harold Wilson dishonestly repudiated the charge that government policy is based either on colour or racial prejudice. Has he forgotten that he himself is operating and tightening up the same Act which was branded as barefaced racism by Labour when in opposition?

While Wilson was claiming that everyone who has come into this country was a British citizen and entitled to equality of treatment, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government Mellish was talking very differently about coloured people than about English people.

Certainly some delegates at the Blackpool Conference very honestly revealed the motive behind the Labour's White Paper on Immigration.

This policy is dangerous. It might bring electoral advantages to the Labour and Conservative Parties for a temporary period but it is doing irreparable harm to society. This policy encourages the racists in making further demands against immigrants and calling for fulfilment of their aim of "Keeping Britain White."

London LONDONER

# SOVIET PREPARATIONS FOR TRICONTINENTAL MEET

## From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Mirzo Tursun-Zade, famous Tajik poet and President of Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, answered questions by NEW AGE correspondent in Dushanbe, capital of the Tajik republic, on the forthcoming Havana Conference of Solidarity of the Three Continents. Preparations for the conference are going on in full force, he said.

A Soviet Preparatory Committee has been formed recently. Besides, in all Asian republics of the Soviet Union and in the Russian Federation which has considerable territory in Asia, Solidarity Committees are functioning which are popularising the aims and objects of the Havana Conference, holding meetings and mobilising for this purpose other Soviet organisations, societies and mass movements. A Soviet delegation for Havana will be selected at the end of this campaign.

The Havana Conference of Three Continents had the full support of the Soviet Union which has always actively supported the movement of solidarity of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Conference meeting on January 3 will take the movement a stage further and consolidate and expand it to new areas.

Speaking of the necessity of unity of Afro-Asian countries in the face of imperialist aggression and intrigues, Tursun-Zade said that the need of the Second Bandung—the Second Conference of Asian and African States remained. The Conference must develop the Bandung principles and adopt a common position for Afro-Asia on unity against imperialism and on the actual problems facing these countries.

The Chairman of the Soviet Solidarity Committee condemned the actions of those who sow dissensions in the movement. Efforts of some countries not to allow the participation of the USSR in the proposed conference of Afro-Asian States have been a fiasco.

The majority of Asian and African countries have declared that the Soviet Union should be invited to take part in the Afro-Asian Conference. This was a just position and the Soviet people express their gratitude to all those who have supported this proposal.

Now that the imperialists are running a campaign that the unity and solidarity of Asian and African countries is finished and has no ground to exist, it is all the more necessary to build this unity.

At the Havana Conference of the Solidarity of the Peoples of the Three Continents, the Soviet delegation will work for this aim and will do everything to make it a success, Tursun-Zade said.

He paid a special tribute to the Indian movement for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and expressed his conviction that the close cooperation which exists between the Indian and Soviet movements would be further strengthened at Havana.

# Isolate Splitters

## Pravda Calls On Marxist-Leninists To Condemn Splittism of CPC Leadership

### From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: PRAVDA on Sunday called for "condemnation and protest by all Marxist-Leninists" against the splitting activities of the Chinese leadership. When the attack is being developed on the unity of the international Communist movement, Marxist-Leninists cannot but take position, the paper declares.

The central organ of the CPSU thus said in no uncertain terms that real Communists cannot take an ambiguous or so-called neutral position between the international line of unity of the world Communist movement, followed by the overwhelming majority of the parties and the splitting factional activities of the Chinese party and its disciples.

THE long article published on December 12 on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the 81 Parties' Moscow meeting of 1960, says that the line worked out by the world movement has been proved correct by subsequent developments. Referring to the differences with the Chinese leaders, PRAVDA says that the CPSU has done all that is possible from its side to normalise relations with the CPC.

The article nails down the role of the Chinese leaders sharply:

"Unfortunately—and this must be said frankly—the Chinese leaders ignored the opinion of Marxist-Leninist Parties and turned down all initiatives toward unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, toward normalising the situation in the world socialist system and the international Communist movement."

"The CPC leaders, far from displaying any desire for concerning their actions with other countries in the struggle against imperialism, have stepped up their activities to split the Communist movement and all the revolutionary forces."

The present intensification of imperialist aggression has become possible not because the international relation of forces has changed in any way in favour of imperialism.

The weakening of the unity of the socialist countries and the Communist movement brought about by the Chinese leaders has encouraged impe-

**Unjustified Refusal**

"There is no justification for the refusal to cooperate, for the rejection of unity of action in the sacred cause of helping the fraternal Democratic Republic of Vietnam and all the Vietnamese people."

"Refusal to act jointly, demand for political and organisational dissociation, continuation of factionist activities within the Communist movement and stepping up of open polemics and political struggle against fraternal Parties cannot but be criticised and protested against by all Marxists-Leninists."

rialism in these adventures. Essential lessons should be drawn from these recent developments.

PRAVDA says that those who split the Communist and revolutionary ranks will be held fully responsible before the working class and the masses for pouring water on the mill of imperialism.

To help and support the struggle of the Vietnamese people, the united actions of socialist countries and all fraternal Parties acquire a special significance today. The Soviet Union will continue to help the just struggle of Vietnam against US imperialism politically, economically and militarily on a big scale. PRAVDA says that the coordination of efforts of the Soviet Union, China and all socialist countries is of the highest significance in this regard.

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# Splitters' Fraternity in France Supports de Gaulle

NEW AGE has just received a translation of an important news item boxed on the front page of L'HUMANITE, central organ of the French Communist Party, on December 1, 1965. It is a damning indictment of the tactics and methods of the so-called "Marxist-Leninists", the group of splitters from the Communist Party, who owe allegiance to the disruptive line of the Chinese leaders.

Here is one more proof of the high cost of splittism: the "Marxist-Leninists" are in the pay of de Gaulle's Minister of Police, and have openly opposed Mitterand, the united candidate of the Left, who has fought de Gaulle in the elections.

In order that the whole story may be known to our readers, we are publishing the entire news item, as it is, translated straight from L'HUMANITE. —EDITOR

service of the workers, the people and the nation, followed by the French Communist Party.

Furthermore, "financial questions" have begun to assume importance among these small groups. In effect, this is what has begun to tear them apart. Certain "circles" and certain "leaders" have begun to expel, each other. There are even those who have demanded the expulsion of the adventurer Bergeron.

**Sharing The Spoils**

It is understandable that it should be so. In effect, the French bourgeoisie and the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party do not jh at financing the renegades and adventurers in their service, but what is more difficult is the sharing out of these funds. Each "leader" naturally demands the largest share of the cake, considering that it is he who is rendering the greatest service.

In face of these new revelations, will Bergeron still pretend that it is only a question of a "diversionist manoeuvre" on our part? In reality, it is a cleansing action and the time is not far off when these adventurers and renegades will be swept away.

Emphasising that which is common between Marxist-Leninists, it should be left to time to teach some Parties on the basis of their own experience the ways of overcoming their wrong notions. The CPSU will continue to struggle for Communist unity, says PRAVDA.

THE handful of renegades and adventurers, who camouflage themselves behind the signboard of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist circles", are pursuing their campaign against Francois Mitterand, Minister of Police of de Gaulle, and from his Police Commissioners, as well as from the Chinese Communist Party leaders who are openly calling for the establishment of split-away Communist Parties.

None of them has either contradicted or contested the specific charges brought against them by L'HUMANITE. Better still, the expelled Bergeron, contenting himself by writing it off only as "a diversionist manoeuvre on the part of the French Com-

munist Party", acknowledges the charges by not even bringing into question the definite facts revealing the collusion of these renegades and adventurers with the Gaullists and the Chinese leaders.

Since these unfortunate individuals are beginning to be afraid, because the democrats are so indignant at their dirty work, we put some new questions to them.

★ A commercial building, situated at 52 Pasteur Lane in Bordeaux, has just been bought by a lady answering to the name of Gergette-Mathilde Lutz. This lady is, in fact, the wife of Michel Andre Nottin, one of the moving spirits of "the Marxist-Leninist groups". Both are calling for votes against Francois Mitterand.

This building is to be turned into a library. It has cost 1,700,000 old francs. But it appears that for this the Nottin family has on hand four million of old francs. We ask the question: Who has given them this money?

In posing this question, we mean to clarify the matter of the collusion existing between these so-called "Marxist circles" and the opponents of the policy of unity in the

Hyderabad P. L. REDDY

# SUDAN: COMMUNIST PARTY FIGHTS BAN & REPRESSION

The Communist Party of Sudan has been banned. The lawless law has gone through the Constituent Assembly. Under the infamous bill, Communist MPs have been expelled from the Constituent Assembly, all party newspapers and publications have been closed down, all offices of the party committees have been sealed, and all party property, publication houses etc. confiscated.

THE Communist Party is taking the battle to the law courts. The Supreme Court is to begin hearing a petition submitted by Communist MPs questioning the legality of the ban bill on December 19. On December 10, Central Committee member Mohammed Ibrahim Nugoud, made



IBRAHIM NOGOU

a memorable speech in the Constituent Assembly. It was a fighting speech, extracts from which have just started to come out of Khartoum. Nugoud said: "I am addressing the Constituent Assembly for the last time. But I want to assure you all that the cause of democracy and socialism in the Sudan shall triumph. Nobody can stop the wheel of history. History will go ahead and remove all obstacles from its path. It is not for the first time that we witness attempts to stop our activity. But we have always won, thanks to our staunchness

the support of the Sudanese people. We believe in the justice and invincibility of our principles and we shall continue on our way."

Denouncing the lie that the ban was being imposed because the Communist Party was "a threat to Islam" Nugoud said:

"Islam is threatened by those who speculate on the religious sentiments of the people, who want to establish a dictatorship under the cover of religion. In fact the Communist Party has been banned because it has become a real threat to imperialism, the feudals and the reactionary local bourgeoisie."

Communist MP Omar Mustafa speaking earlier in the debate on the bill said:

"The Sudanese Communist Party is a part of the world Communist movement. The

purpose of this noble movement is to free mankind of exploitation and defend world peace. And we are proud to be members of this worldwide revolutionary movement.

General Secretary of the Party Mahgoub had earlier stated clearly in an interview with newsmen in Khartoum that "the conspiracy against the Sudanese Communist Party had been prepared long before the anti-Islam speech was made at the Omdurman Pedagogical College by a provocateur who pretended to be a Communist"

(NEW AGE) published the statement of the Sudanese Communist Party on the part played by the splitting tactics of the Chinese CP leadership in its issue of December 5, 1964).

General Secretary Mahgoub went on to state:

"This conspiracy had the task of isolating the Communist Party from other democratic organisations. It was to provide a pretext for purging the army of persons whose loyalty is doubted by the ruling Umma and National

Union parties.

"One week before the incident at the Omdurman College, a representative of the Middle Eastern Department of the Central Intelligence Agency of the USA came to Sudan. The American press, closely connected with the State Department, attacked the Party just at that time.

"The imperialists fully realise that the existence of democratic institutions and the Communist Party in Sudan is dangerous for them. The imperialists want to drag Sudan into the western bloc and subordinate Sudan's economy to it."

Typical of the spirit of the Communists in Sudan was the declaration made in the Constituent Assembly by Communist woman MP Fatima Ibrahim:

"I am a Communist," she declared, "and I will never renounce the principles in which I believe, the principles of socialism and communism. I will never renounce them even if menaced by death, as these principles lead our nation to social justice, to socialism."

# A DAY IN AFRICA

Friday, December 10, was no extraordinary day for any political event shaking the African continent. It was an ordinary day. But the news pouring in from various capitals of the continent shows that though various currents and cross-currents are at work, the people are restless and active, ever vigilant to defend their democratic gains and consolidate their freedom in the face of severe attacks from reaction and colonialism.

ON the north-west of the continent, on December 10, Sudanese people were witnessing the onslaught on democratic rights—the banning of the Communist Party.

The democratic elements in Sudan are valiantly fighting against the attack of the reaction. More than 30, social, political, cultural, religious and political organizations, united in a National Committee for Defence of Democracy, have taken up the challenge of the Mahgoub's government.

Their unity has surprised the government. The attack on the Communist Party of Sudan is considered by the committee as an attack on the democratic rights of the people, as a preparation for the one-party rule of the Al Umma Party.

Earlier in the Assembly debate on the government's measure to ban the Party and expel the Communist Deputies, an important leader of the ruling Al Umma Party, the Deputy Secretary Chamaludin Abbas, warned the government: "No laws and no decisions can proscribe communism, Communism is a fact of life today. It is knocking at the doors of our country, of all Asia and Africa.

## AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

"The proposed amendment of the Constitution and a ban on the Communist Party," he declared, "would only promote Communism. This strikes a blow to democracy in our country and undermines the faith in democracy."

The question of Southern Rhodesia, the Unilateral Declaration of "Independence" by Ian Smith, has become a challenge for African leaders. Speaking in Parliament on December 10 the President of Kenya Jomo Kenyatta blamed the British government for the situation in Southern Rhodesia. The British government, he said, should use force to restore order in Southern Rhodesia and to create conditions for the establishment of a democratic majority rule.

The Kenyan President stressed that the Kenyan government has broken off all trade and economic ties with the Smith

regime and has suspended financial operations with South Rhodesian banks. All communications with Salisbury have been stopped.

As to the OAU Ministerial Council decision to sever diplomatic relations with Britain if it failed to take effective steps against Southern Rhodesia before December 15, Kenyatta said that his government sup-

ported all OAU resolutions. At the same time he said that the Kenyan government, keeping in view different reactions from African governments, had decided to have more detailed consultation on this question with its East African neighbours.

As a matter of fact some such consultations have already been going on at Arusha, in north Tanzania. Representatives of Tanzania, Somalia and Kenya met there to discuss questions of relations between countries of East Africa. At the talks the Somali Republic was represented by Prime Minister Addirzak Haji Hussein and other ministers who are accompanying President of Somalia Aden Abdulla Osman, in his visit to Tanzania. Kenya is represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Joseph Murumbi and the Minister of Education, Mbiyu Koinange, and Tanzania by its

Second Vice-President Rashidi Kawawa and several members of the Government. One of the important topics discussed by the Conference was the development of economic cooperation. The regional cooperation for economic development has naturally an important place in the plans for the independent economic development of the African countries—because essentially it is economic dependence on Metropolitan countries which sometimes limits their political actions too.

Zambia, for example, feels the pinch of the economic dependence. The industry of Zambia depends for power on the hydro-power system in Rhodesia. The fact that the power dam is on Rhodesian territory makes Zambia dependent on the Smith Government.

On December 10 a spokesman of the Government of Zambia declared in Lusaka that the country will have its own hydro-power system in a short period of time. The power scheme will come up on the Kafue River and the site of the future power house will soon be geologically surveyed.

The new hydro-power scheme was designed even before the construction of the Kariba dam (in South Rhodesia). This was the story—not full and detailed—of a 'day in Africa, an ordinary day. The African people are engaged in a twin struggle to win and consolidate their political freedom, as well as to gain economic independence.

## SOMALI PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

MOGADISHU: "Our purpose is the complete liberation of French Somali from colonial yoke", according to the General Secretary of the French Somali Liberation Front, Abdullahi Ardel.

"A regime of terror has been established in this colony", he noted. "All progressive political and public organisations have been outlawed, meetings, rallies, and demonstrations have been banned."

The progressive leaders have been jailed or exiled. Strict censorship has been clamped down on all publications. "Law and order" in the country is maintained by detachments of the gendarmerie and ruffians from the foreign legion.

"We are sure", Ardel said, "that sooner or later colonialism will have to leave this part of Africa and our people will achieve the long cherished freedom."

"This confidence", he stressed, "is founded on conviction in the righteousness of our cause, on the resolution of the people of the French Somali to put an end to the regime of oppression.

Concrete support is rendered to the fighters of freedom by the peoples of the fraternal African states, the socialist nations and all progressive mankind, he said.

## BIG RISE PLANNED IN SOVIET-GDR TRADE West Germans Are Sore

From SADHAN MUKHERJEE

BERLIN: The trade agreement signed between the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union a few days ago is the biggest ever such agreement between the two countries.

It covers the period 1966 to 1970 and envisages a volume of sixty million marks. This is 43 per cent higher than the volume prescribed in the trade agreement which is expiring this year.

The big trade agreement between the GDR and the Soviet Union has become an irritant for West Germany. A bitter propaganda campaign against the agreement has been unleashed by the Bonn authorities.

As part of this campaign, the West Germans even sought to link the death of Erich Apel, GDR Deputy

Premier and planning chief, with the trade agreement.

West Germans spread the canard that Apel committed suicide because he was opposed to this agreement. The BBC and other Western propaganda media picked up the cock and bull story and gave it a flash.

There is absolutely no basis for this West German "story", and the leading GDR paper, NUES DEUTCHLAND called it "impudent invention".

The GDR has shown fast progress in industrial development this year. The first ten months of the year showed a rise in production by 8.2 per cent over last year. Labour productivity rose by 6.0 per cent and retail trade by 3.5 per cent.

An increasingly important position in the European trade is also being achieved by the GDR.

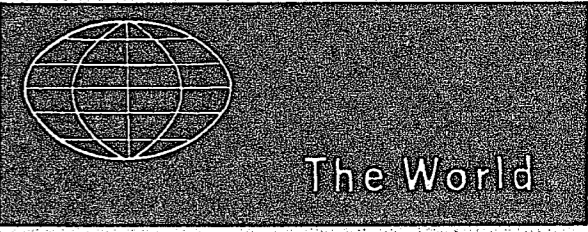
# Afro-Asian Move In UN Against S. Africa

The United Nations General Assembly's Political Committee approved a resolution last week sponsored by 47 countries, mainly African and Asian, that called for total diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa and asked member states to isolate South Africa completely from the rest of the world.

WHILE the vote was 78 for, 16 against (Portugal), and 18 abstentions (including USA, Britain and France), this was the 28th resolution in the twenty years that the issue has been before the United Nations, and it was the strongest.

During the seven days of debate it was Britain, the USA and West Germany that were most bitterly attacked by delegate after delegate for their two-faced policy towards South Africa.

The great majority of speakers said that these three major trading partners of South Africa deplore the policy of apartheid in words under pressure of world public opinion but it is they who by their trade strengthen South Africa's economy and en-



courage the Verwoerd government to continue its policy of brutal suppression of the peoples of South Africa.

After the US and British governments were compelled to introduce some kind of an arms embargo to South Africa, it was now West Germany which had taken over the role of the principal supplier of arms to South Africa in total defiance of the Security Council resolution last year, the delegates pointed out.

After expressing grave concern over the aggravation of the explosive situation in South Africa as a result of the continued implementation of the policy of apartheid by the South African Government "in violation of its obligations under the Charter and in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly", the resolution also called upon the Security Council to consider the situation in South Africa as a "threat to international peace and security".

It said that action under Charter Seven (which empowers the Security Council to impose complete economic sanctions) is essential and that mandatory universally-applied sanctions are the only means of achieving a peaceful solution.

On the question of South Africa even near-unanimous resolutions adopted by over 100 votes to one in the General Assembly have been made inoperative by the refusal of these Western big powers to introduce economic sanctions.

The so-called economic sanctions announced by Britain against Rhodesia have been rendered completely ineffective because of the aid the Rhodesian rebel racist government can get from the Verwoerd regime in the South.

In fact the recent developments have shown, if any proof was necessary, that South Africa, the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique and Rhodesia now constitute the solid bloc of white racist regimes which cannot be shaken without a concerted drive for sanctions against all the three powers simultaneously.

Together with this debate

in the Political Committee, Portugal's defiance of the United Nations Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was raised in the UN's

Fourth Trusteeship Committee. The Soviet delegate, supported by many Afro-Asian delegates, emphasized that Portugal enjoyed utmost moral, political, material and military support of some Western powers, mainly its NATO partners.

The Portuguese army has criss-crossed the territories of Angola and the other colonies with prisons and concentration camps and its punitive detachments backed by napalm-using aircraft have converted huge areas into completely deserted territory.

This army is on the payroll of the NATO allies and is being trained within the NATO framework, the Soviet delegate said.

The delegates from the Afro-Asian and socialist countries demanded that the General Assembly must take immediate steps to put an end to the war which Portugal is waging against the African peoples and ensure immediate compliance with all the previous UN resolutions on the Portuguese colonies.

Almost immediately after the UN resolution, the American civil rights leader Martin Luther King called for a massive international boycott against South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal jointly by the USA, Soviet Union, France, Germany, Britain and Japan.

He sharply contrasted America's "muted and peripherical" protest against South Africa's apartheid policy with the US military intervention in the Dominican Republic when American vested interests were threatened.

King specially pointed out "the massive support through American investments in motor and rubber industries" and "some 40 million in loans" given to South Africa by the USA.

"This American attitude is all the more grievous because one of the blackest pages of our history was our participation in the infamous African slave trade of the eighteenth century. We have an obligation of atonement that is not cancelled by the passage of time," he said.

—BAREN RAY

## NIKOLAI PODGORNYY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF SOVIET UNION

MOSCOW: Anastas Mikoyan, one of the few living revolutionaries who have actually participated in the October Revolution, has resigned from the presidency of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Supreme Soviet acceded to Mikoyan's request to relieve him due to old age, and elected Nikolai Podgorny as the new President of the Soviet Union.

PODGORNYY was nominated by Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CPSU, to the President's post.

Accepting the nomination Podgorny, 62, said: "I assure you that I will try to justify the confidence you have placed in me."

Both Podgorny and Mikoyan remain members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The Supreme Soviet also relieved Alexander Shelepin from government duties so that he can concentrate more on Party work.



Anastas Mikoyan



Nikolai Podgorny

The new President of the Soviet Union is a Ukrainian by nationality. He was born in the family of a foundryman in the Poltava region and at the age of 15 became himself a worker.

Five years later during which Podgorny worked in the Young Communist League, he entered the Technological Institute of the food industry in Kiev. While a student, Podgorny joined the Party in 1930.

Upon graduation, until 1946 he worked in the food industry at sugar mills, was Deputy People's Commissar of the food industry of the Ukraine and headed a food industry institute in Moscow.

From 1946 to 1950 Podgorny represented the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine in

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# INDIAN FATHER OF PL 480 SPEAKS UP

**T**HE extrovert American apologist, S. K. Patil, has always provided the proof that the Shastri government is a hydra-headed creature.

A multiplicity of tongues always wag and we, the poor mortals, are left to wonder whose pronouncement is official and whose is not.

Sensitive observers have noticed that the leader of the team himself is a versatile master of this cacophony. As for instance, if one takes pains to go through the texts of some of the recent interviews Shastri gave to Indian newspapers, his ambivalence will be evident.

When he meets the left-wing editor R. K. Karanjia of BLITZ, Shastri talks his language: socialism, self-reliance and what have you.

When right-wing editor D. F. Karaka meets him, the P.M. speaks the language of the CURRENT. And Malkani of the ORGANISER reports with equal felicity as is seen in his latest interview.

Perhaps nobody is better aware of the inner working of his chief's mind than Patil. Long repressed under the "banyan tree", Patil has become irrepressible after Nehru's death.

Today he enjoys a license to say anything. He fears no contradiction from his boss, for not once had he been refuted while he made all sorts of wild pronouncements recently in the United States.

Patil was his special envoy and in that capacity he has submitted a confidential report to the Prime Minister. This may never see the light of day.

But one must be grateful to Patil for himself lifting the veil of secrecy in slow stages. At a New Delhi meeting of the Citizen's Council on Tuesday he lifted the veil far too high.

According to PATRIOT, Patil made the following disclosures:

**TASHKENT:** He did not think much of the Shastri-Ayub meeting there. In fact, he had "warned" the Prime Minister "not to be trapped" into agreeing to the talks "without first consulting the US."

And, of course, he had taken the trouble of ascertaining the views of the US administration for the benefit of Shastri.

He is sure that nothing would come out of the Tashkent summit. "There

will be lot of talks about Manav dharma and the meeting will be adjourned sine die."

Patil was speaking on "Indo-Pakistani conflict in the eyes of the world." He spoke mainly about his exploits abroad. "I went, I talked and I conquered," he seemed to say.

For instance, before he went to the United State the US press was "full of anti-Indian writings" but by the time he took leave of the Statue of Liberty it was "full of comments in favour of India".

The US and UK leaders whom he met had confided to Patil that they

## THE WEEK

did not know the facts. So they had supported Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir. Apart from lack of information, they supported the demand for a plebiscite due to "their natural inclination towards democracy" and above all because of "their benevolent nature."

**NEGROES & MUSLIMS:** Patil extolled the virtues of the White race in America. He had advised the US leaders against supporting plebiscite on grounds of religion.

"I told them that they had brought in some Negroes who were only eight per cent in the beginning but were more than 12.5 per cent now. The good and benevolent Whites had brought the Negroes as labourers and were now being threatened by a growing Negro population."

"They understood my point."

**AYUB-JOHNSON TALKS:** "Whatever the US will tell Ayub will be conveyed to India. It will come through my channels, and I will disclose it later."

**FATHER OF PL-480:** From Pakistan to PL-480 is an easy jump. "I am the Indian father of PL-480 and I asked the Americans to put the supplies on a long-term basis. On my sug-

gestion they immediately agreed to do so."

**SELF-RELIANCE IS BALONEY:** All the current talk about self-reliance is designed to throw India "on the lap of Communist Russia."

And talk about strings? Also designed to tilt the balance in favour of the Soviets and "take India away from its friends."

**SOVIET PRESENT:** The Soviet people have given the Indian people a handsome present on the eve of the Tashkent visit of Prime Minister Shastri. The detailed project report of the Bokaro steel plant was presented to the Indian government this week.

Presenting the report, Soviet Ambassador Bnediktov said: "I think we can now with good reason say, let our friendship be as strong as the steel of Bhilai and Bokaro."

Steel Minister Sanjiva Reddy wished the foundation stone of the Bokaro project would be laid by Soviet Premier Kosygin. He hoped Shastri would extend an invitation to Kosygin to visit India in time to lay the foundation stone.

Will Shastri do so? There are doubts. Indo-Soviet friendship is as

firm as Bhilai steel. But Bokaro is as sour as grapes to the Birlas.

Their spokesman, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES did not hide its chagrin that Bokaro should come about in the public sector and with Soviet aid. And this despite its own admission that the project report "brings nearer the realisation of an ambition".

The Birla mouthpiece wanted the technical committee, set up by the government, to go "carefully and in detail into the cost estimates in the report". Cost projections were "specifically stated to be not readily available".

In between it did not forget to mention that the Americans had given an estimate of Rs. 650 crores, which was "considered on the high side" by the then Indian consultants. And now, the Russians are putting it at Rs. 770 crores!

However, Steel Secretary Wanchoo made it amply clear that the Soviet terms compared very favourably with the American terms (which of course never materialised: the HINDUSTAN TIMES scribe himself realised this, for he says that the American plan was to produce steel by 1980!).

Birlas had of course sent special envoys to the United States to campaign against Bokaro being built in public sector. Kaisers, their American partners, helped in lobbying but to no avail.

Whispering Gallery

## Worm Turns and Topples

**F**OR months now the US Embassy in New Delhi has been desperately trying to round up a bunch of Indian pressmen for despatch to Saigon.

They will be the guests of the US war command in South Vietnam. The Americans will pay for everything: the fare, the tour and every conceivable creature comfort.

The Yankees want a small thing in return. The pressmen must write home how the brave marines are fighting India's battle against the Chinese in the marshy jungles of South Vietnam.

Ultimately some four newsmen agreed to go—not all willingly. One of them was Nandan Kagal, Resident Editor of the INDIAN EXPRESS (Delhi).

Everything was set. US Press Attache Lawrence Dalcher had given the reporters extensive briefing and cocktails to digest it. But then a scribe casually inquired from the Consul-General of South Vietnam about the impending trip. The worm turned.

The little chap had been taken for granted by the local American overlords. He had not known a thing about the Indian pressmen going to cover his "war against the Vietcong".

There was a fleeting assertion of pride. After all, he has still in his hands some instruments of nominal sovereignty. In other words, he suddenly remembered that his government had not yet transferred to the US State Department the authority to issue visas to those travelling to South Vietnam.

The US Embassy came to know of the hurt pride of their New Delhi tenant. There was a mild expression of regret and the unpleasant chapter was closed.

The worm which turned toppled. He agreed to issue the visas. Meanwhile, the EXPRESS-editor, perhaps out of a feeling of disgust, dropped out.

## BIRLA MAHARAJ

G. D. Birla is reported to have written a personal letter to Prime Minister Shastri requesting his personal intervention for salvaging his worldly goods taken over by the Pakistan government during the recent conflict.

Among other things a cotton mill seems to have been usurped by Pakistanis.

Now Birla Maharaj is not the only Indian national who has lost property in Pakistan. It was revealed in Parliament the other week that Indian properties worth over RS. 300 crores had been taken over.

Apart from the State Bank of India whose assets in Pakistan are estimated at about Rs. 25 crores, hundreds of Indian nationals of humble status have their small bank balances frozen.

But the Birlas who run an empire, second to that of the Tatas in India want special treatment. Some of Shastri's top advisers, one of them is a known Birla nominee, are moving earth and heaven to oblige the tycoon.

It is worth watching how they pull it off.

—INSIDER

## PICNIC



Courtesy: TIMES OF INDIA