

# CHALO TASHKENT!



## January 4—Red Letter Day on Peace Calendar

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By ROMESH CHANDRA

The gods of war and their worshippers on this planet are weeping and gnashing their teeth. The date is fixed—January 4—for the first meeting since the latest Pakistan aggression, between Prime Minister Shastri and President Ayub. The place is Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, beautiful Republic of the Soviet Union. And as the preparations go ahead, one is reminded of what the peace workers of the world always have said: *negotiations, and NOT wars, are the way to solve problems and disputes between nations.*

TASHKENT is called the city of roses. And roses, they say, are symbols of peace. But roses and symbols apart, the very holding of the talks in Tashkent, in an Asian Republic of the Soviet Union, has filled mankind with hope and an optimism, which is not without justification.

The cynical ones and the chauvinists combine to say: how can a problem which has not been solved for eighteen years, be solved by a meeting in Tashkent? One must face "practical difficulties," they argue; and they charge those who like me are champions of the Tashkent meeting, with "ideological" prejudices.

I plead guilty—and proudly. I AM one who is dedicated to the cause of communism, which is now being built in the Soviet Union. But that has nothing to do with my belief that Tashkent can provide the best possible atmosphere for a meeting at the summit between Indian and Pakistani leaders.

It is precisely because we know what has impeded a solution of the Indo-Pakistan problems for the last eighteen years, that we believe that Tashkent could be the starting point for those friendly relations between our two brother peoples which the vast majority of our millions so earnestly desire.

At the root of the conflict lies the hand of imperialism. For eighteen years, it has been this hand, which has kept the flames of tension burning brightly, fanning them, pouring oil on them with wicked viciousness.

The Tashkent meeting gives the possibility of lifting the question of Indo-Pak relations out of the reach of imperialist interference. That is why there is optimism that the beginning may be made towards ending the black night of the last eighteen years.

To put it in a nutshell: the world hopes that with the Tashkent meeting, the stranglehold over Indo-Pak relations which the imperialists have kept for nearly two decades, will start to be loosened.

Does this mean that all difficulties have been ended? Nothing of the sort. Our optimism is a cautious and vigilant optimism.

The Ayub dictatorship still rules over Pakistan. The democratic movement inside Pakistan is growing, but is still not strong enough to ensure that its will prevails. Pakistan still remains a part of SEATO and CENTO. Impe-

rialism and its satellites continue to arm Pakistan, to replace the arms lost during the September conflict.

Ominous is the fact that President Ayub is to visit Washington in December, BEFORE he comes to Tashkent. The US imperialists will do their utmost to prevent any positive results emanating from Tashkent. They will do their damndest to keep the whiphand

Jan Sangh General Secretary Deen Dayal Upadhyaya have gone on record over the weekend denouncing the acceptance by the Prime Minister of the invitation to talk at Tashkent. The communalists have cast aspersions on the motives of the Soviet Union, using the worst terms of professional anti-Sovieteers.

The RSS-Jan Sangh is only one arm of reaction inside this country. The Swatantra lobby is equally busy, working to sabotage Tashkent and keep their imperialist friends and patrons smiling. Inside the government, there are ministers and officers who are working triple shifts to keep both the US and British governments supplied with trumps to keep playing their nefarious game of "divide" and "rule".

A visit to India is being arranged for Prime Minister Wilson. The meaning of such a visit at this time is obvious: it will damage India's reputation among the African countries severely.

The Organisation of African Unity has come out sharply against Wilson's connivance at the outrageous behaviour of the Smith racist regime in Rhodesia. It has threatened even to break off relations with Britain.

If the Government of India has no self-respect and is willing to forget London's anti-Indian hostility so easily (it is not clear even what crumbs are offered from Wilson's table in return!), let it at least remember the feelings of our African brothers, and not insult them by feting the head of the British Government at the very time

when he is the object of the righteous wrath of the vast millions of anti-imperialist Africa.

The Dollar Boys, having failed to fix Shastri's visit to Washington BEFORE Tashkent (as a consequence particularly of the non-stop and unwavering campaign led by the democratic forces in this country), are now working overtime to bring about the visit immediately AFTER Tashkent. The game is to make Tashkent just a stop-over en route to the presence of the Texas cowboy who rules the roost in the White House.

What all this means is clear enough. It has the same purpose as has Ayub's visit BEFORE Tashkent: SABOTAGE of the talks.

The bait continues to be held close before our mouths. The economic crisis is there, and the carrots are winking invitingly at India's ruling class. Famine and drought are looming large. PL 480 chorus girls are ready to sing "Shastri's a Jolly Good Fellow", the moment we give the signal.

The imperialists have reason to be extra delighted because in their desire to sabotage Tashkent, they feel they have a partner in the Chinese leadership. Having failed to prevent the Pakistan President from accepting the invitation to Tashkent, the Chinese leaders are engaged in hotting up the tension on India's borders. The motive can be anybody's guess. But commentators do not rule out that the Chinese leaders are anxious to assure Ayub that they remain his true friends and are ready to continue to assist him if he is prepared to keep up the tension.

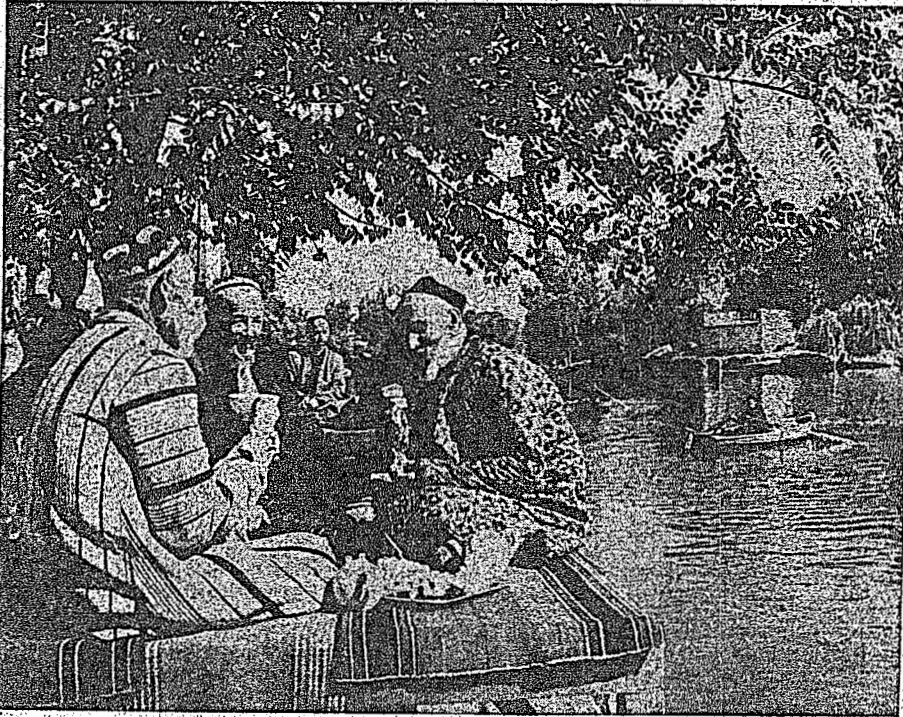
Credence is given to this assumption by the known determination of the Chinese leadership to deny the Asian character of the Soviet Union. Peking looks on the Tashkent meeting as a proof of the fact that the Soviet Union IS a part of Asia and has a vital interest in Asian developments.

What can Tashkent bring about? The very fact of talking can help towards the consolidation of the cease-fire. That itself would be a gain, a turning of the corner perhaps. Tashkent is expected to be the precursor of several meetings in the future.

The Indian press is already reporting the possibility of a visit to India by Prime Minister Kosygin. This could be the occasion for yet another Indo-Pak meeting. Prime Minister Shastri has himself proposed meetings alternatively in India and Pakistan. It is this that the "optimists" wish to ensure as a result of the Tashkent talks. No more than this at the first stage.

But even this little beginning can make January 4 a red letter day in the world's peace calendar. And surely, a day of the greatest significance for the peoples of India and Pakistan.

World public opinion will watch Tashkent closely. The Indian people expect Prime Minister Shastri to act with the vision and the conviction, which has given this country a reputation for unparalleled dedication to the cause of peace.



A familiar scene near Komsomol Lake in Tashkent

over both India and Pakistan, and insist that all "negotiations" must be under their auspices, that THEY and no one else should be allowed to "mediate".

We need have no illusions. Ayub Khan is being summoned to Washington to be told clearly what the lords of the Pentagon and the White House will do, if he helps them sabotage Tashkent. At the same time, they will also make clear the grim "consequences" which they will ensure, should Tashkent lead to the taking of even one step towards a peaceful settlement.

Let us also not be complacent about the activities of the reactionary, pro-imperialist forces inside and outside the government in our own country. They are also dancing to the tune of London and Washington with the same alacrity as the Ayubs and Bhuttos.

RSS boss Golwalkar and

### SOVIET PEOPLE AND TASHKENT

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: There is great satisfaction in Moscow that the arrangements for the Tashkent meeting have been finalised. The Soviet Union attaches exceptional importance to the event: it is the first time that the Soviet Government has taken such an initiative in regard to the promotion of peace and better relations between non-socialist countries.

Prime Minister Kosygin is expected to be at Tashkent. He will be available for help and consultations whenever required by the two sides.

It is however absolutely clear that the Soviet Union is NOT going to try and impose any "solution" or cut-and-dried formulas. The Soviet role will be to remain in the background and offer help to improve the chances of agreement and to ensure a general atmosphere favourable for the talks. It will be wrong to call the Soviet role one of mediation.

The Soviet people hope that the meeting will be used to find common ground and not for airing differences which are well-known.



## CHAUVINISM IS NOT PATRIOTISM

editorial

IT IS TIME TO SPEAK up sharply against the reactionary forces in this country, who, under the cloak of patriotism, are propagating devilish nonsense, which can only blacken the image of our land among those who stand for peace and progress in all the continents.

The RSS Fuehrer Golwalkar, addressing a public meeting in Jaipur on December 5, called once again for "the liquidation of Pakistan as a State".

On the same day, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, General Secretary of the Jan Sangh, addressing a so-called "defence" conference of the Bihar branch of his party in Patna, repeated the same slogan. PTI reports that "he said India could never live at peace unless Pakistan, which was born out of hatred against India, was completely liquidated".

Upadhyaya went further, according to the same report. "He suggested that India should open a new front in Hyderabad (Sind), Karachi and Rajasthan..." Golwalkar and Upadhyaya pretend that they are voicing the real "Bharatiya" spirit. They are doing nothing of the sort. What they parade as patriotism is nothing but chauvinism, which is completely out of tune with the Indian people's sentiments.

Golwalkar and Upadhyaya are not the only devotees of chauvinism. They have powerful allies in high places, who peddle the same kind of dangerous drive. The nation is ready at all times to fight back aggression. But the Indian people are not prepared to countenance any action which means the taking over of a single inch of the soil of any other country, just as we shall never allow any invaders from any quarter to take any part of our land.

This is this nation's policy. It must not be changed, whatever the chauvinists may say.

The Indian people earnestly desire a peaceful settlement with Pakistan. They look on the people of Pakistan as their brothers and sisters. They can never forget the fact that the peoples of the two countries speak the same languages, have a common tradition of struggle against imperialism and have common problems to face.

The fact that the Pakistani rulers have repeatedly launched aggression against India, at the behests of the US and British imperialists, must not blind us to the reality that there is no antagonism between the Indian and Pakistani peoples. In fact, as is well known, there is a growing movement against the pro-imperialist policies of the Ayub dictatorship inside Pakistan itself.

The Indian democratic movement has been stressing ceaselessly the necessity to work for peace, despite all provocations on the part of the Pakistan government. Chauvinist calls for "liquidation" of Pakistan only help the common enemies of the peoples of India and Pakistan—the imperialists. These calls drive a wedge between our people and the progressive forces inside Pakistan.

It is a welcome sign that the Prime Minister has once again reiterated the suggestion for the signing of a No War Pact. The President, speaking in Bangalore, has spoken of the need to build "bridges of understanding" with the people of Pakistan, and has castigated those who forget that the Pakistanis are "our friends with whom we had lived together for centuries".

Peace and friendship with Pakistan and China are goals which must be sought relentlessly. The chauvinists do not speak in the interests of India, whatever mask they may don. They speak for their patrons, the imperialists, who are the only gainers from continued conflict.

The language of patriotism is the language of peace. The more clearly India speaks it, the more will its prestige and influence grow, the stronger will be our bonds of friendship with the anti-imperialist millions of the world.

(December 7)

## US Lobby's Efforts to Scuttle Tashkent

WHILE the arrangements for the Tashkent Summit are being finalised, the US lobby in New Delhi after the initial set-back to its hopes has rapidly recovered to step up its campaign for an early visit by Prime Minister Shastri to Washington.

Evidently, there is no question any longer of the Washington visit coming before Tashkent. To that extent, the lobby has to change its tactics.

The pleadings in favour of timing the Prime Minister's programme in such a manner that there is no "misunderstanding" in Washington—which the External Affairs Ministry and some other Counsellors pressed before the Tashkent decision was taken—have been accordingly somewhat modified.

It is now suggested that the Prime Minister should at least be willing to go to Washington as soon as possible after Tashkent meeting. Even middle of January, before the AICC session is proposed for the purpose.

The ranks of the lobby have been reinforced by Law Minister Asoke Sen. After his tour of the USA and Latin American countries as the "envoy" of the Prime Minister, he has quickly earned the title of "Patil II" in New Delhi circles.

He himself was quite in a hurry on his return on Sunday to share his tour "impressions". These included by now the well-worn shibboleth about a "change" in the attitude of the USA in favour of India. He also frankly pleaded for removing the feeling in US ruling circles that India was being intransigent and had closed the door for negotiations with Pakistan.

In the context of arrangements being made for Tashkent talks, this was evidently a hint that Washington will still continue to hold India "intransigent" till talks with Pakistan are held under US auspices.

It is understood that Asoke Sen did not confine himself to broad hints from public platforms in his advice to the Prime Minister. After his meetings in Washington and New York, specially with the US Representative to the UNO, Goldberg, he was re-

ported to have written to the Prime Minister about resentment in USA over the Tashkent Summit.

It was given out to him and he dutifully endorsed the view that since India had declined to discuss Kashmir issue in the Security Council, it was not right for her to do so at Tashkent on Soviet offer of good offices.

Washington was clearly indicating its insistence that

### New Delhi Letter

India should agree to talk with Pakistan either under direct Washington auspices or under the Security Council umbrella.

From all accounts, the Prime Minister has not fallen for the line of the US lobby. The thinking on Tashkent is also becoming clearer and firmer that it is intended to provide the right atmosphere for efforts to relax tension in Indo-Pak relations for any fruitful advance to settle disputes between two countries.

It is conceived as not just one session which will either find a solution or bust, but a series of meetings and a continuing effort to put off the danger of active hostilities which India certainly does not desire.

### WHITHER FOOD POLICY?

The marathon debate on food in Lok Sabha and the long-winded summing up by Food & Agriculture Minister Subramaniam on Tuesday have raised larger issues of agricultural policy than merely the question of PL 480 imports to meet the present scarcity on account of drought.

In respect of PL 480 imports also, it came as a shock to hear Subramaniam frankly admitting that national dignity and "self-respect" for him was secondary to getting the American bounty to feed the people of India.

That apart, the discussions in the Cabinet and earlier in

the Land Reforms Implementation Committee before the debate indicate an attempt at total reversal of the entire land policy in the name of "scientific agriculture" to achieve a certain target of production.

It is understood that this "scientific" approach does not include merely better seeds, more fertilisers and credit for those who can afford them on which Subramaniam waxed so eloquent in Lok Sabha. A halt to land reforms too is by now a fact. The new direction is relaxing even the land ceiling and a set-back to even accepted tenants' rights on security of tenure.

The discussions on these proposals have not yet concluded and there is resistance to going the whole hog towards encouraging entry of big business and joint stock companies into agriculture, which Subramaniam has been strongly advocating.

But the pull is now in favour of raising land ceiling. From the presently accepted norm of 20 standard acres, in the name of optimum use of inputs and modern methods of farming by rich farmers and landlords. So also, tenancy rights are proposed to be further tampered with by widening the scope of "self cultivation" definition and thus to give greater scope for absentee landlords.

What is in the offing therefore is a move to build food and agricultural economy on the basis of large and medium capitalist farming in contrast to the policy of land reforms, small and cooperative farming which was adopted at Nagpur AICC and which, at least in words, was pursued so far.

This can only spell disaster for the small peasant and the landless agricultural labourer and it is time that, for the Kisan movement to bestir itself to fight against the so-called "reoriented" agricultural plan of Subramaniam.

Incidentally, it is recalled by many in New Delhi that in the life time of Nehru and specially at the Nagpur AICC, Subramaniam had been very active in favour of land reforms and cooperative farming. He has evidently totally changed since taking over the food and agriculture portfolio.



**ONE GREAT COUNTRY  
ONE GREAT PEOPLE**

DA 65/10

## PATENTS MUST GO TO GET CHEAP DRUGS

AT long last the Government of India has brought forward a Patents Bill. The bill has been introduced in the Lok Sabha though the discussion on it has somehow again got postponed. The government is proposing reference of the bill to a joint select committee which means that it has yet to go through an arduous process before becoming law.

The bill which has been brought forward by the government can by no means be said to be a radical one. It only proposes minor changes which cannot but be avoided in the 54-year old Patents and Designs Act of the erstwhile British rulers. But even the minor changes proposed have raised a hue and cry from the Swatantra Lobby. It has even brought a team of lobbyists from far-away United States to campaign against any curbs being placed on the looting done by the drug monopolies.

The bill, though it covers all patents and all inventions and discoveries is essentially intended to regulate the functioning of the drug industry. The main provisions are that only processes and not products can be patented as far as chemical products or substances are concerned, and that patents can be revoked if they are not worked adequately in India within two years of their granting.

These two provisions are as recommended by Justice N. Rajagopala Ayyangar who enquired into the working of patents in India and submitted his report in 1959. Another provision in the bill goes beyond Ayyangar's report. It provides that patents would be valid for a period of 14 years in general instead of the present 16 years and in the case of drugs, food articles and medicines it would be valid for only ten years.

On the face of it and against the background of the storm being raised by drug monopolies, this may sound revolutionary. But the fact of the situation is that it is not sufficient to curb the evil effects which the patent system inflicts on our country and its people.

The reason is quite simple. As the Industries Minister T. N. Singh made it clear while introducing the bill in the Lok Sabha, the government does not wish to go beyond the ambit of the recommendations made in the Ayyangar report. And this report had started from the quite pessimistic conclusion that "with all the handicaps that the system involved in its application to underdeveloped countries, there is no alternative methods of our achieving better results."

### Wrong Point To Start

This was indeed the wrong point to start with. And having started with the conclusion that patents had to be retained, the government could only suggest palliatives for the sorry state of affairs now existing. One such palliative was to make the tricky distinction between product patent and process patent; and then to reduce the span of validity of patents from 16 years to 14 years; and in the case of drugs to 10 years.

The Industries Minister's case for a ten-year span for drug patents is blown up by the drug monopolies' spokesmen themselves. Three to four years is all that the drug industry needs today to make money. The US pharmaceutical industry makes no secret of the fact that it is now geared to produce drugs with short life span. Hear John T. Connor (at present US Secretary of Commerce, formerly president of Merck):

"As in other industries, our driving force is profits. But unlike other industries the single most effective way to earn those profits is by making existing products obsolete, including

our own. We do this through research. The result is a rate of obsolescence unknown elsewhere. More than 9 per cent of the prescriptions written during the third quarter of 1959 for Merck products could not have been written ten years ago; the drugs had not been born."

Overboard goes the entire case of T. N. Singh for a ten-year span of life for patents. So does the case made by the spokesmen of the drug monopolies and their lobbyists all over the world—that the patents and the resulting high prices of drugs are necessary to finance the research work of the pharmaceutical industry. For, what Connor revealed was that the research undertaken by the drug monopolies was not for new and better drugs but to find alternatives to existing ones under new names so that the profits could be maintained at high levels.

### Do Patents Help Research?

Patents help research; so even if they mean high prices they should be recognised—this is the refrain of the drug monopolists and their lobbyists. Some well-meaning people are also taken in by their high-pressure propaganda as is seen from the remark in the Ayyangar report that "the patent system is the most desirable method of encouraging inventors".

Do the patents really help inventions? Or are they the instruments for amassing wealth for the drug monopolists? There are no statistics in this country on how much of the profits earned by the drug monopolies are spent on research and how many

### PAULY V. PARAKAL

inventions have been made in this country. Probably the drug monopolies' spokesmen would argue that they are doing their research elsewhere, the benefits of which are enjoyed by people in this country too.

For the benefit of the law-makers in the United States (which can be utilised by the lawmakers in this country, too in this particular instance) a Senate Committee headed by Estes Kefauver probed into the American drug industry. Its report was published under the title "Administered Prices in the Drug Industry", as Senate Report No. 448. It is a revealing exposure on how drug monopolies, many of them with their tentacles spread in India, operate—how much profits they earn, how they spend the earnings, how the patents are worked, and all the rest of it.

The financial statements of 22 leading American drug firms submitted to the Kefauver Committee showed that out of their total earnings of 2.3 billion dollars, only 32.1 per cent went into cost of production. Profits distribution were as much as 25.8 per cent, advertising and selling expenses 24.8 per cent. Only 6.3 per cent went to research.

The Kefauver Committee reported: "Only three of the twenty-two companies spent as much as 10 per cent of the sales on research, while seven firms (including such industry leaders as Pfizer and Parke Davis) spent less than five per cent of sales for this purpose." Half the firms spent five to ten times the amount spent on research on such matters as advertising, promotional and selling expenses.

Now, what kind of research do the drug industry conduct? Dr. Haskell J. Weinstein, a former medical director of the Pfizers, said in his evidence: "A major justification for the high prices of many prescription drugs has been the very well-publicised vast ex-

penditures of funds and energy by the pharmaceutical manufacturers for what has been labelled research.... I do not think that it would detract in any way from its fine and worthwhile activities to point out that much that is called research in the pharmaceutical industry has little relationship to what most people engaged in academic and research activities would consider to be scientific research."

He was pointing his finger at the fact that instead of doing fundamental research, the pharmaceutical industry a main concern was to add to their profits. Many scientists were employed by the industry and their talents expended on patent bypassing, chemical manipulations or inconsequential additives to established drugs" so that patent rights might be maintained and profits kept in tact.

The same issue was posed by a British specialist, Brian Inglis, in his book, "Drugs, Doctors and Disease". He says: "The proportion of pharmaceutical research that has been spent on "manipulating the molecules"—or as somebody has called it, "molecular roulette"—cannot be assessed, but even within the industry, it is admitted to be high. What it means is that the research objective is not necessarily to provide a better drug than the one whose molecular pattern is being imitated, though that has been known to happen. The aim usually is simply to provide a variant, which can be patented; for only with a patent is it

possible to enter the market and to keep up the drug's price when it is being marketed." (emphasis added).

Now, if the proposal to give patents to process and not to products is implemented, we can be sure that the drug industry would be fully immersed in the task of doing research on all possible processes so that the monopoly might be retained.

The drug monopolies do not rest content with their research on additives. Many times patents are secured on false basis. The most glaring example is that of a Pfizers' patent for the tetracycline.

The US Federal Trade Commission had found that Pfizers had obtained the US tetracycline patent by intentionally withholding relevant information from the US Patent Office's Examiner. Also that, with the object of keeping up the prices of broad spectrum antibiotics, Pfizers and certain other companies including Cyanamid had entered into a collusive arrangement aimed at securing the grant of the patent to the Pfizers. A case in this regard is still pending in a US Federal Court of Appeal.

### Cheating By Pfizers

It is on the basis of the US patent for tetracycline (which itself is under dispute as seen from the above) that the Government of India has given Pfizers patent rights in India for it. And that patent was used against India's own interests by the Pfizers by preventing the Hindustan Antibiotics, Pimpri, from marketing low-priced, oxytetracycline.

It has been established that there is a big difference in prices of drugs from patented sources and others. Early this year, it was disclosed in Parliament that a drug called Librium

was being imported into India, from Switzerland under patent regulations at Rs. 5,500 a kilogram while the same could be had from Italy (where no patent laws exist) at Rs. 300 a kilogram. However, India could not import from Italy because Ciba is holding the patent rights for Librium in this country.

It is also true that the US monopolies charge higher prices for their patented drugs from India than others. For example, the Kefauver Committee disclosed that the cost of production of tetracycline came to 46 cents for 16 capsules of 250 mg each. It was sold in the United States at 5 dollars 10 cents, or 12 times the cost price. In India it is sold at 6 dollars 50 cents. In Argentina same drug is sold for 1 dollar 19 cents because Argentina has strict price control regulations.

This state of affairs led Kefauver to comment: "India which does grant patents on drugs provides an interesting case example. The prices in India for the broad-spectrum antibiotics, aureomycin and achromycin, are among the highest in the world. As a matter of fact, in drugs generally, India ranks among the highest-priced nations of the world." (emphasis added)

Drug monopolies have their stock-in-trade arguments in defense of this. They would roll out all the timeworn excuses for high prices such as the high cost of imported and indigenous raw materials, excise duties, solvent losses in tropical India, and the rest of it. But then how is it that prices in Pakistan (where most of the factors mentioned by the drug monopolies are the same as in this country) of many drugs like insulin and tetanus antitoxin are half or even less than half of those prevailing in India? They have no answer.

### Even Tories Took Action

The high prices of drugs have begun to worry even advanced countries. Tetracycline was being sold in Britain at 28 shillings for 16 capsules of 250 mg each. Even the Tory government found this too much and it decided to buy them for the nationalised hospitals from unlicensed sources—Italy and East European socialist countries. The price then came to only 8 shillings for the same 16 capsules of 250 mg each. The Government of India which preaches socialism and self-reliance has not cared to do even what the Tory government in Britain felt compelled to do.

So, the argument that prices have to be kept high (and for that purpose the patents system has to be maintained) for financing medical research falls flat. Much of the earnings through high prices go into the pockets of the shareholders and also in financing the selling of the drugs—that is to say, advertisement and promotional expenses. We are even paying for the US drug lobbyists' visit to campaign against the Patents Bill!

And much of the advertisements put in by the drug industry is not fully ethical either. In 1962, two medical professors of the Queens University of Belfast conducted a survey of the advertisements in the British Medical Journal. They found that out of 44 advertisements, 26 made excessive claims while seven did not mention serious side effects of the drugs advertised. At least one did not give satisfactory references.

As for the informational service undertaken by the drug industry, the

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# AMERICANS ARRIVE BUT STILL NO "AID"

When Western "aid" for defence and economic development was abruptly cut off after the Pakistani aggression of August-September this year, New Delhi had felt a sudden crisis, emotional and economic.

THE initial reaction was one of readiness to meet this imperialist challenge with boldness and a show of determination not to succumb to pressures from outside which went counter to our self-respect and self-interest.

The slogan of self-reliance therefore became popular and was relayed in the speeches of ministers and others who rushed to the press and the microphone to declare solemnly that India would not be bought or bullied by anybody, be it Wilson or Johnson. There was that surge of national feeling which seemed to affect even the slothful and cynical in the administration, despite their pronounced pro-West bias.

What has happened since then to put New Delhi back into the mood of despondency and a deeper anxiety to seek US "good-will" and more "aid"? The question acquired importance in the context of developments over the week, particularly the visit of a delegation of US Congressmen and New Delhi's interest in them.

The monopoly press has naturally gone all out to boost the visit and has been writing to prove to their readers that the visiting US Congressmen have understood the difficult food and economic situation we are faced with today, and have shown themselves very sympathetic.

So much so that, remarks by the delegation leader derogatory to the person of the Prime Minister himself and delivered with a patronising air have found their way into the columns of the capital's press.

The US delegation leader was quoted saying at a press confer-

ence on Saturday that he would prefer his government to make some arrangement for food supplies to India before Shastri goes to America, "so that it is made clear that he is not going there with his hat in hand".

With the same overbearing attitude, the American has assured that his government would not let Indians starve! "After all we are a humanitarian people and we will not see any people starving". Apparently, such statements do not shock New Delhi now. Rather the official attitude was reflected in the appeals to the overweening Americans designed to impress upon them how they should help this country in the present crisis.

In an hour-long meeting, TTK told them that India is keen on getting as much US private investment as possible and assured them that they have nothing to fear if they want to come here. On the other hand, they will get all facilities. As for their meeting with the Food Minister, the SUNDAY STANDARD report says:

"Mr. Subramaniam emphasised the similarity of interest and identity of views between the United States and India in placing Indian agriculture on a firm and sure footing".

"The Food Minister also detailed the steps taken by India to achieve self-sufficiency. At the same time he stressed that during the transitional period it would be necessary for India to get assistance from friendly nations, particularly the United States, in maintaining minimum supplies of food to the people".

No wonder the American

thought that we are going to starve if we do not get food supplies from the USA. There was a frantic hurry to tell them of our difficulties.

An interesting aspect of this sudden crisis consciousness has been the heavy stress on food shortage and the view, officially blessed, that it is impossible to overcome the crisis without American help, that is, PL 480 imports. This was given full play during the American visit, both to impress them as well as to impress the Indian public themselves.

Unlike in the past, government spokesmen are keen to highlight the shortfall in production and to put up figures of shortage as high as possible. From the official figure of six million tonnes given earlier, the figure given by Subramaniam in Parliament last week had gone up to eight million tonnes plus a gloomy outlook for the rabi crop also.

After the official briefing, the US Congressmen told the press they were returning home "with the impression that while Indian leaders were determined to do their best to tide over the food crisis, India must import at least 12 million tonnes of grain within the next year" (Statesman, December 5).

And of course, most of it, perhaps as much as 11 million tonnes has to come from USA under PL 480. Before this, there had been reports that Orville Freeman, US Agriculture Secretary, to whom C. Subramaniam took the blueprint of his agricultural plan for his okay, had reported to Johnson that India's shortage in food would be about 11 to 14 million tonnes! The figures were mounting.

However, in spite of all this pleading and earnest briefing the American Congressmen were not biting. All they would give was

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vague assurances with obvious hints that decisions will be taken back at Washington depending on a number of conditions.

These conditions, which have already been reported from Washington last week, include Indian support for US in Vietnam and a "hard look" by Johnson at India's Fourth Plan.

Even with regard to food supplies, the delegation said that there is "an element of resistance" in the US Congress against extending surplus food under PL 480 for an indefinite period. "During their meeting with Mr. Subramaniam, the Congressmen talked in general terms of the willingness and desire of the American people to strengthen their friendship with India." (SUNDAY STANDARD)

At the same time, they tried to sell the view that China is a bigger threat to India than Pakistan and therefore New Delhi should try to come to terms with Rawalpindi.

Even while conceding that Pakistan has misused against India the arms supplied to her by Washington, the US Congressmen compared it with similar misuse by France and Turkey and made it clear that the United States could not do anything much in that connection.

Small comfort for New Delhi indeed. Despite the hospitality and consideration shown by both government and the Washington lobby, despite the detailed briefings by the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister the Food Minister and so on, the US Congressmen would not help to lift the gloom from New Delhi.

### Aid And Asoka Mehta

AID was also the topic for Asoka Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, when he addressed the annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on Saturday.

Mehta sounded pretty grim when he discussed the prospects on the economic front, describing the next 12 months as a testing time for the country. Particularly since his audience was composed of many of the big names among foreign capitalists in this country, Asoka Mehta had reason to ask for their goodwill as well in the matter of procuring foreign aid.

He therefore expressed the hope that the spokesmen of the chambers would be forthright in their expression and exposition regarding this aid business "on appropriate occasions". Simultaneously, Asoka Mehta has sounded a warning to the imperialists that their action of withholding "aid" is bound to provoke "misunderstandings".

And he further told them that if pressed too hard, this country might give up its "path of moderation and measured progress" and the contours of its economic policy might get radically altered. He, of course, would be sorry if that happened.

Mehta's concern for Anglo-American "aid" and his appeal

to the imperialists to keep on giving their "aid" so that there is no radical change in the economic policies of the government here are understandable and speak for his political and economic outlook.

But it is hardly likely that his warning will have any serious effect on those to whom it was addressed, since it has not been accompanied so far by any action by the administration to show that it is willing to adopt radical measures to adjust its economic policies to the present crisis. On the other hand, what the imperialists find is that obsequious entreaties are addressed to them from New Delhi for urgent resumption of "aid".

Even such suggestions as nationalisation of British capital which were made inside and outside Parliament by many responsible sections of public opinion, including certain Congressmen, were not acted upon.

The government is still waiting for a thaw in the relations with Whitehall and would do nothing to retaliate for the insults received. Asoka Mehta himself has been importuning for more foreign capital. This is what he told the ACCI meet:

"I devoutly hope that your constant efforts will be to attract more private investments from abroad to help deepen and diversify the structure of our production".

### Why No Protest?

AFTER all the brave words uttered by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in Parliament to signify the "strong opposition" of the Government of India to the British plan for military bases in the Indian Ocean, it turns out that our government has not sent a formal protest till now to London. That is what a PII report from London dated December 4 says.

Typical of the procrastination and prevarication that go by the name of statesmanship in New Delhi these days. Too much of it is in practice in the External Affairs Ministry and sometimes it gets exposed.

If all that Dinesh Singh told the Parliament was to satisfy only the MPs, the conduct of the Government of India in this matter can be described as misleading and insincere. Otherwise, the failure to follow up the minister's statement with a formal protest to UK is a serious lapse for which responsibility should be fixed and the country should be informed what is being done to avert the harm which flows from such lapse.

The news on Saturday from London has already jeopardised the position of the Government of India in the eyes of the Afro-Asian world. New Delhi cannot expect that its words will carry conviction if it does not act up to what it says.

—K. U. WARIER

(December 6)

THE acute class struggle on the question of how to go about rapidly achieving a self-reliant economy is revealingly manifested in the developing tussle on the way ahead for Indian state capitalism.

The type of state capitalism that will evolve depends, to a very large extent, on the balance struck by the contending classes in our society. In its turn this will largely determine the fate of India.

The shrewd chief of US AID in India, John P. Lewis, noted some three years ago that the Third Plan "calls for about the maximum rise in the public-investment percentage that is consistent with a continuing absolute growth prospect for the private sector."

"To make good a five-year public-investment share of 60.5%, the Plan calls for the annual ratio to climb to 65:35 by 1965-66... the present design would be perfectly consistent with a further rise of the ratio during the later sixties, but it would be equally consistent with a contrac-

# For An Independent Democratic Economy—VI CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

tion in the ratio and a relative expansion of the private sector" (Quiet Crisis in India, p. 101).

This battle of the ratios is, essentially, a battle for the future pattern of growth in India. Will state capitalism turn decisively into a handmaiden of the Indian tycoons or will it expand qualitatively to become a strategic lever in the hands of a democratic state? The recent emergency has thrust this issue prominently forward.

It would be quite erroneous to imagine that Indian big business wants here and now a dismantling of the public sector or a denationalisation of such giant public sector projects as have come into

—by  
MOHIT SEN

being. At present its strategy is first to present the relative expansion of the public sector and second to use as much of government funds as possible for private sector growth.

In the name of self-reliance, defence-orientation and the like, it is this policy which it wants to impose on the government. While the latter has not yet yielded all along the line, still it has given a series of concessions which, if not halted by the democratic movement, could reach the point of no return.

It is essential to be clear as to the kind of private sector that is now sought to be more decisively aided by a shift in the pattern of Indian state capitalism. (Previously, too such aid was rendered but the crucial difference is that India has now reached a point where the two sectors can expand in important spheres only at each other's expense).

The Monopolies Commission is reported to have found no monopolies after having defined the term in such a manner as to ensure their non-availability, that is, 90 per cent control of a commodity. To deny concentration of power and wealth would perhaps be beyond even this Commission.

Take the structure of manufacturing industry. The CSO Survey for 1962 (the latest available) lumps private and public sector together but the trends emerge clearly. The large sector (with a capital of Rs. 25 lakhs and above) accounts for 12.9 per cent of the factories; 87.5 per cent of the capital; 56.4 per cent of the employment; 63.1 per cent of the gross output and 68.7 per cent of the value added by manufacture.

Taking industry as a whole this large sector "is in a decisive position, clearly. And this is only to be expected in conditions of modern technology. The public sector apart, this "large sector" is under the grip of the "large capitalists" who alone can afford to put forward the necessary capital.

### Hold Of Big Banks

Additionally, the structure of banking, of the total deposits of Indian scheduled banks (other than the State Bank of India and its subsidiaries) of Rs. 1705.87 crores, six banks out of 65 account for Rs. 1,065.07 crores with a total paid up capital of only Rs. 18.5 crores. The State Bank and its subsidiaries have deposits of Rs. 800.27 crores.

The six big private sector scheduled banks (deposits—Bank of Baroda Rs. 169.53 crores, Bank of India Rs. 201.08 crores, Central Bank of India Rs. 269.41 crores; Punjab National Bank Rs.

210.80 crores; United Commercial Bank Rs. 128.56 crores and United Bank of India Rs. 88.69 crores) are all directly linked with and owned by the "large sector" capitalists, representing a formidable industrial-finance combine which now wishes to spread itself and establish its hegemony over the Indian state.

It seeks, first, direct financial handouts in the shape of subsidies and loans. The notorious case of the over Rs. 20 crores loan to Tatas and Indian Iron and steel is still popping up in Parliament. The biggest of the big capitalists is still trying to bargain for better terms of repayment. In any event, interest payments are being waived and the final payment has been put off to 1972.

### Unashamed Tatas

Quite unashamed, Tatas are coming round hat in hand again. The ECONOMIC TIMES (October 11) reports that for the future expansion programme of the Jamshedpur Steel Works, apart from foreign exchange requirements, Tatas want a Rs 100 crores loan from the government.

The coking coal mine owners are pleading that their modernisation and expansion plans require rupee finance on a scale that makes their own resources inadequate. So they are pressing for a special cess on coking coal.

During the height of the war with Pakistan our "patriotic" share market operators panicked and there was a chance that there would be a substantial fall in share values. The Life Insurance Corporation moved in to purchase the shares of big businesses at a suitably profitable level.

It has been common experience in the past four years or so that new public subscriptions have to be backed by underwriters to the extent of 90 to cent per cent value of the shares released. Often enough the underwriters themselves have to buy the shares as the so-called "public money" is not forthcoming.

\* On Page 12

## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

### Sugar-Coated Poison

WHAT was this so-called fourth Conference of Asian and Pacific Accountants (CAPA) that was held in New Delhi's prestigious Vignyan Bhavan from November 29 to Decem-

ber 2? Reference to the dollarward leanings of the conference had been made in these columns by Vivek as far back as May 9. Now, that the conference has actually been held, these have become all the more obvious.

It was indeed intriguing that the organisers of CAPA could not get a single political luminary to associate himself with it when they are normally available in the capital dime a dozen for speech-making at all and sundry functions.

In fact, the only Indian public figure who associated himself with the conference was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, P. B. Gajendragadkar. It may be that he did not know the nature of this conference either.

The star performer at the conference was US Ambassador Chester Bowles. It indeed beats one's imagination what Bowles has got to do with accountability. May be, the CAPA's fascination for dollarland and its representative was the link.

Ambassador Bowles is nowadays specialising in "frank speaking" and he did that at the accountants' meet too. You might ask what kind of frank speaking he could do at an accountants' meet except to tell them that they should stop falsifying accounts to fatten the purse of capitalists.

That of course Bowles could not do, representing as he does the fatherland of monopoly capitalism. So, he expatiated on the American foreign po-

licy in Asia to the assembled accountants!

This speech on foreign policy was not as frank as his speech in Ahmedabad a few weeks ago was. In fact, the poison was coated with as much sugar as he could find in sugar-rationed Delhi.

And this indeed was the mark of the super-salesman that Chester Bowles is. He knew well that New Delhi liked to swallow bitter pills with as much coating of sugar as possible. Any frank talk as he indulged in Ahmedabad might bring immediate reaction which would be unsavoury.

And so we find Bowles beginning with the ferment of freedom in Asia following the second world war; India winning independence under the towering leadership of Gandhiji; Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and Indonesia following suit; how the "virtual elimination of western colonialism" has taken place.

(Bowles actually said, "under the towering leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi, India and Pakistan won their independence from the British". This additional tribute of Pakistan coming into existence under Gandhiji's leadership could only have been a slip of the ghost-writer; Bowles could not have meant it.)

There was mention about the fact that "much of Asia is not only faced with inadequate national growth rate but also with widespread economic and social injustice resulting from unequal distribution of new wealth".

The main theme of the speech however was how the United States has been bearing the burden of "its commitment to the ideal of a free Asia" all by itself. And how, many of the Asian nations were not appreciative of this service.

Bowles dealt at great length about the "Chinese threat" and the US government's "major military and economic commitments in South and South-

east Asia". And naturally, the American efforts at domination of Asia, from the Korean war to the Vietnam war were also detailed, though all these were pictured as helping the Asians "to blunt the Chinese effort to dominate Asia".

Bowles made it clear that his fellow capitalists in the dollarland were frustrated, disappointed by the lack of interest which the Asians showed for the Yankees' self-imposed burden of saving Asia.

"On occasion, the steps we have been forced to take have displeased those of our Asian friends who cling to the hope that the objectives of the Chinese government are not really what Chinese leaders assert them to be."

Or again, "when these non-communist Asians sometimes chose to divert their energies from this essential effort to be labour 'western imperialism', which in fact has long since departed from this part of the world, many of my countrymen feel profoundly frustrated".

Ultimately Bowles came to his main business: "We Americans have paid a heavy price, and so now you pay the price of our war. Free Asia can be successfully built and defended only by Asians", he declared.

And it is for administering this sugar-coated poison that thanks came gushing forth from the organisers of CAPA. The TIMES OF INDIA (December 3) reported that Bowles "was the recipient of many encomiums. Mr. C. C. Chokshi, the conference chairman, welcomed him in very warm terms. Dr. R. C. Cooper, moving a vote of thanks, said that if ever there was a one-man goodwill mission, that was Mr. Chester Bowles; no American had a deeper understanding of Asian problems."

How servile can some accountants become?

—P.V. Parakal

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A view of the demonstration before USIS, New Delhi on November 26



# Maharashtra Textile Workers To Strike

From SARALA KARKHANIS

**BOMBAY:** Three lakh seventyfive thousand textile workers of Maharashtra have decided to go on a statewide protest strike on December 29 against the employers' offensive through wage cuts, retrenchment, curtailment of TU rights, refusal to pay bonus and the government's acquiescence in this offensive.

THE demands of the workers are: stop retrenchment and wage cut, immediate takeover by government of closed mills, payment of due bonus and nationalisation of the textile industry.

Eighty thousand workers are already out of jobs, according to latest estimates. Eleven mills are completely closed. The third shifts in another ten mills have been closed. These closures have thrown out 54 thousands workers on the streets. About 20,000 casual labour are also without work.

Wage cut has become a common feature in all the mills. The lead in this was given by the government itself by implementing it in all the government-managed mills. In some mills the cut comes to as much as Rs. 32 a month.

## More Cuts In Store

The Millowners' Association, Bombay, and the Empress Mills at Nagpur have served notices proposing a reduction in dearness allowance by 32 per cent.

This all-round offensive of the owners has been going unchecked. In some places the INTUC unions have even entered into agreements with managements agreeing to cut in dearness allowance.

The measures proposed to be taken or those already taken by the government under the existing laws have proved to be inadequate to meet the offensive of the employers.

It was in this background that conference of all trade unions in textile industry was held in Nagpur on November 27 and 28. The conference decided to fight against the offensive.

The conference held that the so-called textile crisis is unreal. The real aim behind the cry of crisis by the employers is to attack the gains of workers and force the government to change its policies in a pro-employer direction.

The employers have chosen to take advantage of the national emergency, the conference said. The offensive is also intended to blow up the second wage board for textile industry which has been set up by the government.

The conference felt that the employers are creating artificial crisis every few years to gain their own ends. A permanent solution to this has to be found which can only be the nationalisation of textile industry.

As an immediate step, the conference demanded that the government should take over all the mills which are closed. Mills now taken over should not be returned to the owners in future.

It was pointed out that workers have very bad experience in this regard. The government takes over mills, runs them under employment relief scheme with curtailed rights for workers and when their financial position improves returns them to the owners. This should not happen in the future.

The conference demanded that closure of shifts and retrenchment by other

methods must be stopped. All retrenched workers must be taken back immediately. The government should not resort to or permit any wage cut in any form.

It was also suggested that the government should revise existing laws to deal with the present situation effectively and stop employers from attacking the rights of workers.

An important demand made by the conference was that all workers should get bonus due to them. It was pointed out that except in Bombay, no textile unit in Maharashtra has paid bonus.

The conference was attended by 200 delegates from all the textile centres of the state. It was presided over by S. M. Joshi. Among those who addressed it were S. A. Dange, K. N. Dhulip, S. G. Patkar, A. B. Bardhan, N. B. Mehadre, Datta Deshmukh and George Fernandes.

## YAGNIK BOYCOTS YANKEES

**NEW DELHI:** Indulal Yagnik, veteran trade union and kisan leader, has turned down a lunch invitation from Vice-President Zakir Hussain to meet the US House of Representatives delegation currently in India.

In a letter to Zakir Hussain, Yagnik pointed out that neither the US government nor the members of the present delegation have expressed any regret over the monstrous misuse of American arms by Pakistan.

"I think that it is the duty of all self-respecting Indians to boycott all official functions to greet or meet US representatives unless they are prepared to express their solemn regrets over the misuse of American arms by Pakistan and over the mistaken policies of their government", Yagnik said.

## Protest Against US Blackmail

**KHALLABAD:** Congressmen and Communists joined hands in Basti to observe Day of National Protest Against American Blackmail on November 27.

A meeting under the joint auspices of the Communist Party District Council and the District Congress Committee was held. A handbill was also issued under the joint signatures of secretaries of the two organisations.

The meeting was well attended. It was presided by Ram Ujagar Sharma, secretary of the District Congress Committee. Among those who addressed were N. H. Ansari, secretary of the CPI District Council, Congress leader Bhagwati Misra and Kisan leader Moti Pande.

This was the first time in six years that a meeting under the joint auspices of the Congress and the Communist Party has been held in Basti.

The Communist Party is also moving singly in the campaign against Anglo-American conspiracy against India. Several street corner meetings were conducted prior to the city public meeting.

The district council has now planned for about a dozen meetings in various parts of the district, where earlier the Quit Commonwealth campaign had been conducted intensively.

**IMPHAL:** The National Day of Protest Against American Blackmail was observed on a wide scale in Manipur. At Imphal, a largely attended meeting was held on the day at the Arayan Theatre Hall. A resolution was passed demanding that the government stop all PL 480 imports if these were used as 'blackmail weapons' by the Americans.

Earlier, the Imphal district council of the CPI carried out

a fortnight-long campaign against the Anglo-American conspiracy and for self-reliance in food and economy to meet this challenge.

Public meetings and party general body meetings were held all over the Imphal area. The public meetings were attended by not only Party sympathisers but a large number of non-party people.

The main slogans and demands at these meetings were, "quit Commonwealth", "strengthen national defence", "introduce statutory rationing", "grow more food and for that give land to tillers".

During the campaign, the Party also put forward the demand that a paper mill and a spinning mill should be set up in Manipur in the Fourth Plan.

The campaign fortnight started on November 15 and concluded on November 29. It has created considerable enthusiasm among the people.

**JAMMU:** November 27 was observed as the Day of National Protest Against American Blackmail in Jammu.

The initiative to observe the day was taken by the newly formed Jammu unit of the All India Youth Federation.

A public meeting attended by young men in large numbers was held on the day and a resolution against American blackmail passed.

The resolution said that the youth of Jammu and Kashmir viewed with great concern the increase of US imperialist pressure on India taking advantage of India's dependence on PL 480 for food and for aid.

The resolution demanded that the Union government take steps to become self-sufficient in food, to develop independent defence potential and to plan for a self-reliant economy.

# Youth-Student Meets To Discuss Key Issues

State units of the All India Youth Federation are busy preparing for the Third Conference of the Federation, which takes place in Pondicherry from December 29, 1965 to January 2, 1966. Five hundred delegates are expected to attend the conference, which is to discuss as its main theme "The Role of Youth in National Defence and in implementing the Slogan of Self-Reliance".

THE executive committee of the All India Youth Federation, which concluded an important meeting in New Delhi on December 5, has decided to propose to the conference to adopt "socialist ideals" as its ideological orientation.

Conference commissions will discuss the problems and tasks of young workers, rural youth, and the question of re-orientation of our educational system.

Fraternal delegates are expected from several countries including the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Japan and Ceylon.

American youth in Delhi demonstrate before US embassy



# American Youth in Delhi Protest Vietnam War

**NEW DELHI:** There are Americans in Delhi. Americans who do not support the US policy of war and destruction in Vietnam and brave enough to say it publicly.

They belong to the new generation, the generation which is holding peace sit-ins in every campus across the United States, the generation which held the biggest ever peace demonstration in Washington last week.

Their voice differs from the Pentagon generals, from McNamara's shrill cries of war. They demand peace in Vietnam, that Vietnam affairs be left to the Vietnamese themselves to settle.

These young Americans, studying in Indian universities, publicly voiced their protest against the Johnson policy of escalating the Vietnam war in a demonstration before the US embassy in New Delhi on December 4.

Carrying placards, fourteen of them demonstrated before the embassy for an hour, much to the heartburning and resentment of the American embassy officials. A thirteen-year old boy of the American International School, run by the US embassy, also joined the demonstration.

Some of the visiting US House of Representatives delegation was in the embassy at the time of the demonstration. They were peeved by it

and came out to give vent to their anger. A short but heated argument took place between these US Congressmen and the leaders of the student demonstration. The demonstrators stood their ground.

The US Congressmen charged the students with "disloyalty" and "doubting President Johnson's intentions". They angrily asked: "If you are so much interested in peace, why don't you join the Peace Corps?"

Pat came the reply from the leaders of the demonstration, Morgan Thomas and John Blackton: "Because those who do give away their right to dissent."

The demonstration was organised by an ad hoc organisation, OVERSEAS AMERICANS FOR PEACE. In a memorandum, the American students said:

"For twelve long years the United States of America has chosen increasingly to involve itself in the internal affairs of Vietnam. The arduous, uphill struggle of the Vietnam nationalists during the nineteen thirties and forties had all but created a single nation under a single leader by 1946. France, unwilling to accept the end of the Age of Empire, strove to break that unity, succeeding by 1954 in the unwilling partition of the nation.

"Since that time the US has made every effort to stabilize and legitimate a

division which reflects neither race, religion, economic realities, nor, most importantly, the wishes of the Vietnamese people themselves. Even the Eisenhower administration publicly acknowledged that Ho Chi Minh's claim to legitimacy in terms of popular support far exceeded that of the recently returned Catholic expatriot Ngo Dinh Diem...

"The pace of the toll is accelerating startlingly. Nearly 200,000 American troops are already in Vietnam, 12,000 air sorties were flown in the month of November alone, and these figures will increase. Millions of American dollars are pouring in daily to sustain the war effort. As a result more than a thousand Americans, many thousands of Vietnamese troops, and untold civilians have given their lives...

"It is indeed to be regretted that the responsibility for the war in Vietnam rests in the hands of men who are in no danger of themselves making the supreme sacrifice for the convictions which send so many young men to their deaths...

"We take this opportunity to make public our shame as Americans that the government of a nation fighting in the name of liberty and human rights has given grave cause to doubt its integrity and sincerity in the pursuit of these aims."

## Calling All Women

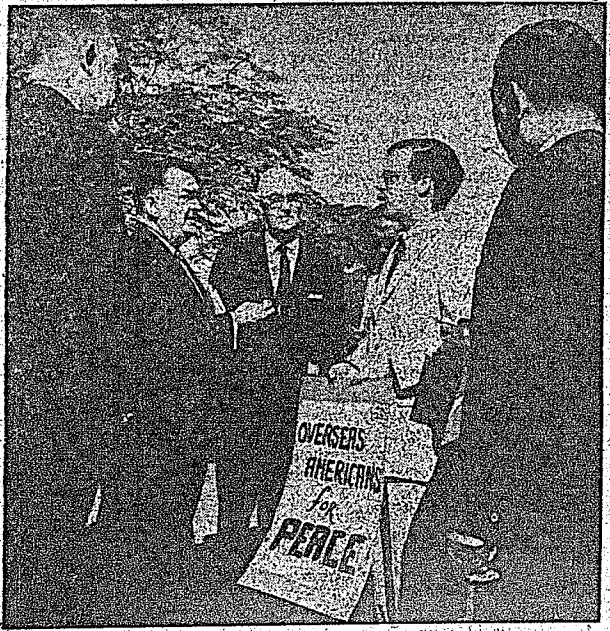
# RALLY TO WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN DELHI

**NEW DELHI:** "We invite all women to attend this Congress, for we are all mothers and sisters, with the same common bonds of love for our children, our country, our homes. Let us weld this love into an unbreakable unity of will and action."

THE National Federation of Indian Women has issued this appeal in connection with its Fifth Congress which takes place in the capital from December 25 to 28.

Under the general call for "Equal Rights, Equal Responsibilities, Equal Opportunities for Women", the Congress will discuss the following themes in commissions:

- ★ In defence of national integrity and sovereignty of the Motherland, for national solidarity and communal harmony; and in the struggle for general and total disarmament, for the preservation of world peace and international cooperation.
- ★ Women's tasks as a housewife to check rising prices, practice thrift, eliminate wastage and to procure equal rights in family and society.
- ★ Need to increase participation of women in production and improve their conditions of work and procure for them better training.
- ★ Obtaining an enlightened and scientific education for all women.
- ★ Women in the care of children and youth.
- ★ A large number of fraternal visitors from abroad are expected. Among them are representatives of women's organisations of the Soviet Union, GDR, Bulgaria, France and Nepal.



An argument with US Congressmen 100!

# BRISK PREPARATIONS AT KANPUR FOR A-A SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

**KANPUR:** Preparations for the Fifth National Conference of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity are in full swing. The Reception Committee has appointed a number of sub-committees, which are busy carrying out a multitude of tasks. Sectional committees of trade unionists, women, lawyers, doctors, teachers, writers and others have been formed to organise sectional gatherings

during the Conference, which will discuss the role of their respective sections in the solidarity movement.

News has come from nearly all states of efforts to send strong and representative delegations. Among those who are expected to address different sessions of the Conference are Aruna Asaf Ali, V. K. Krishna Menon, K. D. Malaviya, Ariun Arora, Diwan Chaman Lall, Gopinad Sahai, Romesh Chandra, Kalmullah, Chitta Biswas and other leaders of the peace and solidarity movements.

Dr. Tara Chand MP will preside over the Conference. Among those who are expected to address different sessions of the Conference are Aruna Asaf Ali, V. K. Krishna Menon, K. D. Malaviya, Ariun Arora, Diwan Chaman Lall, Gopinad Sahai, Romesh Chandra, Kalmullah, Chitta Biswas and other leaders of the peace and solidarity movements.



# SEN'S STATE TRADING IS FOR BIG FOODGRAIN TRADERS

From AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: State trading in foodgrains is a longstanding demand of progressive sections of the people. But the scheme now brought forward by the West Bengal government is not what the people have been demanding.

THIS was the main theme of the opposition criticism of the state government's food policy during the food debate in the Assembly.

The debate could not be concluded because the Assembly was adjourned sine die due to interruptions on the issue of alleged insulting behaviour of the Chief Minister towards two opposition MLAs. But whatever debate took place exposed the government's food policy in ample measure.

CPI leader in the Assembly, Somnath Lahiri took the lead in castigating the government's pro-big landlord policy even in the matter of grain procurement.

He said that while the consumer's price of rice was almost the same all over India, the peasant in West Bengal was being given lower price than elsewhere for his produce.

The Agricultural Prices Commission had fixed the producer's price of rice at Rs. 37.45 (coarse variety) in West

Bengal while it was Rs. 43.83 in Kerala and Rs. 45 in Maharashtra. Consumers in the state had to pay 82 to 88 paise a kilo for rice while in Kerala it was 85 paise.

Again, the procurement policy of the government was topsy-turvy.

As much as 37.6 per cent of the arable land in the state was in the hands of big peasants who owned 10 to 25 acres of land and produced about 18.4 lakh tons of rice. If the government was really interested in helping the small peasants it could have imposed compulsory levy on these people.

However, P. C. Sen's scheme relies on distress sales of small peasants for making up its procurement targets. He wanted the government to help the small peasants by buying from those who make distress sales but not to make it compulsory.

Lahiri also showed that bank advances had a direct

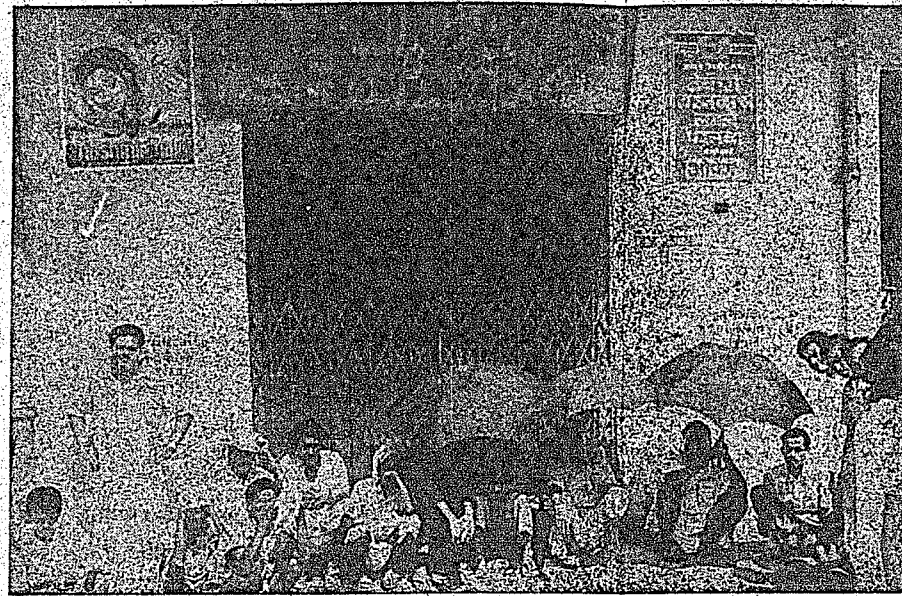
bearing on the shooting up of prices in the market. Bank advances had gone up tenfold during the two months from January to March this year—the same period when price of rice also rocketed.

Cooperatives had been provided with little finances to make purchases. While the government had calculated that the outlay for government purchases would be Rs. 120 crores, cooperatives were allocated only Rs. 75 lakhs. This is indeed step-motherly treatment towards the cooperatives.

The Chief Minister has said that West Bengal's requirements was about 50 lakh tons at the present rate of rations. He has also said that the deficit is very small which need not create any crisis.

Lahiri asked: why then this crisis that is being felt? Why the proposal to cut the rations? The answer is that the big traders are creating an artificial crisis and the government is standing by helpless.

The government's refusal to discuss the issue of food, which is a national issue, with the opposition was also criticised by Lahiri and other opposition members.



Queue before ration shop even before it opens

# Maharashtra: 23 Districts Under Shadow of Famine

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY: Compulsory acquisition of last year's stocks from traders and landlords, a grain levy on rich peasants and landlords, monopoly purchase from small peasants, combined with introduction of rationing are indispensable necessities to meet the extremely serious food situation in the state, according to the Maharashtra state council of the Communist Party of India.

THE council which met in Nagpur in the last week of November considered the grim threat of famine covering 23 out of 28 districts in the state. The same harrowing tale of drought and distress

was narrated by speakers from district after district.

A total drought in September and October; a near complete withering of Kharif crops; no ploughing and sowing of Rabi crops; no fodder

for cattle; wells and streams drying up in areas with hardly any water left even for drinking and the first signs of a panicky exodus of the landless and their cattle from the worst affected areas—such is the agonising and bleak picture in most of the districts.

Adding to this distress is the blackmarket prices for last year's harvest. Price of jowar has shot upto Rs. 125 per kilo and that of wheat upto Rs. 250 per kilo. There are no stocks in government grain shops. Over and above these, the absence of any famine relief works and the low wages paid to workers formed part of the reports from the districts.

# Madras: Bungling Brings Bad Name to Rationing

From D. PONNIVALAVAN

MADRAS: Bureaucratic bungling has given a bad name for statutory rationing in Madras city, even before it was given a fair trial.

HUNDREDS of vexed and irritated cardholders have been besieging ration offices to get any number of errors corrected in their cards. The rush is so much and there is so much waiting in queues and frustration that tempers are frayed and clashes provoked.

In one of the zonal offices, the other day hundreds of cardholders carrying their babies and bags were turning so violent and furious that the ration officer ran away and locked himself up inside the office.

The common complaints are faulty enumeration, inconvenient allotment of shops and assigning of more cards than could be coped with by a shop. Not only in the matter of wrong entries on the so-called composite cards, but in the distribution of cards also, mismanagement is detected.

Workers who receive daily wages are put to particular hardship to buy rations for a whole week and they are forced to starve as a result.

Meanwhile, there is large-scale blackmarketing and smug-

gling of foodgrains from the outskirts of the city, because the administration has winked at the activities of traders who have influence and who operate this blackmarket.

Some of them using their political influence have become ration shop owners in the suburban areas. The suburban areas are on family card system, but in the context of easy availability of rice and kerosene at a slightly higher price, the ration shops in these areas do not sell their entire quota.

The unsold stock then finds its way into the blackmarket inside the city. Actively connived at by officials, the city suburbs have thus become beehives of blackmarketing.

It is a familiar sight to see hundreds of headloads of rice bags entering the city from suburbs like Red Hills and Tambaram etc. Electric trains from Tambaram to Madras are cluttered with kerosene tins and rice bags. The lucrative blackmarket thrives because the rationing is faulty and officials do not bother to check the smuggling.

# SUBRAMANIAM UNDER FIRE FROM ALL SIDES IN LOK SABHA

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The long and often hard-hitting food debate in the Lok Sabha was wound off this week amidst sharp bouncers from the Opposition for Food Minister Subramaniam.

ALL through the debate he was under fire and even Congress members would not come to his rescue. And during his winding up speech he spoke amidst continuous heckling from the Opposition, with not a soul in the House prepared to aid him.

An instance of the policies which he espoused was provided during the speech of SSP leader Ram Manohar Lohia.

Lohia said the Congress could not get public cooperation because it had failed to keep its promises on the food and agricultural questions, promises of bringing agriculture under the cooperative sector made during the 1962 elections.

Came the intervention of Congress MPs: "This (cooperative farming) was only a small matter in our election manifesto", they said! Just imagine—could there be a clearer show of the Congress attitude towards cooperative farming?

In his reply to the debate Subramaniam threw more light on the Congress policy on the agrarian issue which is unfolding. Gone were the promises and talk of cooperatives, of land reforms.

Instead Subramaniam detailed a perspective of all-out development of agriculture along capitalist lines. Twenty-acre farms, with tractors and modern implements were in reality the mainstay of the rosy hopes of agricultural spurt which Subramaniam painted.

His hopes of boosting production and "self-sufficiency" were pinned largely on these new capitalist farms which were evidently to be boosted in a big way.

And what would be the fate of the millions of peasants who till the soil on their small plots? It remained unsaid, but the implicit answer was that they would be largely swelling the army of agricultural labourers who constitute the lowest wrung of Indian society now.

This was a fine way of bringing about food self-sufficiency. For the rest, the Subramaniam model largely consisted of schemes and plans to fit in with this basic pattern of building up a capitalist base for agriculture.

There were to be big "State" farms, one in every state, for improved seeds, and these would provide the new class of agricultural capitalists their seed requirements.

There was also to be stress on fertilisers, and building up of fertiliser factories.

The key-note of it all, however, was to be the capitalist-type farming; the Subramaniam model for "self-sufficiency". This was a fitting hand-maid for the Food Minister's all-out advocacy of PL 480—till the long-awaited self-sufficiency comes!

With the ring of hope cast by the impending Tashkent summit talks, various aspects of the Indo-Pakistan relations received special emphasis in Parliament in the last few days.

Events were closely watched and scrutinised in the Tashkent perspective—they were found to be of a mixed pattern.

On the one hand there were the first signs of constructive moves, an air of cautious optimism. In this category fell the announcement from Transport Minister Raj Bahadur unilaterally ending the cargo war which has been on between India and Pakistan even after the ceasefire.

Evidently, an agreement had at last been reached between the two countries to end this state of affairs, and a reciprocal announcement was expected from Pakistan.

This was a fruitful and useful move in the direction of restoring normalcy of trade and ensuring "freedom of navigation and safety in the Indian Ocean", as Raj Bahadur put it.

This announcement in fact turned out to be the precursor of a similar one from Pakistan—a useful step on the road to Tashkent!

On the other hand, there were other happenings of a contrary type. There was an unending chain of ceasefire violations along most of the border line, the most serious one being the ones in Rajasthan. Apprehensions of a further sharpening of the conflict however did not materialise.

Closely related were the Chinese probes on the border which assumed quite a menacing character this week. The last one—the Chinese entry into the Thagla ridge and beyond to the Namkachu river—came in for special attention in Parliament.

Communist member Indrajit Gupta raised the question: what was the government's appraisal, was it the Peking way of reacting to the Tashkent talks?

The Chinese purpose was mainly to "provoke us and to probe". India could not rule out the possibility of more serious military threat from the Chinese, said Chavan.

# Drought & Famine in Andhra Only Homilies From Govt, No Solution

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: So serious has become the situation in the drought and famine affected areas of the state, that all parties in the State Assembly have called on the Congress Government to give it the highest priority.

The food debate in the Legislature, lasting four days, was remarkable for the unanimity of the reports made by the seventy MLAs who took part in the discussions. The callous attitude of the authorities came in for sharp attack.

The Revenue Minister attempted to ward off criticism by a tub-thumping harangue delivered extempore. The members were not convinced and demanded a written statement. This was hurriedly prepared and placed before the house.

The statement attempted to show that there was a serious situation in only FIVE districts. The Assembly refused to accept this understatement.

A whole series of grim facts were given on the floor of the house. Drinking water was almost absent in certain areas, particularly in Anantapur and Kurnoor districts, in the dry taluks of Nellore and parts of Guntur.

Fodder had become so scarce that in Anantapur, one peasant had in desperation to sell TEN cows and bulls for a mere HUNDRED RUPEES.

Srikrishna, Communist Deputy Leader of the Opposition, demanded that at least the five districts named in the official statement should be exempted from the levy scheme and granted remission of land revenue. Similar demands were made by other MLAs.

But the Revenue Minister refused to accept these demands clearly. He said that government had agreed to grant a remission of rupees four crores, but left conveniently vague the question of where these remissions would be given.

It was clear that the Congress government has no solution except homilies and the mis-a-meal farce.

The Communist Party has decided to send three commissions to tour the affected areas in coastal districts, Rayalaseema and Telangana.

The three commissions which go out immediately include Rajsekhar Reddy, Secretary of the State Council, Y. V. Krishna Rao, General Secretary of the State, R. V. Sangha, M.P. B. Yella Reddy and Y. Eswara Reddy, and MLAs P. Venkateswarlu, N. Giri Prasad and I. Sadasiwan.



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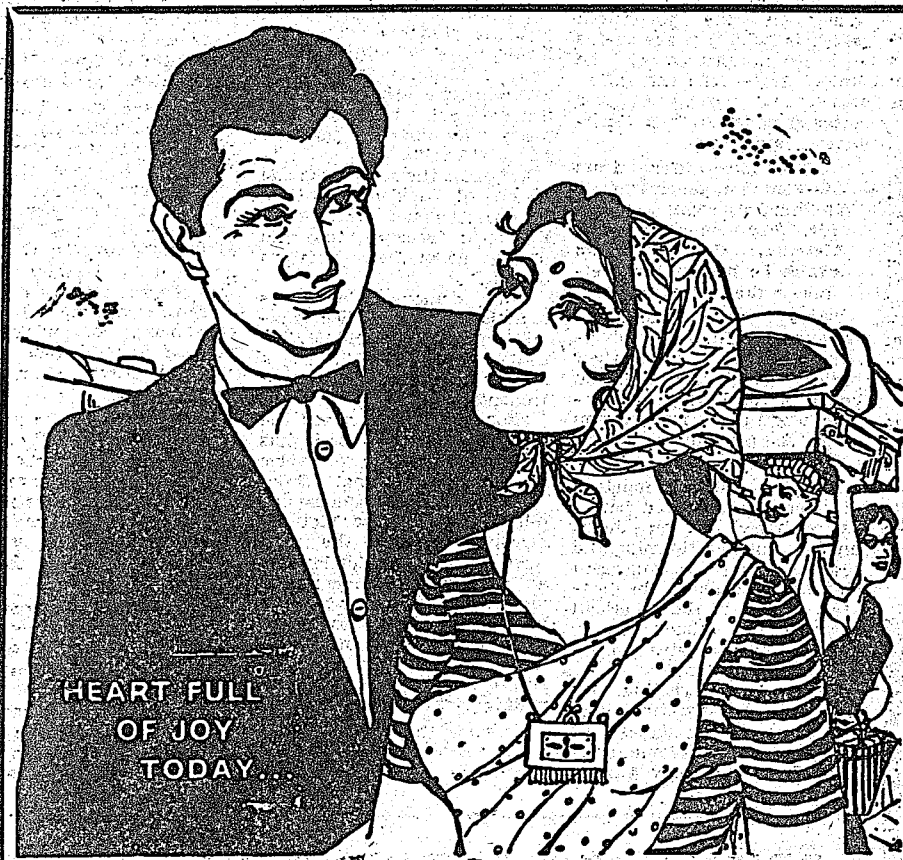
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# Release Them Immediately

NEW AGE draws the urgent attention of the Government of India once again to the fact that certain prominent, patriotic Indian Muslims have been thrown into prison under false charges, arising from local bureaucratic and police hostility.

THEIR continued detention is a criminal misuse of the powers which the government has taken for itself, and has nothing whatsoever to do with the defence of this country.

Repeated representations have been made regarding these patriots, their life-long records of service to the Motherland cited. But all this has been of no avail. Members of Parliament and of the state legislatures, irrespective of their party affiliations have demanded their release. But the ears of the men in power are deaf, it appears.

NEW AGE wishes to cite a few of the most brazen cases of discrimination, and once more urges immediate orders for their release:

**WEST BENGAL:** Three members of the Communist Party of India, Golam Mohiuddin, Mohammad Shami and Abdul Rahman, are in prison. Nobody who knows them can ever accuse them of being communal or pro-Pakistan. Their lives are standing proof of their patriotism. Bhupesh Gupta MP and Somnath Sahri MLA personally approached Chief Minister F. C. Sen in regard to their cases, but nothing has been done so far. Repeated representations have failed to bring them out of prison.

**BIHAR:** Mohammad Abdul Kasim, who was a heavy equipment operator of the ACC Rajenka Limestone Quarries in Singhbhum dis-

trict has been interned under the Foreigners' Internment Order. But he is no foreigner. In 1956, he was granted an Indian passport to attend a marriage of a relation in Chittagong, and he has been a voter in the Manjhari Assembly constituency since independence. His trade union has made repeated representations on his behalf.

**MADHYA PRADESH:** Mohammad Itiza and Izhar Ahmad are two patriots whose detention has been represented against repeatedly by leaders of public opinion in the state. The former was one of those who joined the batch of Indian satyagrahis who marched into Goa in August 1955, and offered satyagraha in the face of Portuguese bullets.

But today he is detained as a foreigner! Not even the Jan Sangh or Hindu Mahasabha can cast doubts on Itiza's patriotism. But his 'crime' obviously is that he is not in the good books of some local police official or bureaucrat.

It is necessary to review all such cases with the greatest care and attention, and not leave them to the tender mercies of biased, and often communal, officials. The Government of India should set up its own machinery for this review without further delay, and associate with this work MPs and MLAs belonging to non-communal, secular political parties.

## BIHAR DETENUS TO GO ON HUNGER STRIKE

**PATNA:** Communist and other detenus lodged in various jails in Bihar have decided to go on hungerstrike from December 13 as a protest against the callous attitude of the state government.

Two to three months have elapsed since the detenus wrote to the government demanding their release or trial in a court of law, classification of all political detenus in I-A, the doubling of their clothing and other allowances and the grant of suitable family allowances from the first month of their detention.

The government has not considered these demands. What is worse, still, the detenus are increasingly being subjected to innumerable harassments and wanton ill-treatment, often in clear violation of the provisions of the jail manual and the Security Prisoners' Order.

The secretary of the Bihar state council of the CPI has called upon the government to give up its vindictive and callous attitude and concede the just demands of the detenus, so that the hungerstrike may be averted.

## PUNJAB KISANS PLAN MORCHA AGAINST LAND GIFT TO BIRLAS

From B. S. SARAO

**CHANDIGARH:** The Punjab kisans will launch a morcha against the government leasing out a large area of land to the Birlas for a nominal consideration to set up the so-called seed farm.

THE decision has been taken at the 19th annual session of the Punjab Kisan Sabha which met in the last week of November. The Kisan Sabha has warned the government that its attempt to introduce capitalism and joint stock companies in agriculture would meet with stiff resistance from the peasantry.

It demanded that all fallow and arable land be distributed among the landless, agricultural workers and harijans.

The Sabha welcomed the people's sentiment and government's declaration to make the country self-sufficient in food and it assured the people and the government of its maximum cooperation in the pursuit of this objective.

At the same time it pointed out that the government's agricultural policy to date has remained seriously defective and anti-kisan. It expressed the fear that unless the government made the necessary shift in its policy, it may not be possible to achieve the objective of self-sufficiency in food.

The annual session was inaugurated by Z. A. Ahmed,

who stressed that national defence and self-sufficiency in food are closely interlinked. We cannot allow ourselves to remain under the black-mall of PL 480 and yet defend the integrity of our country. The conference opposed the tendency to tax more and more the peasantry, especially the small and middle peasants. The 15 or more taxes which they are asked to pay have already crushed them.

The conference demanded that there should be only one tax—an agricultural income tax—and kisans owning less than five acres should be exempted from paying any tax.

Among other demands voiced by the conference were complete state trading in foodgrains, fair price for both producer and consumer, equitable distribution of canal water for irrigation, tube wells, interest-free long term loans to small and middle peasants to enable them to purchase oil engines.

The conference elected Teja Singh Swatantar MLC, President and Shamsar Singh Joshi, MIA, general secretary of the Punjab Kisan Sabha.

## HARIANA ISSUE DIVIDES JAN SANGHIS

# SPOT LIGHT

Jan Sangh, in true parade style of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, claims to be a disciplined organisation, much above the "mass mentality". Unlike bodies like the Congress in which members of the same party are pitted against each other on ticklish issues, it is claimed there is uniformity in the Jan Sangh.

BUT this boast is now being reduced to empty prattle in Punjab, the very area claimed to be the Sangh's stronghold. There is a sharp wordy duel on not only between Sangh rank and file but also leaders of the Haryana area of Punjab and the Punjabi-speaking area in regard to the demand for linguistic reorganisation of the State.

So far the dialogue is a subdued one, but soon it will be an open revolt—a revolt in the Haryana area against the official line of the Jan Sangh.

One of the Sangh's close allies in the Punjab, the Arya Samaj, has already broken away on the Suba issue. Presiding over a mammoth conference in Rohtak, demanding the creation of Haryana Prant, Acharya Bhagwan Dev described the Jan Sangh propaganda a "lie" and "shameless repetition".

The resolution passed at this conference also referred to the Jan Sangh's stand on the linguistic reorganisation issue and said, the thesis of "communal parties" that every district, tehsil and village of Punjab was bilingual was "not only mischievous and incorrect, but also ridiculous".

So the respected Acharya, Principal of Jhajjar gurukul and a well-known Arya Samaj leader, has found the Jan Sangh's line to be all lies!

The fact, however, is that the sweep of the Haryana movement has altogether

changed the complexion of Sanghis in the area. There have been attempts by them in this area to go along with the current, but the official leadership of the Punjab Jan Sangh found it necessary to come down with a heavy hand.

A Jan Sangh "conference" on the Suba issue was sought to be held in Rohtak a few days before the Haryana Conference but it turned out to be a fiasco. The Vishal Haryana Conference, on the other hand, gave a fitting reply to the Sangh tamasha. And with telling effect too!

Reports are already available of wholesale desertions of Sanghis. And "vacillations" of important Jan Sangh leaders in Haryana have begun.

In fact, many of them even joined the Haryana Conference in Rohtak on December 5 and patiently heard the all-out denunciation of their party's line. Not a sign of a staunch and pure Sanghi at all!

The impact of this simmering revolt in Haryana has been devastating in the rest of Punjab. The weak-kneed among the following is slipping out of the band-wagon—a veritable disaster is in the offing for the communal party of the Sanghis.

RSS supreme Guru Golwalkar has never made much fuss

about his rabid communal views and diehard anti-socialism. But recently there has been an attempt to camouflage them.

The rise of heroes in the Indo-Pak conflict belonging to all communities, including the valiant Havildar Abdul Hamid, perhaps made the RSS retract a little, and put on a show of secularism (witness their mouth-piece ORGANISER!).

This however has been short-lived since it hardly suits the temperament of Golwalkar and the RSS. Addressing a public meeting at the Ramlika maidan in Jaipur recently, the RSS fuhler came out in true colours:

"Though some Muslims have laid down their lives during the recent hostilities with Pakistan, majority of the religious brothers of Pakistan were now repenting, why they did not create trouble earlier," he said.

A plain and unashamed call for ending communal harmony and unity in the country, an open incitement of a section of the people against another!

Yes, that is what suits the RSS, and it is in fratricidal fight of the people they thrive, their patriotic pretence notwithstanding. What has the Home Minister to say to this?

—BHIMA

## A BOOK ABOUT COMMUNISTS

OF THOSE WHO DIED FOR THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE, a book about the Communists, fighters who laid down their lives for the cause of the revolution, has now come into possession of the Soviet readers. The book is now being translated into English and will soon be published in a large edition.

Though much is known about the difficult and glorious role in struggles of the leaders of Communist Parties, hardly anything is known about themselves. The authors of this collection of biographical sketches had to work long and hard to gather their data about the heroes, revolutionaries.

Based on serious documentation the essays contained in this book are about different people written by different authors (with differing levels of professional skill, we might add).

For all that, it reads like an integral work, for assembled in a single volume the essays convey the general tension of the struggle, the general aims for which the heroes fought, and their ideological kinship as well.

One of the essays deals with the life of the late Comrade Ajoy Ghosh who is presented as a prominent theorist of Marxism-Leninism and the national liberation movement, as an outstanding Communist Party organizer

who capably united its ranks in the complex and difficult struggle against deviations and exaggerations.

As a gifted public figure, he unerringly found his way through the numerous undercurrents in the political life

of India, as a loyal comrade and man of high moral qualities.

Ajoy Ghosh gave much of his strength and energy to the consolidation of the Party. He held that the people had the right to choose any form of struggle in combat against imperialism and reactionaries, that the masses "could be confident of victory only if their own vanguard was well organized and highly centralized."

He repeatedly stressed that strengthening the organization and the growth of the ideological preparedness of the ranks of the national Party was the international duty of the Indian Communists.

Ajoy Ghosh was a true internationalist, consistently advocating the unity of the world communist movement. "We hold that the spirit and ideas of proletarian internationalism are one of the greatest gifts which the communist movement has given mankind," he wrote.

The great proletarian writer Maxim Gorky created the poetic image of the youth Danko whose fiery heart lit the way for the people lost in a deep forest. Ajoy Ghosh, for his part, gave his generous heart to the proletariat of India, showing them the way to struggle, the way to unity. The role of this man who stood first in the ranks of the Communist Party fighters for ten years is clearer than ever today to the Communists of India and the workers of all countries.

The book "Of Those Who Died for the Cause of the People" will prove to be an important aid to every Communist, to every worker who wants to acquaint himself with the lives of those who did not spare themselves in the struggle for a better future for the people of all the world.

—S. PETROV

## CUBAN DELEGATION IN INDIAN CAPITAL

NEW DELHI: For one week now there has been a round of meetings in different parts of the capital in support of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Conference, which takes place in Havana at the start of the new year. The visit to India of a delegation of the Cuban Preparatory Committee has given a fillip to the preparations for the Conference.

FRANCISCO Valdez and Nicolas Rodriguez, the two members of the Cuban delegation, addressed meetings of trade unionists, women, youth and other sections of the people.

At a public meeting organised by the All India Peace Council, representatives of the All India Trade Union Congress, National Federation of Indian Women, All India Youth Federation and All India Students' Federation spoke assuring their full support for the Conference.

Others who addressed the meeting and explained the great significance of the Conference were Diwan Chaman Lal MP, K. D. Malaviya MP and Romesh Chandra, Chairman of the All India Peace Council.

An important joint communique has been signed by the Cuban delegation

establishment of foreign military bases in any country...

The communique expressed the full support of the signatories for the struggles of the people of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, South Africa, Rhodesia, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism.

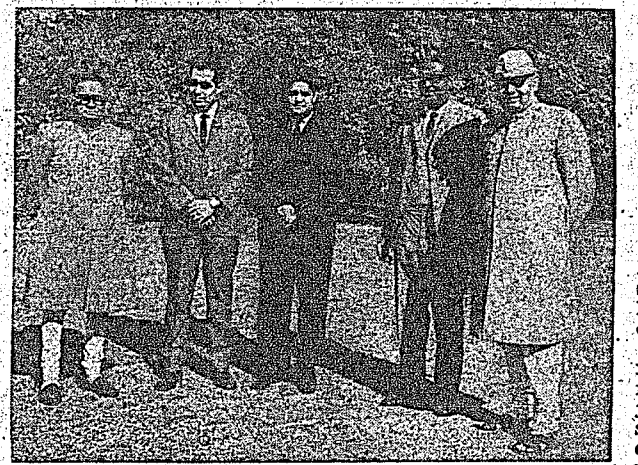
They said: "Both the parties agree that the higher and mature expression of solidarity amongst the peoples is the unity in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and declare their firm decision to contribute fully in order to make the Conference... the suitable instrument which could make move forward the struggles of the peoples of the three continents."

The communique concludes with these words:

"The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity expresses its gratitude to the delegation of the Cuban Preparatory Committee for their visit to India and their valuable work in helping to promote the preparatory work in India."

"This visit has given an opportunity to a large number of organisations to meet them and to convey to them their feeling of solidarity with the Cuban people, who are bravely struggling for the defence of their independence and sovereignty."

Several leading Indian personalities as well as representatives of mass organisations have signed a statement in support of the principles outlined in the joint communique. It is expected that messages for the success of the Conference and endorsing the joint communique will be signed by several leaders of mass organisations in all parts of the country, in the coming days.



K. D. Malaviya, Nicolas Rodriguez, Martin Mora, Francisco Valdez and Dewan Chaman Lal

## ENIGMATIC VENUS

## SCIENCE NOTES

TWO Soviet automatic space laboratories, Venus II and III are currently racing towards the planet Venus. Previously, Mariner II of the USA made the first successful probe in 1963 and furnished a lot of information about this planet. The Soviets had sent their Venus I in February 1961, but unfortunately radio contact was lost after some time.

What is so mysterious about this planet that there have been four probes in the last four years?

Venus, the Greek goddess of love, is at this time of the year an evening star; at other it shines in the morning. It appears dazzlingly beautiful. And it is this white shine that makes it so enigmatic and has baffled us so far in unveiling its secrets.

Through a telescope the planet Venus appears completely shrouded in a thick cloud-cover and it was conjectured till recently that it was composed almost entirely of huge quantities of carbon dioxide.

We are unable to observe any of its surface features and as a result we cannot determine even some elementary facts, how much is the tilt in its axis, what is the length of its rotational time around its axis, etc.

Even the radar probes have failed to penetrate this heavy purdah of our goddess of love.

There were two rival theories regarding the Venusian state of affairs.

A thick cloud-cover composed of carbon dioxide and a small amount of water vapour, which undoubtedly exists on all accounts, could very well produce the kind of conditions as prevailed on Earth millions of years back, at the very dawn of life.

This school of opinion, therefore, holds that beneath the thick cloud-cover of this enigmatic planet exists thick swampy forests, hot and humid, and may be, even prehistoric animals, at least certainly plant life. A faint trace of oxygen arising out of a process of photosynthesis by the plants has not yet been revealed, but the presence of water vapour does indicate a certain quantity of oxygen.

The other school holds that the thick cloud-cover raises the surface temperature of the planet Venus to such a high degree that it reduces the planet to a dust bowl and, therefore, makes life impossible. This is known as the hothouse effect.

It is the kind of extra high temperature we experience when we enter a hothouse of plants or a motor car

after it has been left even for a little while in the sun. The radiation from the plants in the hothouse r from the seat of the car cannot escape, because the glass top of the hothouse or that of the car acts as a barrier.

It is contended, therefore, that Venusian thick atmosphere covering would be a very effective barrier against the heating from the Sun (which is even higher than our earth because it is so much nearer to the sun).

The American Mariner II in its first successful probe in 1963 more or less confirmed the latter school of opinion. As it shot past at a distance of 21,000 miles from the planet, it transmitted recordings which indicated the surface temperature to be around 400° centigrade.

The analysis of the cloud-cover, as revealed through the instruments of Mariner II, established a huge quantity of nitrogen in the Venusian atmosphere.

The time of rotation has been found to be about 227 days (earth-days), this is also the time Venus takes to make one complete revolution round the Sun. In other words, Venus, like our Moon, must be pointing one of its face perpetually to the

Sun, almost the same as the planet Mercury.

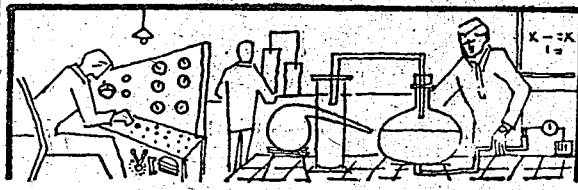
All these rule out any possibility of life on this mysterious planet. This is rather unfortunate, because life is possible only in three planets of the solar system—Venus, Earth and Mars.

Venus to Mars, a distance of 60 million to 140 million miles from the Sun, (Earth's distance being 93,000,000 miles) constitute the life-zone around the Sun. The heat received from the Sun in this region is of that optimum amount which makes possible the combination of those complex protein compounds, based on carbon, which form the building-blocks of life.

There is definite evidence to prove that Mars is a dying planet. So Mariner II findings make our Earth the only abode of intelligent and complex life in our solar system.

The Venus II and III of the Soviets will reach the vicinity of Venus by February, 1966. Its projection from another rocket in a parking orbit round the Earth has been an instance of tremendous engineering precision and scientific calculation. We expect to unveil a little more of this enigmatic planet in February 1966.

—DILIP BOSE



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# Capitalist Offensive

\* From Page 5

The biggest underwriters today are the public sector financial institutions. Life Insurance Corporation, Unit Trust of India, Industrial Finance Corporation, Industrial Development Bank of India, various State Industrial Finance Corporations. It is amazing the extent to which the new ventures of even the biggest names in Indian business depend on these state capitalist agencies. In 194-65 of the Rs. 45 crores offered, the amount underwritten was Rs. 43.01 crores or 94.4 per cent (COMMERCE, September 18).

In Parliament time and again it has been pointed out that the government has all the necessary legal power to turn all these loans into equity capital and thus enter into the private sector to control it from within. But the government refuses to move in this direction.

The pull of Indian big business apart, it is an open secret that the World Bank has warned the Government of India that any use of its powers to convert loans into equity capital would have serious consequences.

Another aspect of the big business offensive is to push through a series of decontrol measures in scarce commodities, secure big price rises and use this to build up its capital base.

Cement decontrol is a glaring example. Not content with an upward price revision of 40 per cent in the past three years, the big cement magnates have managed to secure decontrol and a price rise

which, taking into account the anticipated production increase, will give them as much as Rs. 115 crores over five years.

On top of this, they will secure further state assistance from the Industrial Development Bank. Their growth will not only be at the expense of the consumer, but deal a death-blow to the public sector Cement Corporation whose expansion plans have more or less been shelved.

The Chairman of FICCI is now pressing for the decontrol of fertiliser distribution—again echoing the demand of the US monopolists—and the Union Cabinet is said to be considering the proposal. Only then will the US monopolists move into the fertiliser industry in a substantial manner.

Pig-iron was decontrolled in January 1965 and its price shot up from Rs. 288 per tonne to Rs. 365 per tonne in a matter of months. Drawing profitable lessons from this experience, the FICCI now demands that controls in non-ferrous metals should be lifted and the private sector given a "due place" in the Rs. 250 crores crash programme of exploration and production increase in these vital and very scarce raw materials.

Big business further insists that the government handle its foreign exchange problems as well. The private sector alloy steel plant project was sanctioned on the strict understanding that the party concerned would raise the necessary rupee and foreign finance. After three years the government is now being approached to raise the foreign

exchange resources in Britain and France.

Nor is this an isolated case. No substantial foreign exchange loan by even the biggest Indian industrialists, for example, Tatas, can be arranged without the state underwriting it.

In spite of this, the private sector is often unable to utilise the foreign exchange arranged for it. The World Bank loan to private collieries for buying coalmining machinery could not be fully utilised. Experts suggested that the public sector take over the remaining amount but their advice was not heeded and the amount was surrendered (ECONOMIC TIMES, October 6). The newspaper industry provides another instance of private sector failure, despite all possible state help and incentives.

Finally, mention must be made of the extraordinary ease with which the private sector is permitting the state to take over the textile mills one after another. The reason became clear when Manubhai Shah declared in Parliament on December 3 that there was a constitutional obstruction in the way of the government keeping the mills which it had taken over!

As in the case of impossibly badly-managed collieries, the big magnates have no objection to the state taking over their "difficult" units and handing them back once the difficulties are over.

A counter strategy against this big business offensive has to be worked out by the democratic movement. This will form the subject of the next and concluding instalment of this series.

## READERS' FORUM

### Rajasthan Employers Refuse To Pay Bonus

It is a matter of profound dissatisfaction that a large number of industries in Rajasthan including some of the biggest units have not paid bonus to their workmen under the Payment of Bonus Act 1965 before the due date namely November 30.

Among the defaulters are the textile mills of Beawar, Kishangarh, Bhiwara and Udaipur, the Man Industrial Corporation and literally thousands of other units like workshops, transport companies, hotels, cinemas and other small factories.

It is pity that the Labour Department of the government has been unable to enforce the implementation of even the Bonus Act.

The defaulters are even such undertakings like the Rajasthan State Electricity Board, which the Industrial Tribunal has declared to come under the purview of the Bonus Act.

If the government even now shows the same lukewarm attitude and fails to take the rigorous steps which are called for, it would only show the utter hollowness of its claims and the working class will have to take organised steps of agitation and movement to enforce its claims for bonus.

I demand that the government immediately prosecute these de-

faulters and in the first instance prosecute the chairman of the RSEB.

I call upon all the unions and workers to immediately take up this issue and raise a powerful demand for the slogans—secure the payment of bonus and prosecution of defaulters.

Jaipur

H. K. VYAS

### Wanted: Penfriend

I am a regular reader of NEW AGE. It is very helpful for me to learn English. It also gives some insight to developments in India.

But that is not enough for me. I want to know more about India and her people. So I want a penfriend.

I am a 19-year-old student. I collect stamps, postcards and photos. I am also interested in discussions on political problems.

I take the liberty of asking you if it is possible to publish my address in your paper.

EBERHARDT VOSS  
6822, Schwarz  
Liebknecht str. 9  
Germany — GDR

## Patents Must Go

\* From Page 3

following quotation from "Merchants of Life" by Tom Mahoney might be of interest: "Pfizer's Roerig (a subsidiary) brought Atarax (a tranquilliser) to the attention of overworked physicians by sending them free pillows in handy plastic cases; an ordinary bed pillow, the 'ATARAX neck-piece', and a smaller one with a band to anchor it at the back of a car, plane or train seat, 'ATARAX lumbar sacral rest'. With the pillows, 'to make things cosier', went striped slipper socks with the inescapable name of the drug stitched to one side in Greek-style letters. Inevitably, the socks came stretched over a foot-shaped wad of information reading matter."

I don't want to add any comment on the great service which drug firms are rendering the humanity, but the approach to doctors in India too is not much different. Free samples, frequent visits by highpressure salesmen and the rest of it are in vogue here too.

As Kefauver said: "When spokesmen for this industry speak of high costs, it is clear that they do not have in mind production costs, research costs, or to any great degree general and administrative expense. The remaining item of cost, selling expense, is indeed high—but this again reflects the deliberate decisions of a number of corporate managements that selling costs will be high; that is, that prices will be kept high enough to yield a substantial gross margin of which a large share will be expended for advertising and promotion."

The patent system is also contributing to the draining of resources from the country in the form of royalties and profits taken away by the foreign drug monopolies. Even the present bill provides for a 4 per cent royalty rate.

A Reserve Bank of India study had revealed that since 1956 the foreign firms have taken away as much as Rs. 4.64 crores while investment during the same period came to only Rs. 5.0 crores. The main burden of the liability is yet to come because most of the collaboration agreements were signed after 1959. The foreign firms have even boosted the value of shares held from Rs. 3.37 crores to Rs. 14.87 crores.

These foreign firms made a pretense of setting up drug manufacturing units in India at a time when India was thinking of setting up plants in the public sector. Most of these plants even now do not manufacture the drugs here; they only process the intermediates imported from abroad.

But putting pressure on the government, the foreign drug monopolies have managed to sabotage the Government of India's own scheme to set up a fully integrated drug industry to make the country self-sufficient in drugs. If the scheme, mooted in 1956, had been implemented, by 1960 the plants would have gone into production. But that was not to be. Only some plants are now being set up with Soviet aid.

The interests of the millions of people of this country demand that all the modern life saving drugs should be manufactured in the country and made available to them at cheapest prices—even avoiding the element of profit. And for that, the first necessity is that patents must go in all its forms.

## NUCLEAR WARHEADS IN GREECE

ATHENS: The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party has issued a statement concerning the recent admission by Greek Minister of National Defence S. Kostopoulos on the presence of nuclear warheads in Greece.

The statement says in part: The conversion of Greece into a nuclear arsenal of American imperialism adds to the danger of military ventures in the Balkan area and creates a deadly danger to peace, the life of the people and destinies of the nations and sets Greece in opposition to socialist and non-aligned nations, the sincere friends of Greece and champions of the Cyprus cause.

To include Greece into the Pentagon's nuclear strategy was "an act of national treason by the government" made behind the back of the Greek people and Parliament and contrary to the will and supreme interests of the nation, the statement said.

The political bureau appealed to the Greek population to press for the renunciation by Greece of nuclear armament and denunciation of the Greek-American nuclear agreement.

## SADHAN MUKHERJEE REPORTS FROM BERLIN

# GDR Beats West's Showpiece In Living Standards

BERLIN: An intensely cold and too early winter notwithstanding the first impression of the German Democratic Republic is fascinating.

One becomes immediately aware that there is a sense of purpose and direction in the mode of life and work. By eight everyone is at work.

Apart from the new faces of the cities—along with Berlin, other cities in the GDR are also being rebuilt—there is a marked change among the people.

It is not an overstatement that an average citizen of the GDR lives, eats and dresses better. The standard of living here is the highest among the socialist countries.

One cannot normally find a shabbily-dressed person on a Berlin street. In that context, Berlin perhaps can easily be compared with any fashion city of the glamorous West. People in other GDR cities are also quite well-dressed.

Shops here are of three types: the state-owned ones, shops run by cooperatives and shops privately-owned. They have substantial supply of diverse goods, enough to meet most discriminating taste.

Within a short span of sixteen years, the GDR has thus not only disproved the canard of being "the Cinderella of the West", but has also earned the position of an equal competitor in Europe as such.

Berlin—the frontline city where socialism literally confronts capitalism—has in certain respects beaten the West's showpiece: West Berlin.

### Food Is Cheaper

Food and accommodation are by far cheaper in East Berlin than in the Western part. In East Berlin, 50 kg. of potato cost eight marks, one kg. of bread about 60 pfennig; one kg. of butter about 10 marks; one kg. of meat about eight marks and so on. In West Berlin, prices are about double. Fifty kg. of potato will cost about 24 marks, one kg. of meat will cost 12 to 14 marks; one kg. bread about one mark etc.

An average GDR citizen thus not only eats better but also lives better. Take another example: television, which is a symbol of modern living. The GDR population of a little over 17 million already owns 9.1 million television sets. The ownership rate ranks fourth in Europe and the production rate has increased fifteenfold during the past ten years.

Or take for example a rarely-known fact: the GDR occupies the topmost position in Europe in the per capita consumption of butter.

These achievements have not come just by chance. Behind these successes, there are years of travail, of correct planning, not only of economy but also of the society in its entirety.

The new education code of the GDR, adopted recently, envisages a yet higher level of social consciousness and development of high magnitude to meet the demands of socialist constructions for the next several years.

The education code lays special emphasis on education of natural sciences and technical training. An average GDR student will shortly be knowing more in mathematics, physics, chemistry etc., than his counterpart in other countries.

Naturally, the developments in the GDR are attracting a lot of attention in various quarters. A couple of days ago, I met a West Berliner travelling in a city train in East Berlin. He had come here to meet a relative and it was his first visit during the last five years.

Asked about his impressions, he frankly admitted that contrary to expectations and belief, East Berlin has grown by leaps and bounds. It was quite a surprise for him.

In certain cases, this genuine

This is the first despatch from Sadhan Mukherjee who is now in Berlin as NEW AGE special correspondent.

surprise is translated into action. The Western press usually makes big stories of defections from East Berlin to the West, and of people shot while crossing the wall and so on. What is not reported is the migration to the East.

During the last four weeks, 746 persons including 19 soldiers from West Germany and West Berlin have taken asylum in the GDR. Since 1961, over 80,000 West Germans and West Berliners have come over to the GDR. These facts are revealing by themselves.

### New Pass Agreement

This year for Christmas, a new pass agreement has been concluded between the West Berlin city senate and the GDR government, to enable West Berliners to visit the East. Reactionary elements in West Berlin and FRG have raised voices of protest against this new agreement.

The more people visit East Berlin from the West, the more they lose faith in the propaganda which the reactionaries would have them believe.

The first pass agreement on 17 December 1963 enabled over a million West Berliners to spend their Christmas in the GDR capital with their relatives. This year the scope of the pass is said to have been further improved and Berlin is literally dressing up for the Christmas now.

## UN Decision On Disarm Meet: Victory For Peace

The United Nations General Assembly's decision to convene an all-inclusive world disarmament conference is an important development and a victory of the ideas of reason and commonsense and of the forces of peace that may well lead to ensuring peace and security between nations.

SIGNIFICANTLY, none of the delegations had the courage openly to vote against the convocation of the conference. This was not done even by the delegation of the United States, although in the course of discussions it openly opposed the conference.

Before voting, as Drew Middleton, a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent, reported, Arthur Goldberg, the permanent US representative to the UN, asked the State Department for permission to support the resolution moved by forty-three States and was given approval.

They realised, in Washington, stressed Middleton, that by taking a negative position the USA "would in fact isolate itself and would evoke sharp criticism among the non-aligned countries."

It should be pointed out, however, that having agreed to the convocation of a conference in principle, the United States did not guarantee its participation in it. Washington reserved the right to manoeuvre, and, it is not entirely excluded that it will not try to foil the conference, if it deems it to its advantage.

The decision of the General Assembly is first of all a victory for the non-aligned countries and Socialist States. The resolution adopted approves of the proposal of the Second Conference of Heads

of State and Government of Non-aligned Countries in Cairo in 1964 on the convocation of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all countries.

Socialist States, as is well known, actively supported that initiative. The Soviet Union did much to have the proposal mooted in Cairo, approved in June of this year by the UN Disarmament Commission. The USSR proposed that the world conference should be called in the middle of 1966. The resolution now endorsed by the UN envisages that the disarmament conference should be held not later than 1967.

Now that the resolution on a world conference has been adopted, the main task is to ensure success of this conference. One cannot permit its convocation to be complicated and made difficult by all kinds of preliminary conditions and reservations.

The Soviet representative at the UN, Nikolai Fedorenko, was right in emphasising that those who intend to put forward preliminary conditions for the conference, in point of fact, offer in advance to limit its work.

There must be no such limits, for the aim and meaning of the conference lies just in trying new, bold and varied possibilities of solving the disarmament problem. All participants of the world conference must be given scope and freedom for advancing proposals and ideas.

## Just Out

# Party Life

Inner-Party journal of the Organisational Department of the National Council, Communist Party of India

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Time for assessment: Editor.

Sustained campaign for Renewal and Recruitment of Party membership in the month of December—by C. Rajeswara Rao.

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Role of Mass organisations and where to begin?—by G. Yellamanda Reddy.

More on Left Unity—by Mohan Kumaramangalam.

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# CULT OF INTERVENTION AND LATIN AMERICA

Three significant events that took place during the current year have caused a deep crisis in the entire US Latin American relations. They were: the American intervention in Santo Domingo; the US Congress resolution proclaiming the right of the US Government to intervene unilaterally in any Latin-American country to "combat communism", and the efforts of the American government to constitute a Permanent Military Force, under OAS auspices, in the recent meeting of the OAS Foreign Ministers in Rio de Janeiro.

THESE events clearly indicate the desire of the United States Government to keep Latin America in bondage, to get rid of articles 15 and 17 of the OAS charter, which forbid interference in the internal and external affairs of member states, and guarantee inviolability of their national territory and finally to create a military force equipped with the latest weapons of war, christened as the "OAS Standing Military Tasks Force", in order to crush every popular movement that might raise its head in any part of the continent.

In a recent speech delivered in Texas, President Johnson said:

"In today's world, with the enemies of freedom talking about 'Wars of Independence and national liberation', the old distinction between 'civil war' and 'international war' should be given up—subversion, internal and external, must be boldly met if the democratic institutions of the hemisphere have to survive."

The United States has now openly adopted the cult of intervention. It has reserved to itself the right to intervene in any Latin-American country, where people might rise against a dictatorial regime endangering the interests of US monopolies and local reactionary classes. And the number of such regimes is increasing.

Already military juntas obedient to the Pentagon are in power in Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay, Honduras, Guatemala and Brazil, and attempts are being made to subvert such other governments, which might make bold to displace the Johnson administration in Washington.

## A Trojan Horse For Brazil

Washington is using the military regime in Brazil as its Trojan horse in this new attack. The Brazilian military junta was the first to send troops to the Dominican Republic, in order to provide an OAS cover to the United States intervention in the republic.

In September 1965, the Branco regime signed an "extended military agreement" with the United States, which included the training of 500 Brazilian officers in the military colleges, which include courses for "training to combat subversion".

The Brazilian Foreign Minister, Francisco Leite da Cunha, supposed to be the "intellectual" in the brass-hat ministry of General Branco, has written a book providing a justification for Johnson Doctrine.

The book has evolved a "new theory" of interdependent sovereignty.

By  
**LAJPAT RAI**

raguay, Colombia, Peru and a number of other states. The Argentine Foreign Minister, for instance, said at the conference that his country will never accept the proposal as "no country had the right to

judge other governments and to infringe the principles of non-interference and self-determination".

Colombia's Foreign Minister Harnaldo Arribas even tabled a special draft resolution, which suggested "to reaffirm that non-interference was the fundamental principle of international law", and this principle is a "standard of existing contractual relations between American

states and must be respected and adhered to by every one."

Similarly the Chilean delegate Senor Varela told the conference that the "basis and foundation of OAS were the Articles 15 and 17 of the Charter, which must be respected if the Organisation of American States were to play its part..."

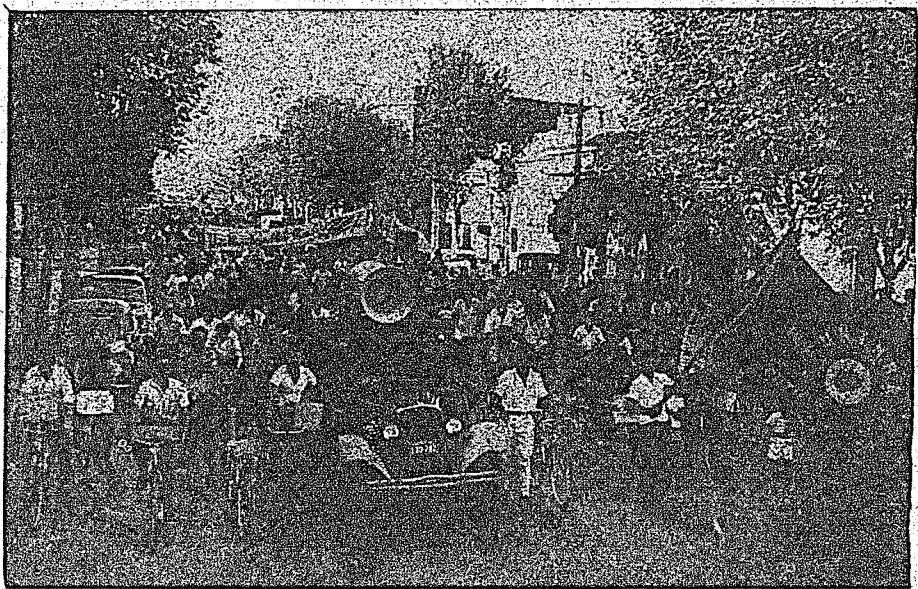
In the face of such opposition, Rusk had to leave the Conference in a huff, after making a brief statement, hinting that the United States, in any case, had the right to intervene whenever it thought fit to "combat the forces of subversion and Communism".

## Stout Opposition

With a few exceptions, the press all over the Latin American continent, has stoutly opposed the proposal for the Inter-American armed force and has called for the preservation of the non-interference principle as embodied in Article 15 of the OAS Charter.

The realization is growing in Latin America that the continent must break out of the US tutelage and that its countries must hold a worthy place among the freedom-loving emergent nations of Asia and Africa.

There is also now a greater realization that their progress towards higher stages of economic and social development depends not on doles from the United States but on self-reliance, cooperation between the countries of the regime and friendly assistance from Asian and European powers, particularly the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries.



Metal workers demonstrate in Uruguay

## WHAT'S ON IN LATIN AMERICA

### YOUTH FIGHTS BACK

THE front line news in the Montevideo newspapers that attracted much attention last week was the transfer of the 19-year-old student Jesus Roland Rojas from hospital to prison. Who is Rojas? Why was he in hospital? What was his crime? Here are the answers.

Rojas is a student of the Industrial School of Montevideo. His crime was that he spat in the face of Dean Rusk, Secretary of State of the USA, during a student demonstration, asking Rusk to "quit Uruguay". He was in hospital because he became unconscious for a period of 24 hours following the beating he received at the hands of the police.

He will be charged with violating a nineteenth century Uruguay law, whereby it is a crime "to attempt against the honour of foreign diplomats on the national territory". The maximum sentence for this offence is six years imprisonment.

Meanwhile, Rojas has become a hero among the students and general public. A "Defence Committee" has been organised in Montevideo to conduct his case in the

A discussion on "Alliance for Progress" ended with a resolution rejecting the Alliance "because it is a means whereby the US seeks to maintain domination and exploitation over the masses of the continent".

A third resolution extended the support of the Latin American students to the forthcoming Tri-continental Conference of Afro-Asian-Latin American solidarity in Havana early next year.

Another resolution strongly condemned the so-called Inter-American Military Force "as an instrument of repression against the peoples of America who seek their economic, political and social independence."

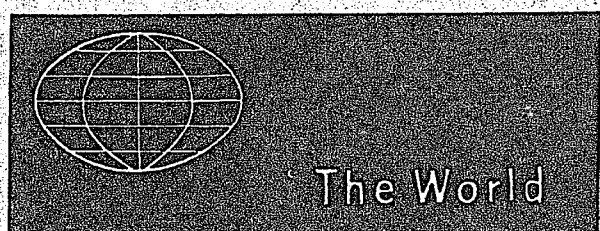
Other resolutions adopted unanimously in the Seminar were:

(1) demanding the release of the "heroic student Jesus Roland Rojas, who expressed in a very eloquent way the opposition of the Uruguayan people and all the peoples of Latin America to the Yankee agents";

(2) demanding the repeal of the 1903 Panama Canal Treaty "whereby the United States controls in perpetuity the exploitation of the Panama Canal and the area over and around which it passes";

(3) condemnation of the British government in depositing Cheddi Jagan's government in British Guiana, and in favour of the "struggle waged by the people of British Guiana against the forces of reaction and for the establishment of a political economic and social system of their choice".

# Setback for deGaulle's Personal Rule Cult



The results of the first round of poll in the French Presidential elections have confirmed what was generally expected. From the 80 per cent vote in 1958 for his assumption of power and the 62 per cent vote in 1962 for his constitutional amendment providing for Presidential election by direct vote to the mere 44 per cent de Gaulle has now polled, shows the steep decline in his popularity and the electorate's disapproval of his policy for transferring power from the Parliament to the executive and establishing a regime of personal power.

THE 32 per cent votes polled by Francois Mitterand which puts him as the near second after the General is a victory for the united front of Leftist and progressive forces specially in view of the high 84 per cent poll recorded last Sunday. While de Gaulle may be elected in the second round on December 19, with only the two top candidates left on the ballot, it must be realised that the progressive Leftist vote would have been far higher if the rival candidate was not de Gaulle himself.

What is of the highest significance in the French political set up is, first, the emergence of Mitterand as a major national figure and the solid Communist support which has put him in that position. Equally significant is the

fact that while the French public may still hold the General in great esteem because of his past services to the nation, it is impatient for the ending of the system of one-man rule and the immediate restoration of normal political life in the country.

With the coming general elections for Parliament in a few months, the least one can say is that both in the style of running the state and the relative importance of parliament there will be changes for the better with immediate effect.

The struggle for greater social welfare which was among the main planks of the united Left will receive a new fillip together with the struggle against the so-called independent nuclear force which has been eating up the resour-

ces which could otherwise have been available for social welfare. Commenting on the election results, Secretary-General of the French Communist Party Waldeck Rochet said: "After the serious blow dealt to the personal power regime, it is now necessary to continue the joint struggle in order to advance towards a new democracy. Today we already have the initial conditions for the successful preparation of a democratic replacement of de Gaulle's regime. The main condition required for this democratic replacement is primarily the further strengthening of the alliance of all the parties that have decided to back Francois Mitterand's candidature. This alliance will manifest itself primarily during the second ballot when all the Republicans and Democrats, who want a new Republic and who are striving to achieve a future based on freedom, progress and peace, will cast their votes for the single candidate of the Republican opposition to the personal power regime, for Francois Mitterand."

## SOVIET UNION AND THE WORLD

# Anxieties & Hopes

The life of our planet is crowded with events. Much has happened over the past few days. There is no stagnation and stillness anywhere. Mankind is now living through an epoch of great changes.

LABOUR enthusiasm in the Soviet Union continues. Every new day brings news of the completion of new big industrial enterprises.

A 6,000 kw electric station has gone into operation in Tashkent, the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan; Uzen oilfield on Mangyshlak Peninsula, Kazakhstan, has started yielding oil.

The first hole producing powerful jet of gas has been bored in the very heart of the Karakum desert, Turkmen SSR. The entire Soviet Union is a vast construction site.

The last month of the Seven-Year Plan begins with December 1. Soviet working people are striving to mark it with new achievements. They were inspired by the recent decisions of the September plenary meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee which mapped out big reforms in the field of the national economic management.

And next March there will take place the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which, among other important problems, will consider the prospects of development of the USSR over the 1968-70 Five Year Plan.

The Party organisations are already preparing for the Congress: meetings and elections have taken place in almost every primary organisation, regional conferences are beginning and then conferences and congresses will take place in republics and territories to elect the delegates to the Congress. The Soviet Union is readily sharing the fruits of its work with other peoples. The Kuskha-Herat-Kandahar road, built with the assistance of Soviet specialists, has been inaugurated in Afghanistan recently. A delegation of the Republic of Cuba, headed by Raul Castro Ruz, left for home on November 24 after fruitful negotiations in the capital of the USSR. As you know, the Indian Minister of Finance has also visited Moscow recently.

But when one turns to the events outside the USSR, one finds plenty to worry about. Racism is on the offensive in Africa. The UN Security Council and most African states have sternly censured the usurping of power by the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia. But the Smith regime has already found support in Portugal, the colonialist conduct of which was again condemned in the UN, and from the racists of the South African Republic. And Britain's policy is actually a policy of complicity. Terrible news comes from Vietnam. The US aggression in that much-suffering country is expanding. At a time when the

peace champions of America organised a mass March to Washington in defence of peace in Vietnam on November 27, the Right-wing leaders of the US Congress like Lucius Revers and Richard Russell, came out with frenzied calls to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong.

The people of Vietnam, to whom the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries rendered and will continue to render assistance, are putting up a courageous fight. America's losses are mounting.

"Our current policy might be leading us to a 'victory' on the cemetery", the well-known American dramatist Arthur Miller said.

The aggressiveness of the United States manifested itself in the Conference of American States just over in Rio De Janeiro. Certain military juntas expressed their consent to turning over the independence of their countries to Washington.

And nevertheless, the resistance of such states as Mexico, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela (which was not represented in Rio) prevents the USA from setting up the so-called "united" gendarme corps for suppressing all the liberation movements in Latin America.

Such are some of the events of the recent past. They show that a constant struggle between good and evil is going on in the world. But the Marxists are sure—good will prevail by all means.

—Boris Leontiev

## Tension Mounts In Rhodesia

WITH the white Rhodesian railwaymen's refusal to work the Zambian railways and later the dynamiting of a power grid pylon near the Kariba dam on Zambian territory cutting off the electric supply to Zambia's copper belt, tension has continued to rise on the Rhodesian scene.

Against this background Britain's earlier decision to send troops to Zambia in response to President Kaunda's request was clearly in order to place them as a cover in front of Rhodesia and to defend the Rhodesian racists in case the independent African states decide to take into their hands the defence of Zambia's interests.

However, presumably following President Kaunda's refusal to accept the two British conditions (of not crossing the Rhodesian frontier and Zambia's agreement not to call troops from any other country), the first contingent of three hundred air-lifted soldiers were stopped on their way in Nairobi and were waiting for further instructions.

Meanwhile the Organisation of African Unity meeting in Addis Ababa agreed in principle to declare war on Rhodesia if Britain fails to put down the white racists' revolt. The meeting decided on "concrete measures" and the five-nation action committee comprising Nigeria, the UAR, Tanzania, Kenya and Zambia was mandated to draw up detailed plans.

The tanker had taken on its cargo at the Persian Gulf state of Abu Dhabi five days ago with the full knowledge of the Ministry of Power which had given it the go ahead!

## The World

The thirty-six independent states of Africa have also warned Britain of their decision to break off diplomatic relations in case of Britain's failure to take any effective action by December 15. So far the British Government seems to have decided to defy the demands of the African states.

The Commonwealth Secretary Arthur Bottomley has stated that President Kaunda had ultimately requested for a British military seizure of the vital Kariba dam and its installations, owned jointly by Rhodesia and Zambia, in order to prevent any unilateral Rhodesian action. This, he said, is quite unacceptable to the British Government.

While Zambian sources have denied British reports to the effect that President Kaunda has dropped his request for British troops to guard the Kariba dam, after the Addis Ababa meeting it was announced that "Zambia will be the launching site of any operation against Rhodesia and is ready to make great sacrifices for the cause of Africa".

It will also bear the brunt of OAU's economic blockade against Rhodesia if and when it is put into effect.

As for the so-called embargo imposed by Britain against the rebel racist regime, a report from London said that a tanker of the British Petroleum Company, which is more than half owned by the British Government, was on its way to Portuguese East Africa with a 12,000 ton oil cargo for Rhodesia.

The tanker had taken on its cargo at the Persian Gulf state of Abu Dhabi five days ago with the full knowledge of the Ministry of Power which had given it the go ahead!

—BAREN RAY

## CPC Leaders Stand For Split, Says Izvestia

MOSCOW: On the fifth anniversary of the publication of the 1960 Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties, Izvestia carries an important article by Academician Yuri Frantsev.

ALL the basic provisions of the Statement retain their full significance to this late, writes Frantsev. Of great importance, points out the author, is the working out by each Party of its policy which should be applied precisely in the given specific country. At the same time, this also means that "the importance of unity of the world communist movement, expressing the common tasks, the common requirements of the epoch, is steadily increasing."

Yuri Frantsev writes that a tendency towards consolidation has been increasingly in evidence in the communist movement recently.

In conclusion the author says: "But it is also known that there are people—the leaders of the Communist Party of China—who openly stand for a split and try to dissociate themselves organisationally from the parties which are in favour of unity of action in the struggle against imperialism."

"Life shows, however, that there are real possibilities of continuing the strengthening of unity of the world communist movement. It is becoming increasingly clear that those who reject unity of action hamper the peoples' struggle against imperialism and help the aggressor."



# Like A Diplomat PM Is Seen, Never Heard

FOR full three days a marathon debate raged in the Lok Sabha on the food crisis. For another full two hours the Food Minister held the fort announcing a new package programme as the panacea.

Earlier for two hours another stormy debate took place—on cement decontrol. H. C. Mathur, a senior Congress MP, vied with Opposition members in denouncing the scheme.

Still earlier the Banaras Hindu University Bill triggered off a furious controversy culminating in the unceremonious shelving of the bill which had already been passed by the Rajya Sabha.

But during all these controversies on issues of national importance the Prime Minister and Leader of the House, Lal Bahadur Shastri, was behaving like a capricious diplomat—he was seen in the House at times, but never spoke.

Silence is golden but not conspiratorial silence. It was he who gave the alogan JAI KISAN, but when Subramaniam went poetic on PL 480, when he had nothing to say about transforming Birla into a super-zamindar, when he denigrated ideology to attract American fertiliser kings, when he bemoaned that some states were reluctant to undertake urban rationing, the great Prime Minister was conveniently keeping silent.

Subramaniam went on to say in a melodramatic fashion that food was equally important as defence, if not more. Then why shouldn't the Prime Minister of the country make his contribution to the debate, why shouldn't he let the people know what he thought about the various issues involved?

Subramaniam indulged in a lot of bravado while announcing the new package programme as the solution, for achieving self-sufficiency by the end of the Fourth Plan. Does the Prime Minister think that Subramaniam is original in this prescription?

Were there not more than a score

of package districts during the Third Plan aided by the Ford Foundation? Is not the PM aware of the contents of Ladjinsky's report on the same programme in which he has severely criticised the inadequacy of tenurial reforms which he found was badly curbing production?

The package programme is supposed to be part of concentration and intensification. He talked about seed farms in every state, maybe on the

## THE WEEK

model of the one established in the Punjab.

Why can't the Prime Minister take half hour off and read all about these in the Third Plan document? There are pages and pages in that document on seed farms and intensification of agriculture.

Subramaniam said ideology should not come in the way of feeding people. Foreigners—Americans, of course—should be freed from the stipulations of the Industrial Policy Resolution to enable them to establish fertiliser factories. The Bechtels have to be brought back on their own terms, terms which we rejected a couple of months ago.

**IDEOLOGY GIVEN UP?** Yes, Prime Minister, if all ideology is to be given up (Subramaniam can prostitute many of his handiwork at various Congress sessions from Nagpur onwards) then why not bring back, as K. D. Malaviya put it, the zamindar?

Again, the Food Minister waxed cheap by twitting the Communists, saying that they would find fault with anything from the United States and the PL 480 was their pet aversion.

Like a conjuror, the Food Minister posed mass starvation as alternative to American wheat. But he keeps quiet—the P.M. keeps quiet—when we ask what happened to last year's import when we had the bumper crop last year.

What happened to last year's surplus? We are not asking this. TTK had asked at Congress Parliamentary Party Executive. With the hoarders? Why should not the PM speak up?

Then take cement decontrol. Who suggested it? The Prime Minister. He casually announced it on August 3 last when he was replying to the debate on the no-confidence motion. Did he consult the Industries Minister? No. May be, he had consulted or been advised by L. K. Jha:

And then he lets tycoon Somani to announce the decontrol and not his Minister. And when Mathur refers to this shameless fact in the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive, Shastri keeps quiet.

In the Lok Sabha when his own partymen attack the measure he is silent, to be comforted by the support which Masani gave.

Jai Kisan! But the kisans won't get cement at reasonable prices after decontrol. L. K. Jha says they can use some other material for construction of wells.

**FRENZY OVER BANARAS:** The RSS and Jan Sangh kicked up a row over the Banaras Hindu University Bill. A section of Congressmen supported the change in the nomenclature, a section opposed it. One of them even presented a brick to assert that "Hindu" was ingrained in every brick of the university buildings.

Again the Prime Minister observes silence and makes a scapegoat of Chagla.

No wonder that ORGANISER is all praise for him as is seen in a recent interview to that paper. The Jan Sangh organ hails his leadership. In the same issue there was bitter criticism of all the Nehru policies.

Which policies is the Prime Minister following to earn the praise from the Gandhi murderers?

## Whispering Gallery

### FROM COWS TO COOPER

THERE is a letup in the mighty effort at ministerial level to take Shanti Prasad Jain and THE TIMES OF INDIA chain of papers off the hook. It will not be immodest for this journal to claim some credit for this.

At one stage, some months ago, when Jain was received by Prime Minister Shastri in audience the issue was almost clinched. All that remained was to fabricate a formula by which the Company Law Administration could find some pretext to withdraw the petition from the Tribunal.

Jain is not a small guy. A master-liquidator of companies, as Justice Vivian Bose discovered, he almost liquidated whatever little plan that was afoot to book him.

Quite a few Central Ministers have been working underground for baling him out of the trouble. And to boot, some Chief Ministers stood in the queue to plead for him.

On top of it there is a Sarvodaya fraud, who has been whispering for him at the summit. And then, of course, there is a Secretary of a Pradesh Congress Committee all the time touting in Delhi. He has a lavish apartment in Lajpatnagar.

However, too many cooks seem to have spoilt the broth. Meanwhile, thanks to the stupidity of T. T. Krishnamachari, who is known to be against the Jains among the Central Ministers—and rightly—the Jains have been managing THE TIMES OF INDIA chain through proxy—through one Cooper.

When the storm was about to break out Jain brought Rustom Cavasji Cooper, an executive of the Bombay branch of the Swatantra Party, as an independent director.

When the Jains—father and son—scouted from the Board of Directors of the Bennet Coleman & Co. leaving Behenji (Rama Jain) alone, the Finance Ministry foolishly fell into the trap and permitted Cooper to become the chairman.

Cooper (a chartered accountant), whose practice as an auditor is nominal, has overnight become "the eminent authority on taxation", if one is to believe the servile reporters of THE TIMES OF INDIA.

His speeches and articles which used to grace baskets of non-editorial matter in all the Bombay newspapers (including the TIMES) now receive the pride of place in THE TIMES OF INDIA and the ECONOMIC TIMES.

True to the group's tradition of servility, the ECONOMIC TIMES obediently announced in its issue of October 20 last that government had appointed Cooper Saheb to head the inquiry into the affairs of the India United Mills.

But the same paper did not have the grace to report that Cooper had to give up this appointment when government woke up to find that he was acting as tax consultant to several persons whose conduct he had to investigate.

In its issue of November 5, the ECONOMIC TIMES quietly reported that G. V. Baderkar had been appointed chairman of this inquiry committee.

In spite of Cooper's endeavours Masani has been saying that THE TIMES OF INDIA has been infiltrated by Communists. To disprove this contention and prove his loyalties, Cooper gave out of the TIMES fund Rs. 25,000 to D. F. Karaka for a politically inspired biography of Morarji Desai.

One has got to look after not only the Swatantra but also self. So on September 28 a notice appeared in the TIMES requesting the shareholders of the Bennet Coleman Co. to sanction the payment of one per cent commission on profits to its directors and certain extra benefits to self as the chairman.

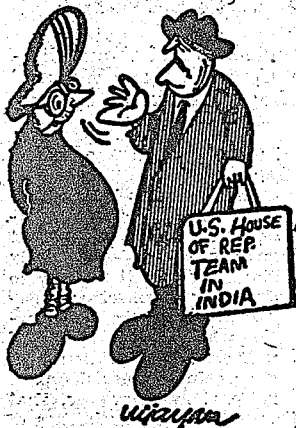
More or less at the same time workers of THE TIMES OF INDIA chain were on strike for legitimate bonus. During the strike Cooper was hardly seen in the office though he was getting his jam alright.

Still we will continue to read in THE TIMES OF INDIA chain of papers reports on Cooper's eminence and versatility. That is its tradition.

Did not Ramkrishna Dalmia, before handing over charge to his ghar jamaini, use the papers to advance the cause of sacred cows? From cows to Cooper is not a far cry.

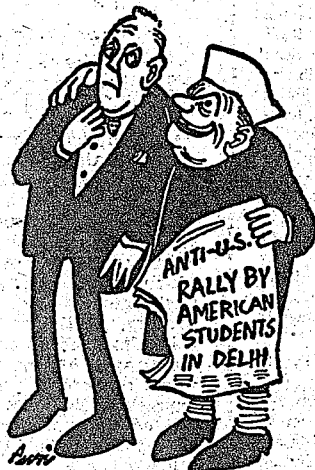
—INSIDER

\*footnote



"Scandalous, these young Americans! Can't they at least be half as understanding as your Private Sector Times?"

What a Life!



"If your government needs any co-operation, we can always have them arrested under D.I.R..."

Two angles on the American students' demonstration before US Embassy protesting the Vietnam war: on left is PATRIOT's and on the right HINDUSTAN TIMES's