

# U.S-BRITISH CONSPIRACY STRIPPED NAKED Bhutto's Dirty Words Echo His Masters' Voice

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It is no use beating about the bush. The convening of the Security Council at the instance of Pakistan to discuss the Indo-Pakistan conflict, is a sinister anti-Indian conspiracy, and nothing else. Whatever the "assurances" given to India by the Council President or by the American and British representatives, they had no other purpose in calling the meeting than to raise the so-called "Kashmir issue", and thus pressurise India into weakening in its resolve to resist imperialist blandishments.

At this moment, as NEW AGE goes to press, the country is filled with a righteous indignation against the abusive language used by Z. A. Bhutto in the Security Council. With the aid of the pro-imperialist caucus in the UN administration, Bhutto has now succeeded in deleting his dirtiest outpourings from the official record. But it is difficult to destroy the stink.

**WHAT THE INDIAN PEOPLE MUST UNDERSTAND IS SIMPLY THIS: BHUTTO'S WORDS ONLY ECHO HIS MASTERS' VOICE.**

## Who Pulls The Strings?

The puppet masters who pull the strings are, therefore, the main and principal culprits responsible for the anti-Indian conspiracy are the Anglo-American imperialists. And it is against them that our ire must be directed first and foremost. The vehicle for the choice language is not worth making a storm about, for the dummy merely opens his mouth, while it is the ventriloquist whose tongue wags.

India has done well to make it clear to all that on no account will this country allow the imperialists to interfere in its internal affairs. Kashmir IS an internal affair of this country, and we are not prepared to sit in a meeting of the Security Council which cannot restrain the use of its platform for interference in India's internal affairs.

The Soviet representative in the Security Council has done yeoman service to the cause of peace by exposing the high-handed manner in which the UN Secretary General has been acting, setting up UN Observers' Groups, recruiting observers from the NATO Command and all without the consent of the Security Council.

This sharp attack on the pro-imperialist actions of the UN administration has helped to expose the anti-Indian conspiracy before world public opinion better than anything has done before this.

It is good also that no more will the imperialists be able to boast of the "unanimity" of the Security Council on the Indo-Pak issue. Unanimity

contradiction between the imperialist and anti-imperialist stands on the Indo-Pak conflict.

India can muster the increasing support of the world's democratic forces only to the extent that it itself takes a consistent and unvacillating anti-imperialist position on all the crucial issues involved.

By  
**ROMESH CHANDRA**

has NOT been there for the last 18 years, fortunately for peace and independence. There cannot be unanimity on an issue which is the creation of imperialism.

All these years, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have stoutly opposed the imperialist conspiracy in Kashmir. The Soviet vote has always been a shield protecting this country from Anglo-American intrigues.

Today once again the sharp exchanges in the Security Council between Soviet representative Fedorenko and US representative Goldberg are a clear indication of the complete

It must be said here quite frankly that the activities of the Washington Lobby have done little to help India in this direction. The Birla-Patil campaign for Shastri's visit to Washington has only created doubts regarding India's real intentions among genuine anti-imperialists. These anti-imperialists are anxious to support India, but only if it seriously intends to fight back the imperialist pressures and blackmail, and not surrender to them under any circumstances.

The latest proceedings of the Security Council essentially confirm the experience of all the days since August 5. They demonstrate once more that the Anglo-American imperialists are India's enemies, while the Soviet Union can

continue to be relied upon to fight back the imperialist conspiracies.

And more. It is also clear that unless India stops sitting on the fence and declares without equivocation that it will not under any circumstances knuckle under imperialist pressures, neither will the imperialists be beaten back nor will be anti-imperialist forces be able to support India with the necessary confidence and enthusiasm.

The vital immediate step which must be taken in the direction of hopping off the fence is a categorical declaration that Birla-Patil notwithstanding, the Prime Minister will NOT be running to Washington in December at the dictates of Johnson. Quit Commonwealth and To Hell with PL 480 must no longer remain slozans: they must be implemented by government.

Once we are off the fence, our friends will rally in solidarity with a truly anti-imperialist India, as they have never done before. The Bhuttos and their masters can then do their worst: they can never succeed.

(October 27)

## SHASTRI'S GOOD CHIT FOR RAJAJI?

MADRAS: Swatantra's Rajaji is facing utter isolation in his home state—Tamilnad. Demonstrations are being staged against his anti-national, pro-imperialist stand over Kashmir.

An attempt is of course being made by the Swatantra Party to salvage what is left of the "prestige and reputation" of their founder-leader.

And the trump card in the hands of the Swatantras is a letter claimed to have been written by Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri to Rajaji. It is being broadcast from every Swatantra platform.

The letter is supposed to have said that the Prime Minister "highly appreciated" Rajaji's "guidance on issues facing the country". And the appreciation seems to be unqualified.

Will Shastri clarify whether there is any such letter and if there is, what are its contents? Are we to take it that the Prime Minister is being guided in the hour of national crisis by the man who is most isolated from public opinion?

# Soviet Takes Principled Stand Fedorenko Says Ceasefire First

By OUR POLITICAL COMMENTATOR

THE Indian press has not yet carried the full text of the speech made by the Soviet representative N. T. Fedorenko in the Security Council on October 26. All that has been published concerns the sharp criticism he made of the manner in which U Thant had gone ahead with the appointment of UN observers without the sanction of the Security Council. This criticism has rightly been welcomed in Indian political circles. Kashmir Chief Minister had himself exposed the partisan attitude of the observers recently.

But the official Tass summary of the Soviet representative's speech indicates that Fedorenko took a principled stand on the whole issue of the Indo-Pak conflict, which deserves careful examination by all Indians. It is more proof of the true friendship displayed by the Soviet Union for India, and it is unfortunate that its details have been missed in the reports in the Indian press which appear to be crowded out by Bhutto's fulminations.

Fedorenko rightly pointed out the responsibility of the imperialists for the conflict. "The USSR", Fedorenko said, "was greatly grieved by the explosion of another time-bomb from among those deliberately placed by colonialists when they were driven away by the peoples of the newly liberated countries".

Next the Soviet representative clearly declared that the immediate task was that of the consolidation of the cease-fire. Tass says:

"The main task now is, the Soviet delegate went on to say, to consolidate the achieved cease-fire, to guarantee strict observance of the cease-fire agreement..."

Once this is done, then must one "take next steps towards the strengthening of peace between India and Pakistan."

This is full support to the position taken by India.

Fedorenko's statement, as reported by Tass, also shows that his interpretation of the term "armed personnel" in the Security Council resolution of September 20 included armed personnel other than the armed forces—that is to say, it includes

the armed infiltrators. The exact words used in this connection by Fedorenko are "the armed forces and all armed personnel of both sides should be withdrawn..." This clearly means that there are armed personnel other than the armed force... the exact position taken by India all along.

Fedorenko has also categorically insisted that the cease-fire and withdrawals must take place first before any consideration is given to other matters. Tass quotes him as saying: "These matters (ceasefire and withdrawal) should be settled in the first place, because these questions AND NOTHING ELSE should be in the focus of attention in the now obtaining situation." (emphasis added)

This again is the same principled stand which India insists upon. The imperialists want to tie up the so-called political questions with the cease-fire. We oppose this tooth and nail.

TASS further said: As regards the practical implementation of these resolutions, however, the Soviet delegation called the Council's attention to a question which has a great importance in principle.

"The Soviet side", Fedorenko said, "deems it necessary to call the Security Council's attention to the fact that on the question of UN observers in India and Pakistan, the actions of the Secretary-General are at variance with the provisions of the UN Charter which stipulates that only the Security Council is competent to pass decisions on all specific questions related to UN observers, namely their functions, numbers, command, financing, etc."

"In practice, however, all these questions are settled without the Security Council, and the Secretary-General has merely informed the Council members of the action taken. This of course, is an abnormal situation which, as we have already said, is at variance with the UN Charter."

"We consider it necessary to draw special attention to the need for the Security Council to establish a definite time limit on the stay of UN observers in India and Pakistan which, in our considered opinion, should not exceed three months."



# Blue-Print For Indo-Pak Peace

editorial

THE EXECUTIVE Committee of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace,

meeting last week-end in Sweden, adopted a communique, which contains a section on the Indo-Pakistan conflict. This section is in reality a brief outline of a blueprint for Indo-Pak peace.

Its importance lies in that it expresses the views of the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces represented in the mighty world peace movement. All Indian democrats will do well to study this statement carefully. This is how it reads:

"A new conflict recently broke out between India and Pakistan. Military pacts such as CENTO and SEATO, the establishment of American military bases, and continued interference by the American and British imperialists are the principal reason for the continued tension in this part of the world.

"The Executive Committee considers that the complete and absolute observance of the ceasefire is indispensable and urgent; and that when it has been strictly implemented, steps should be taken for the withdrawal of all troops and other armed personnel.

"It calls on the Governments of India and Pakistan to settle all unresolved problems by peaceful and direct negotiations, without any foreign interference. The proposal for a Non-Aggression Pact between India and Pakistan constitutes the best platform, that would create a favourable atmosphere for a peaceful settlement.

"The Executive Committee welcomes the development in Pakistan, particularly in East Pakistan, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier region, of movements for the withdrawal of Pakistan from military pacts.

"The Committee supports the campaign developing in India for quitting the British Commonwealth."

## Anti-Imperialist Principles

All the members of the Executive Committee supported this extremely significant statement—all, except one. It was unfortunate that the Chinese representative refused to endorse this anti-imperialist road to a settlement of the Indo-Pak conflict. He declared that every sentence of this statement would strengthen those whom he called "the Indian aggressors".

The Chinese representative was utterly and completely alone in his demand that the Committee should condemn India and back the demand for the so-called "self-determination" of Kashmir.

The Chinese delegate insisted that the World Peace Council's statement supported the Indian stand. The only answer to this comment, is that if this is so, it is only because India's position adheres to the unshakable anti-imperialist principles of the entire world's democratic movement. The World Peace Council's statement conforms strictly to these well-established and tried principles, and if India's position on certain issues is in agreement with those principles, it only proves the justness and the correctness of that position.

Indian democrats know that the world's anti-imperialist forces earnestly desire a peaceful settlement. It is this supreme desire, which permeates this valuable statement of the highest body of the world peace movement.

The imperialist powers are doing their best to keep alive the flames of conflict, by pouring more armaments into the hands of the Ayub dictatorship and trying to raise the whole issue of Kashmir in the Security Council. The clearcut stand of the World Peace Council will strengthen the efforts to defeat these new conspiracies of the imperialists. The more the world's democratic forces support this blue-print for peace, the sooner will the imperialists' sinister designs be frustrated, and the road to peace cleared.

(October 26)

# U.S. LOBBY EXPLOITS SHASTRI'S SILENCE

BEFORE explaining for Prague on Monday night, Union Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari told pressmen that his visit to Czechoslovakia was part of an extensive tour programme to seek assistance for India's fourth plan and specifically for the 1966-67 plan in the context of the present emergency.

Krishnamachari will return from Prague on November 2. His visit to the Soviet Union, postponed due to illness, will take place in the second week of November, probably on November 9 or 10.

Among other countries he mentioned for his projected tour programme was Japan. Visits to France and Italy might also be arranged. As yet, there is no idea of a visit to the United States or Britain.

Though the visit to Czechoslovakia and later to the Soviet Union are in response to long-standing invitations, they are regarded as special missions in the present context.

The help of both countries for a large number of key projects in the Fourth Plan is already assured. The accent now will be on the assistance they can give in the light of defence orientation of the Plan and strengthening the defence potential of the country immediately.

In a sense, TTK's mission spotlights an important policy tussle now going on in the government. Its significance has to be seen in the context of the confident pronouncements which S.K. Patil is making in the United States about Prime Minister Shastri's meeting with President Johnson, which Patil has arranged for mid-December.

A dangerous viewpoint is being advocated in certain high official and government circles in this connection. The argument advanced is that India should "play safe" so far as the United States is concerned, and therefore why India should not actively try to woo the US.

Some circles, even when they are not part of the unabashed Washington lobby which favours bartering away Kashmir and the country's honour for American connections, look upon the pros-

pects of a prolonged economic squeeze from that side as too much to bear.

An interesting theory heard from them in favour of a meeting between Prime Minister Shastri and President Johnson is that the US administration is no longer as it was under the late John Kennedy. Then it was a liberal administration and a large number of men took part in its making. The dealings with it therefore could be at various levels. Now it is a one-man show—the LBJ show—and only by dealing with him directly can matters be straightened out. Or else, nothing happens.

The other theory is that the help which can be expected from the socialist world is already assured. There is little more to get from there. Our industry is

## New Delhi Letter

dependant for its running entirely on maintenance imports from the West, specially from the United States. So, we should not go far in alienating its leaders.

The concept of self-reliance is far-fetched for the peddlers of these theories. That some of the important engineering units, among them foreign-owned, are cutting down production and laying off workers is thrown in good measure as additional reason for their line, instead of a firm stand for control of such units and proper distribution of critical raw materials and components from available sources.

The success claimed by Patil for his mission in New York and Washington and the "weakening" of the British is considered to be "proved" by the signing of Britain's second interest-free loan prior to British High Commissioner Freeman's departure for London.

Fortunately, the firm campaign launched first by NEW AGE and now also by other sections of the anti-monopoly press, against the Prime Minister's visit to the United States has strengthened those circles within the government who oppose the above approach as surrender before blackmail.

According to them, socialist countries and such other countries which are not too closely tied to big powers can be depended upon to help the country out of some of its difficulties and meet many of our immediate requirements.

If the policy of blackmail and pressure adopted by the US are to be checkmated and ultimately changed in our favour, the way is not to bend before it but to stand upto it boldly.

It is in this context that they are totally opposed to Shastri going to Washington, and invest TTK's mission to Prague and Moscow with great significance and importance.

The Prime Minister's own attitude is, unfortunately, not at all clear. He has not once repudiated publicly Patil's repeated assertions that he is preparing Shastri's meeting with Johnson.

This is naturally creating uncertainties and irritations. It is time that he authoritatively declared that he has no intention to visit Johnson, as announced by Patil.

Meanwhile Patil has pompously stated, on the eve of his departure from New York for the South American countries, that he had nothing much to do in those countries. "Oh, the important work has been done in Washington and in New York", he is quoted as having said.

This remark has drawn extremely angry reactions in several New Delhi quarters. An important figure in the External Affairs Ministry said that the statement was downright presumptuous and insulting for the Foreign Minister, who is himself in New York attending the United Nations session.

It was also insulting to the countries S.K. Patil will visit.

Another high political personality ruefully remarked when his attention was drawn to the statement that little could be done to bridle S.K. He will say all sorts of things and then deny everything on return.

—B. M.

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

S. A. Dange, Leader of the Indian Delegation addressing the Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions at Warsaw.



# Western "Tourists" On Spying Mission

SRINAGAR: Kashmir Government has been carefully watching the activities of certain Western "tourists", most of them colourful ladies and some newsmen who have been seen openly inciting a section of students to violence, reports IPA.

TWO of the correspondents were seen heading the crowd near Hazratbal shrine which clashed with the police. Investigations have revealed that the two correspondents had by previous arrangement with the ring leaders agreed to join the crowd when it would head for the clash.

The idea was that the police would hesitate from chasing away the violent crowd while finding Western pressmen in its company.

What has also roused concern here is the fact that as soon as the Western pressmen and "tourists" land here, secret contact men of the Pakistani agents provide them with guides who escort them to the places they have to visit.

## KASHMIR

the ostensible purpose of going to Haji Peer area was seen escorted to the Hazratbal shrine to film the "Muslim upheaval" on Friday last. The escort was provided by none other than a United Nations observer.

Another colourful personality is a lady "tourist" who has been moving about the city lanes and bylanes to extent "support" to the strug-

gle. To add to her charms, she has been changing into Kashmiri dresses and visiting homes of the leaders arrested.

Kashmir Government has taken up with the Centre the issue of these foreign pressmen and "tourists" deliberately interfering in the internal affairs here.

The Centre has taken serious objection to inclusion of one Henry Austin in the party of journalists that toured the Haji Peer area soon after its liberation from Pakistan.

Known to be a CIA agent, Doctor Austin who described himself as "research scholar" made some suspicious enquiries during his tour of the area.

The visiting party arranged by the State Government at first did not include any foreigners, but the presence of Dr. Austin which intrigued the members of the party was found too late when it was "difficult to return the American friends".

# Bengal: Rice Traders Bent On Blackmail

From AJAY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: With the 'aman' paddy harvest still six weeks away due to late sowing, the food situation in West Bengal has taken a sudden turn for the worse. In most parts of the state rice is unavailable in the open market and in some places even in the blackmarket.

THE blackmarket rate is nowhere below two rupees a kilogram in the industrial suburbs of Calcutta. In the districts of Howrah, Hughli, Nadia and 24 Farganas, it is as high as three rupees a kilo in some places.

The food situation deteriorated so sharply in the last two weeks in a somewhat dramatic way.

The supply of rice to the modified ration shops is never regular. The price of rice in the open market varied as the supply of rice to the modified ration shops came or did not come. And the prevailing price was Rs. 1.20 to Rs. 1.50.

## Smuggling Across Border

Nearly a fortnight back Chief Minister P. C. Sen went to Foolia, a border refugee township to receive some donation to the Defence Fund. There he saw hundreds of maunds of rice being carried towards the border on bicycles, rickshaws and other means of transport.

In the public meeting there, Sen openly scolded the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police for their failure to stop smuggling and blackmarketing. On his return, he passed orders to stop all movements of rice between districts as also within the district, from zone to zone.

possibility; there was scarcity and people would have to starve.

Four Communist MPs, Indrajit Gupta, Ranen Sen, Mohammed Elias, and Prabhat Kar, have sent a telegram to the Union Food Minister informing him of the acute situation and urging immediate remedial steps.

## Traders' Pressure

Food Minister Subramaniam himself was in Calcutta to discuss the state's current food problem and the food procurement and distribution plan which Sen has announced for the coming year.

The state has announced the plan to take over the entire rice trade in the state starting the coming harvest season. The plan has received general approval though the details are yet to be worked out. Panchayats and co-operatives would be pressed into service.

The sudden disappearance of rice from the market is one of the forms of pressure which the powerful rice trade is bringing on the government to abandon the plan to take over the rice trade.

Chief Minister Sen would ask Subramaniam for immediate help from the centre in the form of increased quota. Statutory rationing in Greater Calcutta itself would be jeopardised if further grain is sent to the districts worst hit without more grains from central stocks being sent to Calcutta.

# Assam Resounds To Quit C'wealth Call

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: Quit Commonwealth, Nationalise British Capital, Defeat the Instigators of War between India and Pakistan—these are the slogans now being heard all over Assam.

THE Communist Party decided on the Quit Commonwealth campaign at its state council meeting on October 12. This will continue till the middle of November when the harvests begin.

The campaign was launched at a public meeting at Jorhat on October 13. It was addressed by Bhowani Sen, secretary of the West Bengal state council of the CPI, and Phani Bora, Secretary of the Assam state council.

Besides the middle class people and workers from the town, this meeting was attended by a large number of peasants from the nearby villages.

## Spate Of Meetings

This was followed by another big public meeting at Nowgong on October 14. This meeting also was addressed by Bhowani Sen and Phani Bora.

Another meeting held at Dibrugarh was addressed by the same leaders. This meeting organised by the CPI was the biggest the town has seen for the last ten years.

Phani Bora addressed two meetings at Krishnai and Goalpara also, to voice the popular demand that India quit the commonwealth forthwith.

Bhowani Sen addressed a big rally at Imphal, the headquarters of Manipur, to voice the same demand.

On October 20, the National Solidarity Day, the CPI organised a big public meeting in the predominantly Muslim-inhabited area of Morajhar in Nowgong district.

## Muslims For Defence

More than a thousand Muslim peasants attended this meeting, besides thousands of other workers and peasants and middle class employees.

Here, under the initiative of the Communist Party, the Muslim youth have organised a volunteer corps that is patrolling the village roads at night and works as the village defence force.

The Quit Commonwealth campaign is now to go down into villages. The local units of the Party are taking it up in a big way and the response of the people is good.

The CPI is the only political party in the state to have gone to the people with a concrete programme of national defence and defence of the people's interests.



# Ceasefire and Security Council

Pakistan's double-faced attempt to exploit the uneasy cease-fire for a Security Council meeting and a discussion on Kashmir has met with a firm rebuff from the Indian delegation, who walked out of Tuesday's Council meeting. Bhutto's frustration was proved by his irrelevant abusive outbursts after India had walked out.

THE Indian walk-out was the direct consequence of the Council's failure to curb the Foreign Minister of Pakistan from misusing its forum for propaganda purposes.

Since India had first made it clear that it will not participate in a Council meeting to discuss the so-called situation in Kashmir, which is an internal affair of India, the walk-out was only to be expected.

It is a tragic commentary on the Security Council's position in the India-Pak conflict that it should now meet to hear one of Pakistan's usual tirades against India using Kashmir as the subject, when the real issue before the Council should be how to implement the cease-fire, which was envisaged in its September 20 resolution but which remains precarious even after a month.

Pakistan was never enthusiastic in accepting the cease-fire and has not shown so far the slightest intention of going by the Security Council's resolution of September 20. Repeated violations of the cease-fire by Pakistan had been brought to the notice of the Security Council by India.

The suggestion, therefore, that Pakistan was asking for a Council meeting to discuss the cease-fire was fantastic. It was clear that the real purpose of this request was to use the Council forum for a discussion on the internal situation in Kashmir to serve Rawalpindi's propaganda purposes. As the Council meeting turned out, the truth of the apprehensions and objections voiced by the Indian side have been fully borne out.

After this, it would be futile to ask what useful purpose

the Council meeting had achieved. On the other hand, it should be clear that these are developments which may have an adverse influence on the solution of the problem before the Security Council and make the implementation of its September 20 resolution, namely, cease-fire and withdrawal of forces to pre-August 5 positions, more complicated than before.

The Government of India has rightly insisted that Pakistan be first made to stop violating the cease-fire and that any question of withdrawal can be raised only after the cease-fire has become effective. But the way the UN Secretary-General has responded to this demand, through his numerous actions, could only go to vitiate a solution of the conflict.

The latest of U Thant's actions in this category is the appointment of Maj.-Gen. Sy-seno Sarmento, Commander of the UN emergency force in Gaza, to seek agreement on a plan and schedule for the withdrawal of forces by India and Pakistan. Already New Delhi's reactions to this

new move are known to be adverse.

Apart from the dubious purpose of proliferating the UN agencies operating to supervise the cease-fire, and also the doubtful intent of injecting more and more foreigners into the area of conflict under the UN garb, the fact that U Thant is offering his own solutions and acting independently without the authority of the Security Council should make New Delhi pause to reflect on the nature of these appointments by the Secretary-General who is known to be guided by his Western advisors.

In this connection, the criticism of the Secretary-General for exceeding the mandate of the Security Council, voiced by the Soviet representative to the Council, Federenko, assumes special importance.

The Soviet stand is that only the Security Council has the right to decide on the number of observers, their functions, their command etc. and the Secretary-General is usurping these powers of the Council. Federenko has also drawn attention to U Thant staffing the UNIPOM with personnel from NATO command positions.

Understandably, it was Arthur Goldberg, the US delegate, who sprang to support U Thant and defend his actions. It is clear that U Thant has established a rapport with the West in directing the cease-fire and subsequent developments. This has dangerous implications for India.

Also reports from New York have said that Pakistan's request for a Security Council meeting, where Kashmir was sought to be discussed, had the support of the United States. The meaning of this should be clear.

## PATIL'S ANTICS IN USA

THE topic of Prime Minister Shastri's projected visit to Washington is becoming curiously and curiously.

Powerful lobbies have been at work for sometime to bring about an early Shastri-Johnson meeting. Meanwhile, certain well-meaning circles, who resent the idea of such a meeting have been patiently putting out the idea that the Prime Minister will definitely not visit the USA, though they had hardly anything to support their conjectures.

These latter are however now less sure of their position and have begun to display alarm at the prospect of Shastri going to USA.

Apart from the influence of the lobbies that are at work, the Prime Minister himself having said that he would like to go, there was less room for speculation, as NEW AGE last week pointed out.

A further interesting development in this drama has been the report of views expressed by S. K. Patil in New York where he has been enjoying American hospitality for some days now.

Patil is pleased as punch with the result of his peregrination in the laid of Almighty dollar. Also he has declared that as a result of his meetings and talks with US leaders, India's Prime Minister may pay a visit to Johnson round about December 15.

For the sheer brilliance of his remarks, Patil needs to be quoted in full. When asked about the results of his talks with Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy and others of the tribe in Washington, S. K. Patil replied thus in rapturous tones:

"Oh, excellent, excellent. And most useful. Of course I could not see the President because of his illness but this may result in the Prime Minister of India visiting President Johnson at the White House, but I don't know when". Then he also said that the visit could be around December 15.

The AFP report adds: Mr. Shastri's possible visit here, Mr. Patil emphasised, "will depend on the state of the President's recovery," and, if the President so desired, the meeting could take place in Texas.

## RANGA'S LINE ON BOMB

THE views expressed by the Chairman of the Swatantra Party in Hyderabad on Sunday on the atom bomb debate is illuminating, in that the real purpose of the Rightist lobby which demanded that India should make the bomb is now revealed by N. G. Ranga.

Ranga has said that India could not afford the luxury of manufacturing the atom bomb and therefore should seek the nuclear shield. That, he explained, is the view of his party.

The Swatantra is thus the first to come out candidly with the truth about the cry for the bomb.

From the demand for our own bomb, the logical next step for the Right reaction in the country is to urge that we should go under the American umbrella and discard the policy of non-alignment and strengthening of independent defence potential.

In other words, it is the same old pressure for military alliances with imperialists working again, playing upon the people's sentiment for a strong defence against aggression.

This is further illustrated by Ranga's demand that India should go in for a mutual defence pact with countries like Japan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Ceylon, Burma, etc.

The Swatantra leader has all but said that we should become a member of SEATO, of which Pakistan is already one. Mention of names like Ceylon and Burma is only incidental for the purpose of advocating this American idea.

—K.U. WARIER  
(October 28)

## Comment

IT is shocking cynicism that the government has displayed in its latest loan schemes. The wealthy, those who make their money by breaking the law of the land, by blackmarketing, are to be cajoled, given concessions and the opportunity to turn their stolen money into "clean" profit.

Dishonesty pays—that is the natural reaction of the people to the gold bond and the national defence remittance schemes.

The two national defence loans, maturing in 1968 and 1972 with four and a quarter per cent and four and three fourths per cent interest respectively, will not create additional savings. At best they may lead to a transfer of savings. Aimed at individual rather than institutional savers their interest rates are far too low.

## Low Rate Of Interest

Fixed deposits in the state and commercial banks for one year earn an interest of over six per cent, rising with the increase in the term of the

deposit. Other schemes like the cumulative deposit scheme also yield more interest than those of the defence loans.

In any event, the savings of the middle and upper middle class have been largely mopped up in various ways. So it is unlikely that the new defence loans will be of much use. It would have been better not to issue them or to have offered much higher interest rates, say eight to nine per cent.

The gold bond scheme has attracted attention because of the offer to return gold for gold after 15 years. Gold control rules and customs regulations are waived, all penalties and investigations are withdrawn, tax exemptions are generously given, right of transfer is conceded

over Kashmir" is affecting receipts this year, but he has also hoped that conditions would "return nearer to normality" so that "increased traffic and revenue for your company" are guaranteed.

Does the West Bengal government propose to allow this British concern to continue to bilk the people and take away huge profits year after year?

Transport Minister had at that time the cheek to say that it was a "step towards socialism" because the funds were being accumulated for the nationalisation of the company.

That is indeed a big joke. The company's lease had ended in 1952 but the then Chief Minister, B. C. Roy, had given a new lease of 20 years to the company.

By the time the company is prepared to part with the outfit, only ramshackle cars and broken-down trucks would be left. It has not cared to renew the stock or do repairs in time ever since the new lease was signed.

Indeed, it was a shameful manifestation of brazen support on the part of the West Bengal government for a British concern which has shown that it does not care two hoots for the welfare of the people whom it is supposed to serve.

The people's resistance movement was sought to be suppressed by P. C. Sen and his government with strong-arm methods. Lives were lost as a result, and two Calcutta Bandh actions took place.

And now, the company has gratefully acknowledged its gratitude for that service in the interests of the British capital.

By the scolded fare rationalisation, the company was netting an increase of Rs. 16.5 lakhs from second class and Rs. 8.5 lakhs from first class fares. And yet, the West Bengal

# GOLD BOND SCHEME: DISHONESTY PAYS

and there is to be an annual payment of rupees two per ten grams of gold per year. The terms are over-generous by any standards.

The national defence remittance scheme offers those

These schemes are essentially aimed at getting at the black money in the country by converting it into the form of gold or foreign exchange, both of which are desperately needed by the nation. Their very announcement is an open proclamation of the complete failure of the earlier concessions offered by the government to the holders of black money or of large gold holders, often enough the same persons.

The existing gold stock in the country is estimated to be 3,000 million grams valued at Rs. 3,750 crores at the unofficial price of Rs. 125 per ten grams or at about Rs. 1500 crores at the international price.

Eighty per cent of the gold is said to be in the form of ornaments. It is rather unlikely that the new Gold Bond Scheme would attract many ornament holders, except in so far as these have been made as substitutes for gold bars to evade the Gold Control Order.

The remaining 20 per cent represents a value of Rs. 750 crores at current market prices or Rs. 320 crores at international price. This is added to by smuggling to the extent of Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 crores annually at the Indian gold price which is likely to increase greatly with the announcement of the new scheme.

It is hoped that Indian black money holders will buy at least half of the available gold and invest it in bonds, giving the exchequer about Rs. 200 crores of foreign exchange and drawing in about Rs. 400 crores of black money.

The second method devised by the government to turn black money into foreign exchange is the national defence remittance scheme. It is estimated that unauthorised remittances of foreign exchange, which is then sold for huge premiums, costs the country about Rs. 100 crores a year. It should be remembered that the unofficial price of the dollar in India is between Rs. 8 to 10 (Rs. 4.80 is the official price) and of pound sterling Rs. 27 (official price is Rs. 13.3). It should also be remembered that import licences sell at between 300 to 700 per cent premium.

The expectation is that the 60 per cent import licence clause will attract the black money holders to buy the foreign exchange even at the inflated price and offer it to the government in the expectation of still bigger returns through the import licences. Thus another Rs. 100 crores or so of foreign exchange would become available, 40 per cent directly to the government.

The national crisis is also a national challenge. The government has refused to accept the challenge and is likely to intensify the crisis. This attitude will provoke the resistance of the masses and breach the national consensus that emerged during the war. The new schemes should not be allowed to go through.

## Attracting Black Money

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—P. V. PARAKAL

# SWATANTRA-SANGH HONEY MOON ANEW

IS a new honeymoon between the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh in the offing?

This question has become relevant because of the need for each other's support by the rightist parties and pro-imperialist politicians. The Swatantra Party in particular is in need of props to save itself from complete ignominy. And the party's prize piece, Minoo Masani, is face to face with a veritable disaster.

At one time the Swatantra chieftains put their chins up when talking about electoral pacts with other opposition parties. But now they are moving with beggar's bowl in hand, ready for any and every one to come and have a deal.

Naturally, — the Jan Sangh wants to cash in, to use the Swatantra Party's anguish and disarray in the face of popular anger against the Anglo-American proteges, for striking a hard bargain.

The focus of these behind-the-scenes moves is currently on Gujarat. In this state, the Swatantra leaders are trying hard to woo the Sangh in preparation for the coming elections.

The initiative of the local Swatantra leaders has come reportedly at the behest of their all-India bosses. And why not—Minoo Masani has to be saved. He is in real trouble.

The idea put forth by the Swatantra elite is of electoral adjustments as a first step to the working out of an eventual full-fledged alliance. The idea behind this limited adjustment is in the first place to ensure a safe berth for Swatantra's general secretary.

Masani's discomfiture has no bounds since the Rajkot Jan Sangh has made it publicly known that it intended to contest the next elections from the constituency held by Masani. In 1963, the Sangh's support had brought in a rich harvest for him.

But now, with the stars having brought back bad luck all round—friend Ayub Khan is down and out and the Washington patriots are being hoisted down by angry ones in the streets—the Jan Sangh also wants its pound of flesh. They won't support Minooobhai in the next elections, at least not unconditionally.

According to information received by this reporter, the Swatantra leaders are willing to concede the Rajkot Assembly seat as well as some other local concessions to the Jan Sangh in return for clear support for Masani for the Rajkot Lok Sabha seat. The Sangh leaders however have other ideas.

Rajkot, they reckon, is a horse to trade—Swatantra leaders would do well to pay a price to save Masani in this constituency. Some of the

SPOT LIGHT

Sangh leaders maintain that they would like to have an overall understanding for the whole state rather than a piecemeal bargain for Rajkot.

Indications are that a hard round of bargaining is in store. The Jan Sangh leaders have set up a committee of three to conduct the talks with their Swatantra counterparts. The panel consists of president Harisnehji Gohel, vice-president Chimanbhai Shukla and secretary Vasantrao Gajendra Gadkar of the Gujarat unit of the Sangh.

Sources close to Jan Sangh maintain that there is no question of a quick settlement since negotiations will have to be conducted till the elections come near and the Swatantra realises how hot is the electoral wind. Then alone will the Swatantra be prepared to pay the correct price.

—BHIMA

## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

# Trams and Pounds

"The government and the police stood firmly behind us and, with the full backing of our traffic staff, we eventually won through. There was little doubt that the disturbances and general hooliganism would have lasted much longer had it not been for the energetic action of the government and the police in restoring law and order in their city."

THESE glowing tributes were to the West Bengal government and the Calcutta police. And it came from a British capitalist, David E. Webb, chairman of the Calcutta Tramways Co. Ltd.

The chairman was making his annual report to the shareholders of the company on October 18 in London. The reference was to the resistance put up by the people of Calcutta against the increase in the British concern sought to impose on them in the name of rationalising fare structure.

Indeed, it was a shameful manifestation of brazen support on the part of the West Bengal government for a British concern which has shown that it does not care two hoots for the welfare of the people whom it is supposed to serve.

The people's resistance movement was sought to be suppressed by P. C. Sen and his government with strong-arm methods. Lives were lost as a result, and two Calcutta Bandh actions took place.

And now, the company has gratefully acknowledged its gratitude for that service in the interests of the British capital.

By the scolded fare rationalisation, the company was netting an increase of Rs. 16.5 lakhs from second class and Rs. 8.5 lakhs from first class fares. And yet, the West Bengal

Economic notes

Indian nationals receiving foreign exchange from abroad import licences to the extent of 60 per cent of the value of their foreign exchange earnings provided they are remitted through the Reserve Bank of India.

The remaining 20 per cent represents a value of Rs. 750 crores at current market prices or Rs. 320 crores at international price. This is added to by smuggling to the extent of Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 crores annually at the Indian gold price which is likely to increase greatly with the announcement of the new scheme.

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The expectation is that the 60 per cent import licence clause will attract the black money holders to buy the foreign exchange even at the inflated price and offer it to the government in the expectation of still bigger returns through the import licences. Thus another Rs. 100 crores or so of foreign exchange would become available, 40 per cent directly to the government.

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There has been a "sympathetic" rise in the price of gold in the Delhi billion market to the all-time high of Rs. 140 per ten grams, while in Bombay the price has risen by eight rupees in two days. Prominent industrialists, bankers and members of Stock Exchange were enthusiastic about the new scheme when interviewed by the ECONOMIC TIMES on October 23.

The two main reasons for their enthusiasm were: a profitable opportunity to invest "black money" and a feeling that government policies were likely to be changed in their favour still further.

It is quite possible that a fair amount of foreign exchange will become available through these new schemes. It is doubtful, however, whether the amount will be as high as the Rs 500 crores the government seems to expect (always bearing in mind that the foreign exchange value of gold has to be measured in terms of its international price).

But the cost of obtaining this foreign exchange is far too high in terms of the social objectives we have set ourselves as a nation. It condones dishonesty far too flagrantly. It is an indication that the government intends to confront the present national crisis with an attitude of pampering and fattening the vested interests in general and the crooked among them in particular.

## Licence Scramble

More immediately, the import licences given to those who surrender their foreign exchange will be used to strengthen the private sector in lucrative fields while the public sector will have less funds and have to take up the less profitable spheres.

The scramble for the import licences will lead to a pushing up of costs and may also discourage the trend towards import substitution about which the government has been waxing so eloquent.

Finally, if commercial banks are allowed to lend on gold bonds, even on the basis of the international price of gold, there would be a huge credit inflation and further distortion of national economic priorities.

The national crisis is also a national challenge. The government has refused to accept the challenge and is likely to intensify the crisis. This attitude will provoke the resistance of the masses and breach the national consensus that emerged during the war. The new schemes should not be allowed to go through.

—MOHIT SEN



# BENGAL: EMPLOYERS BENT ON SLASHING BONUS

From AJOY DASGUPTA

**CALCUTTA:** An explosive situation has arisen in the industrial world of West Bengal with the refusal of many employers to pay the same bonus as in last year.

At least 50 thousand workers of IISCO, Burns and Co., Braithwaite, Guest-Keen Williams and other factories have boycotted the bonus offered by the managements.

The employers have refused to pay more than 20 per cent of the "available surplus". They base their stand on the legalistic positions as embodied in the Bonus Ordinance.

These employers are just refusing to maintain the status quo on the plea of conforming to the law; the owners of tea plantations and coal mines are refusing to pay even the minimum four per cent provided in the law. Two lakh workers are affected in the tea plantations; another one and a half lakh workers in the mines.

## Calculating Surplus!

And to the two and a half lakh workers in jute mills, only the minimum bonus has been paid. The managements are dilly-dallying with so-called preparation of "available surplus" figures and postponing bonus payment.

The workers had sensed the attitude of the employers a long time back. And so they had built up a strong movement to protect their interests. Negotiations with many of the employers had advanced to some extent.

But then came the Pakistani aggression. The workers, in the interests of national defence, gave up the agitational path. They hoped that the government would come forward to help them secure equitable bonus.

Strangely enough, the government's Labour Directorate is going in exactly the opposite direction. In plantations and mines, the Directorate pleads helplessness to force the employers to pay even the minimum bonus. In the engineering concerns, it is pressing the workers to accept whatever the employers offer.

There are a large number of disputes which have not been attended to by the Labour Directorate. The emergency demands that action be taken expeditiously, but the very same emergency is being trotted

out by the officials as an excuse for delay.

Particular mention should be made of the struggle of the IISCO workers for securing a fair bonus.

This year the IISCO has made a gross profit of Rs. 16.42 crores and a net profit of Rs. 11 crores. The reserves accumulated stands at Rs. 45.5 crores on a paid-up capital of Rs. 16 crores.

## Tisco's Example

The workers can legitimately expect a higher quantum of bonus: the owners are certainly in a position to pay. But the management has declared a sum of only Rs. 56.24 lakhs as bonus. Last year the amount was Rs. 56.30 lakhs.

Workers have pointed out that the TISCO had increased the bonus amount this year to Rs. 1.93 crores from last year's Rs. 1.65 crores. The amount due under the Bonus Ordinance is only Rs. 1.23 crores.

These telling figures have created a determination among the workers. They have built up such a united movement as never witnessed since the 1953 struggle. Ninetyfive per cent of the workers in both Burnpur and Kulti have boycotted the bonus.

The AITUC and the INTUC are acting together and the management had to close down the cash office. This unity in action has generated a new wave of enthusiasm among the workers who are determined to win their just share of profit as bonus.

# AITUC Memo Demands Rupee An Hour Wage

**NEW DELHI:** The All India Trade Union Congress has demanded a national minimum wage of one rupee an hour in the cotton textile industry, or Rs. 208 a month (eight hours a day, 26 working days in a month).

The demand is made in the AITUC's memorandum to the second wage board for the cotton textile industry.

The demand is not a high one considering that in centres like Bombay, the textile workers are already getting Rs. 160 to Rs. 170 a month. The problem is that of bringing to par the low wages in Calcutta and other low-wage areas like Vidarbha.

The demand for one rupee an hour is based on the di-

tary norms recommended by the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Government of India. It is the need-based wage.

The wage quantum has been worked out on the average prices prevailing in the major centres of India during the second half of 1964.

The AITUC memorandum has demanded that the need-based wage should be paid entirely in cash. The provident fund liability of eight per cent is included in this.

This is on the basis of the Nutrition Advisory Commi-

tee's dietary norms. On the basis of balanced diet the AITUC has calculated that the wage should be Rs. 300 a month.

It is expected that the AITUC will demand the need-based minimum wage on the basis of the above calculations for all the industries for which wage boards are now existing.

This is the first time that a need-based wage formula has been worked out and put forward before any wage board by any trade union centre. It has evoked considerable interest among trade union circles.

# 4 Crores For Bankmen As Bonus Arrears

**NEW DELHI:** Sixty thousand employees of about 25 banks all over the country have gained Rs. four crores as bonus arrears. The arrears are from 1956 onwards.

This big gain for the bank employees has been achieved by the All India Bank Employees Association through direct negotiations and settlements with the managements.

The success of the AIBE is significant in that bonus for the period 1956-1962 has now been settled through collective bargaining. It was in 1962 that the award of the Desai Tribunal was published.

Particularly in relation to 1956, the employees were debarred from raising any industrial dispute on bonus through a Supreme Court ruling on Section 10 of the Banking Companies Act.

This wrong position was rec-

tified only in 1957 and the bonus disputes in the banks were referred to adjudication by the Desai Tribunal in 1960.

All these years, the AIBE and its units had directed the employees to receive the bonus declared by managements under protest. The current settlements cover the arrear payments for these years.

## Desai Formula

The settlements largely follow the formula laid down by the Desai Tribunal but ad hoc improvements have been bargained for and secured.

Significantly, the AIBE has been able to get retrospective effect on a bonus award for several years before the award was published in 1962.

The bank employees are

## Bombay Protest Meagre Bonus

**BOMBAY:** Workers' discontent against the meagre bonus announced for 1963 has led to a tense situation in the textile industry in Bombay.

An agreement over the 1963 bonus has been arrived at between the INTUC Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh and the Millowners Association with the blessings of the Chief Minister and the Labour Minister.

The amount thus agreed upon comes to Rs. 4.1 crores only. The bonus due to the workers on the basis of profits for 1963 is more than Rs. six crores.

Twenty-eight mills employing about a lakh of workers have been allowed to pay just four per cent bonus. About a lakh workers in these mills got nothing on the eve of Diwali because that much had already been paid in 1964.

Workers naturally resented this agreement. And many in Shri Ram, Century, Madhusudan, Victoria, Elphinstone, Jam, Digvijay, New Great and other mills went on strike.

Workers in several other mills like Modern No. One and Modern No. Two resorted to stay-in strike.

Faced with workers' hostility, the INTUC activists took leave till after the Diwali holidays and went away. Simultaneously, the RMMS also began provocations against the ordinary workers with the help of goondas.

This resulted in a 21-year-old worker of Digvijay Mills, Shantaram S. Chavan being stabbed on October 19. He died next day.

Workers have called off the strike, responding to a call from the Mumbai Girm Kamgar Union. But it has protested against the flagrant violation of industrial truce by the millowners with the connivance of the government.

# BIG CALCUTTA RALLY DEMAND QUIT C'WEALTH

From AJOY DASGUPTA

**CALCUTTA:** West Bengal observed Quit Commonwealth Day on October 16 through meetings and demonstrations held all over the state and a central rally in Calcutta.

The demonstration and rally in Calcutta saw one of the biggest mobilisations of recent times and was profusely decorated with streamers, banners and placards.

The placards carried slogans expressing the loud voice of people's protest against Anglo-American conspiracy against India on Kashmir issue and asked the imperialists to keep their hands off India and Kashmir.

They also proclaimed the demand to sever ties with the Commonwealth, to nationalise British capital, to develop self-reliance in defence and economic development and to

spurn the poisonous FL 480 food.

The people and the banners they carried praised Indo-Soviet friendship and condemned China for supporting Pakistan on Kashmir.

The demonstrators when they came in front of the "Victoria House", the impos-

ing building of the British-owned Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, demanded immediate nationalisation of this concern, which supplies electricity to industry and homes in Greater Calcutta and therefore virtually holds the life of Calcutta in its hands.

All through the route, people on both sides of the streets watched the demonstration with interest and admired it. In Esplanade, traffic was held up for nearly an hour to make way for the demonstration. The procession marched up to Azad Hind Bagh in north Calcutta.

Before the procession started from the Maidan, where earlier, processions from different centres had come and converged, a meeting was held. Somnath Lahiri MLA presided.

Indrajit Gupta MP moved the resolution which exposed the "hypocritical British professions of friendship for India" and declared that India's continued membership of the Commonwealth is an "anachronism and a positive disadvantage of India's national interests". Bhupesh Gupta MP also spoke on the resolution.

The resolution demanded severance of connections with the Commonwealth and nationalisation of British capital, pending that a ban on remittances of profits outside India.

## PUNJAB MLAs SIGN

**CHANDIGARH:** Thirty-six MLAs of Punjab, belonging to different political parties, have demanded that India should quit the Commonwealth forthwith.

The demand is contained in a resolution which the MLAs have presented to the Punjab Legislative Assembly. It was done on the initiative of the Communist MLAs.

In Patiala, a public meeting made the same demand. It was presided by Bhagwat Singh, convener of the District Congress Committee. A joint meeting organised by the Communist Party and the SSP at Rewari also made the demand that India quit the Commonwealth.

**UJJAIN:** A ten thousand strong meeting was held at Ujjain on October 10 to demand that India quit the Commonwealth. Nationalisation of British capital was also demanded at the meeting, which was the biggest in the city in recent years.

Balkrishna Gupta and Ram Singh addressed the meeting.

**RATIAM:** The Quit Commonwealth campaign was undertaken in a big way in Ratlam also.

A rally was addressed by Shakir Ali Khan MLA and Badrinath.

## UTTAR PRADESH

**KHALILABAD:** A fortnight's campaign to demand that India quit the Commonwealth was conducted in Basti district of Uttar Pradesh.

A public rally was organised on October 17 in Musharwa in Naugarh tehsil, addressed by Jharkhande Rai MLA, N. H. Ansari, E. N. Sharma and Daya Ram.

On October 10 another meeting was held in Shohratgarh Bazar which was addressed by Rai and Sheetal Tripathi.

**BASTI:** A meeting at Maharanjan in Harrya tehsil on October 20 was addressed by Tej Bahadur Singh and Sita Ram Ojha.

The campaign was rounded off with a meeting at Basti on October 26. It was addressed by Jharkhande Rai among others.

**CHANDIGARH:** The movement for the formation of Punjabi Suba and Haryana Prant based on the linguistic principle is gaining momentum day after day. Except for a section of Congressmen and the Jan Sangh, now almost all shades of political opinion in Punjab supports the demand.

The Haryana Sangharsh Samiti organised a sammelan at Rohtak on October 17 at which was represented all political parties except the Jan Sangh. The sammelan demanded formation of Haryana Prant and Punjabi Suba.

Presiding over the sammelan Balwant Rai Teyal condemned communal leaders who under the pretext of representing one or the other community, were pursuing their own self-interest.

The Jan Sangh and Arya Samaj leaders who were opposing the formation of linguistic states in Punjab had become the self-appointed representatives of Haryana; they were outsiders and had no right to do so, he said. Communist leader Tikha Ram Sukhan regretted that some leaders in the Punjabi

# STUDENTS PROTEST USIS PROPAGANDA

From S. SHARMA

**TRIVANDRUM:** There is increasing protest in Kerala against the continuous propaganda organised by the Cultural department of the United States Information Service (USIS) in various colleges in the state.

The insidious propaganda is aimed at undermining the accepted policies of the country and the image of India.

The latest to join the protest is the president of the Kerala Students Union, A. K. Antony who has issued a statement in this connection.

Antony charges the Kerala University and the principals of certain private and even government colleges with complicity in the American game.

He has called on the central and state governments to take immediate steps to put an end to the treacherous game of

these authorities in furthering the USIS campaign.

In the name of lectures and film shows the USIS is seeking to poison the minds of the students and spread confusion among them about the basic stand of India on all issues including the recent Indo-Pak conflict.

The managements of many private colleges are hand in glove with the dispensers of American culture. The government colleges are guided by the encouragement and patronage given to the USIS by the Kerala University.

The KSU president's statement has ended on a note of warning:

If the USIS abuses the hospitality given to them by India and converts the forum of colleges for their mischievous political propaganda; and if the university and the government keep quiet about it, the students will be constrained to act and put a stop to it.

# BIHAR: United Release Campaign

From K. GOPALAN

**PATNA:** The Communist Party, SSP and RSP have jointly launched a state-wide campaign for strengthening national defence and for the release of all persons arrested in connection with the August movement.

**LEADERS** of these parties announced at a press conference here last week their decision to observe National Defence and Release Campaign Week' from November 15 to 21.

They appealed to all patri-

otic and democratic elements in the state to join in the campaign.

Joint mass rallies are planned in every district and other important centres during this week.

The leaders of the three parties expressed "deep regret" that Bihar was the only state which has so far refused to implement the assurance given by the Central Government in Parliament that all arrested persons will be released and cases withdrawn.

## Hundreds Still In Jail

Hundreds of Communists, SSP members, Revolutionary Socialists, Marxist Communists, people belonging to the Socialist Unity Centre and even some Congressmen continue to be shut up in the jails of Bihar under the Defence of India Rules.

There are also over two dozen NGO leaders and a number of teachers and students likewise in detention.

The opposition leaders have called upon the Bihar Government not to stand on any "false prestige or vengeance", but to order the release of all these detenus and also to withdraw all the cases still pending.

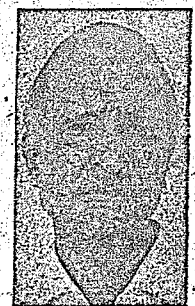
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## R. PALME DUTT ON N.K. KRISHNAN'S ARTICLE

FOLLOWING is a letter which NEW AGE has received from British Communist leader Rajani Palme Dutt regarding the article which N. K. Krishnan wrote in the paper dated September 26:

Dear Comrade,  
The article of Comrade Krishnan, entitled "Self-determination in Kashmir?" in your issue of September 26 gave your readers what is presented as the summary of views expressed in my article in the DAILY WORKER of September 10. Your contributor attributes to me advocacy of what he correctly exposes as the Anglo-American imperialist slogan of a "plebiscite" in Kashmir. He even goes so far as to cite two extracts in quotation marks, as though they were quotations from my article, advocating such a plebiscite. In one place he states that I propose "a free and impartial" plebiscite in Kashmir, the words "free and impartial" being placed in quotation marks as if they were my words in this supposed summary of my views. Subsequently he states "the

necessary correction of the misconception in your contributor's article.  
Yours fraternally,  
R. Palme Dutt

It is true that Comrade R. P. Dutt has nowhere in his article proposed a plebiscite in Kashmir; he has exposed it as an imperialist slogan. But his proposals do bear close resemblance to the ill-famed imperialist proposals. To quote, "Let the Indian Government release Abdullah. Let agreement be sought for the withdrawal of military forces on both sides, and on this basis let Abdullah be invited to form a caretaker government to organise genuinely free elections."  
And what will be decided through these elections? Again to quote Comrade Palme Dutt, "The freely-elected representatives of the Kashmiri people can then choose between the three alternatives: accession to India; accession to Pakistan; or independent

Kashmir friendly to both, and with its independence and integrity guaranteed by both."  
This practically amounts to the sort of plebiscite being advocated by the imperialists and which would be welcome to them. And this is what N. K. Krishnan had meant when he said "the plebiscite" in Kashmir—which is what Comrade Palme Dutt advocates.  
Again, Comrade Dutt has correctly pointed out that the words "free and impartial" used by Krishnan do not appear in Comrade Dutt's article. The words Comrade Dutt used were "genuinely free."  
To acquaint the readers better with Comrade Palme Dutt's views, we are reproducing on these pages his article which appeared in the DAILY WORKER dated September 10. Also appears on these pages an article by G. Adhikari which examines whether what Comrade Dutt proposes is the "best path to a peaceful solution" without imperialist intervention, which is what he is seeking.

# Indo-Pak Conflict: Which Way To Peaceful Settlement?

## A REPLY TO R. PALME DUTT

The National Council and the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India have always taken a serious view of the disastrous effects of the imperialist-imposed partition of the country—and have sought to work out paths of peaceful solution of the same in the interests of the common people of the subcontinent.

BUT a search for a peaceful solution must proceed on the basis of an objective view of the imperialist conspiracy round Kashmir, which has continued all these years since the partition.

It is not enough to see that the imperialists foment the Indo-Pakistan conflict. It is necessary to distinguish between the forces against

also against the opposition democratic forces in Pakistan as well. They were also directed against the neighbouring socialist countries.

When the imperialists engineered the raiders' attack on Kashmir in 1947 and when they carried on their manoeuvres in the UN in the subsequent years, they were neither worried about self-determination for Kashmir nor doing justice to Pakistan and India. Their aim was to grab the Kashmir Valley for their neo-colonialist conspiracy.

As revealed in the latest NEW TIMES article, a plan was drawn up in response to a joint-chiefs-of-staff report to the US President at the end of 1950, which said, that "the mountainous terrain in north Kashmir made the construction of air base there very difficult whereas the vale of Kashmir was ideal for the purpose." It is the democratic forces of India and Kashmir which resisted this imperialist conspiracy backed by Pakistan's ruling circles and have not allowed it to succeed.

It appears that Comrade R. P. Dutt also would agree with this analysis as far as it concerns the events in the early fifties. Speaking about the time when Abdullah became premier in Kashmir, he says about that state:

"Alignment with India represented at that time the more favourable progressive path, since India was a secular, democratic State, then playing a progressive role among the non-aligned nations, while the rulers of Pakistan had made their country a puppet of American imperialism."

A cease-fire is urgent. But this alone will not end the conflict which can break out anew.

Proposals for the partition of Kashmir, advocated in some quarters, would only butcher the unity of the country and the people and leave the basis for renewed conflict.

There is only one possible basis for a lasting peaceful settlement. That is that the people of Kashmir should be free to determine their own future.

Let the Indian Government release Abdullah. Let agreement be sought for the withdrawal of military forces on both sides, and on this basis let Abdullah be invited to form a caretaker government to organise genuinely free elections.

The freely-elected representatives of the Kashmiri people can then choose between the three alternatives: accession to India; accession to Pakistan; or independent Kashmir friendly to both, and with its independence and integrity guaranteed by both.

Such a settlement would correspond to the interests of all the peoples concerned, of India, of Pakistan and of Kashmir, as well as to the future of world peace.

Pakistan, though we do not call it a puppet of American imperialism, continues to be in military alliance with imperialism and, despite its recent liaison with the People's Republic of China, continues to rely upon imperialism to solve its conflict with India in its favour.

Similarly, our Party holds the view that the path to a peaceful settlement of our disputes with Pakistan, including the question of Kashmir, lies through Pakistan agreeing to a no-war pact with India and getting out of aggressive military pacts and alignments with imperialism.

Our differences with Comrade Dutt stem from differing estimations of the situation as it developed after 1953, during the last 10-12 years on two points: (1) character of the governments of India and

forces of the Kashmiri people, though weakened by the defection of Sheikh Abdullah and his Plebiscite Front, who rose in support of the Sadiq government and the Indian security forces and felled the dangerous game of the Pakistani armed infiltrators.

He also misses the fact that, when this game, which was to be a coup to overthrow the Sadiq government, failed, it was Pakistan's regular armed forces which crossed the international border into Kashmir and launched a full-scale attack.

The undeclared war started with this Pakistani attack in the Chhamb Sector, and not with India's armed action in Lahore Sector on September 6, as Comrade Dutt makes out.

How does it help the cause of seeking a peaceful solution or the cause of exposing and scotching impe-

In the fullscale war that followed certain significant features of the imperialist conspiracy were revealed which must be borne in mind in seeking paths for peaceful settlement.

In the course of the war and during the ceasefire negotiations imperialist statesmen as well as their press consistently played down Pakistani aggression, insisted on equating India and Pakistan and went on stressing that there could be no peaceful solution unless there is a plebiscite in Kashmir under UN auspices.

### Two-Faced Politics

Thus the imperialists in war as well as in peace are pursuing the self-same politics—that of intervening in Indo-Pakistan affairs, to get the Kashmir Valley for their neo-colonialist purposes. Pakistan rulers welcome that intervention to get hold of Kashmir for themselves.

Therefore, the absolute precondition for a peaceful settlement is the elimination of imperialist intervention, Pakistan agreeing to a no-war pact with India, agreeing to quitting the military pacts and alignments with imperialists, and India pursuing consistent anti-imperialist policies.

In Comrade Dutt's presentation and analysis, priority is not given to this essential point but rather mistakenly to the question of "self-determination" of Kashmir.

2 This brings us to the second point on which Comrade Dutt differs from us in the estimation of the situation. This second point is the estimation of the development of the internal situation in Kashmir, of the democratic forces there and of the role of Sheikh Abdullah.

Comrade Dutt, recalling the days of 1946, has stated that in those days Sheikh Abdullah was the leader of the all-inclusive Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and the chosen leader of the people of the state. It is good to remember that this National Conference was to the people of the Jammu and Kashmir state what the pre-independence Indian National Congress was to the people of India.

It was this National Conference which organised the elections on the basis of adult suffrage in 1951 in that state when it was as all-inclusive as in 1946 and Abdullah was one of its leaders. It is a gross travesty of facts when Comrade Dutt suggests that these elections were "held under conditions making their validity dubious".

The delegates elected in those 1951 elections constituted the Constituent Assembly of the state, which adopted

The defeat of the Pakistani infiltrators felled this plan.

# Kashmir — The Only Solution

WHY should India and Pakistan be locked in a cruel and destructive war over Kashmir? There is no justification for this war.

Both India and Pakistan claim Kashmir. The claims of both are based on dubious grounds. India claims Kashmir on the legalistic ground that the former Maharajah Hari Singh (the notorious "Mr. A" of the court scandal case in London)—whose family bought Kashmir from Britain for money down—faced with the uprising of his subjects and the invasion from Pakistan, signed accession to India.

Pakistan's claim is based on the no less unsatisfactory ground that the Moslem religion should be regarded as equivalent to nationality, and that therefore the 80 per cent Moslem majority in Kashmir should automatically belong to Pakistan.

I was in Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, the day after the historic "Quit Kashmir" popular revolt of 1946 against the Maharajah and British rule, had been suppressed with bloody terror, wholesale firing, women and children killed, and the people's leaders with Sheikh Abdullah at their head thrown into prison. The bullet holes were fresh on the walls; the wounded were in agony in the ramshackle hospital; the armed guard paraded the bridges.

I was in the court-room when Abdullah was brought on trial. His heroic figure dominated that court like the "Lion of Kashmir" he was.

He strode forward from between his diminutive guards in the dock to greet me and shake me by the hand while the English magistrate awaited his pleasure.

Among the people, in the back alleys, it was only necessary to whisper the name of Sheikh Abdullah to see the eyes of all men, women and children light up.

Abdullah had been the founder and leader of the Moslem National Conference since 1931 (his first imprisonment) then transformed it into the secular all-inclusive Kashmir National Conference to align it with the equally secular Indian National Liberation movement organised in the Indian National Congress.

Abdullah and Nehru were friends and fellow fighters. When, in 1947, Britain partitioned India into the two States of India and Pakistan, leaving Kashmir and their princely States as apples of discord, North Western tribal levies overran Kashmir on behalf of Pakistan. (The Governor of the North-West Province was British, and the officers of the tribal levies British.)

The beleaguered Maharajah signed accession to India, and the Indian troops marched in to occupy Jammu and Kashmir over two-thirds of the territory, confronting Pakistan, in possession of the western one-third under a so-called "Azad Kashmir" Government.

The Kashmir National Conference, with Abdullah at its head, and world democratic opinion at that time all supported the accession of Kashmir to India—provided the distinctive rights of Kashmir were maintained and future self-determination guaranteed.

Abdullah became Premier in Kashmir.

Alignment with India represented at that time the more favourable progressive path, since India was a secular, democratic State, then playing a progressive role among the non-aligned nations, while the rulers of Pakistan had made their country a puppet of American imperialism.

India appealed to the United Nations in 1948 against the Pakistan military occupation.

This gave the imperialists the opportunity to intervene; and their Military Mission has re-

mained ever since—first under the American Admiral Nimitz, and now under the Australian General Nimmo.

The United Nations established a cease-fire line of division of Kashmir, and called for a plebiscite to follow the withdrawal of Pakistan armed forces and of the "bulk" of Indian armed forces.

Both sides professed acceptance. Since then, Pakistan has repeatedly demanded a plebiscite, but without prior withdrawal.

India has refused a plebiscite, on the grounds that the withdrawal of Pakistan armed forces had not taken place; and subsequently on the further grounds that local elections (held under conditions making their validity

By R. PALME DUTT

dubious) rendered a plebiscite superfluous. Abdullah's demand for self-determination had, by 1953, become a political embarrassment to the Indian Government, and he was thrown into prison on the alleged grounds that he had conspired with American imperialism, but in fact without charge, trial or evidence.

He was held in prison for 11 years—for nine without charge or trial—with one temporary interruption in 1958, when he was for a short time released. But after it became clear that the people's support for him was as great as ever, he was placed back behind bars again within four months.

Nehru, shortly before his death in 1964, sought to find a way out of this hideous impasse. Abdullah was unconditionally released. The two old friends met and embraced. Negotiations began.

Abdullah put forward his plan that Kashmir should become not

the source of conflict but a bridge of friendship between India and Pakistan, through a confederation of three independent States of India, Pakistan and Kashmir.

Hopes of a settlement ran high. Nehru's death dashed these hopes. The effective power passed into the hands of the Right Wing bosses of the Congress machine, with close connections with the army chiefs and with ferocious anti-Pakistan propaganda as their stock-in-trade; while in Pakistan power was in the hands of the military rule of General Ayub Khan.

The gunpowder trail was set for the explosion. On September 6 Indian armed forces invaded Pakistan outside Kashmir and the conflict developed into full undeclared war of the two States with air battles, bombing of cities and cruel suffering of the people.

The British rulers began to fan the flames of Hindu-Muslim antagonism in the later years of the last century, to counter the advancing national movement. They approached prominent Moslem leaders to suggest separate political organisation and special political privileges, but the Moslem leaders replied at that time that such a division would "make a hell of India."

When the Moslem League was founded in 1908 its leaders subsequently divulged—during a period of co-operation with the Congress—that its foundation had been "a command performance" inspired by the British Viceroy. Guilt also lay with the upper class leaders on both sides. While the formal basis of the National Congress was secular, and co-operation developed during the period of national upsurge the majority of the Congress leaders, including Gandhi, inextricably mingled the national cause with Hindu revivalism and thus rebuffed Moslem support.

In the great naval revolt and mass uprising of 1946, which brought Indian freedom, when the ships of the navy ran up the joint flags of the Congress, the Moslem League and the Red Flag, and the masses demonstrated behind banners proclaiming "Hindus and Moslems are Brothers," the upper-class leaders on both sides denounced such co-operation, and entered into the prolonged negotiations with the British imperialists which ended in partition.

Now the "hell in India" thus let loose is reaching its most extreme fulfilment with this fratricidal war and all the suffering brought upon all the peoples. And it is ironic that the Commanders of the armed forces on

both sides had their training in British regiments: General Chaudhuri, Indian Chief of Staff, an O.B.E. from Sandhurst and the North Staffordshires, and General Muhammad Musa, Pakistan Commander in Chief, an M.B.E. from the Royal Norfolk Regiment and the Imperial Defence College.

Proposals for outside intervention, United Nations action, other than urging cessation of military hostilities, will not settle the issue and could offer opportunities to the imperialists to get their hands on the spoils. (The experience of the Congo has sufficiently shown this.)

A cease-fire is urgent. But this alone will not end the conflict which can break out anew. Proposals for the partition of Kashmir, advocated in some quarters, would only butcher the unity of the country and the people and leave the basis for renewed conflict.

There is only one possible basis for a lasting peaceful settlement. That is that the people of Kashmir should be free to determine their own future.

Let the Indian Government release Abdullah. Let agreement be sought for the withdrawal of military forces on both sides, and on this basis let Abdullah be invited to form a caretaker government to organise genuinely free elections.

The freely-elected representatives of the Kashmiri people can then choose between the three alternatives: accession to India; accession to Pakistan; or independent Kashmir friendly to both, and with its independence and integrity guaranteed by both.

Such a settlement would correspond to the interests of all the peoples concerned, of India, of Pakistan and of Kashmir, as well as to the future of world peace.

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both sides had their training in British regiments: General Chaudhuri, Indian Chief of Staff, an O.B.E. from Sandhurst and the North Staffordshires, and General Muhammad Musa, Pakistan Commander in Chief, an M.B.E. from the Royal Norfolk Regiment and the Imperial Defence College.

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# RISING LABOUR PROTEST AGAINST WILSON POLICIES

From KAY BEAUCHAMP, NEW AGE LONDON CORRESPONDENT

The atmosphere at the Labour Party conference at Blackpool was very different from last year when the Labour Government had just been formed and there was tremendous enthusiasm.

THIS year, although Prime Minister Harold Wilson made an extremely clever speech and received an ovation at the end of it, there was a strong current of disappointment about many of the government's actions and serious concern about the future.

This was made clear both by the applause for critics of the government and the vote on the most important issues.

For instance, Tom Driberg MP in moving the vote of thanks to Wilson asked why he had made no mention of steel nationalisation and recalled the defeat of the Norwegian Social Democratic Government after 30 years and of the West German Social Democrats in the recent elections.

He was strongly applauded when he declared that the lesson to be learned was that the watering down of socialist principles was not the way to win elections.

John Mendelson, MP received a standing ovation after his forthright speech opposing government policy in Vietnam. He denounced the wholesale terror bombing of North Vietnam and the fact that the Foreign Secretary had made a statement completely identifying the Government with American policy.

He declared that we must return to the Geneva Agreement because it embodied the right of self-determination for all the people of Vietnam which no power had the right to take away from them.

At the end of this debate the composite resolution which was highly critical of government policy on Vietnam received 2,284,000 on a card vote against 4,085,000 for the government.

On the Government White Paper limiting the number of immigrants this year to 8,500, there was very strong feeling. Mellish, who was put up to support the government and

## LETTER FROM LONDON

did so by an extremely reactionary speech, was booed in the conference.

Nevertheless, on a card vote, the government received 4,736,000 votes for its White Paper and 1,581,000 were cast against it.

Immediately after the vote 41 Labour MPs and 23 parliamentary candidates issued a call to carry on the fight against the White Paper's proposals.

Later five members of the executive of the London Labour Party, of which Mellish is chairman, disassociated themselves from his statement at the conference.

The biggest opposition to the government was shown in the debate on the in-

comes, wages and other economic issues.

Clive Jenkins, Secretary of the Association of Supervisory Staffs and Technicians, moved an emergency resolution opposing government-proposed legislation to enforce legal notification of wage claims.

He declared that the government had no electoral mandate for such legislation. It was sprung on the TUC at an hour's notice and never discussed by the Parliamentary Labour Party at all.

Stanley Orme, Labour MP, declared that the government might have to rely on the Tories to get such legislation through as he could not vote for a bill which might put trade unionists in prison.

In the debate the question of steel nationalisation was again raised, this time by Michael Foot MP, who said that this was something to which they were committed and there was danger of cynicism arising since the Government had done some things differently from what it had said it would when in opposition.

The resolution against legislation on wage claims was lost by 2,504,000 to 3,625,000.

Although the government succeeded in getting a ma-

jority for its policy on all the most important issues, the fact that the minority grew to two and a half million at the end of the week is of very great significance. On some issues it means that well over one-third of the votes were cast for a new policy.

In addition, it must be remembered that if a resolution is carried only by one vote in the delegation meeting the whole of the vote of that delegation, which may amount to a million or more, is cast as one block.

The struggle will go on and in fact has already found very sharp expression since the Blackpool Conference. This is shown both by the actions outside the American Embassy and the arrests following protests against the continuing aggression in Vietnam and by the number of wage demands which have been put forward by trade unions since the Congress.

The biggest union of all, the Transport and General Workers Union, has informed the Trade Union Congress of a number of wage claims it is making but has declared that it will not hold up the prosecution of the claims pending consideration by the TUC's Wage Claim Vetting Committee.

Both on the question of peace and on trade union rights and the freedom for collective bargaining, united struggle is growing but will have to become very much stronger in order to force the government to change its policy.

# IS McCARTHYISM COMING BACK?

From JAMES WEST, NEW AGE U.S. CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK: Nearly 100,000 American Negro and white and mostly young, turned out in 60 cities and towns across the United States to protest US military aggression in Vietnam on October 15, 16 and 17, International Days of Protest Against the War in Vietnam.

OVER 10,000 marched down New York's Fifth Avenue; more than 5,000 demonstrated at Berkeley-Oakland (California); over 2,500 turned out at various actions in Chicago; over 2,000 protested in Boston and in San Francisco.

In scores of small towns across the country, picket lines and marches of hundreds of persons took place. Typical are Carbondale and De Kalb, where 200 and 250, respectively, marched. Over 200 marched in Honolulu.

In some of these towns there had never been such a protest action. Never before in American history has a protest movement against US involvement in a war reached such scope and breadth.

Alarmed at the new upsurge in the patriotic movement against the war in Vietnam, the Department of Justice has announced an investigation of the Students for a Democratic Society, one of the Vietnam protest organizations, to determine whether it and other organizations "are advising young men on ways to avoid the draft."

## THE U.S. SCENE

Spokesmen for SDS have categorically denied the "draft dodging" charge, maintaining it is engaged in a political protest against the war in Vietnam.

Reactionary US Senators, such as Dodd of Connecticut and Stennis of Mississippi, are demanding Congressional investigations of the protest movement and imprisonment or forced drafting of the fighters for peace.

Speakers at an overflow mass meeting in Chicago on October 17 gave what are the typical replies of the peace patriots to these attacks. Said one such speaker: "If Katzenbach (the US Attorney General) really wants to do his duty and uphold the law, he should investigate McNamara. He should start a new Nuremberg

trial to see who is responsible for the cold-blooded murders in Vietnam. Katzenbach can't stop this movement for peace, and for every peace worker arrested there'll be 5,000 more to take his place."

In a number of cities the ultra-right John Birch Society and Young Republicans and other jingoistic groups attempted to disrupt and break-up the demonstrations. Strongest support for the war in Vietnam comes from the ultra-right reactionary groups.

Clashes occurred in New York and a few other cities. Arrests ran into hundreds.

The anti-war drive now moves forward to the national march on Washington on November 27 which will climax a four-day conference of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Among the sponsors of the "March to Mobilise the Conscience of America" are Arthur Miller, playwright; Saul Bellow, author; Ossie Davis, actor; Ruby Dee, actress; Jules Feiffer, artist; John Hersey, author; Patrick E. Gorman, labour leader; Tony Randall, actor; Dr. Benjamin Spock, Prof. D. F. Fleming; Prof. H. Stuart Hughes; Dr. Albert B. Sabin; and the leaders of numerous peace organizations.

# JAN SANGH: SPOTS HAVE NOT CHANGED

The recent active hostility and conflict imposed on India by Pakistan was an occasion for the manifestation of the basic unity of the people of India amidst the diversity of religions, castes, faiths and beliefs that her people follow. The defensive war was fought by the soldier, whether he was a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian or Parsi. The people gave support to the armed forces in a like manner, irrespective of religion. Their adherence to the basic postulates of secularism and democracy stood out in bold relief.

THIS fact had to be accepted even by the most communal parties and groups and they had to lie low during the period. The RSS-Jan Sangh mouthpiece, ORGANISER had to publish the photograph of brave Abdul Hamid and plead for preserving national unity.

But did this proclamation of anxiety to preserve national unity signify a change of heart on the part of the Hindu communal forces? Did a change take place in their opinion and programme? The answer is a definite NO.

RSS chief M. S. Golwalkar, addressing a rally of his organisation at Nagpur on October 14 said: "Neither secularism, nor democracy nor socialism are able to exercise any patriotic appeal for our people as yet. But the simple feeling that this Bharat is my motherland whose defence is a sacred duty of mine does inspire great deeds."

He added: "The RSS has rightly analysed the basic cause of the country's bondage and stressed that it was due to oblivion of our national identity, and disunity."

What was this analysis and whose is this Bharat, the motherland?

## Golwalkar's Thesis

According to him, "Hindustan is the land of Hindus and it is the terra firma of the Hindu nation alone to flourish upon". "Bharat Rashtra is Hindu Rashtra and prosperity of Bharat means establishing a Hindu Rashtra."

This he wrote in 1939; it was again affirmed in 1962. Golwalkar describes Muslims and Christians not as sons of the soil but as saboteurs, enemies, aggressors and thieves, to be exterminated or to be absorbed and completely merged in the Hindu religion and culture.

He regrets that the Indian Constitution has given equal rights to all citizens and has "equated the children of the soil (Hindus) with the aggressors—Muslims and Christians—given equal rights to everybody, just as a person without understanding may give the full rights to his children and to the thieves in his house and distribute the property among all."

The concept of the composite culture of India is anathema to Golwalkar and his followers in the RSS and Jan Sangh. Here are some of the things which his followers have said in recent period:

Bachraj Vyas, president of the Jan Sangh, gave a call on August 17 for "one country, one people, one culture and one nation" based on Bharatiya sanskriti and maryada. This implies, in the words of Balraj Madhok, another stalwart of the Jan Sangh, "nationalising" Indian Muslims.

The "Finger" wrote again on October 17: "Purgations of the kind which Pakistan has brought to us are very reasonable as they are the only answer to the message of Buddha-Gandhi-Nehru continuum. But if we swear by them in fact as in words, then the secular adventure becomes a minor irrelevance, and we should turn our backs on it to cultivate our souls and

peacefully, if we are let alone by the major powers; but it must be achieved nevertheless by violent means as well, if the country is not to become an embattled camp of opposing clans or tribes or religions."

What, "refined sensibilities" has the communal snakes got! Not only do they want to go back to the medieval ages in their religious intolerance but even start an extermination campaign with "violent means" and blood bath.

The ORGANISER paid "all honour" to the Muslims of Kashmir for having "ably and patriotically supported" the armed forces in withstanding the Pakistani aggression. But that has not deterred them to question their bonafides and demanding that the borders be evacuated of them.

It reported on August 29: "The resolution of the Jan Sangh Pratinidhi Sabha urged settlement of ex-soldiers and refugees from Pakistan in the border areas. That is the only way to check Pak infiltration into Kashmir, as also into Bengal,

etc., were the invaders of India, and Shivaji, Pratap and Guru Govind Singh were the liberators of India, they are going to feel more and more uncomfortable in India."

The editorial said: "The pretence that they are Indians and that they have nothing to do with Pakistan doesn't convince us". So the Muslims have to prove their loyalty. How? "Denounce partition as a mistake and work to undo it."

The ORGANISER also wanted the Muslims to come to terms with the RSS and Jan Sangh. "Why can't they sit together and talk things out? But no, Muslims don't like Hindu leaders. They like to run up to gentlemen who are regarded by Hindus as more Muslims than Hindu!"

So, those who are not in the favoured books of the RSS and Jan Sangh bosses are "more Muslim than Hindu". And the Muslims should have no truck with them, either.

The tirade against the Muslims does not end there. The Jan Sangh Pratinidhi Sabha in a resolution adopted at the August 17-18 session said that "the outlook of Indian Muslims must be nationalised" and that could be done only after India and Pakistan became one.

## Anti-Muslim Tirade

The resolution said: "Because of its historical background, the mere existence of Pakistan prevents a bulk of Indian Muslims from identifying themselves with the mainstream of national life. The real trouble is political. If this trouble (meaning the state of Pakistan) is removed, the Indian Muslims will feel one with the mainstream of Indian life and India and Pakistan can be united to form an Akhand Bharat."

In the ORGANISER of October 10, the Moving Finger wrote:

"In a human sea of Muslims from the Atlantic Coast of Africa to the Indian Ocean, we Hindus are an island which is an eye-sore to all of them. (However) it has helped the Hindus to realise that in a hostile world they are alone and unaided. To that extent it has been a blessing indeed. People who

luxuriate in refined sensibilities."

This same "Finger" had written earlier (ORGANISER, September 29) that "the eventual hope of all of us is that the Muslims might come to live in India as Catholics do in England, rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. This can be achieved with the inevitability of gradualness and

luxuriate in refined sensibilities."

What about the "North-West Frontier Province"? Has he gifted it off to Pakistan or somebody else as his friends in United States and Britain would like to?

And the proposal to re-organise the Jammu-Kashmir and Punjab states has come at the same time when the Jan Sangh is opposing the

Assam, Tripura and Rajasthan, the resolution said."

Balraj Madhok has even advanced a "brilliant" idea through the same issue of the ORGANISER. He wants to re-organise the border states of Jammu-Kashmir and Punjab to establish a single border state consisting of Ladakh, Jammu, Kangra, Lahaul and Spiti district of Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and other Pahari and Dogri speaking areas.

This, he says, will "make an ideal and viable North-West Frontier Province with a warlike and devoted population of over five million."

Note the words "North-West Frontier Province". What about the "Kashmir Valley"? Has he gifted it off to Pakistan or somebody else as his friends in United States and Britain would like to?

And the proposal to re-organise the Jammu-Kashmir and Punjab states has come at the same time when the Jan Sangh is opposing the

\* ON PAGE 12

## HAPPY FAMILY

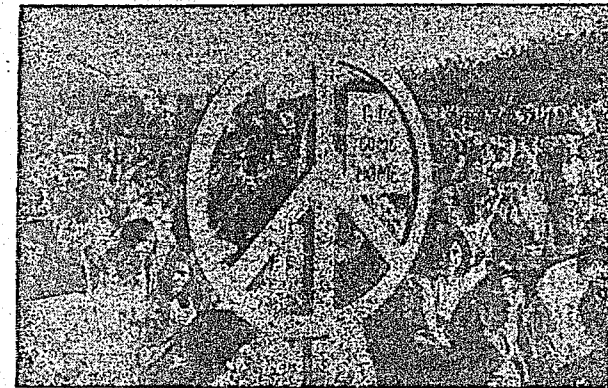
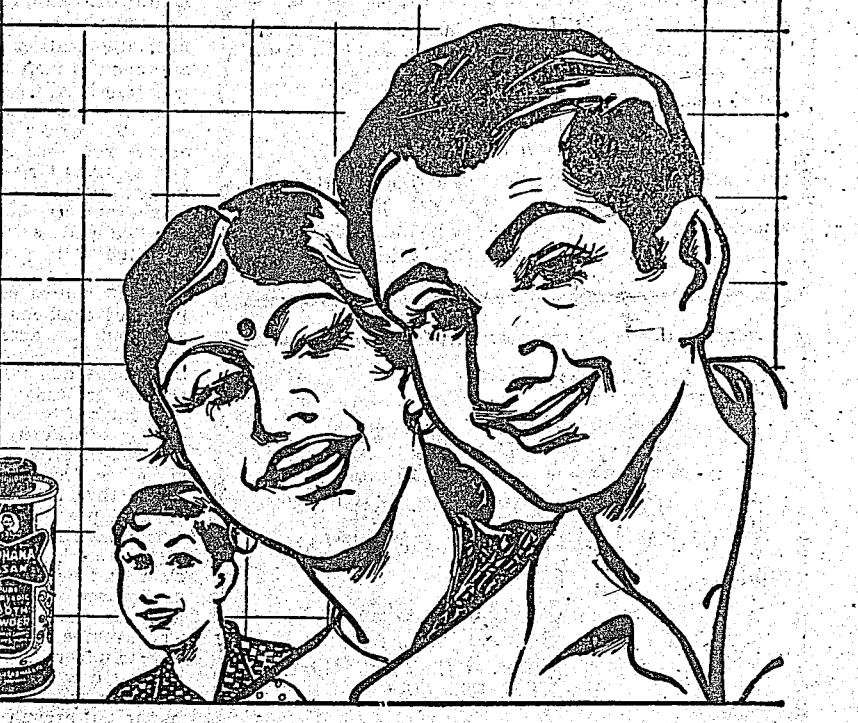
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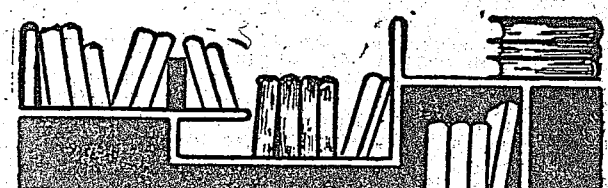


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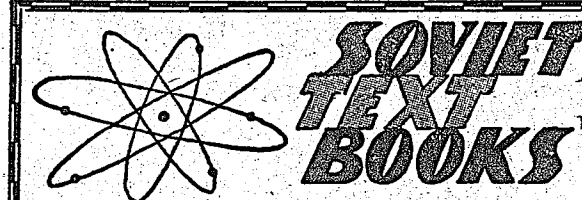
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## LETTERS

### HOME MINISTRY'S DENIAL

REFERENCE your front page story on September 5, 1965, I am directed to say that the Home Ministry have not expressed their opinion anywhere in favour of withdrawal or otherwise of the criminal case against Shri S. P. Jain or the Bennett Coleman Co. The Government is neither "interested" nor "concerned" about anybody in this case. They would like the correct and proper thing to be done and the law to take its own course irrespective of the personalities involved.

The Central Bureau of Investigation of the Home Ministry had made a detailed inquiry in this connection and a reference was made to the Law Ministry for their advice. Thereafter, in consultation with the Law Ministry, a reference was made to the Attorney-General for his opinion.

It may also be stated that no request was made to Shri S. P. Jain to find accommodation for anybody in the old premises of TIMES OF INDIA in Daryaganj. Also, no offer of settlement has been received from Shri S. P. Jain.

U. C. TIWARI  
Information Officer  
Press Information  
Bureau, Government  
of India

New Delhi

### WAR AND WRITER'S DUTY

WHETHER Shivdan Singh Chauhan's article, "The Writer And War" (NEW AGE, October 17) is a gist of the discussions at the Sangya Goshti or his own reflection on the topic is difficult to apprehend, but whatever it be, it betrays a mental condition which the average citizen of India will find hard to appreciate. It has come to be a fashion with the writer of today to always pose as a highbrow and speak in terms of 'truth', 'human values', 'permanent values' and the like. He is so obsessed with such phrases that the real point eludes him.

In the context of war, conflict of emotions naturally arise but instead of piercing through the haze of doubts, inhibitions and uncertainties, the writer today tends to bury himself beneath a smoky canopy of deliberate intellectualism. He projects the image of a confused theoretician rather than of a true devotee of the Muse.

The basic issues and values in the recent war are crystal clear and more than once emphasised by those who know about deeper values. The average man has been able to understand this much, and yet it is a pity, the conscientious writer falters. He has to go through the history of war in the world through

the ages and know the conduct of different writers in those wars before he can find a path for himself. Not to speak of inspiration, his efforts at such deliberations even lack sincerity which is the first imperative for a creative writer worth the name.

After digging through a full page of printed matter, all that one gets in the end is the humble advice "to help in the triumph of the cause which is just and right. And since India's case is just and right, the writer's commitment is to support it and not 'split' on it." There is no mention of the nature of support, and the last expression is a poor show of the piteous state of the writer's mind. His lack of concern would have been less offending than this 'support' to mercifully oblige the nation.

Let the truth-seeking intelligent writer of today realise the simple truth that so long as it is the imperative duty of a nation to safeguard her freedom and integrity, and if these cannot be protected without a war, the nation must accept the challenge of arms. And since a writer is bound by a thousand obligations to his nation, he is duty-bound; materially, ethically and by all codes to render wholeheartedly his services—not just verbal support—to the nation, though the nature of the services should depend on his own capabilities, free will and inspiration. Without this his boast of values and truth and love for humanity at large are hypocrisy and a sacrilege.

J. N. SETH  
Calcutta

### BRITISH OBSTRUCT DEFENCE EFFORTS

THE pro-Pakistani leanings of the British are manifest in many of their actions. NEW AGE has done well in exposing the donations made to the Pak war fund by the British banks. News of the anti-national activities of the British planners in Assam have also come in the newspapers as also the management of some British concerns.

Now has come another shocking manifestation of the same disease. The British agent of the Bankura colliery has removed posters supporting defence mobilisation and protesting against the Anglo-American conspiracy in Kashmir.

It is high time the government took notice of these prejudicial activities of the British interests operating in this country. Immediate action should be taken against the Bankura colliery agent who has been obstructing defence mobilisation. Asansol KALYAN ROY

SPOTS HAVE NOT CHANGED  
\* FROM PAGE 11

formation of a Punjabi state on linguistic basis because it claims the demand is "communal".

Hear the Sangh's general Secretary, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya: "The case for Punjabi suba needs no examination... We cannot now start the process of carving out new province... Whatever Fateh Singh might say, the whole movement is based on a communal appeal" (ORGANISER, September 5)

If it is a question of linguistic reorganisation of Punjab, well, the Sanghs are opposed to it. "The status quo in Punjab, political as well as linguistic, should not be changed... Communists and Akali leaders who are hatching subversive plans should be taken into custody." "Does the leopard change its spots?"

war of naked aggression against Pakistan. These expansionist crimes of Indian government have been severely condemned by all countries and peoples upholding justice."

So, China supports "plebiscite" in Kashmir. She calls our military action in self-defence as aggression. Is this not a blatant interference of the internal affairs of India? What has the author of the PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY article got to say about it?

Does he expect the American lobby and other reactionary political parties in India to remain quiet, not avail the golden opportunities, which the Chinese government and leadership are offering by their actions of the type above mentioned?

So, will it be unreasonable on my part if I appeal to the respected writer of the said article to direct his wise pieces of advice to the actually deserving, namely the present leadership of the Chinese government. Nellore B. V. CHALAM

the Constitution of the state in 1957. It was before this Constituent Assembly that Abdullah placed the three alternatives: accession to India, accession to Pakistan and independence.

He effectively demolished the arguments for independence and proposed accession to India. This Constitution declared: "The State of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India."

It is another gross distortion of fact when Comrade Dutt says: "Abdullah's demand for self-determination had, by 1953, become a political embarrassment to the Indian Government." Sheikh Abdullah was repudiating his own past and calling for 'independent' Kashmir in chorus with Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson and other US imperialists.

### No Change In Situation

What really happened then was correctly described by Comrade Dutt himself in "India Today and Tomorrow". (Quoted in NEW AGE article by N. K. Krishnan, September 28). One can, of course, make a reappraisal if new facts had come to light later. We do not think such a reappraisal is necessary or warranted. The NEW TIMES in its latest article referred

# For Peaceful Solution Of Indo-Pak Conflict

to above confirms our view on this point.

Comrade Dutt dramatises the Nehru-Abdullah meeting in 1964 after the latter's release and seems to suggest that the two would have worked out a magic formula to serve as an 'open sesame' to the knotty Kashmir question. Considering all the available facts, this appears to be a far-fetched idea.

He says, Abdullah's plan was to make independent Kashmir a bridge of friendship between India and Pakistan. But it appears that in the exaggerated self-appreciation of himself, Abdullah thought that he in his own person represented Kashmir as a whole. In fact, he was offering himself as a bridge—a mediator—between India and Pakistan, and was studiously talking in vague terms to be equally acceptable to both Indian Government and the Western imperialists.

It is, therefore, not accidental that Abdullah in

1964 got the most response from the right reactionary circles in India who were peddling some variant of Western imperialist plan for Indo-Pak unity and Kashmir. That is also the reason why there could not have been any Nehru-Abdullah plan.

Comrade Dutt conjures up the stalwart figure of a staunchly anti-imperialist and democratic Abdullah who, having the backing of the entire Jammu and Kashmir people, is capable of leading both India and Pakistan to the negotiation table without imperialist interference. It may be a sensational political fiction but not reality. Sheikh Abdullah of 1946 is no more and that because of his own doings.

Comrade Dutt seems to have been misled by wrong reports. Abdullah, with his split-away following from the National Conference and the Plebiscite Front does not command the majority even in the Kashmir Valley.

Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, present Chief Minister of Kashmir, and his devoted band, who were co-builders of the National Conference together with Abdullah and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, kept alive the anti-imperialist and democratic spirit of the New Kashmir programme among the masses by their steadfast and self-sacrificing work.

That is exactly the reason why the masses rose in August last to foil the nefarious plan of the Pakistani infiltrators. It showed that the spirit of Maqbool Sherwani, whose martyrdom symbolised the resistance of the National Conference masses who defeated the Pakistani raiders in 1947, is still alive despite Abdullah's betrayal.

3 Let us finally look at Comrade Dutt's solution as a whole. He no doubt says that—"proposals for outside intervention, United Nations action, other than urging cessation of military hostilities, will not settle the issue and could offer opportunities to the imperialists to get their hands on the spoils."

He rules out UN intervention, UN peacekeeping force as well as partition of Kashmir. So far so good.

But his plan as a whole bears a close resemblance to the UN plebiscite plan. Armies from both sides are to be withdrawn from the whole of Jammu and Kashmir State. Instead of a UN plebiscite administrator being induced by common consent to hold a plebiscite, Sheikh Abdullah is to be accepted by common consent to form a caretaker government to organise "genuinely free elections."

### What Guarantee?

What is the guarantee that elections organised by Abdullah's caretaker government on the entire territory of Jammu and Kashmir state, would be "genuinely free"?

If, according to Comrade Dutt, the 1951 elections organised by Sheikh Abdullah's government when he had the united support of the all-inclusive National Conference, were of dubious validity, why should Abdullah, who today has a minority support even in the Indian-held part of the state, be able to organise genuinely free elections?

Is the withdrawal of the armies supposed to do the trick? Have economic inequalities and power of money disappeared? Besides, the very large Pakistan-held areas of the state have not known democracy, nor has it got any land reforms.

One thing seems to be clear. Under the caretaker govern-

ment of Abdullah, with his flair for 'independent Kashmir' and for 'plebiscite', there will be freedom for Pak militarists and for peddlers of Western imperialists to operate, while those who stand by the ideals of 'New Kashmir' of anti-imperialism, democracy and secularism will have scant protection.

Such a plan of elections will either collapse under clashes or result in an 'independent' Kashmir on which Pakistan could compromise the SEATO-CENTO military installations would appear in the Valley.

There is no short and swift solution to the Indo-Pak conflict of which the Kashmir question is but a part. No correct solution can be found by equating India and Pakistan, without taking into account the complex working of the imperialist intervention and conspiracy, and the varying attitudes of the Governments of the two States to the same.

### Historic Experience

The historic experience of Hindu-Muslim relations in the pre-independence days and of the Indo-Pak relations in the post-independence period has again and again proved that reliance on the third party—imperialism—by any side can only aggravate the conflict but never solve it.

The main obstacle to the peaceful solution of the Indo-Pak conflict is the Pakistani reliance on imperialism, particularly US imperialism, to manoeuvre itself into a position of strength vis-a-vis India, its entrance into US-sponsored military alliances like SEATO and CENTO and its being recipient of massive US arms aid.

The CPT's CEC resolution, while stressing on steadfast work towards a peaceful settlement of our disputes with Pakistan despite all obstacles places in the forefront the slogan of a no-war pact between India and Pakistan as a decisive step in that direction.

A no-war pact between India and Pakistan, the latter quitting the aggressive military pacts and alignments with imperialism and the former too pursuing a consistently anti-imperialist policy of self-reliance, such as the pre-requisites of a solution of the Kashmir problem.

Such a solution should take account of the realities and of the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir including its Pak-held part and safeguard the security and the interests of India and Pakistan by eliminating forever the imperialist intervention in the subcontinent.

(October 24, 1965)

## Indonesia: USSR's Concern

# PKI MISTAKES ALSO PLAYED THEIR PART

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Concern and anxiety over the events in Indonesia continue to be expressed in the Soviet Union and the press has given considerable space to the large-scale anti-communist persecution and baiting of left and progressive organisations, trade unions and their leaders going on there with unabated fury.

WHILE it is realised here that mistakes of the Communist leadership of Indonesia and the long and continuous Chinese inspiration also played their part in the turn of events, and there is some surprise at the weakness of such a big party displayed during the developments, the main concern remains that all this should not develop into a gain for imperialism and reaction.

The danger is that external forces and internal extreme rightwing reaction fanatical religious forces have been raining ground and could bring to naught all that has been achieved so far by Indonesia in her struggle for independence, against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

It is pointed out that the forces which are happy over the turn of events are the imperialists and the worst reactionaries all over the world and they would use every possible intrigue and every eventually to undermine Indonesia's independence and integrity and deal a blow to the whole anti-imperialist front in Asia.

Expressing concern over the anti-left and anti-communist campaign in Indonesia, he declared that the Soviet people highly valued their friendship with Indonesia and its anti-imperialist-Indonesian developments.

ist, anti-colonial role and attached great importance to the development of all-round cooperation between the two countries.

"We are convinced that the unity and cohesion of all the sound progressive forces correspond to the basic interests of the Indonesian people and we hope that neither internal nor external reaction will be able to destroy this unity and push Indonesia off the road she has chosen or divert her from the tasks of the Indonesian revolution."

A Tass statement issued earlier had said that the Indonesian people could resolve their internal problems themselves "without intervention of those external forces for whom the interests of Indonesia are alien and who are pursuing their own selfish interests."

PRAVDA and other Soviet papers also published China's note of protest to Indonesia over the anti-Chinese demonstrations and attacks on the Chinese embassy there, thus revealing the damage which dogmatism and adventurism caused to China herself along with the Indonesian Communists.

It is significant that those Communist Parties which towed the Chinese line unconditionally have not expressed themselves yet on the Indonesian developments.



WORLD PEACE COUNCIL CALL

INTENSIFY SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT WITH VIETNAM

From OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

MALMO (Sweden), October 25: The Executive Committee of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace concluded late last night a two-day meeting in this beautiful Swedish town. This was the first meeting of this highest body of the Council, established at the Helsinki Peace Congress to act as a collective head in place of Professor J. D. Bernal, who was forced by ill-health to resign his chairmanship.

The Executive Committee undertook a thorough review of the developments in the international situation since the Helsinki Congress in July, and at the end of its deliberations, adopted a communique on its decisions.

From the Indian point of view, the greatest significance will naturally be attached to the section of the communique dealing with the Indo-Pakistan conflict. (The full text of this section is given in this week's Editorial).

But this was not the only question discussed at Malmo. The most urgent question of developing the movement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam against the American aggression was considered in great detail by the Executive.

Isabelle Blume, the world-famous Belgian political leader, as the Coordinating President of the Executive, opened the discussion with a precise summing up of the developments. Later the Italian Socialist MP Lucio Luzzatto presented a report on the assessment of the results of the Helsinki Congress, where he pointed out the immense influence which the Congress had had, particularly in strengthening the movement of solidarity with Vietnam.

Indo-Pak Conflict

Indian member of the Executive Romesh Chandra made a detailed report on the Indo-Pakistan conflict, in which he called down the imperialist support for the Pakistan aggression, and also effectively proved that the imperialist demand for so-called "self-determination" for Kashmir was intended only to provide the imperialists with the possibility for the establishment of their bases on the strategic valley of Kashmir.

Romesh Chandra also called for concerted world-wide action in support of Vietnam, and also in solidarity with the peoples of Aden and Rhodesia.

All members were shocked at the attitude of the Chinese Secretary of the World Council of Peace Cheng Shen-yu who opposed each and every part of the communique, including the section on Vietnam. NOT ONE OTHER MEMBER SUPPORTED HIM.

Despite all efforts to persuade Cheng to state the reasons for his opposition, he refused to do so, maintaining

in Washington at the call of several of the most prominent American intellectuals and other personalities.

The Executive has called on all national peace movements to strengthen their action on Vietnam and ask their governments to work to isolate the aggressors and stop the aggression.

The Executive called for solidarity with the peoples of Aden and Rhodesia and of the Portuguese colonies, and for vigilance against the renewed threats made by the imperialists against the Congo, the Dominican Republic and Cuba.

Against N-Weapons

The communique also mentions the committee's conclusions regarding the proposals for prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons. If these are to be effective, says the executive, they should "extend to cover all dissemination of nuclear weapons and also prevent collective forms of dissemination such as plans for the nuclear armament of NATO, and for bases and installations by which the imperialists introduce these weapons in foreign countries which do not possess them."

At the same time, the Executive hailed the growth of the peoples' actions in protest against the US aggression. Making a special reference to the popular actions in the USA on October 16 and 17, the executive expressed its hope that there would be many parallel actions all over the world on November 27, the date on which a giant demonstration is to take place

Indian Parliamentary Delegation In Soviet Union

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Members of the India parliamentary delegation, led by Satyanarain Sinha, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, who arrived here last week on a fortnight's goodwill visit are now touring the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union.

The delegation, which includes Communist leader Bhupesh Gupta, will use this opportunity to explain to the Soviet leaders and Soviet parliamentarians India's stand on current international problems and particularly Kashmir and the Indo-Pak conflict.

Three days towards the end of the visit have been kept for exchange of ideas and discussions in Moscow. The delegation is due to leave for home on November 3.

Members of the delegation in their pronouncements and conversations with Soviet

representatives emphasised the fact that friendship between the two countries has stood the test of time and that the Soviet Union is not just a fair weather friend.

Satyanarain Sinha said the Soviet Union had consistently supported India in her hour of trial. India and the Indian people were for growing Indo-Soviet friendship with all their heart and it will grow from strength to strength as an important factor stabilising world peace.

Preparations are going on here for the celebration of the 48th anniversary of the October Revolution. Factories and plants are proudly announcing their successes on the production front in honour of the great international holiday. As always, numerous foreign guests are expected to attend the celebrations. Events in Indonesia have once more underlined the need of the

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines NEW SURGE AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

THE joint conference of all nationalist organisations in Portuguese colonies which met recently in Dar es Salaam achieved new successes by way of bringing about greater unity and coordination of activities of the different (and frequently rival) groups of freedom fighters.

The main decision of the conference was a call to increase military activity by the various groups throughout the African colonies of Portugal and for greater coordination of the political and military struggle.

Representatives of embattled Angola, members of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), circulated a memorandum addressed to the OAU Ministerial Council in session in Accra.

The MPLA asked for greater support from the independent African countries to the liberation struggle in Angola.

Referring to the successes of the fighting Angolan people who have liberated 25 per cent of the country, the memorandum pointed out that underground groups of the People's Liberation Movement are already active even in Louanda, the Angolan capital.

The memorandum exposed the assertions of the Western press that the so-called Angolan government in exile, headed by Holden

Roberto, is a representative one.

The OAU Ministerial Council was asked to reconsider the question of recognition to Holden Roberto and henceforth help the fighting Angolan people only through the MPLA. In the so-called Portuguese Guinea, the war of independence has liberated an even greater proportion of the colony's territory. There the patriotic forces already control over 40 per cent of the entire country. In Mozambique, an effective united front of all political forces was achieved last year and a struggle launched under the banner of Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front).

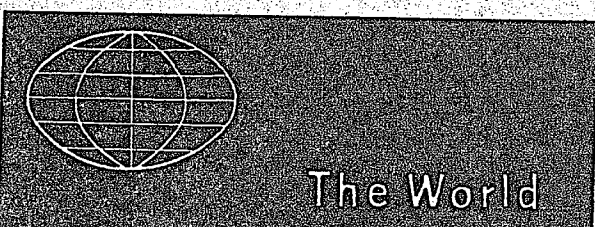
ECONOMIC REFORMS IN BURMA

THE Revolutionary Council of Burma has promulgated a law giving the government wider powers in carrying out socio-economic reforms.

Published under the title, "The Law on Measures Aimed at Speeding up the Construction of a Socialist Economic System", it becomes effective at once. It empowers the government to proclaim any idle enterprise the property of the state.

-B. R.

Rhodesia: OAU Warns Against Smith's UDI



While the British government is still refusing to declare categorically that they will firmly oppose any move towards unilateral declaration of independence by the Smith government making use of all the necessary means, the White Rhodesian government has shown no signs of compromise towards accepting the rights of the Africans.

INSPITE of Wilson's hurried visit to Salisbury to mollify the racials' determination, there is no sign so far of any move that will fulfil even the minimum demands of the four million Africans.

The Accra all-Africa summit conference has once again declared that continuation of the present situation in Rhodesia or even declaration of a so-called negotiated independence but falling short of universal suffrage, would be a threat to world peace calling for United Nations action.

Free Africa's leaders gathered at Accra have already declared that should the White racials take any precipitate action, they will immediately recognise and render all possible help including military action to any Rhodesian government in exile that the Rhodesian liberation movement may be compelled to establish.

The Government of India has also made a similar declaration a couple of weeks back. As the summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity draws to a close, apart from the unanimous declara-

five members are the United Arab Republic, Cameroon, Nigeria, Mali and Tanzania.

The Soviet Union has warned that if the white racials declare unilateral independence, "the Soviet Union will cooperate with the African countries in rendering the utmost support to the four million people of Zimbabwe in their just and lawful struggle for freedom and genuine national independence."

W. German Complicity In Vietnam

AS the American aggression in Vietnam shows no sign of abating, there comes increasing evidence of West German participation in this criminal adventure.

Details have now been published of a whole corps of 120 members of West German air force who were sent to Vietnam in 1964 after training in the United States, in the West German paper BAUERNRUF.

The American TIME magazine reported that West German pilots were given US passports before taking part in operations in Vietnam.

Henry Cabot Lodge, US ambassador to Vietnam, who negotiated the matter with

Bonn as a special emissary of the US President, "expressly thanked the Federal Government for the assistance which it had given South Vietnam in the past. With its contribution, the Federal Republic topped the list of all assisting nations," he said.

West Germany's imperialist, aggressive activities is not confined to helping its senior partner, the US imperialists, in Vietnam only.

The Cairo Al Goumhouria, and following it the Dar-Es-Salaam Ngurumo, recently published a report on the existence of a secret military agreement between the Republic of South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Signed last year, the agreement envisages all-round military cooperation—the creation of a Bundeswehr base in South Africa, the creation of factories with FRG technical and financial assistance for the manufacture of jet bombers and fighters, and firing grounds for testing new kinds of weapons and an aerodrome.

This transaction gives the West German militarists the possibility of avoiding the as yet existing obligations of the Bonn Government not to manufacture certain types of weapons. The South African authorities intend, with FRG assistance, to intensify the struggle against the national liberation movement.

Special attention is paid in the agreement to South-West Africa—Kaiser Germany's former colony, and now a mandated territory under South Africa's rule. This is where it is planned to erect military bases, and where the Bundeswehr units will be stationed.

Simultaneously, West German "specialists" are being recruited in the FRG for settling in South-West Africa. They are paid all travelling expenses. Apparently the Verwoerd Government, not sure that it will be able to keep the mandate for ruling South-West Africa is ready again to let German colonialists go there and help them consolidate their positions.

-Baren Ray

U. S. SOLDIER DESCRIBES YANKEE BARBARISM

BELOW is the text of a letter written by a twenty-year-old U. S. paratrooper serving in Vietnam to his sister in Detroit, USA. The letter was published, with a covering letter from the sister, in the London NEW STATESMAN under a pseudonym, and speaks for itself.

I just received your letter up here at Ben Cat in War Zone C. Your picture I think is great and it's in my wallet right now. I haven't much time but can give you a situation report, that is there's plenty of VC for everybody. I'll tell you what happen [sic] today. A recon platoon went out on a road clearing mission this morning and while they were doing there [sic] mission they spotted five VC. The platoon chased them to a village (which the VC ran right through). When they came upon the village they (recon) figured the five VC had held up in there so they began to clear the area of all civilians (poor rubber plantation peasants). They did this by making a lot of noise, shouting, shooting there AR-15s off and crashing in doors. Of course most of the adults understood (by the way there were only old women, old men, and women with babes and children). Now these people dug bomb shelters, but I can't see why what with all the B-52s dropping 1000-pound bombs every night, so automatically this made them people VC. A 173rd paratrooper comes by a grass hut and he yells down into one of these bomb shelters and say I'm gonna give you 10 seconds till I blow that goddam place up! Then he looks at his watch & in 10 seconds he throws a hand grenade in the hole, it blows up and then he sets the hut afire. And here's where I come in, I and my captain are walking by the burning hut and he turns to me and says, "Kwiesien, there's somebody still living, can you here [sic] the groans?" I here them so we stop and take a look. 4 DEAD CHILDREN 3-4 YEARS OLD. We pulled one little girl out who had a hole in her head the size of a quarter as I carried her away from the fire I could see the life in her feeling and she was about 3. She died in about 15 min. And I got those—asses—these sons of bitches I could kill, they are the dumbest—in the world and I told them. Anyway we had 1 VC, 8 wounded kids, 2 of which were still sucking there mother's tit, 3 old men, 43 old women—4 were wounded, 10 young women—2 were wounded, 18 kids—8 wounded, 3 wounded mothers and 5 dead children under 5 yrs old. And you know what these—re-ported? Twenty suspected VC. I doubt if you will read this in the news but don't let this letter get away from you. They might court-martial me for the truth. Love—

White Rhodesians Who Oppose Smith

JUDY TODD, twenty-two-year-old daughter of the former Rhodesian Prime Minister Gerfield Todd, was given an ovation when she rose to address the crowded audience at an Edinburgh University "teach-in" on Rhodesia.

She said that she was distressed that her father was under house arrest in Salisbury for opposing the white racist policies of Prime Minister Ian Smith.

But, she added, "this was nothing in comparison with what had happened to hundreds of his countrymen and women".

Judy Todd said she was speaking as the representative of a minority opinion among the whites and of a family that was very vulnerable.

What she was saying in support of the Rhodesian people's demand for full democratic liberties and African majority rule and against the white racials' demand for unilateral declaration of independence might result in physical hurt to her family and friends, she said.

In fact, it has been suggested that the real aim of the restrictions imposed on Gerfield Todd was to prevent him from escaping from Rhodesia and joining with the Africans in forming an alternative multiracial government-in-exile after the UDI.



# DELHI DRIFTS IN POLICY MATTERS!

**T**HE main highlight of the week is Delhi's drift in vital policy matters. It is no where so disastrously manifest as on the diplomatic front.

New Delhi is shocked at the flood of invectives let loose by the irrepressible Bhutto. Nobody seems to have bothered to call him to order.

The first reaction is self-pity but many have realized that such an exercise does not take us far. Ambivalence in the conduct of diplomacy does not pay any dividend.

For days correspondents have been asking Foreign Ministry officials for clarification of S. K. Patil's off-the-cuff remarks during his perambulations in Washington and elsewhere.

They were officially told that Patil had no brief from the Foreign Ministry. Whose brief he had carried, they were not in a position to say. One cardinal fact has been established beyond doubt: that Patil has not sent a single message to the Foreign Ministry about his talks.

Correspondents have also called on the Food Secretary and Minister Subramaniam himself to ascertain if Patil had any brief from that Ministry when he met PL 480 authorities in the United States. They have made it known—in confidence—that he had none from them.

The one person who could clear the air seems to be reluctant. So the drift continues. Bhutto thunders, Swaran Singh walks out. And everything goes on as it was before.

At home there has been plenty of editorialising on this sad business. The trend is towards some kind of isolationism.

**FUSS OVER FOOD:** The drift is evident on the food front also. The report from Calcutta where Subramaniam had been deliberating speaks of two food plans: one taking PL 480 into account and the other without it.

About rationing, decided by the centre and challenged by some of the states, confusion is getting confounded. THE INDIAN EXPRESS (Delhi edition) of Tuesday has front-paged

## THE WEEK

a double column story under the headline: Immediate rationing prospects slim.

It says that the time-table for introducing informal or statutory rationing in towns and cities will be left to the states. It goes on to add the Chief Ministers agreed to bring the urban areas under rationing but the fly in the ointment is the uncertainty over PL 480.

As for "grow more food" campaign, we could come across only one encouraging bit of news so far. It says that Prime Minister Shastri has kept his word. He has got most of the sprawling lawns at his residence ploughed up for vegetables and a new variety of Mexican wheat!

The only city in India where lawns abound around residential bungalows is New Delhi. And on Wednesday an inquisitive Statesman staffer ruefully remarks: "If slogans could be used as manure, Delhi's political leaders... would be the best farmers." Fortunately for the country slogans remain in the air, crops grow in the ground..."

Meanwhile, N. C. Chatterjee has demanded of the Prime Minister that he should collect a new mandate from Parliament if his government is to persist in parcelling out uncultivated land to corporations of big business.

This he said in a covering letter forwarding a copy of a Blitz National Forum publication entitled "Freedom From Foreign Food." The booklet written by Sulekh Gupta of Delhi University analyses the pernicious effects of PL 480.

**DOUBLE TALK:** The gold bonds scheme has been ushered in. It is a blank invitation to Messrs. crooks and

frauds in the business underworld to unload part of their ill-gotten wealth to boost national defence. All punitive laws have been kept in abeyance.

And yet it is amusing that P. C. Sen should go about saying that he would not touch a naya Paisa if it is black. He is reported by the HINDUSTAN STANDARD as saying that "I do not want any contribution to the defence fund from blackmarketeers."

Well said! The veteran from West Bengal is bound to get kudos from the people. But what about his colleagues who have been indulging in double-think, double-talk?

To go on with Sen's talk with Calcutta reporters, Sen sounded "depressed" about the contribution to the NDF. In his own state dominated by tycoons he could collect a miserable two crores since Pakistan struck.

"It is the rich who are to blame," he said sadly. The amounts most of them contributed were "nothing in comparison with the vast sums they

have made by unfair means such as black-marketing and tax evasion."

Sen's plain-speaking signifies one thing: here and there an individual or two are speaking up on issues. It happened in Punjab on a different issue.

Prabodh Chandra, Punjab Education Minister, had covered himself with shame by his apology for the British and the Americans. Later his colleague, Darbara Singh, replied.

Here is what Darbara said: "Socialist (?) India can find friends only in those countries which have always stood for the down-trodden and not among the capitalist powers"

The tragedy is that during these crucial days when we are standing at the crossroads in many vital respects the Congress High Command remains immobilised. There is a lot of parlour talk in New Delhi about it, which has already found its reaction in at least one editorial in an important newspaper under the significant caption: Sleeping Partner.

## Whispering Gallery

# Hare Ram!

**T**HE day after the Pakistan Radio announced that a company headed by an Indian tycoon had donated Rs.20 lakhs to Pindi's 'defence' fund, INSIDER approached an information officer of the Government of Bharat for confirmation and clarification of the news item.

The bloke slumped back into his chair and waxed devotional by reciting a composition of his own:

Hare Ram, Hare Ram  
Charat Ram, Bharat Ram!

After the hymn, he gave me some printed literature by way of back-grounder. To that we will return presently.

Some three weeks ago INSIDER was fascinated by a photograph which appeared on the third page of the New Delhi STATESMAN showing a greying Bharat Ram of Delhi Cloth Mills presenting to Prime Minister Shastri a cheque for the fabulous amount of one lakh rupees. We kept a mental note of the visual evidence of Bharat Ram's flaming patriotism.

Some ten days later the Pakistan Radio broadcast that the company headed by the same tycoon, which owns a similar textile mill in Avub's western zamindari, had donated 20 times that amount to Pakistan's 'defence' fund.

On October 21, the question of the alleged divided and discriminating loyalty to Hindustan and Jutistan figured in the Punjab legislative assembly. The Speaker ruled out an adjournment motion on the subject and passed the hot potato to Comrade Ram Kishen who in turn communicated the sentiment of the House to New Delhi as the matter lay within the domain of the Centre.

Till we finished scribbling this week's column (October 25) neither Bharat Ram nor, for that matter, Charat Ram has contradicted the Pakistan story.

Meanwhile, let us take a quick glance at the DCM family of Delhi which way back Manubhai Shah, Minister for International Trade, had the proud (he is proud even today) privilege to serve.

I mentioned about the literature which the information officer gave me.

One was a report presented to Parliament by its public accounts committee some two years ago.

In that report the Rams of Delhi Cloth Mills were castigated for violating a solemn agreement they entered into with the Government of India in 1947: They were given the plot where DCM is located dirt cheap on the undertaking that over a certain period of time the mill would be shifted outside the perimeter of Delhi and thereby help Delhi administration in avoiding congestion.

They did nothing of the sort. What's worse, in the 50s when the Hindustan Insecticides Ltd., a government concern, required some unbuilt land included in the DCM plot, they charged a lakh of rupees for an acre whereas they got it for less than Rs. 5,000.

The public accounts committee called for drastic action, but Bharat Ram and Charat Ram have managed to carry on absolutely unruffled.

After all, Bharat Ram was till recently the chairman of the mighty Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the parallel government of monopolies. The FICCI very often talks back to the legal government as if it is the master.

To cite but one example. After he launched the sadachar movement (now wound up) to combat corruption, Home Minister Nanda had solicited the co-operation of the FICCI. Bharat Ram, the donor according to Pak Radio of Rs. 20 lakhs to Pakistan's 'defence' fund, was the chairman of the FICCI then.

Before me is a copy of an insulting letter he wrote on February 4, 1964 to Nanda in reply. Excerpts:

"At the national level the matter (corruption) is so published as to give the impression that a particular section of the community, namely, the business community is responsible for this sorry state of affairs. And this is not correct.

"If corruption has grown in recent times, it is primarily on account of the plethora of laws, rules, regulations and directives—all of which result in concentrating power in the hands of the administration."

So, go to hell! I go to Ayub!

—INSIDER

# WIDE SUPPORT FOR PEACE MEET

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

**B**ANGALORE: Letters are pouring in to the office of the Reception Committee, reporting growing interest in the coming National Conference for Defence of the Motherland and World Peace, to be held here from November 5 to 7.

Delegates are coming from nearly every state in the country. In Karnataka itself, preparations are going ahead in all the major districts.

On behalf of the All India Peace Council, general secretary Chitta Biswas and presidential committee member Berta Braganza are already in Bangalore to assist the reception committee in its work.

Special enthusiasm is being evinced among the workers in the proposed seminar on defence production. Bangalore being the home town of the now-famous Gnats is a vital centre in the building up of India's independent defence potential.

Apart from the seminars on foreign policy and on steps to orientate India's economy in the light of the experiences of the period following the Pakistani aggression, there is to be a special convention of writers on the issue of the role of the writer in regard to defence and world peace. Mulk Raj Anand will preside over the convention.

The conference is expected to outline a detailed programme of action on the most vital issues before the country.