

HANDS OFF INDIA: THIS COUNTRY IS OURS, U.S. DOLLARS CAN'T BUY IT



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THERE ARE MOMENTS IN THE LIFE OF A NATION WHEN IT MUST STAND UP ON ITS FEET AND SHOUT. FOR, THE ALTERNATIVE IS TO LIVE IN TERRIBLE SILENCE ON ITS KNEES, FOR YEARS TO COME.

There are moments when the cup of insults reaches its brim—and you can take it no longer. You must dash it to the ground or be drowned for all time.

TODAY is a moment such as this... U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk has made a statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in Washington which will make any self-respecting Indian

.....By.....
Romesh Chandra
.....

vomit in disgust. After that non-stop proces-

sion of Indian dignitaries, topped finally by the President himself, has done its rounds of back-scratching, of singing hymns to the American "way of life", of begging and assuring our "alignment with democracy and freedom"

(US brand)—the US Secretary of State sets down his firmman!...

Rusk makes no bones about it—the US supports Pakistan in its illegitimate claims on Kashmir:

"Broadly speaking, throughout this period, we have supported the Pakistan view that the wishes of the peo-

ple of Kashmir are highly relevant to a permanent solution."

The "Pakistan view"? The meaning is obvious: India is for suppressing the wishes of the people of Kashmir, in the opinion of the Dollar Gods;

ON PAGE 13

PEOPLE'S PETITION MOVEMENT LAUNCHED

The struggle is on... the campaign for the People's Petition to Parliament has begun...

★ ON June 7, Communist Party Chairman S. A. Dange announced the details of the signature campaign at a press conference in Delhi.

From that day onwards, from State after State has come news of the start of preparations for the campaign.

★ IN Andhra Pradesh, the State Trade Union Congress, meeting in Hyderabad this week, endorsed the call for the signature campaign, after it had been announced and explained by S. A. Dange.

★ IN West Bengal, the State Organising Committee of the Communist Party met to hear CPI Central Secretariat member M. N. Govindan Nair outline the details of the campaign. District committees and branches will now work out plans to make the signature campaign successful in the State.

★ IN Beawar, seventy-five leading Communist workers from all parts of Rajasthan attending a Party

School, were addressed by CPI Central Secretariat Member Yogindra Sharma on the campaign. The participating Communist workers decided to collect two lakh signatures to the Petition from Rajasthan, and to bring FIVE THOUSAND people from the State to participate in the demonstration before Parliament.

★ IN Delhi, the State Executive Committee of the Communist Party has worked out plans for the preliminary stages of the campaign. Meetings of the State Council of the Party and general body meetings of Party members and supporters are being held.

★ FROM Orissa comes news of the organisation of a special Fortnight against the anti-people taxes and rising prices, which would help to launch the signature campaign in a big way. A successful meeting and demonstration took place at Cuttack on June 9.

AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The two Negro students have entered the University of Alabama. George C. Wallace, governor of Alabama, after his futile bid to prevent physically the entry of the two students, had to step out of the varsity campus.

THIS was a signal victory of the great Negro movement against segregation that is currently sweeping the United States of America. But the racials in the Southern states of USA are not going to accept the defeat lying down. Already the Apartheid governor, very much like Roy Welensky in behaviour, has decided to "fight it out" elsewhere.

ism; from all parts of the world came demands for immediate stoppage of this madness. From the African Summit at

heads they were step by step forging ahead.

Today, the question is: When is this American apartheid going to end? President Kennedy says that somewhere in the sixties the segregation will be over. But the process of integration has been extremely slow till now. The inaction and the virtual connivance of the US government in racialism are responsible for the present abominable situation.

The Negro people's battle against racialism grows with every day (see map below), grows into new states, new cities, new areas. It will be victorious for it has the absolute support of the peoples of the whole world.

Dean Rusk talks of the common way of India and the USA. We have nothing in common with this barbaric way of life, which treats a man as a beast, because of the colour of his skin.

The ticker tape receptions, and the carrots of "aid" you dangle before us, will not blind any patriotic Indian to this simple fact.

It is time for the Government of India to end its silence and join the people of this land and the millions in every continent, in condemning the bestial violence of the White racials of "FREE", "DEMOCRATIC" AMERICA!

—Sadhan Mukherjee



—New Statesman

The deep roots of racial hatred, nurtured over a long period and instilled in the minds of the younger generation in the USA, cannot be eradicated so easily. It is precisely the outcome of the American "way of life".

The present Negro movement against segregation has reached gigantic magnitude: no longer is it a struggle of the Negro people alone. When the first reports of Alabama vio-

Addis Ababa to a remote village in the Indian Republic, everywhere rose the voice of mankind:

RACIALISM SHALL NOT PASS!

Alabama events stopped and then again the lynchmaniacs opened up new quarters of violence and racial hatred in Mississippi. From there, it again switched back to Alabama. The latest news is of the cold blooded murder of one of the leaders of the Negro movement.

From the days of direct slavery, to the events of Peekskill, Little Rock, and Alabama, it is the continuous unfolding of worst form of racialism. But the valiant Negro people of USA did not submit to oppression, nor were they cowed down before brutality. Holding high their



Man's weight and depth: Greensborough. Daily News

lence came, the conscience of the whole world was shocked, all humanity's protest rang out, strong and clear.

Massive protests the world over thundered against American racia-



IS IT TRUE?

U. S. GENERALS IN CAPITAL

TWO large beautiful bungalows—of the class used by our Ministers—are being air-conditioned and furnished in New Delhi for the stay of two extra-special VIPs.

It is reported that they are meant for the two US Generals (Brigadier-Generals?) who are here to "supervise the expansion of our armed forces" and to ensure that US "military aid" is utilised "properly."

It IS true that these top US army officers are here, air-conditioners and all...

Is it true that they are allowed to interfere or "advise" us on the way we manage our armed forces?

Certain American Embassy officials openly boast of this.

Will the Defence Ministry explain the exact rights and duties of all foreign armed personnel on our soil?

COUNTING SWATANTRA CHICKENS

THE fraternity of Nehru-haters extends from Mysapore in Madras to London and New York. Numerous have been the occasions when the fraternity hoped to replace Nehru with one of their own choice, a freebooter for free enterprise. That they could not succeed does not make them feel disheartened. There is eternal hope in the hearts of all who fight and write for the Free World.

Recent by-elections to Parliament brought not a little cheer to these hearts. The profound analyses made by the Swatantras and their material and moral allies at home and abroad all point to the "undeniable" conclusion of Nehru's weakening hold on the Indian masses. The bands are playing, the kids are dancing twist and there on the western horizon the Swatantra star is rising! The shareholders may well expect an extra dividend for this business boom.

Thus, C. R. writing in last week's Swarajya commends to the flock: "Sri Masani's success is a verdict and a sign of Grace from above. Let us put our souls in the tasks before us. The tide has turned, but we should take it at its flood and ply our oars with all our might and skill."

Another prophet who is approvingly quoted by C. R. is

J.P. that intrepid free-lancer of Indian politics, who narrowly missed being a Prime Minister as C. R. missed being a Chief Minister, merely by a freak of fortune. Jayaprakash Narain in a message to a Madras meeting profoundly observed:

"His (Masani's) return to Parliament is not only a vindication of his position but also an indication of the growing perceptiveness of the people."

If anybody has any doubt after this, he has only to look to the Western press to be reassured that the Nehru Era in India is almost over. The free press of the free world has pronounced its verdict on the Indian scene.

In this connection, the most hopeful indications for the fraternity came from the Observer of London a few weeks back under the caption, "Nehru's declining grip". The concluding part of an article by Gup Wint—the article is in truly profound style where it analyses the aftermath of emergency, the sloth that has overtaken the initial enthusiasm and also underwrites Pakistani fears about India having already become "very much stronger" than herself by the grace of Western arms supply—compares Nehru with Ramsay MacDonald and says:

"Whereas a year ago Nehru was still regarded as completely indispensable, it is now accepted generally that he has not very much longer

to last. There will need to be a great deal of undermining before his following is detached. But at least some of his previously loyal followers have begun to look about them, and to be open-minded about the future."

The Nation would certainly be open-minded about the future, we can assure The Observer. If the idea is that the basic policies of which Nehru is the spokesman of the Nation today could be undermined because a couple of free entrepreneurs have got into Parliament and there are others sniffing around, the masses could take care of them. Let not the prophets of Reaction count their chickens before they are hatched.

DIRTY TACTICS TO MALIGN CPI

TALKING of Masani's election, I have received a letter from a friend in Rajkot which exposes the lies and dirty tactics which are often used to malign the Communist Party by its enemies.

In the by-election in Rajkot, the Communist Party had opposed Masani and everywhere in the constituency, Communists wholeheartedly campaigned for the defeat of the Swatantra candidate.

And yet, some newspapers in Gujarat carried a canard that the so-called "Ranadiveites" in the CPI supported Masani. Strange to say, this canard was picked up and published by the Gujarat Congress bulletin also. Apart from being an attempt to tar the Communist Party which is in the forefront of the struggle against Reaction in the country as represented by Masani & Co., there is no relation to truth whatever in this report.

The object of such lies becomes even more clear when it is understood that this lie was published alongside another "news" from the special correspondents of these newspapers in Delhi that a "stormy debate" had taken place in the Central Secretariat of the CPI regarding the policy of supporting Congress candidates against reactionaries in by-elections. One lie to support another lie!

The fact was that there was no such storm in the Central Secretariat of the CPI in Delhi but the Party is completely united in its fight against the Masanis and Kripalanis who want to subvert our national policies and sell the country into the western camp.

In Gujarat, Dinkar Mehta, the Provincial Secretary of the Party himself issued two statements before the election date explaining the stand of the Party and appealing to the electorate to work for the defeat of Masani. Communists in Rajkot had no hesitation whatever over this policy at any time.

Masani won mainly because

★ BY VIGILANTE

AJOY GHOSH MEMORIAL FUND



FIVE Lakhs Must be Collected for constructing a building to honour the memory of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, a building with a hall for Party meetings—to accommodate the Party offices, the Party library and to house the full-time workers of the Party.

Last time I had stated that each Party member must give his own contribution and also collect from his friends. Here I would like Party trade union workers to approach individual workers in the trade unions and collect from them. It must be remembered that Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was held in high esteem by the working class in our country.

The building plans are getting ready for sub-

mission to the Corporation for approval. Hence it is necessary to hurry up with the collections.

Send your contributions to S. V. Ghate, earmarked for the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund, Communist Party of India, Central Office, 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

—S. V. GHATE

he could work upon anti-Congress sentiment with the help of all non-Communist opposition parties in Rajkot, including the communal menace, the Jan Sangh. He also got the support of princes who had so long been wooed by the Congress. The tax burdens imposed by the Congress government on the people were certainly not as to make the electorate want to vote for the Congress, despite the fact that Swatantra is even more reactionary and anti-people in all its policies.

Instead of learning from these the proper lessons. It is the usual tendency to deceive themselves that makes Congress leaders print lies about Communists in their bulletin.

CONTRACTORS' RAJ CONTINUES

TIME and again, trade unions have urged the abolition of the contract system of labour and the government too have agreed that the evil should be done away with. But despite everything it continues and the government seems to go back upon its own commitments in several cases.

The situation in non-coal mines where the contract system is still prevalent and the government's hesitation to meet the demands of labour to end this system deserve particular mention in this connection. As late as October 1962, the Ministry of Labour had circulated the decision of the third session of the Industrial Committee on Mines and Coal to abolish the contract system of labour in mines. The decision of the Committee, circularised by the government, said:

"It was agreed that the conclusion of the 19th and 20th Sessions of Indian Labour Conference on the subject of Abolition of Contract Labour should be implemented. Meanwhile, there should

be no extension of the contract Labour System in the Non-Coal Mines".

Now it is brought to our notice by the TU comrades in Rajnandgaon that the above decision is openly flouted by the management of the Bhilai Steel Plant and government has not intervened to prevent such action by the management. The management of the BSP had not only not taken steps to abolish contract labour, but even extended it by new contracts.

When the matter was brought to the notice of the Labour Ministry by the AITUC, the Ministry in their reply admitted that though the bulk of the requirements of ore for the Bhilai Plant are met by direct labour, some times it has been met through contractors.

But then, the Ministry says that the management have, however, "safeguarded the interests of the workers employed by contractors". It then cites these safeguards in the matter of wages, leave, welfare measures etc. This seems to settle the matter in the eyes of the Ministry.

The management may well claim that it has taken care to safeguard the interests of workers employed by contractors. But then, the question is why this system should be continued at all. If all the legitimate demands of the workers are being met, then why employ them as contract labour and why allow the contractors to make money out of the needs of a public sector plant? Why can't the management employ the same workers on the Plant's rolls?

It would seem the decision of the Indian Labour Conference to which the government are a party are the least binding on the government themselves. What is more, even the facts cited in the Labour Ministry's reply, it is learnt, are wrong. For instance, we are informed that it is absolutely wrong that the bulk of requirements of ore are met by direct labour. The claims made about the safeguards provided for workers' interests are also wrong.



petition to parliament

The humble petition of Shri/Shrimati and others whose names and addresses are given below and in the attached papers Sheweth

Whereas the failure of the Government to hold the price line and the continuous, unchecked rise in prices, especially of the daily necessities of life, are causing great hardship and suffering to us and among all sections of the community—the workers, peasants, employees and all strata of middle-class, artisans, small traders and small businessmen;

Whereas the oppressive taxes and levies on kerosene, tobacco, tea, sugar, edible oil, cloth, foodgrains and similar other essential commodities have put unbearable economic burdens on us and the masses of our people;

Whereas as a result of the rising prices, taxes, levies and surcharges as stated above, we, along with the rest of the people, find it hard to meet even the minimum requirements of our life and living;

Whereas the new levies imposed under the Compulsory Deposit Scheme have added to the economic burdens, in particular of people with low incomes;

Whereas the circumstances as aforesaid have resulted in the denial to the people of social and economic justice, rights and even the minimum standards of living, solemnly proclaimed by our Constitution and the Directive Principles thereof;

Whereas it is said that these burdens of taxes, levies, surcharges, etc. are necessary for finding resources for national development and defence and for "radical social changes";

AND accordingly your petitioners pray that immediate steps be taken in all directions to bring about—

- 1 A substantial reduction in prices, especially of the daily necessities of life;
- 2 A reduction in the direct and indirect taxes, levies and surcharges that fall upon the common man;
- 3 Cancellation of the scheme of Compulsory Deposit, which all toiling people feel to be nothing but a forcible exaction from their meagre incomes;
- 4 Nationalisation of the vital and strategic lines of our economy, viz., the banks, oil and foreign trade, to begin with, so that the resources essential for national development and defence can be augmented and planfully directed while at the same time giving relief to the people from the burdens of heavy taxation and preventing unwarranted and unjust concentration of the national wealth in the hands of a few monopolists and landlords;
- 5 Adequate and effective measures to combat graft and corruption from all walks of life and establishment of democratic control to check bureaucratic oppression and end of Emergency powers.

AND YOUR PETITIONERS AS IN DUTY BOUND WILL EVER PRAY

Name of petitioner Address Signature or thumb impression

All over the country, meetings are being held this month by Councils, Committees and branches of the Communist Party, by trade unions, kisan sabhas, youth and student bodies, women's organisations to plan the mighty signature campaign to the People's Petition which is printed alongside.

What are you doing about it? Have YOU started your part of the great national movement of the Indian people? Everyone who agrees with the Petition's aims can and must join to make the mass pressure irresistible against price rises and profiteering, against the anti-people taxes, against the Compulsory Deposit Scheme, against corruption and graft.

10 million signatures and a mammoth rally

THE People's Petition points to the way out of the present crisis, the way to build up the resources necessary for national development and defence without putting more unbearable burdens on the working people. This road lies through "nationalisation of the vital and strategic lines of our economy, viz. the banks, oil and foreign trade, to begin with," through "preventing unwarranted and unjust concentration of the national wealth in the hands of a few monopolists and landlords."

Door To Door, Person To Person

The collection of signatures requires to be planned out in the greatest detail. We know that the vast mass of our people support the petition; but the task is to take the Petition from door to door, person to person, so that the millions have the opportunity to act by putting their signatures or thumb impressions on this document, which is to be taken to Parliament in a giant demonstration towards the end of August.

Every single signature counts. In each area, in each city, town, ward, street, in each village—the aim must be to cover every single adult

Wanted: CAMPAIGN NEWS, PHOTOGRAPHS, FACTS AND FIGURES!

NEW AGE will devote its pages in the coming weeks to giving the maximum possible coverage to the great campaign for support to the People's Petition to Parliament.

WILL YOU please help us to do this by sending us all possible news, photographs, etc., of the progress of the campaign in your part of the country, in your trade union, your mass organisation, in your street or village?

WILL YOU please send us facts, figures, stories of the corruption and graft, which is today rampant everywhere?

WILL YOU send us telling facts and figures of the manner in which high prices and new tax burdens are hitting the people where you live?

PLEASE BE A NEW AGE CORRESPONDENT!

—Editor

and thumb impressions.

At every public meeting and rally, at every Conference, at every festival, at all functions where the masses gather, signatures and thumb impressions must be collected.

Signature collection must become the urgent daily task of every Indian who stands for the removal of the burdens sought to be imposed on the working masses following this year's budget proposals.

Together with all other activities, the signature collection drive must be carried through.

THE PROGRAMME

JUNE 10 TO JULY 5: All preparatory work to be completed:

- (1) Mobilise Party units and mass organisations;
- (2) Negotiations with other parties and individuals;
- (3) Explanatory campaign through hall meetings, etc.;
- (4) Setting up squads upto village and ward level;
- (5) Distributing petition forms and literature upto the lowest level, etc.

JULY 5 TO AUGUST 5: Intensive signature campaign to be launched by the top leaders of the Party. But the first phase of the signature campaign may, of course, start earlier.

AUGUST 5 TO 20: Collection of the signatures collected at District and Taluq headquarters. This has to be done in a ceremonious way so that the maximum mobilisation and propaganda is done.

AUGUST 20 ONWARDS: March to Delhi with send-off functions on the way.

The signature campaign on the People's Petition is intended to bring together leaders and workers of all political trends, who agree with the demands in the Petition. Even though the Petition is directed against Government policies, it is hoped that thousands of Congressmen will sign the petition, for the demands made in it are national demands, cutting across party boundaries.

Right reaction in the Congress or the Right Opposition will not support the Petition. It will oppose it, tooth and nail. The campaign for the People's Petition to Parliament will be a battle in defence of the interests of the masses.

The time for verbal criticism is over. The time for united mass actions has come.

IT'S TIME FOR A CAMPAIGN

WHITHER RIGHT "UNITY" ?

It would appear that the so-called "united" platform of Right reaction, presented by Acharya Kripalani at the Lucknow Socialist Unity Conference, is not being received with the tumultuous acclaim which its sponsors had expected. The Lucknow Conference declined to endorse the six points, which it is said, enjoy the blessings not only of the redoubtable victor of Amroha, but also of Rajaji and Jayaprakash Narayan.

SOCIALIST leader Lohia was quick to point out that the six-point programme's opposition to nationalisation made it unacceptable, for it would not inspire the masses.

The PSP National Conference in Bhopal evidently

heard sharp controversies from the rank and file of all proposals being suggested by sections of the leadership for a united front with the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh.

But the lure of the fruits to be gained from Right "unity"

keeps alive the question of an anti-Congress, anti-Communist Right reactionary front. The Delhi State leaders of the PSP, Jan Sangh and Swatantra Parties have joined hands with the US-created Committee Against Chinese Aggression, and addressed a letter to the main personalities connected with the Right reactionary opposition to the basic policies, urging them to evolve joint formulae and build a united front on specific issues.

It would be puerile to assume that the internal disagreements, which do exist, are alone sufficient to prevent the coming together of all these different forces—whose common point is opposition to the basic policies and, in particular, to the policy of non-alignment.

Right reaction would like to conduct an anti-tax campaign, which leads to the creation of a situation, in which they can more easily put across their demand for the abandonment of non-alignment and for the taking of military "aid" through a military pact with the imperialist powers.

The patriotic and democratic forces completely dissociate themselves from any such slogans. The campaign against anti-people taxes is simultaneously a campaign for alternative resources for development and defence, for action against the monopolists and the wealthy, who feed on the misery of our millions. It is a campaign in defence of the basic policies of the country.

aking on the resolution even suggested that Congressmen would have to take out marches to voice the people's grievances.

Another leading Congressman of Maharashtra, N. V. Gadgil, a former Central Minister and till recently Governor of Punjab, presiding over a conference convened by the Dadar-Mahim Citizens Committee (Bombay), deplored that under the Congress rule, blackmarketeering and corruption have been growing on a wide scale.

He went on to say that it is not enough to pass resolutions. What is required is action in support of the demands.

SHASTRIJI'S EMERGENCY

HOME Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri is determined that the Emergency powers must remain with him and his government. At Kotah on June 9, the Minister "challenged the critics to cite any instance of the misuse of the Defence of India Rules" (PTI).

He went on to claim that every party, except the Communists, supported the Emergency powers taken by the government to deal with the extraordinary situation. Shastriji claimed that if the Emergency were withdrawn, the sense of urgency would wane.

The "sense of urgency" is evidently being instilled into our youth, by sending hundreds of them on trips to the USA to experiment in the American way of life! The "sense of urgency" will probably be given to the strains of the latest American twist and rock-and-roll.

The statement made by the Home Minister "challenging" anyone to cite any instance of the misuse of the Defence of India Rules becomes particularly astounding, when one knows that before him and the central government lie the opinions of some of the country's greatest legal brains pronouncing the Defence of India Rules unconstitutional.

Shastri wants one instance. We cite hundreds of instances, the hundreds of our comrades still detained in prisons all over the country. We cite and we challenge.

It is good that a certain number of detenus have been released in the last few weeks, following the intensification of the release campaign. But what is required is the release of all detenus.

The DIR are a violation of the Constitution, say the jurists! The government has evidently no answer. Popular pressure must move in the coming days to ensure that this violation of the Constitution, this undemocratic attack on the Communist Party is ended without further delay.

Another Congressman, speaking

(June 12)

CONGRESS DEMOCRATS JOIN PROTEST

MORE and more democrats inside the Congress itself are coming out against the anti-people tax burdens, against price rises and corruption, for nationalisation and for obtaining resources for defence and development from those who can pay.

It may be that in some cases, factional and group interests within the Congress have something to do with these protests. But the fact is that the mass upsurge against the new burdens is making itself felt everywhere, and Congressmen are acting under pressure of this upsurge.

In Maharashtra recently a number of Congressmen have begun to speak up on these vital issues.

The first to speak among them was Ratnappa Kumbhar, a leading Congressman of Kolhapur. Inaugurating a Students' Association in Shirole, he said: "while there is no doubt that we should condemn and resist the Chinese who are out to undermine our nation's integrity and independence, we should at the same time also condemn the blackmarketeers and profiteers who are committing aggression against our people." (Rashtravani, April 1, 1963).

The Daily Maratha of Bombay reported that the Pooma District Congress Committee in its meeting held on May 26 unanimously adopted a resolution which stated:

"The State Government has failed to put a stop to the tremendous rise in prices of essential commodities. Therefore, it is necessary that the (Congress) Ministry should tender its resignation immediately."

The resolution was moved by Congress M.P. R. K. Khadikar. S. S. More, another Congress M.P. from Maharashtra, seconding the resolution said that "he could no longer bear the sight of the suffering of the people because of soaring prices."



Rajaji is hitting out specially at the taxation policies, the price rises, the corruption which has become such an all-pervading factor on the Indian political scene. The Right seeks to capitalise on the genuine discontent of the people.

The forces standing for socialism must not be taken in by this tongue-in-the-cheek support for popular demands. The working masses are not opposed to the taxes on the rich, on those who have the capacity to pay; they support these taxes, they ask for further taxes on the wealthy.

The great mass campaign launched by the Communist Party stresses this fact clearly and categorically.



Again, a key demand of the People's Petition is that of nationalisation. It is here again that the Right reactionary parties—as was evidenced in Kripalani's six points themselves—part company with the interests of the masses.

NEW AGE

WHY HAS THE RIGHT GROWN AND WHAT IS TO BE DONE ?

M. K. Pandhe's article (New Age, June 2, 1963) has drawn attention to the most significant feature of Indian politics today—the leap forward of Right reaction. It has also correctly pointed to those policies of the government, which feed the growth of Right reaction by giving it a stronger economic base in the form of monopoly capital and a wider mass base in the shape of tax burdens which cause mass anger.

THE article is, however, incomplete and misleading. It can easily enough be used to justify the tactical line of "opposing the Congress and the government is the best or the main way of fighting Right reaction."

This is an oversimplified approach and was repudiated at the Vijayawada Party Congress in April 1961. It is also contrary to the experience of the world Communist movement in its struggle for a united front against the fascist offensive in the pre-and post-war period.

Ajoy Ghosh in one of his last articles had stated: "It cannot be said as yet that the monopolists dominate the government. But there can be no doubt that they exercise a big pull over it, and their pull is steadily growing." (Selected Articles and Speeches, p. 294—emphasis original)

What we are witnessing today is a big offensive by the Right within the Congress and outside to establish the domination of the government by the monopolies. From pressure to shift the government to the Right, the stage has been reached of attempting a total capture of the state apparatus.

Obviously, this does not mean a mere replacement of some personalities by others—though personalities as the symbol of policies are important. Nor does it mean a mere change of a few policies and the ruthless pushing ahead with some other policies.

Something much more is being attempted. As Pandhe states, the aim is "to instal the unbridled dictatorship of monopoly capital with the blessings of foreign capital." We could call it the drive to *facism* in India.

What has given the Right the power to become so bold? Why such developments which are causing such a grave peril for our country and our people?

The Vijayawada Congress resolution gave the correct answer: "They are the result of a number of factors.

"Firstly, the national bourgeoisie, the ruling class, while being objectively interested in independent economic development, pursues policies of compromise with anti-national vested interests, and when its leadership is seriously challenged by the Communist Party and democratic forces, as happened in Kerala, tends to lean on reactionary forces for support.

"Also in the name of ensuring stability but really in order to maintain itself in power at all costs and by all means, the Congress enters into all sorts of opportunist alliances—as with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa and the Akalis in the Punjab.

Important Omission

Why does he not mention those policies of the government which are not to the liking of Big Business? Or those sections of the ruling party, including those in the government, who are not to the liking of Big Business?

How does he explain the fury of Big Business, its press and its lobby against Menon, against Malaviya, against Nehru? How does he explain the millions that are poured into the coffers of the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh to pull down the Congress candidates?

A REJOINER

Further, it is not fortuitous that in the whole article there is no mention of the fact that the Communist Party is not yet strong in many parts of the country. Nor is there a reference to the tragic fact of the continuing disunity of the democratic forces on an all-India scale, above all, the disunity between the democratic forces within and supporting the Congress and those rallied round the Communist Party.

Again, all the three factors propelling the growth of the Right have gained tremendous momentum in the last six months. Why? It is absurd to brush aside this question as Pandhe does by grudgingly stating "the extreme Right reactionaries became most active after the India-China border conflict."

It has to be said boldly and emphatically that the biggest single reason for the leap forward of the Right is the Chinese aggression. It was not mere facetiousness that made Manekkar write in the Indian Express sometime in December 1962 that the Right in India should build statues of Mao Tse-tung in every town and village in India as their greatest hero.

It has to be said boldly and emphatically that the biggest single reason for the leap forward of the Right is the Chinese aggression. It was not mere facetiousness that made Manekkar write in the Indian Express sometime in December 1962 that the Right in India should build statues of Mao Tse-tung in every town and village in India as their greatest hero.

Without remembering all the three factors, we cannot explain

the offensive against non-alignment, the public sector and the campaign which removed Menon, hopes to oust Malaviya and eventually displace with Jawaharlal Nehru. Nor the communists' rampage against secularism.

Pandhe writes: "Big business would not have poured millions of rupees into the coffers of the Congress election funds had the ruling party taken genuine steps towards curbing monopoly capital." True enough, but one-sided.

Need for Unity

Use progressive declarations of the Congress to forge mass unity in action;

2. In agitation, keep in mind not those who are already under our influence but also those who are not, speak not only for those who 'sit in front' and cheer every denunciation of the Congress and its government but also those who 'stand on the periphery';

3. Wage a resolute and uncompromising battle against Right reaction and against parties of communalism, against their policies and their slogans. This will help draw towards us honest Congressmen.

4. Even when opposing and fighting policies of the Congress government, concentrate fire wherever possible on the Rightist elements.

5. Conduct patient explanatory campaign among Congressmen and Congress masses." (pp. 63-64)

Quite obviously all this is a far cry from the oversimplified approach of Pandhe's which above all misses one crucial point—the need to give direct battle to the Right on the widest possible united front basis.

It is only such an integrated approach, as laid down at Vijayawada, which will help the Communist Party not only to shed sectarianism but also to avoid the pitfall of outdoing the Right in an anti-Congress campaign, in the hope that this will bring the masses to us. Only such an approach enables us to defend what is progressive in government policies from the Right.

That complete disaster did not result is due to the strength and level-headedness, the correct policy of the Communist Party of India and the sagacity of the Soviet Union and the overwhelming majority of the socialist countries as well as of the brother Communist Parties.

It is necessary to stress this because the failure of China to accept the Colombo proposals and start negotiations is still the biggest single obstacle confronting the democratic movement in its struggle against the Right. And the responsibility of compelling China to give up its senseless policies does not rest on the democratic movement in India alone.

To meet this upsurge and offensive of the Right, Pandhe proposes that the people of India "have to act in a concerted manner to defend themselves against attacks on their livelihood and struggle to force the government to take steps against parasitic Big Business."

The Communist Party has in the recent period been very skilfully and diligently implementing this line of the Vijayawada Congress in conditions of enormous difficulties.

The defence of the motherland and of national policies, especially non-alignment. The exposure of the shifts to the Right in the foreign policy. The campaign for the release of our arrested comrades and for the restoration of civil liberties. The withering exposure of Big Business. The national campaign against the anti-people budget proposals and our alternatives. The support to Congress candidates against Right parties. The putting up of our own candidates in areas of our own strength, etc.

It is not clear from Pandhe's article whether he agrees with the application of the Vijayawada

by Mohit Sen

"Of great importance in this context is the establishment of unity of action to defend the vital interests.

"We have to wage a sustained and determined struggle against Right reaction. We have to fight the anti-people policies of the government, we have to defend the people against attacks of the vested interests and of the government, we have to fight an uncompromising battle against forces of casteism and communalism. And while striving for unity, we have to organise, whenever the situation demands it, independent mass action by the Party on the basis of our own influence, on the basis of whatever strength we can mobilise. All these have to go hand in hand." (pp. 60 and 65-66, emphasis original)

The accession to power of fascism is not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another, but a substitution of one State form of class domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—by another form—open terrorist dictatorship.

It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake which would prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilising the widest strata of the working people of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself.

"But it is a mistake, no less serious and dangerous, to underestimate the importance, in establishing the fascist dictatorship, of the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie which are at present increasingly developing in bourgeois-democratic countries."

"...fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual and at times severe struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist camp itself."

"...before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism."

"Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but on the contrary, facilitates the victory." (United Front, International Publishers, New York, pp. 12-13—emphasis original)

The clear direction to remember the distinction between fascist and bourgeois-democratic forms of State power and the emphasis on the need to fight the reactionary measures of the ruling bourgeoisie as well as emerging fascism—all this is surely sage counsel for us at this particular juncture in our history. Urgent action, based on a clear and comprehensive understanding, is needed more than ever.

(June 8)

IS A TEST BAN IN SIGHT ?

Editorial

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of high level talks in Moscow in July between representatives of the USA, USSR and Britain

for a comprehensive test ban treaty, will be warmly welcomed everywhere. The deadlock at Geneva has gone on for too long.

President Kennedy has coupled the announcement of the proposed talks with the promise that "we will not be the first to resume (testing)". It appears that this is a virtual declaration to abandon further nuclear tests in the atmosphere, so long as other States do the same.

Recent developments in US nuclear strategy, with the proposed multilateral nuclear force of the NATO, with the distribution of the Polaris missile to more and more parts of the world—have filled all mankind with the deepest anxiety. There will be relief and joy at the announcement of the proposed three-power talks in Moscow.

Non-stop people's campaigns for disarmament and for a nuclear test ban, particularly the unprecedented spring campaign for disarmament all over Europe and North America this year, appear to be bearing fruit. But peace workers have learnt to be cautious and not to jump with excessive joy on every occasion when a test-ban appears in sight.

The imperialist powers have resisted the people's demand for a test-ban, under one excuse or other. Despite the facts that scientists everywhere now believe that nuclear tests are self-policing, that all tests have been detected thousands of miles away—the US and Britain have insisted on an elaborate system of on-site inspections, which are rightly suspected to be means for espionage activities.

A concession involving tremendous sacrifice was made by the Soviet Union when it agreed to a maximum of three on-site inspections a year, as had been proposed earlier by the Western powers themselves. The moment the Soviet Union agreed, the US and British Governments insisted on a minimum of seven to eight inspections.

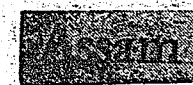
The neutral nations, participating in the Geneva Disarmament Conference, have again and again put forwards eminently practical compromise proposals. But the Western powers have repeatedly refused to accept any reasonable suggestions, and have gone on developing their nuclear weapons through ever fresh series of tests.

The Moscow meeting in July must succeed. From every corner of the globe, the cry must go up: BAN ALL TESTS NOW. The twists and turns of the imperialists must be exposed, and they must be compelled to bow to the people's will.

A special responsibility rests on all non-aligned countries. Already the UAR and other African States represented in the Geneva conference have put forward new compromise suggestions—with the support of India and others.

President Radhakrishnan in his address to the General Assembly of the UNO, made a passionate plea for disarmament and a nuclear test-ban. This is India's policy; it must throw its weight wholeheartedly with the forces of peace and against the imperialist obstructors of disarmament.

(June 11)



★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT GOVT. UNABLE TO HOLD PRICE-LINE

DIBRUGARH, JUNE 4: During the last two months, the prices of all food-stuffs and essential commodities like rice, sugar, pulses, mustard-oil etc. have unexpectedly shot up. The prices of other commodities too have increased. At present coarse rice is selling at Rs. 30 to Rs. 32 per md. and sugar at Rs. 2 per seer. Even at this high price sugar is not available in the market.

RATHER to add fuel to the fire, the government has suddenly stopped supplying rice through fair-price shops. Instead 2-3 shops have been opened for more than half a lakh population of Dibrugarh, the second largest town of Assam. After these shops were opened the protagonists of "free trade" and opponents of state trading in food have become jubilant in attacking government's purchasing and distribution policies.

To counteract the situation, on May 29, under the auspices of Larua-Jamira Mauza Kisan Sabha and Kisan Panchayat more than 200 peasants came in a procession to put forth their demands before the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur. Three representatives met the Additional Deputy Commissioner with a memorandum demanding immediate supply of seedlings for the ensuing paddy cultivation, cattle-loans, supply of rice to the fair-price shops, flood-control measures etc. The additional D.C. could assure nothing.

Memorandum

On May 30 Communist Party representatives namely Hridayanda Choudhury and Mont Bhowmik met the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur district and submitted a memorandum.

Madhya Pradesh

Kisan Sabha Demands Land for Landless

BHOPAL: The Madhya Pradesh Kisan Sabha has demanded of the state government the distribution of 22 lakh acres of government owned cultivable land among the landless within six months. The Sabha has made it clear that if the land was not distributed within this period, it would be forced to launch a Satyagraha to achieve this objective.

A resolution passed in its special conference held in Nagda, the State Kisan Sabha said that indifferent, pro-feudal policy and red-tapism were responsible for the delay in the distribution of the land. The Sabha has pointed out that by the distribution of the land not only two lakh landless families would get work but it would also go a long way in augmenting the production of foodgrains in the state.

The two-day conference was attended by 110 delegates from all over the state. A rally held on the concluding day was attended by about three thousand persons. The rally was addressed, among others, by Homi Daji, MP, B. K. Gupta and Bhairav Bharati MLA. The Kisan Sabha by ano-

Through the memorandum they demanded one fair-price shop per one thousand of population, 3½ kilograms of rice for an adult and 2 kilograms for a non-adult, an end to the compulsory 50% atna consumption, unearthing of hoarded-paddy and rice from millowners and wholesale dealers, mobilising people's cooperation in fighting profiteering and black-marketing, formation of all party food committees, fixation of prices for all commodities, fair-price to the kisans for the paddy, cattle-loans and supplying of seedling to the peasants and immediate flood-control measures.

The next day a public meeting was held in Dibrugarh under the joint auspices of individuals and organisations like trade unions, Citizens' Association, Bazar Traders' Association, Development Committees etc. The meeting was presided over by Advocate Binanda Chandara Barua. The speakers were Hridoi Choudhury, Anil Kounda, Sachin Das, Jagat Neogy, Chambri Thakur and Mont Bhowmik. All the speakers criticised the Government's policy and demanded strong action against the speculators and hoarders.

At a time when the hoarders and black-marketeers

are making people's life miserable, the employers also are not sitting idle. They have started harassing workers in different ways. For observing May Day, one worker of Cato-Seed, Itakhoolie T.E. (near Makum Junction) was arrested by police on a charge of criminal breach of peace on information from the management.

The other day the mohrar-in-charge of the above seed garden with a local forest-guard and some other persons, all in drunken condition forcibly entered into the house of Satish Chandra Roy



Pradhani, the organising secretary of the Cha-Mazdur Union, Assam, affiliated to AITUC. They intimidated and challenged Roy Pradhani to show union proceedings. It is suspected that behind this the British managements of Itakhoolie T.E. had their hands.

Goldsmiths' Plight

Since the promulgation of gold control order several hundred gold smiths of Dibrugarh sub-division have been thrown out of their only source of livelihood. Several meetings and demonstrations were held by them demanding alternate jobs and other vital demands. Recently they made a representation to Deputy Commissioner, Lakhimpur demanding immediate relief for the most affected among them. But the Deputy

Commissioner expressed inability to concede their demands.

However, the goldsmiths are struggling hard for their very existence in spite of Government's inactivity to alleviate their sufferings. One can see that already some goldsmiths have turned their goldsmith shops into cloth shops, grocery shops and pan shops. Some are even hawking eggs or cloth pieces door to door to earn a livelihood.

Recently, the Dibrugarh Branch of the Communist Party of India supported the demands of goldsmiths by a resolution demanding withdrawal of restriction on manufacturing of ornaments, unearthing and confiscation of hoarded golds, exemption of small goldsmiths from licensing and maintaining of accounts, alternate jobs and adequate immediate relief to the unemployed and suffering goldsmiths.

★ FROM S. SHARMA

Statewide Rallies Demanding Tax-Relief and Nationalisation of Banks

TRIVANDRUM: Meetings and rallies were held during the last week of May in all important towns and taluq centres in Kerala to observe the Nationalisation Day in response to the call of the AITUC.

In Trivandrum, Calicut, Palghat, Alleppey, Ernakulam, Cannanore, Trichur and Quilon thousands of workers belonging to various industries marched in processions raising their voice of protest against growing tax burdens and rise in prices of essential commodities and demanding nationalisation of banks, oil and effective measures to hold the price line as

the only way to give relief to the common people and gear up the economy of the country to meet the needs of defence and development.

Alleppey Rally

The biggest rally of all sections of workers and common people was held on May 31 at Alleppey. R. Sugathan MLA presided over the convention which was the culmination of one week's ward and village meetings held all over the district from 24th May.

Jathas Tour Villages

In Calicut district alone 5 jathas covered the entire rural area in a week, each jatha covering over hundred miles and addressing 50 meetings. In Palghat district, 3 jathas covered important zones for over 10 days.

In Cannanore district, the campaign focussed the attention of the public on a four week long struggle of handloom workers in Kasargod and the agitation of beedi workers for increase in wages. The beedi workers in Cannanore, Palghat, Trichur and Ernakulam districts conducted a one day token strike in major centres to press their demand of increase in wages and revision of minimum wages.

The eighth annual conference of the Trivandrum Cochin Cashew Workers Council meeting on May 30 and 31 at Quilon adopted resolution on nationalisation of banks and oil industry, holding the price line etc. In Olavkot, the Railway workers adopted a resolution against amendments to section 311 of the Constitution which hit the government servants.

Orissa, a surplus State and one which feeds West Bengal, is passing through an acute food crisis. The price of rice and paddy has risen like the flood waters of the Mahanadi during this period.

ALMOST in every corner of the State, people are clamouring for opening of Government Central Gola and regular supply of foodgrains. The pages of daily newspapers are filled with news of food shortage, rising prices, the demands of the people and on one occasion, news of starvation deaths (which was denied by the Government). There is even news of theft of cold rice along with the earthen pot.

This shows the seriousness of the crisis. The crisis is going to be accentuated more and more with the approach of the rainy season, unless vigorous efforts are made to arrest it immediately. But so far the Government has failed to cope with the situation.

The price of paddy at present varies from 28 to 34-35 standard maunds, while the retail rate of rice is one seer per rupee. (The wholesale 'malgodown' (Cutack) price is Rs. 63 per bag of rice). But the Government

ORISSA IN THE GRIP OF FOOD CRISIS

★ By GURUCHARAN PATNAIK

In order to have an idea of the real position, we have to take the actual production into consideration. In 1961, the production of summer and kharif paddy in terms of rice was 9,000 tons and 36,61,000 tons respectively according to the State Government Statistical Publications. If, according to the Chief Minister's calculation, a reduction of 28 and 11 per cent is made, the total production of Orissa would be 32,59,950 tons i.e. a loss of 4,10,000 tons.

Orissa in normal times was exporting upto three lakh tons of rice. This means the surplus of rice for export is not only entirely wiped out, there is in addition a deficit

of 1,10,000 tons to meet the normal needs. fore the approach of rains and flood. Fifthly, even with all these stocks in hand, the Government is unable to open controlled shops on a wide scale in the affected areas, as they are quite inadequate. Hence they are both unable to meet the demand and bring down the price. At Bala-sore, for instance, the Government controlled rate of paddy per standard maund is Rs 9.50, while the market price is Rs. 18.50.

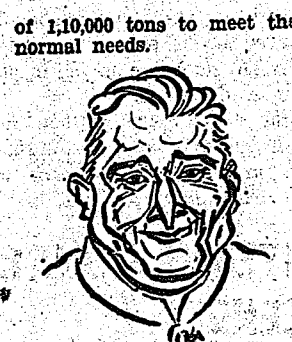
At present at Cuttack, a family of five persons spends Rs 2 a day i.e. Rs. 60 a month only on rice. If they take it from the Government shop, they have to pay Rs. 30 only. That means every month the family is paying Rs. 30 extra to hoarders. There is no blackmarket—this has become quite a legal and open market. Hence legal, widespread open exploitation of the people continues.

This is mainly due to the policy of the Government. It helps the hoarders and merchants and big landholders who can hold stocks. At the time of the harvest, the poor and most of the middle peasants sold away their stock, as they usually do, in order to meet their pressing needs. At that time, they sold their paddy at the rate of Rs. 18 and 20 per bag; and at present, they purchase it at the rate of Rs. 28 to 35 per bag.

From 1943, for the last two decades, the food-problem has become a constant headache to all. Though during this period Government has spent crores of rupees for agricultural improvements by way of better seed, manure, irrigation, improved cultivation, it is afraid to touch the very basic problem—radical land reforms by transferring land from the parasite landlord to actual cultivators who till the land, distribution of fallow lands, formation of State Trading, etc.

In face of such a serious food crisis, the Government should immediately take the following measures to arrest it:

- 1 Stop export of rice outside the State;
- 2 Open extensive grain golas with the existing stock on hand and distribute it among the people;
- 3 Bring down from the 50,000 tons of rice in the future. But this will not solve the problem. The requirement is much more than what Orissa is expecting to receive. Secondly, there is little possibility of receiving the stocks in time. Dearth of wagons is also a key problem. It will take more than a month for even 20,000 tons to reach Orissa.
- 4 Start on a wide scale development and test relief work in the scarcity areas;
- 5 Postpone realisation of debts, interest, etc. from poor peasants;
- 6 Open control supply centres in Government establishments and industrial undertakings.



WEST BENGAL

MOBILISATION AGAINST INCREASING FOOD PRICES Mass Rallies All Over The State

CALCUTTA, June 9: At the joint call of the West Bengal Provincial Organising Committee of the Communist Party of India and the Marxist Forward Bloc, a Food Rally, was held on June 7 at the Calcutta Maidan. Braving rain a large gathering, including several hundred peasants, attended the rally which highlighted the gravity of the food situation in the State and called for vigorous measures by government to meet the situation.

EVICTIOIN OF REFUGEES

During the last ten to twelve years more than two thousand families, mostly East Bengal refugees, had built shanties on the land owned by the railways by the side of the railway lines passing through the southern part of the city of Calcutta.

When a few years back attempts were made to evict them, they made it clear that they had no objection to vacate those places if alternate sites were given to them. The West Bengal Government proposed to find such alternate sites.

But without doing so several attempts were made to evict them, in the name of raising the height of the railway lines in order to raise and broaden one of the main arterial roads of Calcutta which passes below the railway track and which is also a persistent demand of the citizens. But whenever in the past government made attempts to evict these refugees, the people supported them, as the government did not provide any alternative shelter.

Now the Government has served notice on all these people to quit within 15 days of receiving notice. The reason given is movement of freights connected with defence needs and notices have been served under DI Rules. At a meeting held on June 6 Dr. Ramen Sen MP expressed his surprise that the name of the President of the Republic was being invoked to make 10,000 people homeless. He demanded alternate housing before eviction. Prankrishna Chakravorty of UCRC who presided over the meeting called on the refugees to maintain their unity and to fight for rehabilitation.

Arrangement For Cheap Rice
At Tamluk in the Midnapore district a procession of more than three hundred people went to the S.D.O.'s office demanding distribution of rice through fair-price shops and curbing black-marketing etc. A deputation of ten persons met the SDO and submitted a memorandum. At Contai in the same district another procession met the SDO there and discussed the above demands.
At Bankura, the headquarters town of the district, a meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Communist Party, Kisan Sabha

JUNE 16, 1963

NEW AGE

THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AND WORLD POLITICS

From
CENTRE PAGES

policy of neutrality, and called for economic and political sanctions against countries pursuing an independent policy. Attacks along these lines have been intensified of late, in connection with the growing role played by the non-aligned countries in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The imperialist powers, and primarily the United States, are trying to exploit the economic weakness of the young states to compel them to reject the path of independent development. American "aid" to these states often takes the form of political blackmail and gross pressure.

As a rule this "aid" is given on condition, made in direct or disguised form, that the country in question refrains from carrying out certain economic reforms, or pursuing an independent policy. Cases in point were the manoeuvres of the imperialist powers around the plans to build the Aswan High Dam in the U.A.R., the initial refusal of the United States to grant Ghana a loan to build a dam and power station on the Upper Volta, and its refusal to render economic and financial assistance to Ceylon because the government had nationalised the property of American oil companies.

Imperialist diplomacy is endeavouring to foment dissension

among some of the neutralist states, to provoke conflicts among them, to worsen their relations with the socialist countries, and to undermine the unity of the Afro-Asian countries. The reactionaries everywhere widely utilised the Indian-Chinese border conflict to attack this unity and the policy of non-alignment.

The policy of neutrality pursued by the Indian Government in the early days of this conflict became one of the main targets of attack both on the part of the home reactionaries, who demanded that the country reverse its foreign policy and align itself with imperialist military blocs to "safeguard itself against aggression", and on the part of the Western powers, who pressed India to "sacrifice" its policy of non-alignment. The manoeuvres of the imperialist and reactionaries inside the country led to the unjustified arrest of hundreds of Indian Communists.

While the imperialists did not succeed in diverting India from the path of neutrality, the events in that country showed that the balance of political forces in a number of neutralist states has still not taken final shape, and that under certain circumstances it can shift in a direction unfavourable to peace and national liberation.

that the establishment of the aggressive blocs was initiated by the imperialist powers. In the face of the threat to their security on the part of US imperialism which began, immediately after the Second World War, to revive militarism and revenge sentiments, especially in Western Germany and Japan, the socialist countries had no choice but to strengthen their military might and form a defensive alliance.

The Warsaw Treaty organisation appeared after the aggressive NATO and SEATO blocs were established, and after the foundation was laid for the Baghdad Pact. These were military alignments against the socialist states, designed to suppress also the national-liberation movement in the countries of Asia and Africa.

There is a fundamental difference between these aggressive pacts and the military organisation of the socialist states.

"It will be pertinent to recall," said N. S. Khrushchev at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, "that right after the Warsaw Treaty organisation was founded the socialist countries declared that they stood as before for the dissolution of all military blocs and were prepared to abolish the Warsaw Treaty forthwith if the imperialist powers agreed to abolish their military alignments. We have repeated this many times since, and we adhere to the same viewpoint today."

Fetishism of the "non-bloc policy" has another aspect. Some advocates of this policy divide the present balance of strength into two military blocs—the imperialist and the socialist, placing the non-aligned states in a class of its own. They hold that the main trend in international relations will be an increase in the number

of non-aligned states, primarily at the expense of the military bloc countries which, in their opinion, will gradually pass over to a "non-bloc policy". These theoreticians see non-alignment as a kind of remedy for all ills, as a lever for lessening international tensions and removing the danger of a new world war.

Non-alignment is the alternative to a pro-imperialist foreign policy, and is a gain only compared with the latter. A new type of international relations is being moulded by the socialist system, relations based on the principles of peace, equality, self-determination, respect for the independence of all countries, and on a fundamentally new type of diplomacy.

Failure to understand this can but lead away from the general path of contemporary international relations. It would be tantamount to disregarding the fact that the world is divided into two opposed social systems—the socialist and the capitalist; it would be tantamount to ignoring that in our age the socialist world system is a cardinal factor ensuring peace, and that the socialist countries will steadily increase in number, while the capitalist world will continue to shrink.

To be sure, the number of non-aligned countries has grown of late, and will continue to grow. This increase is primarily due to the appearance of new sovereign states. Independent Tanganyika, Uganda and Sierra Leone have declared that they will pursue an independent policy.

Although some countries in Asia and Africa still listen to the voice of their former masters, and have aligned themselves with the Western military blocs, it would be incorrect to assume that they have done so for all time, or that they have become reconciled to a

subordinate role. Realisation of the fact that the peoples of these countries were able to win political independence has awakened powerful liberating forces which in the end will win for their countries a genuinely independent foreign policy.

Neutralist trends are manifesting themselves in the foreign policy of some of the Latin American states too. In this connection it should be noted that the policy of non-alignment, which crystallised as a result of the long struggle waged by the peoples of Asia and Africa for national liberation, is not at all the monopoly of these countries. Non-participation in aggressive military alignments and active struggle for peace are the underlying principles of the foreign policy of all countries anxious to get rid of imperialist dependence and to play an independent role on the international arena.

There is a growing sentiment for a neutralist policy in Brazil and Mexico, and to some extent, in Bolivia and Ecuador. On a number of questions connected with the struggle for peace, and, in particular, on the question of banning nuclear tests, some of the Latin American countries support the neutralist states.

The non-aligned states are playing an active role in world politics. Objectively, most of them act as a revolutionary and anti-imperialist force on the international arena. Together with the socialist states they form the vast peace zone, which is steadily expanding and vigorously countering the policy of war preparation. When assessing the policy of the non-aligned states the decisive criterion for Communists in all countries should be the part taken by these states in the powerful front of fighters for peace, which in our day can avert world war. (World Marxist Review, April 1963)

Peace Treaty : Agreement Among Big Powers On Tests Is Essential

—Says WALTER ULBRICHT

"A peace treaty is inconceivable without agreement among the big powers at least on the suspension of nuclear weapon tests", declared Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and GDR State Council Chairman in his speech before the 7th Parliament of the Free German Youth Organisation in Berlin.

"If the German people want to live in peace, then this requires an agreement on an armaments halt, and an agreement between the two German States on step by step disarmament, as well as the conclusion of non-aggression pact between the States of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty.

If the Bonn Government and some Social Democratic leaders say that this cannot be done, as the recognition of the GDR is linked with it, I can only reply: The GDR exists anyway; it is recognised internationally, it is moulding the German present and future."

Referring to the question of German frontiers, Walter Ulbricht said that here, accord existed among the three big powers as early as at the time of the Potsdam Agreement. Today also there are no differences among the big powers on this question. They all hold the view that the borders fixed after World War II are final. He who wants an alternation only demonstrates that he wants war.

Walter Ulbricht referred also to the argument of West German youths that the only obstacle in the path of under-

standing between the Germans is the Wall, the anti-fascist protection wall of the GDR.

"This is a great error. The aggressive plan of the West German militarists against the GDR were hatched and practised long before a wall existed. The Wall merely thwarted the plans of these gentlemen wanting everything else but understanding.

"In West Germany, for instance, there exists no wall, but nobody can say that the aims and ways of the ruling militaristic circles and of the Hitlerite Generals on the one hand, and of the peace-loving people on the other hand, are one and the same.

It is not the wall that is separating the Germans and their families but simply and solely imperialism and militarism.

"German imperialism not only separates people into two



IN MEMORY OF NAZIM HIKMET

★ By Chinmohon Sehanabis

A life composed of an unique blending of poetry and revolution has suddenly ended in the death of Nazim Hikmet.

He was born in 1902 in the house of a top-ranking government official in Istanbul. His poetic life began at the age of 14 when he was an apprentice in the Naval Academy. In his dreamy chirping that day there was no indication of his revolutionary clap of thunder. That transformation came about in the demand of his ever widening life.

Liberation Movement

Without any hesitation Nazim Hikmet joined the countrywide liberation movement that swelled up under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal following the gobbling

up of his motherland, the vast tracts of land of Turkey, by the Anglo-French imperialists. His revolutionary life sprouted among the peasants and workers after he ran away from Istanbul and it is their proximity that brought about a radical change in his poetry.

Meanwhile, the wonderful story of a social revolution in Russia reached Nazim Hikmet's ears. To test it with his own eyes he went to the Soviet Union in 1920, at a time when, according to his own words: "As if tumultuous waves were raiding the threshold of heaven and the wheels of history in one-sixth of the world were moving rapidly

in the powerful stroke of events."

In this background, on the one hand as he became initiated to Marxist ideology, on the other, a close friendship with poet Mayakovsky also grew up. The stark realism of the revolutionary poet of Russia greatly influenced his poetry. And there began his experiments with the new technique and imagery to convey the new revolutionary content through his poetry.

After his return to the motherland in 1925, Nazim was arrested and confined to Ankara prison for three years. And thereafter began the continuous repetition of his arrests, sham of trials, sentences of imprisonment and temporary releases.

In 1938, the uninterrupted rhythm of his revolutionary life reached the peak when he was convicted for 28 years by a military tribunal on the charge of spreading revolt among the personnel of the navy and army and students.

MICROCOSM

★ By Nazim Hikmet

When the starlight flowing into my eye like a golden drop

Pierced the darkness of space

for the first time, there wasn't one single eye on the earth looking into the sky...

The stars were old, the earth was a child.

The stars are far from us but so very far so very far...

Our world is small among the stars but so very small so very small...

And Asia is one-fifth of the world, And India is a country in Asia. Calcutta is a city in India Benerjee is a man in Calcutta...

And I am bringing you the news: In India

In the city of Calcutta they stopped on his way A man who was walking and they chained him.

And I don't bother anymore to lift my head toward the bright skies.

If the stars are far, if the earth is small I don't care at all I don't mind...

I want you to know that I find more astonishing more powerful more mysterious and gigantic.

THIS MAN stopped on his way and chained.

(1934)

*This is a fragment from an epic poem on the life and death of the Indian revolutionary, Benerjee, published in 1934.

FAREWELL

★ By Nazim Hikmet

Farewell my friends
farewell!
I am carrying you in my heart
deep in my heart
and my struggle in my mind.

Farewell my friends
farewell!

Don't line up on the shore
like birds in picture-cards
to wave kerchiefs at me
I want none of this.

From head to toe
I see myself in the eyes of my friends
Oh friends
brothers in struggle
brothers in work
comrades

Farewell without words
The nights will fasten a lock on the door
The years will knit their net on the windows
And I will shout the song of the prison
As a fighting song.

We will meet again
my friends,
We will meet again.

Together we will laugh at the sun
Together we will fight
Oh friends

brothers in struggle
brothers in work
comrades
Farewell.

(1931)

There, one of his poems, songs of Robeson, enveloping Advice to a Fellow Prisoner, the world over as ever more provided immense strength beautiful, in the victorious smile of a great fighter, in

"You must keep on living, Perhaps, Living is not a pleasure any more, But it is your duty To spite the enemy To live one more day. In your jail one part of your self may be all alone like a stone at the bottom of the well But the other part of you should mingle with the crowds of the world that in your jail you will tremble with every rustling leaf forty days away from you."

Later, I had the opportunity to meet Nazim Hikmet and talk to him. I have written elsewhere about my experiences in the peace congresses of Helsinki (1955) and Moscow (1962) where I met him. I just remember that when Subhas Mukhopadhyaya asked for five minutes' time from the busy poet for reciting one of his poems (Beautiful), Nazim Hikmet replied: Not five minutes, for poetry there is the time till eternity.

Certainly, poet, certainly, you will live on as you desired and besides, in the great wealth of your creation and in your revolutionary life.

Bengali Translations

Subhas Mukhopadhyaya has rendered a good number of Nazim Hikmet's poems into Bengali. I remember that day after listening to Subhas's poem Nazim Hikmet had enthusiastically stated: I very much wish to translate this poem into Turkish language.

After long fifteen years, in 1950, through the progressive American Journal Masses and Mainstream, I received a wider introduction to the revolutionary life of the poet and along with that the English translation of three of his poems. Like the poet, at that time most of us also were in prison.

It was Nazim Hikmet's desire to live in the poems of Luis Aragon, in the white peace dove of Picasso, in the

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OBJECTIVISM AND THE PERSPECTIVES

THE policy of non-alignment took shape in the course of the struggle waged by the Afro-Asian countries against the imperialist military blocs.

In the initial stage this policy simply meant non-alignment with the military blocs established by the imperialists. Egypt's refusal to enter the so-called Middle East Command in 1951, the resolute rebuff administered by Indonesia to all attempts to inveigle it into SEATO, the reluctance of the majority of the Baghdad Pact (now CENTO)—these were the first shoots of the non-alignment policy which sprang from the soil

of the struggle against imperialist intrigue. Unfortunately, some statesmen in the non-aligned countries close their eyes to this fact. In their criticism of the policy of military blocs they do not in all cases proceed from a realistic estimation of the situation but from general objective premises, making a fetish of the "non-bloc policy".

Saying they are opposed to blocs in general, they equate the aggressive military alignments of the imperialist states and their allies with the defensive association of the socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty.

But it is common knowledge

NEW AGE

JUNE 16, 1963

ADENAUER'S AIDE GLOBKE TO BE TRIED FOR MASS MURDERS

★ FROM KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN, June 9: The State Prosecutor-General of the German Democratic Republic issued a warrant two days ago for the arrest of HANS GLOBKE, West German State Secretary and Chancellor Adenauer's chief aide, on charges of war crimes, mass murder of Jews, Poles, Russians and Czechs. Globke is to be tried in Berlin. The trial opens on July 8.

GLOBKE, often described as the worst war criminal still at large, has taken refuge in Bonn. During the Hitler period, he was a leading official of the Nazi Ministry of Interior. Vast quantities of documentary evidence are available in Nazi files in both parts of Germany and with the Americans, showing that Globke played a key part in drafting most of the laws and decrees which led to the liquidation of millions of Jews, together with uncounted thousands of Poles and Czechs. Even West German politicians have to admit his crimes. Speaking in the West German Parliament on July 12, 1950, Social Democrat M.P. Adolf Arndt stated:

"It may be true that Globke only carried out the tasks allotted to him by the Nazis with inner reservations. But his name will always be coupled with the Nuremberg laws. These laws led to outlawing, and to legally disguised murder and Dr. Globke knew this."

In view of the very clear nature of the documentary evidence against Globke, and on the basis of observations of the International Jurists' Commission, which has minutely studied these documents, the GDR decided to open legal proceedings against Globke and issued an arrest warrant.

The warrant said he was wanted "on urgent suspicion of having taken part in the preparation and execution of fascist crimes that led to the murder of million of Jewish citizens and members of other nations," while he was an official of the Nazi Ministry of Interior, and that he is being searched for and will be arrested on sight.

Cooperation of the West German legal authorities will be required to execute the warrant in Bonn.

Globke's Crimes

According to unchallengeable documentary evidence, some already given to pressmen here, Globke's crimes are:

- 1 He helped to draft the Nuremberg laws, Hitler's anti-semitic legislation, which by turning all German Jews into second class citizens, prepared the way for their deportation and mass murder;
- 2 Globke initiated the stamping of passports held by Jews with the letter "J" which made them immediately identifiable to the Gestapo;
- 3 He personally supervised the extension of Nuremberg Laws to Austria and Czechoslovakia, when these countries were occupied by the Nazis;
- 4 Globke helped draft the "Criminal Code for Poles", under which Poles and Jews would be sentenced to death after summary proceedings for even the slightest offences.

conference of these outstanding international jurists.

A member of this Commission, British barrister Platts-Mills later told us in Berlin that unless Globke could answer these charges, evidence showed that he was guilty, not only of war crimes and crimes against humanity, but also guilty of crimes defined in criminal codes in every civilised country.

The trial of Globke, which begins on July 8 in Berlin, though in absentia, has attracted international attention. The New York Times and other big Western papers have prominently reported the arrest warrant against Globke and charges against him. The trial will be watched by eminent jurists from many countries of the world, including West Germany, USA, Britain and India. Western pressmen are already milling in to secure admission tickets to the court room.

Globke's trial will also bring to light the crimes of 12 other West German State Secretaries now closely associating with Globke in preparing another World War and running the

administration of history's worst barbarous regime in West Germany.

An appendix to the crimes of Globke published here has brought these too under the spotlight.

These top Bonn civil servants are:

- (1) Volkmar Hopf, formerly local Governor in Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia, today State Secretary in the Ministry of Defences (he wrote, together with Globke, official legal commentaries on Nazi Municipal Laws in occupied regions, which led to the killing of many innocent men);
- (2) Friedrich Karl Vialon, formerly Governmental Director in Nazi-occupied East, today State Secretary in the Ministry of Development Aid (see his story in last week's New Age);
- (3) Frenz Thedieck, formerly top official in Nazi military administration in Belgium, today State Secretary in Ministry for All-German Questions;
- (4) George Anders, formerly Ministerial Counsellor in Hitler's Ministry of Justice, today State Secretary in the Ministry of Interior, (from 1933 he was a prominent Nazi Party member);
- (5) Joseph Holz, formerly treasury chief in Nazi City Administration, Munich, today State Secretary in the Ministry of Interior;
- (6) Wolfgang Cartellieri, formerly Judge in Nazi District Court, Erfurt, today State Secretary in the Ministry of Scientific Research;
- (7) Ludger Westrick, formerly Nazi "War Economy leader", today State Secretary in Economic Ministry;
- (8) Wilhelm Claussen, formerly economic boss in Nazi-occupied Serbia, today State Secretary in the Ministry of Labour;
- (9) Walter Bargatsky, formerly Nazi official in occupied France, today State Secretary in the Ministry of Health;
- (10) Werner Ernst, formerly official of Nazi Ministry of Labour, today State Secretary in the Ministry of Housing;
- (11) Karl Herz, formerly Ministerial Director in Nazi Ministry of Posts, today State Secretary in the Ministry of Posts;
- (12) Alfred Muller Armark, formerly Nazi Professor of Munster University, today State Secretary in the Economic Ministry.

All these 12 chiefs now in Bonn, were members of the Nazi Party. The document gives their membership card number, as well as their crimes in positions held by them in the Nazi administration.

The Globke trial will have far-reaching effects. It is rumoured in Bonn circles that Globke will quit along with Adenauer in a few months. Meanwhile, GDR Legal Department has officially requested Britain, USA, Israel and other 15 countries to help in assembling further evidence.

HANDS OFF INDIA

★ From Front Page

and the USA supports Pakistan, on the Kashmir issue.

Could the words be clearer? But the backs of some lackeys appear to have grown so used to the US whip, that this insult, this open declaration against India, remains unanswered. And there are sections of the monopoly press, who hail the oracle's words:

Rusk Makes Distinction

Rusk makes a categorical distinction between India and Pakistan. The USA, he says, has a "formal alliance" with Pakistan and "we have worked with our ally to defend itself and its internal institutions, by assistance in economic and social development."

As for India: "There is in some quarters a fear that our aid will be too costly, that it will promote ways of life antagonistic to ours, that it will cause us to lose a real ally, Pakistan, and that it will be dissipated and ineffective unless the Kashmir issue is settled. These fears arise out of real problems to which we are devoting great time and effort. I can offer no simple solutions but there are a few valid principles which underlie our efforts."

The blackmail is clear. "Settle"—that is, hand over Kashmir. Do it any way you like: "mediation" by

the USA as Rusk has already forced India to accept; or in any other manner.

Defence? "Arms", for which we are expected to sacrifice our independence itself? Nothing doing, says Rusk, "the security of the sub-continent is indivisible."

India must pledge to point her guns only in the direction of the USA commands.

Pakistan can double its defence budget, continue to receive the latest weapons in shoals—but no pledge is asked of it: its guns are directed, consciously, against India, and after the Pak-China agreement, primarily against India, against India alone.

The US-Commonwealth mission's report has already leaked out. It recommends, without mincing matters, an AIR UMBRELLA—the same hideous contraption which means Indian dependence, Indian alignment, Indian slavery.

All-Round Pressure

The pressure is not confined to Kashmir, is not confined to non-alignment. The public sector is sought to be overthrown: the blackmail on Bokaro has already yielded results—it has been separated from the Hindustan Steel Private Ltd. Americans will run it. The shares of Bokaro

have been thrown open on the stock exchange.

And now we are hailing Rusk for stating that after all Bokaro will probably have to be in the public sector!

But the last straw has been the manner in which the US authorities and their press are seeking to dictate to us who should or who should not head our government. The latest piece of effrontery is the editorial in New York Times, which, pretending to hail the visit of the Indian President, goes out of its way to say that the authority of Nehru has declined and the "centre of gravity has begun to shift to the President with

his residual control in time of emergency over military and bureaucracy."

The New York Times editorial is only a repetition of the open attempts made in the worst days of the Chinese aggression in November, by the US lobby in New Delhi—to secure the removal of the Prime Minister (and the basic policies), and his replacement by any suitable and willing candidate.

All these months, the US anti-Nehru yelling was kept muzzled. It has been let loose again after the victories in the recent byelections to

Parliament of personalities who openly stand for the extension of the American shadow over our Motherland.

Who allowed the US bosses to interfere in our affairs, to anoint leaders of our people, according to their choice?

The Tricolour still flies over our soil. The stars and stripes is welcome to fly over the USA: it is not welcome here.

It is time to proclaim aloud: Our people know how to fight for our independence, how to defend our own soil.

Let Kennedy, Rusk, the New York Times and the rest of the Dollar gang keep their HANDS OFF INDIA!

FOOD DAY OBSERVED IN ASSAM

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

GAUHATI: Food Day was observed on June 2 throughout the state by holding demonstrations, meetings and rallies in response to the call of the Assam State Executive of the Communist Party of India to focus the attention of authorities on the serious food situation and demand effective measures to tackle the food problem.

Big gatherings were witnessed at these rallies in different places, organised by the Party individually and in some places jointly with others also. A series of meetings have been held since then both in urban and rural areas into which party and non-party masses have been drawn. Also memorandums detailing measures to tackle the food situation have been presented to the authorities in various districts during the last few weeks.

Though the government's actions have brought about some improvement in the situation by

making rice available to some extent, prices continue to be high and supply is still inadequate. The big gathering at the meeting in Gauhati on June 4 under the auspices of the Communist Party further revealed the anxiety and distress of the people on this issue.

Addressing the meeting PHANI BORA appealed to the people to be united in a sustained statewide movement for the solution of the food problem. He said that not only scarcity, but high prices also were equally to be reckoned with and the movement therefore cannot exclude from it the question of price of food grains. Phani Bora pointed out that the crisis was not so much due to shortfall in rice production but more to the anti-social activities of profiteers and hoarders and the corruption in administrative machinery. It is in this respect that government should have a firm policy and be alive to the menace posed by profiteers and black-marketers, he said.

Continuing high prices, possibilities of floods in the monsoon period resulting in crop failure, Centre's non-commitment to the demand for an additional 55,000 tons of rice for Assam and the state government's lack of firmness in dealing with anti-social black-marketers and millers all pose the danger of the food situation in the state getting deteriorated. The need for sustained mass campaign for a change of government's policy in regard to food is therefore self-evident in the situation.

FROM S. SHARMA

AN EXAMPLE OF ALL-PARTY UNITY

An inspiring example of how all-in people's unity could be achieved on an issue affecting common people was set in Palghat district when more than hundred prominent citizens from the entire district and belonging to all political parties met at Sreekrishnapuram on June 2 and demanded that the state government reconsider their decision of dropping the Kanjirapuzha irrigation scheme.

The Kanjirapuzha scheme had been included in the 2nd Plan and if implemented could have irrigated 24,000 acres of land in Palghat district.

The scheme was being put through at a slow pace and the question of more allotments for the scheme and its expeditious implementation were raised on the floor of the Assembly more than once with no results. But suddenly the Government announced that due to financial stringency they were not going ahead with the scheme, and the Construction Division was wound up.

The action committee which came into being to protest against the stoppage of the scheme was able to organise this all-party meeting in a few weeks' time since the issue was a burning one for the people of the district and affecting the prospects of food production itself.

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD, presided over the meeting. K. MADHAVA MENON (Congress MP) sent a message

GOPALA PANICKER, MURUGACHAN, K. BALSUBRAMANIAN, P. SYED ALI and others participated in the discussion.

A Resolution demanding of the Kerala Government to take up and proceed with the scheme was unanimously adopted. It was also resolved that a deputation should wait on the state and union governments to press the demand.

PROTEST AGAINST POLICE ACTIONS

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

SRIGANGANAGAR, June 10: More than five thousand people demonstrated here today protesting against the police action in bodily removing twenty three leaders and workers of various political parties from the office premises of the collector of Ganganagar, where they were on a hunger-strike.

Among these hunger-striking were Kedarnath MLA (Independent), Sheopat Singh, MLA (Communist), Metram, general secretary of the Ganganagar district committee of the CPI, Tapaswi Pradhan of Textile Labour Union etc. They had resorted to a 24-hour

E.M.C. WORKERS ON STRIKE

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA June 11: The workers of E.M.C. Ltd., Dum Dum have been forced to resort to strike since June 10, following the management's refusal to meet their long-standing demands.

The demands included fixing up of proper wage-scales and grades, increase in dearness allowance, introduction of gratuity scheme, house rent and abolition of contract system. The management of the

Kerala

SINGBHUM DISTRICT KISAN CONFERENCE

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

JAMSHEDPUR: The fourth conference of the Singbhum District Kisan Sabha was held on June 1 and 2, at Bara Gamaria, attended by 123 delegates and important leaders like KARYANANDA SHARMA, DEVNANDAN SHARMA, president, Bihar State Kisan Sabha, KEDAR DAS, president, Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, DR. U. MISRA MP, BASTA SOREN MLA, etc.

The conference deliberated upon the pressing problems of the peasants in the district. A big public meeting was held at the conclusion of the conference, which was presided over by Anil Dasgupta, an eminent local lawyer.

A resolution adopted in the conference drew attention of the government to the precarious food situation in the area and demanded that three thans—Chatsla, Potka and Chakradharpur be declared as famine areas and relief measures undertaken. Another resolution suggested

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Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella

AMERICAN "PEACE CORPS"

A photograph on page three of the Hindustan Times (June 8) shows a number of boys and girls clad in sari, salwar, jeans and bush shirts, trying to keep time with a dance number—I don't know what.

They are a few among the 116 boys and girls selected to go to the United States to "learn American way of life."

This is the one side of the two-way traffic in the American "Experiment in International Living". The American side is represented by the so-called Peace Corps.

The expenses on this account is borne by the US government under the P.L. 480 and the practice is in force since last three years. According to Hindustan Times' figures, already 111 Indian boys and girls have learnt the American way of life. While their activities are yet to blossom forth in various directions in our country barring a few incidents here and there, some of the activities of the US peace corps have forced many a high-up to raise eye brows. Americans do not necessarily come here to be Indianised.

In this exchange, the candidates are carefully selected and these young people (age ranging between 19 and 30) are supposed to be "outstanding" in their own fields. The activities of the American peace corps have already

created complicated situations in a number of countries.

Here is a case to the point which shows the reaction of the Cypriot people to the American peace corps boys.

The report appears in the Akel Newsletter of Cyprus and it says: "A few months ago, American young boys belonging to the American 'peace' corps arrived in Cyprus. During that time American propaganda in Cyprus was full of praise for these bright young Americans who were 'experts' on agriculture, education, health and what not.

"The same propagandists were telling the people of Cyprus about the 'terrific' assistance which the American 'peace' corps are granting to the peoples of Africa, and to other peoples in undeveloped countries.

"Now that these 'bright young men' of the American 'peace corps' are in Cyprus, the Cypriot people realised that these American 'experts' know nothing about agriculture, education and health, and in fact, what they have been sent here to do, is to interfere in the domestic affairs of Cyprus."

The Haravti, the leading newspaper of Cyprus described the formation of peace corps as: "The sole aim of the creation of these corps is the extension of the cold war," and that "not only they are incapable of offering any help

to Cyprus, but they have no knowledge of the history, the people, the geography or the ethnological composition of an island which they are supposed to 'help' and 'civilise'..."

And therefore the Cypriot people have politely told the peace corps fellows to go home. Why can't India follow suit?

The Ghanaian Times on June 9 has suggested a novel idea that the African states should take collective action to send a 'peace corps' to US to help solve the racial crisis.

This is definitely a good idea. The Americans themselves who teach the peoples of underdeveloped countries the American way of life interspersed with segregation, racial hatred and Ku Klux Klan, need a little teaching, teachings in equality, fraternity, human rights of all peoples and freedom of all countries.

AMERICAN "ALLIANCE"

TAKE another aspect of the uncle's greatness. He provides 'help' to the underdeveloped countries in the form of aids and loans. Take, for instance, the much publicised "Alliance For Progress" that the US president Kennedy announced on March 13, 1961 in a specially called meeting of the Latin Ame-

—Charvak

WORLD

WHAT IS THE I.C.C. DOING IN LAOS ?

★ By Zia-ul Haq

The Soviet draft of a message from the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference to the Chairman of the International Commission in Laos, published by Pravda on June 1, brings to light certain disturbing facts about the functioning of the Commission.

The draft message was transmitted to the British Government through its ambassador in Moscow on May 28. The British Government, for obvious reasons, refused to approve of it.

The Soviet Union in this draft states that the co-chairmen had received a letter from the head of the Polish delegation at the Commission, reporting "recent violations of the principal provisions of the protocol attached to the Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, defining the role and the activities of the Commission".

It reminds all concerned that "Article 14 of the protocol says outright that the Commission functions as a single organ" of the Geneva Conference.

"This and other articles of the protocol (1b, 8, 15) provide for concerted cooperation between the Commission members for the purpose of solving all the matters within the Commission's competence; unanimous adoption of decisions on all major questions; unanimous adoption of all conclusions forwarded to the two co-chairmen, as well as of all recommendations of the Commission."

"As reported by the Polish representative," says the Soviet draft of the message, "these main principles of the Commission's activities are being violated. The representatives of India and Canada in the Commission are trying to solve questions of major importance by simple majority, disregarding the opinion of the third member of the International Control Commission."

Soviet Stand

The Soviet draft then recalls that "on April 29 two Commission members sent a so-called permanent group of the International Commission to the Plain of Jars in spite of the objections of the Polish representative."

The establishment of this "permanent group" says the Soviet draft, was also in contravention of Article 16 of the protocol which lays down that "dispatch of inspection groups to carry out individual concrete assignments is done with the consent of the Royal Government of Laos" which means, not one group, but the Government as a whole.

"According to information available, the coalition government as a whole did not give such consent..."

Pointing out a further violation of the principle of unanimity and concerted actions, the Soviet Union says that in preparation of the 22nd routine report of the Commission at its meeting on May 17, the head of the Polish delegation was not given the opportunity to include his dissenting opinion.

ported in the Indian press, these are:

- 1) General Kong Le's so-called neutralist troops, deeply infiltrated by the Rightists, must vacate the Plain of Jars. It is recognised in Geneva Agreements that the Plain of Jars will remain under Neo Lao Haksat jurisdiction. That position must be restored and respected.
- 2) The reign of terror instituted in Vientiane by Phoumi Nosavan's regime through the so-called Security Guards, the continuing arrests and assassinations there, must stop. The Security Guard must be dissolved. Quinim Pholsena's murderer must be put on open trial.
- 3) A national coalition administration must be established in Vientiane assuring the safety of members of the national coalition government belonging to all groups.
- 4) The principle of unanimity among the three constituent groups in the national

★ ON FACING PAGE



Patolichev and Manubhai Shah after signing the new agreement.

INDO-SOVIET COOPERATION GROWS

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, JUNE 11: A big step forward was taken in Indo-Soviet cooperation here yesterday with the signing of a new five-year trade agreement between the USSR and India for 1964-68. Manubhai Shah, India's Minister for International Trade and Soviet Minister for Foreign Trade N. S. Patolichev signed the Agreement.

The Agreement envisages a turnover of Rs. 80 to 85 crores for 1964, 90 to 95 crores for 1965, and 100 to 105 crores for 1966. Compared to 1962, the trade between the two countries will be doubled in the next three years. The trade turnover for the last two years of the Agreement will be determined subsequently on the basis of the experience of the first period.

India's trade with the USSR, which was practically nil a few years ago, has increased 10 times during these years, and there is every possibility for this happy tendency to continue.

As Manubhai Shah pointed out, the joint population of the two countries is over 600 million and their economies are rapidly expanding. Therefore, the perspectives for the development of trade and co-operation between India and the USSR are unlimited. Considering these factors, there is no reason why India's trade with the Soviet Union may not be much greater than her trade with Western Europe, in the long run. Soviet-Indian co-operation was an important element in the economic construction of India, as we bought machines and equipment for our development plans, Shah pointed out.

The USSR will export to India machinery and equipment for power projects and mining, oil and metallurgical industries, machine-tools, pig iron and rolled steel products. The USSR will also export to us aircraft and heli-

will take place on a balanced basis, to the mutual advantage of the two countries, and will strengthen the economic co-operation between the two countries. It is based on the solid foundation of friendship between the two countries and will contribute towards the furtherance of peace and progress in general.

India's national exhibition, which is to open here in July, will not only show our all-round progress since freedom but also give us an opportunity to display our products for export. The Soviet side will finalise much of their orders for these things after seeing them here. Buying missions will also go to India to make on the spot study of our export goods.

Manubhai Shah said that the new Agreement "will make the Soviet Union a very major partner in our trade." Our two countries were doing trade in a very organised manner which was not possible with other countries, said the Minister. The negotiations, he said, had been smooth, efficient and friendly and without a bargaining spirit.

Manubhai at a press conference, said that his talks with Kosygin, Gromyko and other Soviet representatives concerned extension of technical and economic co-operation.

Gromyko had emphasised the growing friendship between the two countries and said that the Soviet Union welcomed India's effort to build her basic industry and rejoiced in her successes. The Soviet Union will continue to help India in this field. This Soviet-Indian partnership had been to the advantage of both sides and had been proved reliable and well-tested by time.

JUNE 16, 1963

While dissatisfaction with Government policies concerning sugar, rise in prices of certain essential commodities and the impending Compulsory Deposit Scheme continue to mount, the ruling party is busily engaged in a faction fight to control the organisation. The election of the Congress Party takes place on June 15.

THE Pradesh Returning Officer claims that "independent" persons are being appointed as District Returning Officers and that absolutely fair elections are guaranteed. The ranks' loyalties are divided between various groups and sub-groups. Alignments at the lower level which are not based on any ideological difference or any question of principle, are changing continuously as the day of election approaches.

In this background, the Kairon group is trying hard to consolidate its position. They are at the moment busy in "give and take" manoeuvres with other groups, so that the whole thing may have the pretence of "unanimity". At the same time they seemed to be determined, at least apparently, to weed out the dissidents.

Their immediate objective is Ram Piara, MLA, who has been suspended from Congress membership and a proposal for whose expulsion will be moved in the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party on June 18. The Chief Parliamentary Secretary has thrown a challenge to the dissidents to have a trial of strength in this meeting.

The "dissidents" are going ahead with their campaign to capture the maximum number of seats in the organisation, under the slogan of "electing honest upright Congressmen and rejecting the quota permit holders." The recent truthful statement of the Pradesh Congress President that 90 per cent of the Congress membership is bogus has come in handy. This statement has also

been utilised by the Opposition press.

The callous disregard of people's problems by the Congress leaders is also manifested in the way the question of separating the judiciary from the executive has been approached. This longstanding demand, which has been met in many States, it may be added, was at one time championed by the Indian National Congress.



FACTION FIGHT IN PUNJAB CONGRESS

the issue in September, but the Chief Minister has quite categorically said that the time is not ripe for it.

It may be noted here that the Punjab Government is taking this stand despite a clear-cut directive by the Government of India to the contrary.

Akalis Follow Suit

Factional squabbles are by no means a monopoly of the Congress. The Akalis are not lagging behind either. Sant Fateh Singh continues to outmanoeuvre the ageing Master Tara Singh. The battle now rages round the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, the prize possession of "Sikh politics." The millions of rupees of the SGPC budget are a vast monetary reservoir, which has hitherto been used to strengthen the Akali organisation at the cost of ordinary working people.

The Sant has recently come out from his 40 days' long "agyatvas" or meditation in a jungle hide-out. Sant's daily is systematically giving measured propaganda doses to the religious and the gullible among the Sikh masses. The "agyatvas" has been fully made use of.

Stories have been circulated that during the "agyatvas", tigers and serpents came to the Sant, listened to the chanting of hymns and left peacefully! The image of the Sant as a person possessing

extraordinary spiritual qualities has been built up once again. Attempts to reconcile the two factions continue but there is hardly any doubt that the two groups are poised for a head-on clash.

"Agyatvas", shorn of its religious mask, was in reality the Sant's solution of the blind alley in which the Akali politics finds itself. The Sant sought to prevent the disintegration of his group which was taking place as a result of buying over of Akali MLAs by the Congress.

The Master Tara Singh group, now a minority in the SGPC, is proposing a motion of no confidence in the President (Sant Group). The move itself has caused further discussions in the Master Group. Gofran and Gopal Singh Qaumi, two prominent lieutenants of the Master, have tendered their resignation from the Akali Dal (Master) Working Committee.

The Master Group claims that the Gurdwara administration under the Sant Group has deteriorated and all sorts of irreligious activities are being carried out by the Sant's men. The Sant Group

on the other hand claims an improvement in the administration of Gurdwaras.

The very fact that the Master has so quickly mustered strength to fight another round against the Sant shows that basically the Gurdwara administration

FROM
PREM SINGH

has not registered any improvement.

The motion of no-confidence will be taken up in the next meeting of the 160 member SGPC on June 18. Meanwhile, all types of vote-catching devices are being employed by the two groups.

Whatever may be the outcome of this fight, the fact remains that Akali politics does not offer any solution to the people's problems. It is but natural that its leaders should resort to all sorts of stunts to maintain their hold on the masses.

Minister Cheats Vinoba Bhave

★ FROM AJAY DAS GUPTA

IT was reported in the daily press that Acharya Vinoba Bhave fasted for two days during his tour of the 24 Parganas district and now some horrifying incidents are being revealed as the cause of this fast.

It is reported that at a place called Ukler Hat Maya Banerjee, a deputy Minister handed over to Vinoba papers relating to Gramdan of 48 villages. This gift was announced at the meeting. The usual procedure of scrutinising the deeds was not followed as the gift was made by a Deputy Minister, who was deputed to look after Vinoba during his tour of Sunderban.

Later on it was found, according to reports, that 47 out of these 48 gifts were infructuous for various reasons. It is even alleged that some of the signatures on those documents were forged. Not only that,

some other gifts made through the same Deputy Minister, it is now alleged by the Sarvodaya Mandal, are also infructuous.

Maya Banerjee made a statement which purported to contradict the press reports. But the rejoinder by the Sarvodaya Mandal has made the situation worse for her.

It is also reported that her behaviour with Charu Bhandari and also Vinoba himself irritated the inmates of the Vinoba Ashram and many of the programmes were cancelled. Chief Minister P. C. Sen rushed to Sunderban village to meet Vinoba and he was reported to have asked Maya Banerjee to quit and Radharani Mahatab, Maharani of Burdwan and a Deputy Minister to take over charge of Vinoba's tour.

The affair, it is understood, is the result of the factional fight inside the 24 Parganas DCC which for long time past has resulted in many ugly incidents. But that they could descend to such depths, could not have been imagined by many.

WORLD

★ FROM FACING PAGE

coalition must be fully respected.

Even a paper like the Times of India has come out openly calling for "most serious consideration" being given by Prince Souvanna Phouma to the above basis for national accord in Laos as proposed by Neo Lao Haksat. All experience so far, including the latest, proves that all attempts at a solution through force by seeking to liquidate the Pathet Lao, are doomed to failure and bound to boomerang.

Crime In S. Vietnam

THE ghastly tragedy that has taken place in Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam in the form of a Buddhist monk publicly burning himself to death in protest against the US puppet regime's oppression of the Buddhists there will shock the whole world.

That in a country with an 80 per cent population of Buddhists, the ruling authorities are so isolated and afraid of the mass of the people that they would not allow religious flags to be flown at Buddhist functions and go to this limit in denying them elementary religious rights is eloquent commentary on the almost decade long American attempt to prop up Ngo Dinh Diem.

It was on May 8 that nine Buddhists were killed by Government forces in Hue when a religious demonstration by Buddhists was fired upon. Since then Buddhist monks and nuns all over have been observing hunger-strikes en masse and sparking off anti-Diem demonstrations. On June 1, according to American news agencies, 4000 monks and nuns and their followers again demonstrated in Hue and most of the Buddhist shopkeepers observed a hartal. Subsequently, Hue remained under virtual martial law for several days.

And now comes the almost ceremonial and demonstrative self-destruction of a priest at the altar of religious persecution at the hands of frightened rulers.

Eye-witness accounts state that early on the morning of June 11 about 500 Buddhist monks assembled at a pagoda to commemorate those killed in the Hue firing of May 8. From there they marched to another pagoda in another part of the city. Suddenly a car heading the procession stopped and some monks got out of it. One of the monks sat down on the road while hundreds of others gathered round. A number of monks took out a petrol can from the car and poured over the monk who had sat down. The latter then lit a match and sat calmly as the flames enveloped him!

Later, the charred body of the dead monk was ceremonially carried through the streets by the procession. The

police then blockaded several of Saigon's important pagodas and cordoned off the streets. According to Buddhist sources police arrested and beat up 32 nuns and six monks who tried to leave the Xa Loi pagoda where the funeral service for the dead monk was held.

As the day advanced another demonstration was attacked by the police. Fifty-one nuns and about ten women followers formed a circle at a main intersection, chanting prayers in honour of the dead monk. A large angry crowd of spectators formed around the women, and police launched a ferocious attack as a result of which four of the nuns were dead and two severely injured.

The demonstrations will surely continue and Diem and his patrons will have to answer for their butchery.

Agreement In Manila

WITH agreement reached at Manila, between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Philippines and Malaya, the Malaysia tangle is much nearer solution. Malaya has agreed to hold a referendum to determine the will of the people of Singapore, Brunei, North Borneo and Sarawak on the formation of Malaysia.

According to press reports, the referendum is to be super-

vised by the U.N. or a neutral commission.

This is certainly a big climb-down for Tunku Abdul Rahman, who had so far doggedly refused to entertain any idea of ascertaining the popular will and insisted on imposition of the Malaysia Federation at the end of August 1963.

The Heads of the three States are to meet in July in Manila and the Foreign Ministers have prepared recommendations for their consideration.

Along with considering the Malaysia plan and its implementation, subject to the

consent of the people of the federating territories, they will also consider the plan for a wider confederation which would embrace their three countries.

The Foreign Ministers have agreed that security and stability of the area is the primary responsibility of the three countries concerned and not of any outside Power or agency. This provides a sound basis for reaching complete understanding and agreement which would be acceptable to the peoples of the three countries and would be welcomed all over South-East Asia.

THE THREE-PRONGED OFFENSIVE

★ From Our Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: And now the President of India, too, has left the United States with a mere promise of "effective assistance" against the Chinese. Patnaik, Boothalingam, TTK and the President himself! An impressive procession indeed!

BUT it is a two-way traffic. In return, we were honoured by the visits of Harriman, Rusk, Bundy, the Air Mission, the Mission of ordnance experts, Sandys and, above all, Lord Mountbatten.

We are no better after all these series. If anything, our position has been becoming worse... And what of our prestige in Afro-Asia and the rest of the world?

The difficulty is that our emissaries have been bragging too much and are taken in easily by the Yankees. The first emissary's bragging while in the US brought a storm. Patnaik's "revelations" about "guerrilla warfare" etc. made us a laughing stock.

No Lesson For Us

But that was evidently no lesson for us. Early this year, a party of Indian and foreign pressmen were taken to the forward positions in Ladakh. And the American news-

men claim they were taken by our army officers to what are called guerrilla camps.

One or two of the American journalists are reported to have threatened to write about our effort at guerrilla activities. They say that in a desperate attempt to prevent them from doing so, their films had to be forfeited and they were told that if they wrote a word, they would be sent out of this country immediately.

We are mentioning all this to show the flabbiness in high places in thinking and execution of jobs. If we are to go in for guerrilla warfare, it is the last thing to be publicised, much less to be talked about.

With the same bravado, a shopping list of arms and equipment worth 1.5 million dollars was prepared. Boothalingam of the Co-ordination Ministry took it to the United States, and papers like *Observer* just ridiculed it.

What President Deleted From His U. N. Address

NEW YORK: United Nations circles are buzzing with enquiries regarding the motives behind the totally unprecedented step taken by President Radhakrishnan in departing from the original prepared text of his address to the UNO General Assembly (after it had been distributed by Indian officials). Not only did the President depart from the text: the original distributed text was withdrawn.

WHAT has caused complete stupefaction here is the fact that the change the President made was this: HE OMITTED THE REFERENCES IN THE ORIGINAL TEXT TO COLONIALISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

The U.S. press has been quick to note this change, and to attempt to read into it perhaps more than was intended. Nevertheless, this extraordinary step has grievously hurt

Afro-Asian circles and has added grist to the mill of anti-Indian propaganda. The President did attempt to make up for this in a special meeting he had with the Afro-Asian group. But the damage is irreparable.

The questions being asked are: Did the U.S. government put pressure for the removal of the passages on colonialism and racial discrimination? And if so, why did the President



acquiesce in taking this wholly disastrous step of omitting references from his address to basic aspects of Indian foreign policy, AFTER the text had been distributed?

And even T. T. Krishnamachari had to pipe down while in the United States. When he got down to business talks, he refused even to acknowledge the existence of such a list, even though the Indian Embassy in Washington had released the same to the press. In the final stages of talks, TTK

climbed down to talk item by item.

On his return from his infantile mission—infantile in its high hopes of arms procurement—TTK is blaming sections of the Indian press. He has been telling people that it was all a conspiracy of the Indian press that he failed in the West.

But the fact is that the United States and UK have not even delivered to India, the arms and equipment agreed upon at Nassau. It was then decided to deliver to India 60 million worth hardware within two months. Now it is seven months. Part of it has yet to come.

As for the long-term "aid", I understand that more Western survey missions are to arrive in India to begin where TTK has left off. The first is in respect of our ordnance factories.

Our Commonwealth "partners" have been less forthcoming. The UK wants to deduct the military contribution from its commitment to development. Canada has performed a hat-trick. TTK went there and the Canadians agreed to sell us some Caribou aircraft for 12.5 million dollars. As against this, they have stopped the Colombo Plan aid to India aggregating 8 million dollars. The Australians have been generous enough to promise the despatch of a team of ordnance experts.

All these amount to precious little. Why is the West prevaricating?

Concession On Kashmir

The State Department specialists think that the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir should be solved first in favour of Pakistan.

That was why the first major political act of the US Embassy in New Delhi last December was to put out that notorious USIS circular affirming that Pakistan has a "legal" claim over the "fabled valley" apart from "religious and geographical" claims.

When asked about this circular at his monthly press conference in December last year, Prime Minister Nehru merely said that the Americans were not fully aware of the Kashmir situation.

This alleged Pakistani claim over the "fabled valley" is one of the major factors that has dogged all subsequent Indo-American talks for the so-called "military aid". It reached its climax when Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, visited New Delhi and after a night-long session in Rashtrapati Bhavan, forced India to accept "mediation".

It is clear that one of the rewards that the Americans are insisting for the so-called "long-term military aid" is that India should part with the Kashmir Valley to Pakistan. In return India has been promised that the US would see to it that Pakistan would give India transit facilities (sic!) through the Valley to move our troops and material to our outposts in Ladakh!

Attempt To Change Foreign Policy

Besides Kashmir, the Yankees are also working overtime to change, if they can, other aspects of India's foreign policy. And they are sanguine that many Indians are on their side in this respect.

While in the US, TTK himself talked about the continuance of the Chiang Kai-shek regime in the United Nations. The other week, the American *Christian Science Monitor* quoted a high Indian official as saying that "a reversal" has already taken place in the Indian foreign policy. Could the official be from TTK's own Ministry? No denial has so far been issued.

Actually it is a three-pronged attack that the US has launched against India, capitalising on the Chinese aggression. Besides emasculating our non-aligned foreign policy, they want to reverse our economic policy and also denigrate Nehru.

Bokaro is the typical example of this economic policy. The Americans are hobnobbing with the Birlas to wrest Bokaro from the public sector.

The notorious *New York Times* attack on Nehru and the "building up" of Dr. Radhakrishnan are typical of the new US offensive.

And we are to bear all this, for a mess of pottage—a squadron of supersonic planes?

TTK: Sadder, Not Wiser

★ From Our Political Correspondent

The pilgrimage to the West is over, at least for this summer. From Bijoy Patnaik to S. K. Patil everyone who matters—that is, matters in America—has tried his hand.

WHAT have we got as a result? TTK has made an elaborate report after the exhaustive trip. In a nutshell it appears that he has got very little beyond what the Boothalingam mission had been promised.

One exuberant "Political Commentator" of a newspaper chain went to the extent of saying that when Dr. Radhakrishnan was having a presidential tete-a-tete at the white House, Kennedy came out with the offer of supersonic planes for the IAF.

But no body could get a confirmation of this brain-wave scoop. Cautious among New Delhi's observers hold that our defence shopping list which has been under Western scrutiny since the trying days of November, has remained largely untouched. Only the equipment for arming six mountain divisions has been promised. Supersonic aircrafts are no where in sight.

Knocking At Every Door

TTK is reported to have pleaded earnestly with all the authorities. But more than polite assurance and platitudinous good wishes,

very little tangible came his way. What came to him perhaps as the biggest surprise is that neither the Americans nor the Britishers would take his word about the imminence of a new Chinese attack.

This upset some of the Western-looking pressmen, one of whom, turned a commentator, pathetically complained that the Western powers by their stinginess were subverting our own sense of the emergency.

No Commitment

An important item in TTK's shopping list was to get the necessary assistance for the construction of a number of ordnance factories. So far the Americans have made no commitment on this score.

The exclusively US strategy is that India should be armed to a moderate extent, so that she is in a position to absorb the first onslaught of any future Chinese attack. That is how the offer of equipment for the six mountain divisions did not take long for Washington to decide.

At the same time, in case the Chinese attack is formidable, the US Air force will be available at

a moment's notice. It will either be Bangkok-based or aircraft-carrier-based. What the Americans really want is a network of radar installations while the airports should be developed to be of immediate service to the American air fleet.

Bokaro Disappointment

ANOTHER disappointment facing TTK has been over the Bokaro steel plant project. The Kennedy Administration would not be taking it up until autumn, for it is worried that the issue might raise such a howl in the US Congress that it might be totally scuttled.

TTK thought he would surely convert everybody he met in America about the urgency of building Bokaro with US assistance. But on this score too, he could hardly get any firm commitment. The administration has yet to make up its mind, whether it should permit dollar assistance for a public sector project. Ambassador Galbraith has stressed its urgency in terms of winning Indian goodwill.

Controversy over Bokaro has not ended, but this time Subramaniam has made it clear that Bokaro would go up, whether or not American aid is forthcoming.