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# ALL GLORY TO OUR JAWANS



WITH every day that passes, new pages are added to India's Book of Glory by the sacrifice and courage of the officers and men of our armed forces.

The US and British war experts are aghast that their super Starfighter and Sabre planes—the F 104s and F 86s—and their Patton tanks have been routed by the little Bangalore Gnats and the much lighter tanks being used by the Indian forces.

WHY, they ask? HOW, they ask?

The military experts need not delve into their tomes, the answer does not lie in books.

The answer is: planes and tanks are flown and driven by men, and men who know they fight for a just cause are invincible. b

The Indian people salute the defenders of our freedom, valorous sons of the nation, immortal heroes.

# PEACE? YES

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THERE is wide speculation in the capital regarding the answer which the Government of India has given to UN Secretary-General U Thant's final proposals, before he left New Delhi. But it is not yet clear, as NEW AGE goes to press (noon, September 15) what these proposals exactly are, and what our answer has been.

But on one basic fact, there is no lack of clarity. The government and people of India are ready, at all times, to pay the most serious attention to any proposal for the ending of hostilities, which comes from friendly quarters.

India is dedicated to peace. This war has been thrust upon us by the Ayub dictatorship's aggression.

As far as we are concerned, we are ready to stop fighting the moment we know that the aggression has been ended, that it will be vacated and that it will not recur at the sweet will of the aggressors and their imperialist masters.

We do not seek to retain our troops on the smallest part of Pakistani soil, for a single day after the aggression has been vacated.

We are ready for a ceasefire without any pre-conditions.

But we cannot and shall never accept the Ayub dictatorship's so-called "conditions" for peace. These "conditions" require India to remove its armed forces from Kashmir, so that a UN "peace-keeping"

force can be brought into the state, supposedly to conduct a "plebiscite".

Kashmir is an integral part of India: we cannot permit foreign troops to be brought into this Indian territory under any pretext whatsoever.

The Kashmiri people have already decided their destiny, and have proved once again by their deeds of heroism against Pakistani aggression that they are part of the Indian people, flesh of their flesh, blood of their blood...

The Ayub dictatorship's whining calls for "self-determination" are only a smokescreen behind which they seek to hide their aggression.

Peace? Yes, with honour! A hundred times, yes...

Can it be a lasting peace? It can, if the Pakistan Government is persuaded to sign a No War Pact with India, renouncing the use of force for the settlement of all outstanding questions between the two countries.

All those who sincerely seek an end to the conflagration without imperialist interference, must throw themselves behind the demand for a No War Pact, which can guarantee for all time that peace triumphs now and remains triumphant in the future, against the forces of war and imperialism.

(September 15)

# ... WITH HONOUR!

# PLAN & DEFENCE

## How Goes The Rear?

**EDUCATIONAL** WHILE THE MEN at the front are performing deeds of glory in defence of the Motherland, what about the rest of us in the towns and villages in the rear?

The nationwide upsurge in support of our armed forces has been truly remarkable. It has no precedent in Indian history.

It is an angry people that has gone into action. But our anger is not hysteria. A calm, patient and confident people are going about their business—to keep the rear protected, the supply lines to the front open, the needs of defence production met.

We are justly proud of our people, of their solidarity, of their devotion to the principles which have made India great. But there is no room for smug self-satisfaction and complacency.

There is still plenty of work to be done. As the days have passed, our people who have organised themselves, often spontaneously, seizing the initiative whenever necessary, have also seen clearly the gaps which must be closed to make the rear still stronger.

First, more intense efforts are needed here and now, to hold the price line. From all parts of the country, reports are appearing in the press of rises in the prices of the most essential needs of the masses—above all FOOD.

The Food Minister has announced the early introduction of rationing of foodgrains in the big cities. This is welcome, but when will the decision be implemented? Experience has shown that the pressures of the foodgrains profiteers and hoarders have again and again delayed the implementation of earlier promises to introduce rationing. Will those pressures be allowed to have their way even at this crucial time?

Threats of action against profiteers are made day in and day out. And yet the prices rise. Citizens defence committees must not become mere rubber-stamps for the inaction of bureaucrats and corrupt politicians.

The duty of the defence committees is to see that measures of an effective nature are taken to hold the price line and fight and rout the hoarders and profiteers.

Second, an all-out campaign for communal unity must be undertaken through committees at all levels, which must include representatives of the minority communities. The isolation of the communists and the nailing down of the lies and rumours on the basis of which they seek to carry out their nefarious ends is an essential task.

Third, the governments, both at the centre and in the states, must be persuaded to release all detained and imprisoned leaders and workers of political parties.

The Union Food Minister had announced that all leaders of the Communist Party and other left parties, arrested and imprisoned for taking part in the food movements in various states, would be released.

But while a large number of such prisoners have been released in states like West Bengal and Maharashtra, the Sahay government continues to refuse to release the bulk of the nearly four thousand prisoners arrested during the recent movement in Bihar.

Bihar cannot be mobilised fully for defence, without the participation of the topmost leaders of the CPI and the SSP who are behind the bars. The release of the many trade-unionists, kisan and student leaders, organisers of the NGOs and others is also imperative for intensifying the Bihar people's contribution to the defence efforts.

The detenus under the DIR who were jailed even before the recent food movements are also still in prison in many states. Several of them have made representations demanding their release specially in order to be able to take part in defence efforts. Government continues to refuse to release them.

The rear is doing well. But it can do very much better, if the gaps indicated above are closed. National solidarity demands that strong steps are taken in this direction, without any delay.

(September 14)

THE National Development Council did not seriously examine the question of how to relate the Fourth Plan to our increased defence needs. It passed the buck to the Prime Minister, contenting itself with accepting the financial figure of Rs. 21,500 crores as well as the extraordinarily vague principle of a "defence oriented" plan. This was a clear case of abdication of responsibility.

But this was not the only disquieting feature of the discussions in the NDC. The dismay that the patriotic public will feel will be accentuated if one examines the outlines of the broad political economic strategy adopted for mobilisation of resources.

It is true that the Prime Minister concluded his speech at the NDC meeting with the following words: "Our objective is socialism and we have to proceed in that direction. We have to fight monopolies and we must see that there is equitable distribution of wealth and national income."

But there is no indication that there will be any follow up of this declaration unless the democratic movement mounts a powerful offensive.

All indications are that there is going to be a continuation of a freeze on any measure of nationalisation. Bank nationalisation was not even considered.

### No Extension Of Public Sector

Despite TTK's call for the state takeover of wholesale trade in basic commodities there are no signs that this is being contemplated. The Finance Minister had mentioned the resistance of his colleagues. This resistance was not overcome.

Nationalisation of oil was being vehemently opposed by Humayun Kabir even while the NDC was in session. Foreign trade nationalisation also seems to have been ruled out.

The upsurge of patriotism following Pakistan's aggression would have been used by any government of a radical nature to push through necessary institutional changes. But our government is just sitting pretty. This is disastrous, anti-national passivity.

The pattern of resources mobilisation is likely to be the same as before, with some marginal changes.

### More Taxes Coming

THE HINDU economic commentator reports (September 7) that the main bulk of increased taxation, will come from excise duties on more commodities and stiffer import duties.

The Planning Commission seems to be of the view that "it may not be helpful to enlarge the tax incidence on corporate income" that is, the monopolists are going to have a tax holiday when Rs. 3,600 crores of

extra taxes have to be raised. This is the hard reality behind Asoka Mehta's juggling with aggregate figures. Taxes are to go up from 13 per cent to 18 per cent (even in the normal course it would have gone up to 15 per cent); the rate of savings from 10.5 per cent to 15 per cent and investments from 13 per cent to 17 per cent of the national income. As much as 27 per cent of additional income is to be invested.

Agricultural taxes and irrigation rates had contributed only Rs. 95 crores or 2.6 per cent. In the Fourth Plan

## Economic notes

11 per cent of additional income from agriculture is to be brought into the exchequer coming to 25 per cent of additional plan resources mobilisation.

Once again there was no concrete plan for a graded agricultural income tax with exemptions for holdings below a certain floor. There was also no mention of agrarian reforms, despite the Planning Commission, having endorsed the Ladjinsky report, some weeks ago.

There are no provisions for institutional changes and "redistribution of income through fiscal measures" (so dear to the heart of Asoka Mehta) is also not seriously contemplated.

3 The design of the plan, it is significant that despite the reduction of size of the plan by Rs. 1,300 crores the share of the private sector at Rs. 7,000 crores remains constant. The entire cut has fallen on the public sector.

It is even worse that in the organised industries sector, public sector investment will come to Rs. 2,966 crores and private sector investment to Rs. 2,400 crores.

In the Third Plan the comparable figures were Rs. 1,520 crores and Rs. 1,090 crores respectively. This means that there is no intention to accelerate the rate of growth of the public sector as compared to the private sector.

### Plan Targets Slashed

We should further remember that of the total cut in the money value of the physical programmes in the public sector from Rs. 15,620 crores to Rs. 14,500 crores, roughly 50 per cent (Rs. 566 crores) is provided by reductions in organised industry, transport and communications

In physical terms the main cuts will fall on steel from 18.5 million tonnes to 14.6 million tonnes, pig iron from 4 million tonnes to 3.2 million tonnes, petroleum refining from 25.25 million tonnes to 22.74 million tonnes, drugs

and pharmaceuticals from Rs. 3,000 million to Rs. 2,500 million, electricity generation from 22 million kilowatts to 21 million kilowatts, gross irrigation potential from 14 million acres to 13 million acres.

It is also rather strange that while the Union Food Minister talks of a Fourth Plan foodgrains target of 125 million tonnes, the revised plan memorandum puts the figure at 118.5 tonnes a cut of 6.5 million tonnes.

### No Shift To The Left

The way the Fourth Plan has now been structured and designed, it is obvious that neither the targetted rate of growth will take place nor any significant shift in the direction of economic democracy.

4 Even as the NDC was discussing the government was moving to further help the private sector.

The spokesman of the cement monopolists, G. D. Somani, announced on September 4 that a price increase of Rs. 25 per tonne of cement was essential (a week earlier it had been Rs. 17 and a few days earlier Rs. 20 rapid escalation indeed). He also asked for a higher price for supplies to the government.

A regular monopolistic marketing organisation was also announced following the winding up of the STC in this sphere. Now slab steel and hard coke are also to be de-controlled.

5 On September 9 THE ECONOMIC TIMES reported that the LIC had moved in a big way to prevent decline of share values. Our "patriotic" speculators had panicked following Pakistani aggression.

### Money For Speculators

"It is likely that the market would have sought still lower levels in the absence of support... Market men, who criticised the LIC three years ago, do not hesitate to compliment it when it has come, so to say, to the rescue of the market". This is how public funds are spent in a national crisis.

6 On September 10, the Reserve Bank cancelled its directive of June 29 to freeze "clean credit" supply by banks, that is, unsecured advances, to the level of June 25.

Clean credit is fully restored—it had amounted to Rs. 310 crores this June as compared to Rs. 265 crores in June 1964. More money for speculation above all in the stock exchanges!

These are straws in the wind. And the wind is not the wind of change. And yet India's very survival demands change, rapid change. There can be no stability without socio-economic development at a fast pace, especially now when India is engaged in grim combat.

—MOHIT SEN

## isolated govt turns deaf ear to criticism

# BONUS BATTLE IN LOK SABHA

By INDRAJIT GUPTA MP

INITIALLY only three hours had been suggested by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs for such an important discussion whose outcome would affect millions of workers throughout the country.

Later, under pressure from opposition members, the time was extended to five hours by the Business Advisory Committee. And ultimately, the debate came to occupy nearly fifteen hours, extending over four days!

### Bitter Criticism

The government had no option but to face the full brunt of bitter criticism launched against this retrograde measure by M.P.s connected with the AITUC, HNS, HMP, UTUC, Rashtriya Sangram Samity, and even the INTUC and Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh.

A record number of amendments—230 in all—were tabled to the bill. Of these, 17 were by the government itself, about 100 by those representing the employers' viewpoint, principally by Dandekar himself, and 172 by trade-union spokesmen including Indrajit Gupta, Heml Daji, Dinen Bhattacharya, Peter Alvares, Sreekantan Nair, Madhu Limaye, Kashi-nath Pandey and R. V. Bade.

### More Than Employers Demand

Labour Minister D. Sanjivayya, opening the debate said the government had to take into consideration not only the unanimous recommendations of the Bonus Commission and Dandekar's minute of dissent but also to keep in view "the economy of the country as a whole."

"This, according to him, was the justification for allowing all direct taxes to be deducted as prior charges, and for modifying the commission's recommended rates of interest from 6 per cent to 8.5 per cent on equity shares and from 4 per cent to 6 per cent on reserves.

He could not, however, explain the inclusion of development rebate in the prior charges, which even Dandekar's note of dissent had not demanded.

### Plethora Of Platitudes

Sanjivayya repeated that labour would get bonus benefits on the existing basis or on the basis of the new formula whichever be higher—the hollowness of this claim was later exposed when clause 34 of the bill was taken up in detail.

The Minister waxed eloquent over the "great boon to the poor workers" which would accrue when 45 lakhs of them would become eligible for the guaranteed minimum bonus of 4 per cent.

Among the official amendments tabled by the Minister himself, unsettled bonus disputes pending on May 29, 1965,

will be taken cognizance of instead of those pending on September 2, 1964 (clauses 33 and 34); and no agreement between employers and employees (clause 34) will be valid if it deprives the latter of even the minimum bonus.

At the same time, Sanjivayya moved amendments to clause 32 exempting from the provisions of the Bonus Bill (a) "any other financial institution" in the public sector, and (b) "employees employed by inland water transport establishments operating on routes passing through any other country."

The latter amendment was strongly opposed by Indrajit Gupta and others as an arbitrary concession made to the only transport company of this kind, viz., the River

Steam Navigation Co., which has the virtual monopoly of the river-carrying trade between Bengal and Assam, and whose management and control were recently taken over by the Government of India in order to safeguard the interests of the British investors. Sanjivayya took refuge

32. Pages 19 and 20.—

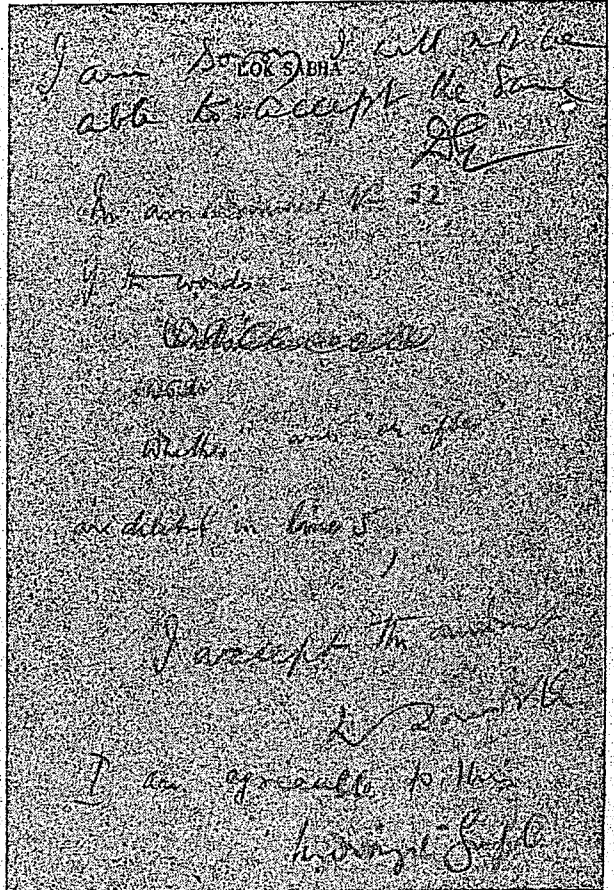
for clause 34, substitute—

"34 (1) The provisions of this Act shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in any other law for the time being in force or in the terms of any award, agreement or contract of service whether made before or after the commencement of this Act.

Provided that where under any such award, agreement or contract of service, employees employed in an establishment are entitled to bonus under a formula which is more favourable than that under this Act, then, the employees shall continue to be entitled to the bonus under that formula.

(2) Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to preclude employers employed in any class of establishments from entering into an agreement with their employer for granting them an amount of bonus under a formula which is more favourable than under this Act.

Amendment moved by Indrajit Gupta.



Photostat of the note jointly sent by Dandekar (middle) and Indrajit Gupta (bottom) to the Labour Minister agreeing to the amendment to clause 34(1). But Sanjivayya did not yield to the amendment accepted by both Labour and employers' sides. His note of rejection can be seen at the top of the notepad.

behind the specious plea that there were "some difficulties" which could not be divulged. A notable feature of the debate was the wide measure of agreement expressed in the speeches of the opposition M.P.s representing the workers' point of view.

Their criticisms, apprehensions and suggestions were basically alike, even in the case of most of the INTUC representatives.

Apart from general condemnation of the government's knuckling under Big Business pressure, the main fire of attack was concentrated on the clauses relating to computation of available surplus, inclusion of development rebate as a prior deduction, computation of number of working days, applicability to public sector establishments, exemptions of certain classes of employees, protection of existing higher bonus benefits, and the Third Schedule which specifies the sums allowed to be deducted by the employers by way of dividends and interest on reserves.

Apart from the avowed employers' spokesmen, not a single voice was raised in support of these clauses of the bill.

### Dogged Battle

A number of members, notably Ramen Sen and Heml Daji of AITUC, waged a dogged battle in the clause-by-clause discussion, moving a large number of amendments, and calling for division (votes) on nine occasions.

One such was on an amendment moved by a Congress member, D.S. Patil who wanted overtime payments to be included in the definition of "wages" for purposes of computing the quantum of bonus.

The Labour Minister distinguished himself by his total lack of sensitivity to any criticism and his flat refusal to accept any opposition amendment, however minor, or to withdraw his own, however harmful to the workers' interests.

### Convenient Refuge

He appeared to be guided entirely by the "advice" of his officers sitting in the adjacent gallery to whom he frequently hurried for consultations. The result was that every amendment which was pressed to vote

was defeated by the ruling party's brute majority. In the course of his replies to the general discussion and the specific amendments, Sanjivayya sought refuge; whenever convenient, behind the Bonus Commission's recommendations as, for example, on the question of excluding certain types of public sector establishments.

Whenever this dishonest argument was challenged, he defended the reactionary modifications by such "profound" observations as, "the industrial as well as the economic growth in the country and the well-being of the whole nation had to be taken into consideration!"

He said the higher rates of return on equity capital and reserves were accepted because of the prevalent rates of interest in the capital market, and because the rates now allowed were taxable whereas earlier they were not taxable.

Under heavy and sustained pressure, Sanjivayya admitted that clause 34(2) was not meant to protect any existing higher quantum of bonus. The existing basis or ratio of the base year would alone be protected even if the actual quantum might be less.

### Yielding To Pressure

The author of the now celebrated note of dissent to the Bonus Commission's report, N. Dandekar, proved a worthy champion of Big Business interests in this debate.

Author of a huge number of amendments, he fought every inch of the way to get them recorded. The capitalist lobby in the ranks of the Congress Parliamentary Party seemed content to lie low and leave its case in the hands of such an able advocate!

### Gems Of Thought

Among Dandekar's many gems of thought were the following: wealth tax should be specified as one of the "direct" taxes for prior deduction; Bonus Inspectors should not have the power to call for balance-sheets and profit and loss accounts, nor should they have "such other powers as may be prescribed"; penalties under the bill should be limited to a fine only; cost accountants' associations should be exempted; foreign companies operating in India with no separate balance sheet should have

\* OVERLEAF

# UN PEACE FORCE : IMPERIALIST PLOT

The Communist Party's call last week for rejection of the imperialist proposal for a UN peace keeping force to "guard" the cease fire line, was an important and timely warning to the nation. Since then the proposal has become a major and serious part of imperialism's anti-Indian campaign.

PRESIDENT Ayub has, of course, raised a clamour for such a UN force, in his communications and talks with U Thant. But he is not alone. CENTO members Iran and Turkey have also echoed the demand, offering the "services" of their troops for such a force.

It should be recalled that this is NOT the first time that the US and British governments have suggested a UN force for Kashmir. They have done so several times during the last decade and a half, through one "mediator" or another.

Ayub's suggestion that India should "vacate" Kashmir, leaving it to a UN force to take over and conduct a so-called "plebiscite", is merely a resplendish of old and stinking muton.

India had rejected the proposal, when it was put forward officially by Gunnar Jarring several years ago. The spice added to the ancient stew appears to be the suggestion that the UN force should be an "Afro-Asian" force.

Unfortunately for the cooks, the stick cannot be killed by the spice. India has great respect for the Afro-Asian independent anti-imperialist nations. But that does not mean that India can allow their armed forces on our soil, in contravention of our sovereignty and integrity.

Needless to say, none of the anti-imperialist Afro-Asian governments have been reported to have offered their troops for a UN force. Only Pakistan's loyal fellow partners of the imperialists in CENTO, Iran and Turkey, have rushed in where the angels have sensibly kept out.

One need have no illusions

whatsoever regarding the character of the UN force and its real masters, whether it has an "Afro-Asian" face or not, UN "peace-keeping" forces have again and again, as in the Congo or Cyprus, been used by the imperialist powers for their neo-colonialist conspiracies.

In no circumstances, must India allow itself to be bullied or blackmailed by the imperialists or their agents inside the country, into accepting foreign forces on our soil, whether wearing the mask of the UN or in any other guise.

It is welcome news that Education Minister Chaglia has, in a television programme in New York on September 12, rejected any proposal for the stationing of a UN peace force in Kashmir. According to PTI's New York correspondent, Chaglia said:

"STATIONING OF SUCH A FORCE WOULD VIOLATE INDIAN SOVEREIGNTY... ONLY 18 YEARS AGO, WE GOT RID OF BRITISH COLONIALISM AND TROOPS... WE DO NOT WANT IT IN ANY OTHER FORM."

It is to be hoped that the Government of India has also made this clear to the UN Secretary General and to all friendly governments all over the world.

It would be puerile to be complacent and assume that the imperialists would not pursue their evil designs further. It is necessary to forewarn the nation and our friends abroad. We must seek categorical opposition to the proposal for a UN force from all sections of our people.

Equally we have a right to expect a clear statement opposing the proposal from all friendly governments, which sincerely desire to

prevent the imperialist powers from increasing their influence in Asia and in this subcontinent in particular.

## Imperialist "Neutrality"

A noisy propaganda hubbub has been let loose about the decision taken by the US and British governments to stop all military supplies to India and Pakistan. This, it is claimed, "proves" how "neutral" are the imperialist powers in the India-Pakistan conflict.

It is argued further that the stopping of imperialist military supplies would hit Pakistan far more than India. This is, of course, true. The great bulk of Pakistan's arms come from the imperialists, and the Pakistan armed forces are completely dependent on these sources even for spare parts and everything else. As for India, thanks to the policy of strengthening our own defence potential, our own factories can and do meet a considerable part of our needs.

Pakistan's High Commissioner in London Agha Hilaly has reportedly wailed that the British decision to stop military supplies would lead to the "defeat" of his country.

There is a tendency in certain circles, official and non-official, to be taken in by this propaganda barrage, and assume that perhaps there is some sort of a shift, in India's favour, in the imperialists' position. This is an utterly false assumption. And a dangerous one at that, for it could mean a weakening of vigilance against the imperialist conspiracy.

It is a fact that the Indian people's wrath against the US and British governments for their support to the Pakistani aggression, and their exposure of the imperialist

# Comment

conspiracy, has forced the imperialists to alter their tactics. No longer can they openly continue to supply Pakistan with fresh consignments of Sabre jets, Patton tanks and the rest. That would be far too brazen.

It would only prove more conclusively to the whole world what the Indian people have repeatedly pointed out, namely that the Ayub dictatorship's aggression against India has been based entirely on the support it has received from USA and Britain.

The new imperialist tactics, however, do not mean change in imperialism's policy of support to Pakistan aggression against India. The announcement that Iran and Turkey will now supply Pakistan with arms and oil clearly proves that the imperialists are only substituting indirect aid for direct aid.

The only worthwhile arms possessed by the Turkish government are supplied to it in the same way as Pakistan's—that is, under military pacts with the imperialist powers. And, therefore, Turkish supplies mean, in actual fact, supplies from the imperialist powers.

Iranian oil, everybody knows, is effectively controlled by the imperialists. And the Iranian Government's "willingness" to supply Pakistan with oil, is nothing but indirect imperialist aid to the Pakistan aggression.

The "neutrality" sheep's clothing of the imperialists will not deceive the Indian people. The wolves remain wolves.

## Chinese Opportunism

THE Chinese Government's deliberate and calculated intervention in support of Pakistan's aggression, has been a boon to the pro-imperialist reactionaries inside this country. At the earlier stages of

Pakistani aggression, these agents of Lonon and Washington were tongue-tied. It was impossible to sing hymns of praise to those, who provided Pakistan with Sabre jets and Patton tanks.

But with the Chinese Government's latest opportunistic pronouncements in support not only of the Pakistani aggression, but even of the demand for the so-called "self-determination" of Kashmir, the pro-imperialist reactionaries are beginning to strut about once again.

Plentifully, they are relaying the "glad tidings" that the imperialists have decided to support India against any Chinese aggression, which may restart now. Forget the crimes of the US and British warlords in instigating the Pakistani aggression, for they may be our saviours (!) tomorrow—such is the argument of the reactionaries.

The Jan Sangh leaders, in their speeches at public meetings in the capital, have openly propagated this line during the last few days. They have attacked the Communist Party for its sharp denunciation of the imperialist hand behind the Ayub dictatorship's aggression.

More open pro-imperialists have gone to the extent of starting once again to advocate a military alliance with the Western powers. For the moment, it remains difficult to persuade any Indian patriot to forget the American and British assistance to the Pakistan aggression. But the very fact that it is possible for the reactionaries even to speak today of a military pact with Washington and London, reveals the extent of the damage done by the Chinese leadership's intervention.

The Chinese leaders' stand lands them straight into taking positions identical with those of the US-British imperialists, with the CENTO and the SEATO.

—ROMESH CHANDRA (September 13)

# THE BONUS BATTLE

\* From Overleaf

their capital computed as under the Companies Surtax Act.

He also argued that the interest permissible on equity capital should be not 8.5 per cent but 4.5 per cent above the Reserve Bank of India rate" (1), and on reserves, not 6 per cent, but 2 per cent above the Reserve Bank of India rate; only 50 per cent of the workers' bonus to be payable in cash, the balance in securities; the minimum and maximum bonus should be 2 per cent and 15 per cent respectively for workers in mining and quarrying, plantation, jute, coal and cashew nut industries, and so on.

It is, however, interesting to note that an unexpectedly piquant situation arose at one

stage when Dandekar, who had all along been critical of clause 24(2) as being confusing and likely to aggravate disputes and unrest, suddenly got up to say he would be willing to support Indrajit Gupta's amendment.

Dandekar said it was important to protect the existing higher quantum of bonus in the interests of industrial peace, and he therefore felt much more clear-cut and preferable to the original clause.

Sanjivayya's discomfiture can better be imagined than described, but he refused to yield despite a joint request in writing to him by Dandekar and Indrajit Gnpta. (See photostat and Amendment). The latter's amendment was defeated by 64 votes to 20.

The marathon debate ended after 14½ hours with the final division on the bill which was passed by 85 votes to 16. The AITUC, HMS, UTUC, HMP, and Sangram Samity representatives voted unitedly against the bill—a pointer to the future.

The INTUC spokesmen, though critical of the bill, lacked the courage to defy their party's whip.

Dandekar's Swantraites remained neutral after Ranga had expressed his general support for the measure.

Sanjivayya made a final, pathetic and defensive appeal, just before the vote was taken for "cooperation and peace". But now, the millions of workers in our factories and establishments will be the final arbiters of this ill-conceived Act.

# Workers' Tasks To Face Pakistani Aggression

By SATISH LOOMBA

IN the face of the Pakistani aggression, backed by the imperialist powers, what is the duty of the Indian working class?

If we recognise the cardinal fact of imperialist intrigues, then the workers as part of the international proletariat fighting against imperialism must work to make that intrigue fail. India must defend herself against the Pakistani attack.

National defence is thus our duty not only as Indians, but as a class which is everywhere enraged in fighting imperialism. Defence of India today is an anti-imperialist task of the first magnitude.

We have always distinguished between just war and unjust aggressive wars. All wars against aggression, from whatever quarters, all wars of national liberation against oppressors are just. The present defensive action against Pakistan is extremely just.

## We Stand For Peace

At the same time, we are interested in peace. We are against jingoism and war hysteria. The present hostilities are not a war of conquest. Pakistan is our neighbour. We have no quarrel with the Pakistani people who are themselves groaning under a ruthless dictatorship allied to imperialism. We

want to defend ourselves—not to impose ourselves by force. Hence we must strive with all our will and might to defend ourselves. The working class has a vital role to play in this.

We must see to it that our army and air force, the sons of India, who are laying down their lives in a just war against aggression aided and abetted by imperialism, get all their requirements without any interruption. This is our prime task as a class.

However, when this is said, a question may legitimately be posed: what should we do when prices rise due to hoarding, profiteering and blackmarketing? What should we do when employers take advantage of our patriotic resolve to work by unleashing attacks on our rights, on our unions?

We cannot forget that we are workers in a capitalist system. We cannot forget that capitalist exploitation is not

stopped because of a national defence effort—rather it gets intensified.

We cannot give up our fight against ruthless attacks by employers, against price-rise and hoarding, against black-marketing and profiteering, against attempts to further exploit our labour for private gains. Indeed, this fight is an integrated and inalienable part of the defence effort.

For, it would be a strange conception of defence if the jawan is fed while his kith and kin are made to starve because grain has been cornered by profit-hungry speculators.

## Would Be Parody

It would be a parody of national effort if out of the patriotic effort of workers, willing to undergo hardships for the sake of their duty, the profits of a few sky-rocket

and prices of essential commodities soar beyond the reach of the common man.

Hence, the working class must fight for holding the price line, for an equitable distribution at reasonable prices of all essential commodities, for defending its rights as a class. In doing so, however, it must keep before it the prime task of national defence in all its connotations.

Pakistan's claim over Kashmir is based on the retrograde and untenable theory of nation being confined to people professing a particular religion.

India glories in the fact that people of many faiths and religions are all Indians.

However, some communal parties in India would like to have only a uni-religious India, or at least an India in which power and positions of vantage are occupied by the majority community and the minority communities are reduced to secondary status.

In particular, today, when India is engaged in defending herself against Pakistan, who bases herself on religion, people are those who say that no Muslim can be trusted by India.

The anti-Muslim communal virus spread by RSS and Jan Sangh, which has been aided and abetted by the activities of Muslim League and Jamaat-e-Islami is active today.

The working class must be vigilant against this propaganda. It must fight with all its strength any attempt to twist the present struggle into communal channels.

The working class must not only root out communalism from its own ranks but help to win over larger and larger sections of people to its point of view.

## Communal Unity Paramount Need

Communal unity is as paramount a need of the nation today, as defence production and the safeguarding of people's living.

Let us all therefore bend ourselves to achieve these tasks.

WORKERS, UNITE!  
FOR DEFENCE OF INDIA!  
FOR SAFEGUARDING PEOPLE'S LIVING!  
FOR COMMUNAL HARMONY!

# TRADERS PUSH PRICES UP, HOARD FOOD IN ASSAM

SHILLONG: Wholesale traders in Assam are trying to make full capital out of the emergency conditions following the Pakistani aggression elsewhere and the threatening posture along the eastern borders.

The food situation had already been rather difficult in the state though it had not reached the crisis point as in some other states.

As soon as the Pakistani army launched its regular attack against India, food articles and rice and wheat in particular have disappeared from the market.

Certain essential commodities have completely disappeared. Speculators have pushed them underground in the hope of reaping rich profits.

Prices of whatever articles are available in the market have skyrocketed.

Government has not taken any effective measures so far to bring the speculators and hoarders to book.

Kerosene had been scarce for some time. T. T. Krishna-

machari's supplementary budget pushed its price high.

The Pakistani aggression has raised the price of kerosene almost beyond the capacity of the ordinary people. It is also very difficult to get kerosene.

The traders, however, are putting the blame on "wealthy consumers". These gentlemen have cornered all the stocks, say the traders.

How can the wealthy consumers corner all the stocks, it is asked here. But it cannot also be denied that some stocking have been done by wealthy people.

Again, the entire trading community has not turned speculators and hoarders; but many among them are looking for quick profits rather than the country's good.

The government must take effective steps to meet the situation. Otherwise Assam, to which transport facilities are even at best times meagre, might have to face a critical situation regarding essential commodities.

## Whispering Gallery

### LISTENERS, FORGET THE MAKE!

THROUGHOUT last week when a Patton tank was destroyed or an F-85 plane shot down All India Radio made it a point to pinpoint its American make.

It was indeed a matter of pleasant surprise to many of us, and this scribe set out to scoop the top secret official decision which permitted AIR to call a spade a spade.

But being an old bloke not amenable to quick locomotion I took two days to get at it. And by the time I got it, the surprise had vanished. What I could bag was the order cancelling the previous order.

No more is the staid buddi of Parliament Street to breathe about the American make of the machines destroyed in any of its news bulletins or talks.

Simultaneously a tidy bunch of confidence-keepers from among the New Delhi press corps was: rounded up by a ton bureaucrat and told to follow suit in their despatches. Of course, it was a polite request.

In common parlance a request is not an injunction. But in the press circle a request is equivalent to an injunction. Otherwise, well, no scoops for the chaps.

As far as INSIDER could figure it out, the volte-face began with Dean Rusk's recent prognostication about Chinese intentions.

After that B. K. Nehru, our man in Washington, had a tete-a-tete with the Secretary of State, presumably on the likely US response in the event of Peking coming to the rescue of Pindl.

Earlier, while talking to pressmen, Prime Minister Shastri threw a broad hint about such an unholby con-figuration. He was asked what he would do if the Findaris of Peking and Pindl make a sangam on Indian soil.

Shastri thought for a while and almost spelled out this sentence: Obviously we cannot fight alone! It had an ominous ring then, and knowing as we do the real Bolshevik ramparts, we will not be surprised if they force Shastri in that dangerous direction.

Earlier in this column we were ruminating over news-men and news presentation. While on this subject I want to follow up what friend Parakal wrote in last week's Patriot's Notebook about a journalist-leper called Richard Critchfield.

He was, on the point of being thrown out from New Delhi for his reporting a la CIA style. But then came in Chester Bowles. Chester did

not quite succeed in bowling over the Indian authorities.

But C. S. Jha did succeed. C. S. Jha is the silvery-haired Foreign Secretary of the Government of India. Currently he is at the United Nations.

One thought He was neck-deep in UN work. Obviously he had some spare time. One fine morning a cable arrived from him ordering that Critchfield should not be crucified. Critchfield is at once certified as a desirable guy.

I am really pained that while Critchfield is given all the indulgence the Press Information Bureau refuses to accredit certain correspondents who had had something to do with the Chinese news agency long ago, during the halcyon days of Sino-Indian friendship.

These correspondents have nothing but hatred for the current line of the Chinese leadership—and they have said so in their writings. Even then the dved-in-the-wool bureaucrats would not relent.

But what is astonishing is that Indira Gandhi should put the dhobi mark on the official recommendation. She perhaps thinks that her occasional visits to Moscow should convince every body of her bona fides as Nehru's daughter.

—INSIDER

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# AMRITSAR: Communists Help Defence Efforts

[New Age is publishing on this page extracts from the diary of Punjab Communist leader Satyapal Dang, describing the first four crucial days after the Pakistani aggression escalated to the Amritsar border and our troops crossed into West Punjab. Here is a story of the work done for the defence of the country by Communists, trade unions, women's organisations... with courage and devotion... in the border town of Amritsar and its industrial suburb, Chheharta.]

AS soon as news came that our forces had crossed the border near Amritsar a hurriedly called meeting of the Amritsar City Committee of the CPI took place at noon on September 6. All Communists were asked to go to factory gates and areas, to explain to the workers the position and what precautions to take in case of air-raids.

It was also decided to bring out a poster explaining how India was acting in self-defence, and the imperialist conspiracy behind the Pak aggression; and appealing to the people to face air raids with courage, to donate blood, to beware of the pro-American elements in the country.

## CPI's Poster

This poster came out on September 8 and was the first to be brought out by any political party. The Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union also came out with a poster on the same day. Both appealed to Sant Fateh Singh to change his decision of fast and self-immolation. The two posters were widely appreciated.

In the afternoon, in Chheharta (the industrial town near Amritsar, population 15000), about 100 workers of the Istri Sabha (women's organisation) met to consider the situation. Vimla Dang ex-

plained the situation and the tasks of women.

While the meeting was on, Pak planes came flying quite low. Our anti-aircraft guns went into action. Our fighters too chased the planes. There was no panic and the participants in the meeting took air-raid precautions. The Istri Sabha was the first to hold such a representative meeting and it served a very useful purpose.

## Ekta Union Meeting

In the evening the Ekta Union held a meeting of leading union militants of Chheharta at Ekta Bhawan, the union office. Parduman Singh, general secretary and Muni Lal Longotiwala, president of the union explained the tasks of the workers. The meeting had not ended when a Pak plane flew just a little above the roof of the Ekta Bhawan.

Pak planes flew over Amritsar and attempted bombardment a number of times including twice after the night had set in. Our fighters and anti-aircraft guns gave them hot. Three planes were brought down, one near Naraingarh in Chheharta.

Hundreds and hundreds of people not only from Chheharta but also from Amritsar came to see this plane. Those knowing English read with

their own eyes that it was a US plane.

The unexploded bombs and rockets were removed by the Army the next day in the noon. Many people went and saw them before that. Rockets were made in USA. Every where people were cursing the US imperialists.

The first batch of Ekta Union workers went to donate blood on September 8. Among these who did so were, the President and General Secretary of the Ekta Union and also some other office bearers.

## Blood Donations

Others who gave blood included Tuls Ram, District Secretary of the CPI and some Municipal Commissioners of Chheharta including 62 years old Jagat Ram Dutt, a veteran trade union leader. The Secretary of the Chheharta branch of the Communist Party, Milkhi Ram also donated blood.

The Ekta Union has opened two free canteens for the jawans—one in Patlighar

and one in Chheharta. Both have created a stir. Both started with bananas and cigarettes. The Chheharta one has grown and has now a large supply of chappatis, chanas etc.

Istri Sabha workers are playing a big part in running it along with Ekta Union workers. Women from all areas are supplying Chappatis. Muni Lal Langotiwala, President of Ekta Union is personally helping and is doing wonderful work. Employers are also contributing.

Chheharta canteen has become a centre where workers gather and shout slogans in support of armed forces. Workers, clerks, supervisors are donating liberally for the canteen.

Thirty four workers went for blood donations on the second day September 9. Twenty five of them were from New India Embroidery Mills, Chheharta. They were led by Jaswant Singh, Secretary of the Mills Committee of the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union.

When they asked for leave, the management raised no

difficulty. This Mill employs about 350 workers. Sixty-one have already registered their names to donate blood. The Union leaders from this Mill say that at least 100 would donate blood. This Mill is one of the best organised Units of the Ekta Union.

Working in the mills has improved considerably. But small factories were still not working on September 9. The small employers said that they cannot sell their cloth because business in the market has stopped. One reason is that market for art silk cloth manufactured here is outside Amritsar and no transport is available for sending the cloth.

## Wages Not Paid

Many small factory owners have not paid August wages to the workers. The Ekta Union intends to propose a tripartite meeting to discuss the matter. The government must find a way out.

Morale of the workers is high. There are instances in which workers have received telegrams from their parents in their villages asking them to quit Chheharta and come home but they are not obeying their parents.

People are getting used to Pak planes. In some cases, husbands have asked their women to go to villages but the wives have refused.

# DELHI TRADE UNIONS IN DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

NEW DELHI: The firm determination of the working class of Delhi to defend the motherland against Pakistani aggression was reiterated at a convention of trade unions in Delhi on September 11.

THE convention was attended by about trade union activists representing more than a hundred unions in the Indian capital. H. L. Parwana presided.

A resolution adopted by the convention called on

into the hands of imperialism which it professes to fight but also boosting the aggressive war of Pakistan against India and thus helping American imperialism indirectly.

The resolution also made the following points:

While defending the country against aggression, the working class expresses its determination to defend the cherished ideals of secularism, democracy and socialism. Workers should not lose sight of these ideals but strengthen them; all forces of communalism must be defeated and Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity strengthened.

It asked the workers to donate funds and blood and participate more effectively in civil defence measures and to enrol as volunteers to aid the people in the present emergency.

## Imperialists Condemned

The convention protested against the use of American tanks and planes by the Pakistani aggressors and urged the US government to restrain Pakistan from the use of these war weapons against India.

The British government's anti-Indian postures were condemned by the convention. The Government of India was called upon to withdraw from the Commonwealth.

As regards the Chinese attitude, the convention said: "By supporting Pakistani aggression the Chinese government, supported now by the Indonesian government, is not only playing

\* ON PAGE 10

# DELHI COMMUNISTS OFFER VOLUNTEERS

DELHI: In response to the appeal of the all-party defence committee set up by the Mayor of Delhi, the state council of the Communist Party has submitted a list of more than 500 volunteers who have offered to serve in any kind of civil defence work, to mobilise popular support and to work for communal unity.

THESE and many other Communist and trade union workers are already active in the areas, helping the people in the situation created by the Pakistani aggression. Many of them are working in the civil defence organisation set up by the Delhi Administration; others are working through area and mohalla organisations.

Communists in Shahdara have decided to set up a free canteen for jawans at the Shahdara railway station.

Communists are working in many areas, in close cooperation with patriotic, democratic and secular forces, including Congressmen.

The Mayor of Delhi has set up an all-party defence committee. Representatives of the Communist Party and the trade unions led by the AI-TUC have also been included in this committee, which keeps liaison with the official civil defence machinery. It has also decided to organise propaganda for communal unity and against profiteering and hoarding.

## CPI Chalks Out Plans

The state council of the Communist Party has chalked out a detailed programme of participation in the work of national defence. The Party has organised a number of public meetings, street-corner meetings and gate meetings at the factories to explain the policy of the Party in the present situation.

It is to be noted that

secular and democratic elements, particularly in the Congress, are also taking a similar position in their propaganda—in meetings and posters. Congressmen and Communists are also speaking in joint meetings organised by the Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement, etc. These meetings have been addressed by V. K. Krishna Menon, K. D. Malaviya, Aruna Asaf Ali, and others besides Communist Party leaders.

## Against Communalism

Political propaganda combined with concrete intervention by Congressmen and Communists, singly or collectively, has produced good results for communal harmony. There is a growing feeling among the people that internal peace must be maintained and that there should be no Hindu-Muslim conflict. But the secular elements will have to be on guard. Vigilance against communal elements will have to be constantly maintained.

In this connection it is worthy of note that a convention of representatives of more than one hundred trade unions affiliated to the AI-TUC, Bank Employees Federation, Newspaper Employees' Federation and Shop Employees' Federation, met on September 12 and adopted an appeal to the working class of Pakistan to fight against their bellicose ruling circles so

\* On Page 10

# WEST BENGAL: OFFICIALS SHUN POPULAR COOPERATION

## From Ajoy Dasgupta

CALCUTTA: With Pakistani air-raids and paratrooper dropping, the whole of West Bengal has become a front line, so to say.

COMPLETE black-out has been enforced in Calcutta industrial belt and other industrial areas. People in general have accepted the new situation calmly and with firmness. Elation and cautious optimism prevail with the news of successes of the jawans at the western front.

Complete success of black-out in Calcutta shows that the people have taken the matter up with all seriousness. But it cannot unfortunately be said of the government or the political parties. The government slept over the civil defence arrangements for quite long.

At the time of Chinese aggression some minded Congressmen and toadies were appointed civil defence wardens and some slit trenches were dug in public parks and vacant plots. By disuse and by dumping refuse, the slit trenches were filled in and the civil defence wardens did nothing to enlist the support

of the Party met on September 10, and decided that in order to keep up the fighting morale of the people, preserve communal harmony, help the administrative authorities in organising people's participation in civil defence measures, to detect and prevent spying and sabotage, to exercise vigilance against hoarding and profiteering and fulfill any other civic duty that arises out of need for the defence of the country, united people's committees should be organised in every locality with the broadest possible participation of all sections of the people.

## Ensure Broad Participation

The committee urged upon the government to give fullest scope to all parties for their active participation in civil defence measures instead of keeping non-official efforts confined within the ruling party alone. It noted with regret that large number of people were still kept under detention, even some of those who were arrested

during the tram fare increase resistance movement and some members of our Party have been recently arrested only because they are Muslims.

The committee called upon all Party units to hold meetings and demonstrations to rouse the people for active participation in defence efforts and to organise volunteers for civil defence, donate blood and take other steps. The committee urged the government to summon the Assembly immediately.

The district councils are elaborating and concretising these directives. Meetings are being organised. A well-attended meeting was held on September 12 at Barrackpore. Lists of blood-donors have been drawn up in different districts and localities and the Blood Banks have been contacted. Street-corner meetings were held at different places of Calcutta on September 12. Party members, and sympathisers who received ARP training during the Second World War are being mobilised.

Bhupesh Gupta and Somnath Lahiri on behalf of the Communist Party met Chief Minister P. C. Sen on September 13 to discuss the questions of popular participation in civil defence, release of detenus, and also the reported reduction of quantity of ration in Calcutta.

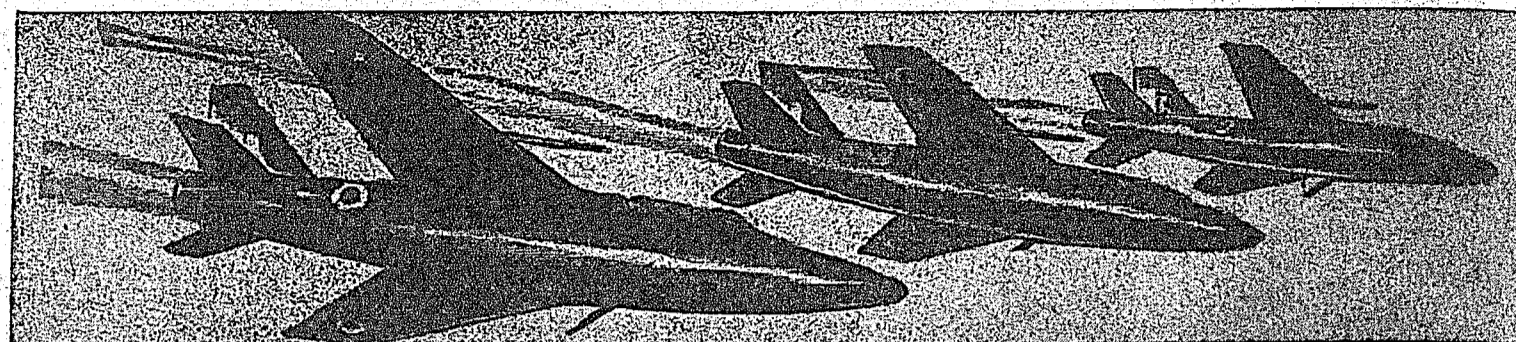
The working-class in the meantime has taken lead in the matter of national defence. Proposed strikes by tea garden workers and employees of the Hindustan Steel Plant at Durgapur have been called off and Durgapur workers are creating new high in production. The Provincial Bank Employees Association has abandoned the programme of direct action and has called upon all bankmen to participate in civil defence measures. Blood donations are also being organised by many trade unions.

The conference of Calcutta Mahila Samity pledged for the defence of the country. Students Joint Committee of Action has decided to organise a huge demonstration and also to donate blood on large scale.

-PARAKAL



Students and young workers in Jullundur protested on September 1 against American imperialist plots in Asia: supplying arms to Pakistan to commit aggression against India and suppressing Vietnamese people



Indian Gnats—Deadly and Decisive

# PAK'S TEETH ARE MADE IN USA

The US-Pak arms pact entered into in 1954 has already provided Pakistan with military hardware worth \$ 1,500 million dollars.

THE aid was mostly in the form of aircraft (fighters, bombers as well as transport), tanks, artillery and ammunition. A large number of Pakistani officers have also been trained in America. A submarine has also been provided to Pakistan by the US.

India did not join the American bloc and the total military aid it received from the US is worth just about \$100 million dollars. This includes the supply of arms, mainly small and medium guns for the infantry and artillery, during the Chinese aggression.

The US aid to India was confined mostly to radar and communications equipments, and some transport planes. India's request for aircraft (fighter and bomber), tanks and submarine was turned down by the US.

In addition to the US aid,

Pakistan also receives military aids from Britain, West Germany and several other countries included in the SEATO-CENTO blocs.

Pakistan's defence budget was Rs. 832 crores during 1964-65 and by next year it is to increase by a further sum of Rs. 136 crores.

The strength of the Pakistani armed forces is based on the American arms and equipment in all the three services.

An AP report from New York disclosed that almost all of Pakistan's combat aircraft came from the US. Among them are two units of 30 or so E-57 light jet bomber, about two 25-plane squadrons of F-104 supersonic fighters, four units of the older subsonic F-86 planes plus some T-33s which are trainers but can be used for reconnaissance. The Pakistan

Air Force also has about half a dozen C-130 jet-prop transport planes.

The Indian Air Force, despite its lack of modern aircraft, has proved to be more than a match for the PAF. The F-104 or F-35 fighters are quite deadly contraptions of war but their performance in the Indo-Pak air battle has shown that the IAF has more skill and superiority in manoeuvres.

The F-104s are fitted with 22 mm rotary cannon plus four Sidewinder infra-ray missiles or two Bullpup missiles, and three 1,000 lb bombs.

The IAF low-speed Gnats, Hunters, Vampires, etc., have out-performed the PAF's supersonic F-104 and Subsonic F-86 fighters.

In the tank battle also the Indian tank units have proved their superiority over the Pakistani units despite the fact that the latter is equipped with the Patton tanks which are

considered to be a formidable armour.

The Patton tanks (48 tons) have a cruising speed between 25 to 30 mph. It is fitted with 90 mm guns which have a range of 10 miles.

According to a London estimate, Pakistan's total tank strength is about 750. Out of these about 200 are Patton tanks, rest light and medium tanks including the Chaffes.

Another estimate has put the tank strength of Pakistan around 400, most of them deployed in West Pakistan. About a hundred of them were put into operation in Jammu; an entire tank brigade in the Lahore area.

India has not got any Patton tanks (except those captured). The hard core of our armoured units is formed by Centurion, Sherman and AMX tanks, none of which is as modern as the Patton tanks. The AMX is a light tank, whereas Sherman is a medium tank and the Centurion a heavy tank. They are of the second world war vintage but under the expert handling of Indian forces, they have dealt telling blows to Pakistan's superior and modern armour.

According to latest estimates, one-fourth of the Pakistan Air Force and 60 per cent of its tank strength have been liquidated by the Indian forces.

## AMERICAN BETRAYAL

THERE is no doubt that it is the US arms aid that has given Pakistan the strength to attack India. In fact, this was Pakistan's aim from the very beginning of the arms build-up.

Immediately after the US-Pak arms deal, the late Prime Minister Nehru had warned that such aid was likely to create conditions "which facilitate and encourage aggression".

Nehru pointed out that "the grant of aid by the United States to Pakistan creates a grave situation for India. It adds to our tensions. It makes it much more difficult to solve the problems which have confronted India and Pakistan."

Pointing out that the military aid constitutes "a form of intervention", Nehru declared that "the new intervention is likely to have more far-reaching results than the previous interventions."

In the typical US style of deceit, the then President of US, Eisenhower, wrote to Nehru assuring him that the US arms given to Pakistan would not be used against India "in any way". He further undertook to "thwart such aggression" if the aid was "misused".

Pakistan did not conceal its real design; its rulers maintained that they were free to use the arms as they liked and that is precisely the reason why they turned down the repeated "no-war pact" offer by India. The present aggression by Pakistan is being carried out solely on the strength of US arms.

# SOVIET UNION'S TRUE FRIENDSHIP FOR INDIA

By OUR POLITICAL COMMENTATOR

The Soviet Union has once again appealed for an end to the fighting between India and Pakistan. Another TASS statement has been published on September 13.

DEEPLY disturbed at the escalation of the war, the Soviet government has taken repeated initiatives to bring about peace. Public statements and declarations are accompanied by unceasing diplomatic activity by the Soviet Union's representatives both in Moscow and all over the world.

In these efforts, the Soviet Union can count confidently on the support of all who love peace, all anti-imperialists in all parts of the world.

The right reactionary forces inside this country have tried their hardest to depict the Soviet Union's peace efforts as indications of a departure from its previous policy in regard to India-Pakistan relations.

These rightist forces have sought to create the impression that the Soviet Union is "neutral", that it has gone back on its commitments of friendship and cooperation with India, in an opportunist effort to woo the Pakistan government away from its imperialist ring-masters.

## Times Which Try Men's Souls

The Indian people have, however, not been taken in by the anti-Soviet musketeers. These are times which indeed try men's souls, and our masses have not been found wanting. They have learnt not to be taken in by those who seek to take political advantage of the crisis. They have learnt to judge events and persons and governments on the basis of facts.

lists from bringing into their resolutions any direct or indirect condemnation of India.

Again, in the Security Council, the Soviet Union prevented any mandate being given to U Thant to go into what was described as the "political background" of the conflict—namely, the whole question of Kashmir and the so-called "right to self-determination" of the Kashmiri people.

Had the Soviet Union not stated categorically that it would veto any attempt to drag in the Kashmir issue in the manner wanted by the imperialists and Pakistan, the Security Council would have given a wider mandate to the UN Secretary General, which would have created insurmountable difficulties for India.

At this moment the Soviet Union can be counted on to veto any imperialist proposal for a UN "peace-keeping" force, and the bringing into our territory of foreign forces, under any pretext. It has warned against the imperialists' efforts to "reimpose the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism".

The latest TASS statement of September 13 is a clear condemnation of the interference of the Chinese government, without naming it.

## Meeting All Commitments

The Soviet Union has made it clear again and again during the recent period that it will meet all previous commitments entered into by it in regard to defence and economic assistance to India.

The Soviet Union, in all its statements and through its press, has reiterated its firm stand that Kashmir is an integral part of India. In the Security Council, the Soviet representative referred to Kashmir as India's state of Jammu and Kashmir. Similarly the TASS statement of September 7 made this clear.

In the Security Council meetings of September 4 and 6, it was the unambiguous stand of the Soviet Union which prevented the imperia-

The record is clear. The pro-imperialists can do their worst. There is no government in the world, which has demonstrated its friendship so clearly as has the Soviet government.

## Devotion To Peace

The anti-Sovieters persist. They argue: true friendship would mean total condemnation of the Pakistan aggression, and this the Soviet Union has not done.

The answer can be read in the Soviet statements themselves. The Soviet Union seriously wishes to be able to play a role in helping India and Pakistan to solve their difference without the interference of the imperialists. It has gone to the length of offering its good offices for a settlement.

The Soviet Union has said: No government has any right to add fuel to the flames. It refers obviously to governments like those of the Chinese People's Republic and Indonesia, as well as to the imperialists and their allies like Turkey and Iran, who have all come out provoking the Ayub dictatorship to continue its aggression.

In order to be able to use its influence with all concerned, the Soviet Union has not considered it useful to make public condemnation of the Pakistani aggression. But it HAS conveyed its views to the Pakistan government, clearly and emphatically.

On the most crucial issues, and particularly that of the status of Kashmir as an integral part of India, the Soviet

Union has taken a categorical position. And that is what is of the greatest value at this moment.

Since India itself deeply desires an end to the fighting, the Soviet appeals are more than welcome in this country.

That the Indian people insist on the vacation of the Pakistani aggression and adequate guarantees against further infiltration and aggression, does not in any way prevent them from welcoming at the same time the Soviet calls for peace, and appreciating the Soviet Union's offer of its good offices.

NEW AGE Correspondent in Moscow, reporting this week-end on the Soviet efforts for peace, says that Indian Ambassador T. N. Kaul told pressmen after meeting Soviet Premier Kosygin on September 11 that he found the Soviet attitude "constructive, peaceful, positively understanding and helpful".

## Good Offices Offer Welcome

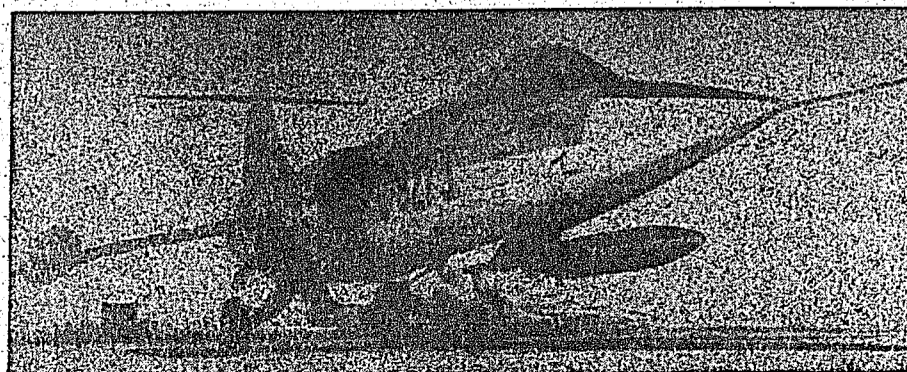
Our correspondent adds: "Ambassador Kaul is believed to have expressed the appreciation of the Indian Government of the Soviet offer of good offices. India looks upon the Soviet offer as an indication of our traditional friendship and our common aims."

The Soviet Union wants the end of aggression as much as we do, and all its efforts are directed towards this end. That is why it has the full support of the Indian people, who value highly the friendship of the Soviet Union and its steadfast attachment to the cause of peace.

(September 14)



F-104—one of America's champion planes...no match for Bangalore Gnats



C-130 Transport planes at the service of PAF

## NAPALM: DEVIL'S OWN WEAPON

THE Pakistani aggressors are using NAPALM bombs against the Indian people. The world is still silent and has not yet realised the meaning of this criminal action by the Ayub dictatorship. There must be some who do not yet believe that this can be true.

But those who know in their bones, as the Indian people do, that behind the Ayub dictatorship stand the imperialist powers, do not find it difficult to understand why napalm bombs are used in this war of aggression by the Pakistani armed forces.

For, the Americans have been using napalm bombs against Asians, on every possible occasion: in Japan, at the end of the Second World War, in Korea and in Vietnam... What is so sacred about Indian flesh that the American butchers should not use it against us. Our skins are as dark as those of our other Asian brothers. Our skins burn as fiercely too...

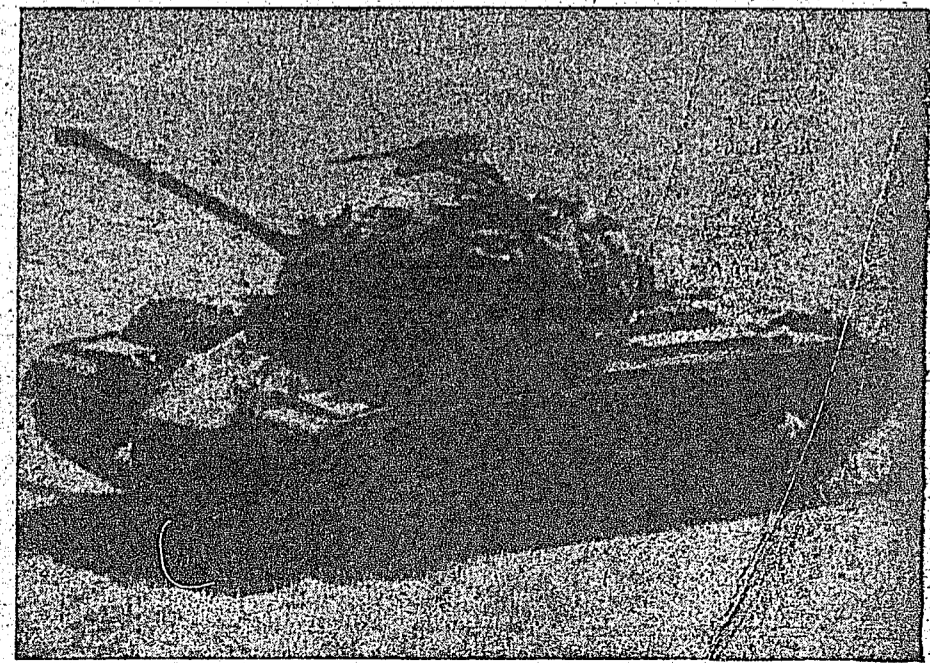
What is napalm? Do you know? It is better that you do, for you will learn to fight better the imperialists who

produce such weapons and provide them to their puppets to experiment on human bodies in this land of ours.

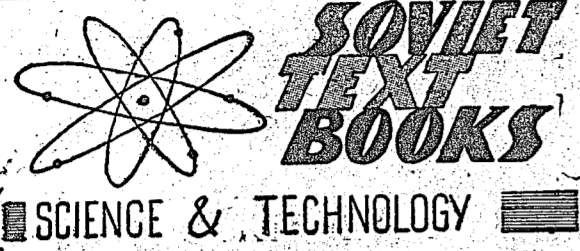
"Napalm is perhaps one of the most appalling weapons of destruction yet devised by man," says the Times of India. This is putting it mildly. The world wants to ban this weapon, for it is nothing but a weapon of human torture. It is like bringing the devil's own burning hell to earth.

The napalm bomb is an incendiary bomb filled with petroleum jelly. In its gelatinous state, petroleum has the capacity to burn furiously and for long periods of time. Moreover, napalm sticks to whatever it comes into contact with.

This scientific description means that it burns the flesh of its victims as nothing else can. And it makes no distinction between men, women and children... so far only the Americans have earmarked it for use against those whose skin is dark like ours...



US Patton Tank—"Unbeatable" beaten



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# HAYAT

URDU WEEKLY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Write to

THE MANAGER, HAYAT WEEKLY, 5, RANI JHANSI ROAD, NEW DELHI

## A WORD FOR MENON

WAR leaves behind many a legacy, most of them packed with horror and tragedy. But it also leaves behind legends of valour and glory which shine in the years to come. And like individuals, institutions, organisations and concepts too are tested through the flames of war. Some emerge with greater glory while others are charred and smoked out.

What are the likely legacies of the Indo-Pak war, and its impact on our institutions—what are the lessons it leaves behind?

It is too early perhaps to attempt a comprehensive answer but this column would attempt to 'point' out some distinct figures on the national scene.

SEATO and CENTO—instances—can easily be named as among the first bodies which will be consumed by the flames of the Indo-Pak war.

Already obsolete, their formal and complete disintegration is now round the corner. Indians will never forget the murder weapons which these military pact organisations provided to the Pakistani regime.

That successive governments in Pakistan, and more so its military hierarchy, built up over the years a vision of war and destruction against their neighbour, India, is largely to be ascribed to these detested military pact bodies.

Had it not been for them,

India and Pakistan would probably have taken recourse to good neighbourly methods for settling their disputes.

With the western military alliance also to be bruised and battered by the Indo-Pak conflict are those who have adopted military alignment with the west as the sheet-anchor of their policy, as their foremost slogan. Their guardian angel is the Swatantra Party.

I have before me three issues of the Swatantra mouthpiece, SWARAJYA, covering the period since August 5, when Pakistan's military adventure in Kashmir began in the form of a massive movement of armed, disguised, raiders infiltrating Kashmir valley.

In vain does one search through the pages of this paper to find any 'echo' of the grave crisis which Pakistani challenge of arms presented to this country and its future.

Oh no! One cannot expect the Swatantras to reflect the danger to India from a segment of the western military alliance, they would prefer to close their eyes completely whenever the threat comes.

The biggest thing to emerge from this crisis has been the victory and glory of patriotic self-reliance.

The whole country hums with praise for the GNATS and the heroic Indian pilots who have manned these machines in the face of the much-hoisted American F-86 Sabre jets and F-104 Starfighters.

It is through self-reliance that Indian armour and men

have bettered the challenge of the supposedly superior American arms.

GNATS have come to the IAF in a steady stream from the Hindustan Aircraft Factory in Bangalore, and very soon, with Soviet cooperation this country will soon be producing the MIGs.

The SHAKTIMAN trucks about which there was so much hue and cry in the days gone by, in the jute press as well as among the reactionary parties, just because it was associated with Krishna Menon, have proved their worth in the fiercest days of fighting.

So also have the ordnance factories which have produced the bulk of the equipment used by our troops.

The seeds sown earlier—and Krishna Menon's name is forever linked with this great endeavour—have given their fruits now.

Self-reliance and India's own factories and their workers have stood by in the days of trial—there's the triumph, that is the lesson.

—BHIMA

## SPOTLIGHT

# C. Achutha Menon Writes

## on the New Situation Developing in Kerala

A thaw has begun to set in the political situation in the state. The dissolution of the Assembly and imposition of President's rule had a very demoralising effect on the mass movement in the state. This had affected not only parties like ours which had fared badly in the elections but also parties which had scored success beyond expectations and had congratulated themselves on such success.

The agitation started by the Marxists by themselves as well as jointly with other parties for the release of political prisoners could evoke only a very poor response from the people.

The joint meetings and demonstrations called for April 6 by joint appeal of all the left parties (the Marxist CP, the CPI, the SSP, the KTP, the RSP and the KSP) together with prominent individuals were a failure because nowhere could a gathering of even thousand people be got together on that day.

hostility and came to the meetings, listened carefully and in some places even contributed to the funds of the jatha.

And on the day the jatha reached the state capital, we were able to mobilise about 5500 volunteers to offer a one-day token satyagraha in front of the government offices all over the state.

The jatha also helped to bring about a definite turn towards unity among the leftist parties of the state. This was reflected immediately in the joint efforts put forth by all of them to intervene in the hunger strike of the Marxist detenus and bring about a settlement of that strike, forcing the government to concede some of their demands with regard to treatment inside jail.

All these parties—the CPI, the Marxist CP, the SSP, the KTP and the KSP have joined together along with the KSTUC, the UTUC and the HMS to organise a Sangram Samiti on the all-India pattern.

All the above could be achieved because we touched the real issues of the people. The central demands that the jatha put forth were statutory rationing in Kerala with 12 ounces daily rice ration; a just share for Kerala in the Fourth Plan; release of political prisoners.

Now these issues, especially the first

### Marxists Decide to Go It Alone

The Marxist Communists concluded they could put up a better show by themselves. So they quietly separated themselves from the joint committee and called for a protest satyagraha on their own in July. Much against their expectations this also proved to be a very poor affair.

It was estimated that altogether only about 3400 satyagrahis could be mobilised to conduct a squatting satyagraha for one day in front of the collectorates and taluk offices in the state.

The black flag demonstration which was organised throughout the state by this party on the occasion of the visit of Union Home Minister G. L. Nanda to Trivandrum for the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on July 26 was no better. The demonstration in the capital city which was the biggest of all consisted of only 350 volunteers; in other towns batches of 25 or 50 or 60 did it.

Nor was the position any better in the case of other parties. If the Marxists who scored about twelve and a half lakh votes in the elections and came out as the largest single party in the legislature could command only such a poor mobilisation, nothing need be said of other parties.

Why Lack of Interest?

Why was this so? Is it because people had lost all political interest and they were prepared to take anything lying down without the least protest? Or is it because the people of Kerala had an over dose of politics and were disgusted with it?

We in the Communist Party felt that none of the above were correct explanations. No doubt, the split in the ranks of the radical forces, especially the Communist Party, in the state had affected peoples morale. But it was also true that if we took up real issues directly affecting the livelihood of the masses, that could not only serve to unite the left forces but also raise the tempo of the mass movement. This according to us was the key to the revival of the mass movement.

That this was a correct analysis was proved beyond a shadow of doubt by the experience of the jatha. Every where the jatha was received with tremendous goodwill and people of all shades of political opinion from the followers of the Muslim League and Kerala Congress to those of the Marxist Communist Party listened to the speeches with rapt attention, bought the pamphlets and donated willingly for the expenses of the jatha.

So far as the Marxists were concerned, there was a distinct change in the attitude of a considerable section among them. They shed their

ration of eight ounces to Kerala people while he could not guarantee it even to Madras. What does that 'even' mean? It is the Minister's view that Madras people have an inborn right to eat more rice than Kerala people?

Kerala can produce only about half its rice requirements. This is not because there is any resistance to the production of rice, but simply because there is no more land fit for paddy cultivation.

As for intensive cultivation, although there is scope for increasing per acre production in Kerala, as there is everywhere else in India, the present average per acre production of rice is not bad at all. It is about 1200 pounds per acre which is about three times the all-India average.

This means that if Kerala is not producing all her rice requirements, it is in spite of her best efforts; we are also willing to take to rationing.

The people of Kerala cannot understand why this at least cannot be done. The per capita availability of foodgrains per day is, according to Food Minister C. Subramaniam, 14.4 ounces and he himself admits that for rice-eating states at least 8 ounces of the daily ration should be in the form of rice.

That is precisely what the MPs from Kerala demanded of the Minister. But he pointedly refused. It is not difficult to understand the difficulty of the Minister.

### All the Rice is With Hoarders

There is rice in the country, but not in the control of the government. It is with the hoarders and the blackmarketeers who have taken the Congress government

### Foreign Exchange Earnings

Moreover Kerala is earning foreign exchange to the tune of about Rs. 50 crores by export of crops, tea, pepper, lemon grass oil, etc. which goes to the benefit of Indian economy as a whole.

Justice therefore demands that the central government guarantee to this state her minimum requirements of foodgrains.

The same is the case with regard to plan allotments. Although three five year plans have already been completed, the people of Kerala have a feeling that Kerala has been neglected throughout and she has not benefited to any appreciable degree by the plans. Her problems are many.

With the highest density of population and the lowest land-man ratio, with the largest unemployed population, with a proliferation of cottage industries like cashew and coir of the lowest productivity, there is no salvation for Kerala except through rapid industrialisation and diversification of the economy.

This cannot be done except through sustained and purposive planned efforts. A number of big and key industries in the public sector which will help to start a number of ancillary small industries thereby initiating a process of industrialisation, must be located in Kerala.

But big industries in the public sector are in the central sector and Kerala has been starved of central sector allotments during all these years.

# CPI RALLIES PEOPLE OVER LIVE ISSUES

Govt Senses People's Mood

The food situation was very bad in the June-July days. It was at that time that there was an outbreak of cholera epidemic in many parts of the state.

Immediately people became restive, the government sensed the situation and immediately increased the rice ration from 160 grammes per adult per day to 190 grammes, with a promise to raise it further to 200 grammes from August.

For the time being there is some relief, but people know that this is temporary because the government has made it clear that from September 11 it is going to revert to the old 160 grammes for an indefinite period.

Unlike in some other parts of India, the people of Kerala generally and all political parties are not averse to

firmly in their grip. The Ministers dare not therefore take over the hoarded stock and nationalise the wholesale trade in foodgrains, which is the only way to assure deficit areas like Kerala and urban centres a minimum ration.

Before Subramaniam became the Minister for Food, there was the southern rice zone consisting of the surplus state of Andhra, the self-sufficient state of Madras and the deficit state of Kerala. It was a very sensible arrangement, the surplus rice from Andhra going to Madras and Kerala.

But this was upset and Andhra and Madras were each made into a zone by itself. This was obviously due to the pressure from the Chief Ministers of Andhra and Madras who thought that by this means they could solve their problems without recourse to rationing and control.

The Food Minister is adding insult to injury by his offensive references to Kerala. He asks why people in Kerala insist upon rice, why can't they eat fish and tapioca?

On another occasion he remarked that he could not promise to give a

### Starving For Industries

The total investment in these upto the end of the Third Plan will be barely Rs. 25 crores out of a total investment of Rs 1325 crores in the central sector.

The result has been that Kerala has remained backward and none of her problems are nearer solution today than they were on the morrow of independence. How can anybody blame the people of Kerala if they are unable to see a national approach, in this background?

It is because of the above reasons that the slogans of the jatha met with an immediate response from the people, for these things were deeply burnt into their innermost consciousness.

That is why all the left parties have joined together, for they feel that by themselves each one of them is powerless and only through a great national effort can they bring about a real change in the affairs of the State.

(This article was written before Pakistan launched its invasion against our country and therefore does not take into consideration the post-September 1 developments)

# TWO STATES: ROOTS OF CONTRADICTIONS

**THE PARADOX OF INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS pp 48**  
**KASHMIR ANSWERS PAKISTAN pp 26**

THE above two pamphlets have been brought out by the Publications Division, Government of India, a few days ago. They are not only timely but also an effective rebuttal of the Pakistani canard against India.

The first pamphlet is an examination of the India-Pakistan relations over the last 18 years while the latter deals with the latest Pakistani aggression.

As is well-known, armed infiltrators were given to understand by the Pakistani rulers that once they are inside India, the people of Kashmir would rise in revolt against the Indian government and the "liberation" of Kashmir would thus become an easy task.

Facts showed that this was not to be. The people of Kashmir, most of whom are Muslims, have far greater faith in the secular democracy in India than the Muslim military dictatorship in Pakistan.

The pamphlet deals in detail with the "Operation Gibraltar"—the Pakistani plan of sending guerrilla and commando groups into Kashmir for creating confusion and chaos.

The people of Kashmir did not welcome these "Gibraltarians" with open arms as "liberators"; on the contrary whenever they found out any such groups, they contacted the security forces. But for such cooperation of the people, it would have been extremely difficult for the Indian security forces to effectively deal with the Pakistani infiltrators.

The Pamphlet contrasts the Congress nationalism with the Muslim League's narrow aims; analyses the two-nation theory; the direct action—the communal riots perpetrated by fanatics leading to terrible loss of property and lives, which was repeated many times over in the post-partition days.

The Pakistani plan of "indirect" action in Kashmir failed necessitating Pakistan to come out in the open with its regular army on September 1, thereby exposing its design of aggression.

Its army crossed the international boundary at the Chhamb area. By its own action, Pakistan proved the falsity of the plea which Bhutto made that what was happening in Kashmir "could not by any stretch of imagination be attributed to Pakistan".

The second pamphlet is a brilliant exposition of the Pakistani policy in relation not only to India but also to the world.

Divided into four chapters: Genesis of Pakistan; India's Quest For Peace; A Study In Contrast; and India, Pakistan and the World, this pamphlet makes a lucid analysis of the facts and realities in India-Pakistan relations.

Here are two countries, which are in reality one country; the people are of the same stock—for over a thousand years, Muslims have lived in India and they have completely integrated themselves into this nation like many other people.

The mixture of different peoples, cultures and civilisations has made what India is today—it is not a Hindu state as many try to make it out. Behind the great national liberation struggle of India was the united effort of the people of various religions, not of Hindus or Muslims alone.

The pamphlet contrasts the Congress nationalism with the Muslim League's narrow aims; analyses the two-nation theory; the direct action—the communal riots perpetrated by fanatics leading to terrible loss of property and lives, which was repeated many times over in the post-partition days.

Of course, the pamphlet, brought out as it is by the government department, has nothing to say about imperialist designs which activate serious conflicts between the two countries. It does not mention that the birth of Pakistan was the outcome of Muslim religious fanaticism, whipped up by the British imperialists.

Pakistan, which is a cruel symbol of religious fanaticism, is still being guided, more aggressively than before, basically on an anti-India principle. Essentially, it is not a peace-loving state; its rulers suppressing all democratic movement under heel, have identified themselves with the war-bloc.

But for this serious shortcoming, the pamphlet could really become a first rate analysis of India-Pakistan relations. Nevertheless, it is a useful and timely pamphlet.

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE

# NATIONALISE OIL INDUSTRY

## LETTERS

THE Petroleum Minister, speaking recently with reference to the Oil Industry in Calcutta, pronounced that he is "against monopoly in any sector—public or private". Apart from declaring that the Oil Industry would not be "nationalised", he made a fantastic statement that he wanted the private Oil Companies "for competition."

By such pronouncements and statements, is not the Minister going against the declared policy of the government that the Public Sector in Oil should hold the commanding heights in both refining and distribution? In the wake of the foreign Oil Companies' defiant refusal to handle the petroleum products imported from rupee areas, Kabir is trying to assure the foreign Oil Companies that they would have full freedom to continue exploitation of our country.

On September 1, 1965, in Rajya Sabha, the House was unanimous in its criticism of the western Oil monopolists, who created artificial scarcity of oil products in May and June. The Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals, administered a warning to private Oil Companies, and said that the government had enough powers to deal with them, and he did not think that the extreme step of nationalisation would be necessary "AT THIS STAGE".

The "stage" has been reached now—the strategy of defence to meet the threats on our borders—whether in sweltering jungles, snow-bound mountain ranges, sandy deserts or desolate marshes—is vitally linked with oil.

For proper and constant flow of arms and supplies—to maintain the lines of communication—nationalisation of the private oil industry IS A MUST.

A nationalised oil industry—the national trust for economic prosperity—should be made to work in close cooperation with the defence forces to help our gallant jawans to keep aloft the nation's flag.

S. N. SIKHA  
President, Caltex Staff Union

SUPPORT TO  
DEFENCE  
EFFORTS

INDIA is at the moment passing through a grave crisis due to the aggression committed by Pakistan on our country. On behalf of the fifty thousand organised insurance employees of the country we join the entire nation in condemning this aggression and pledge all possible help and cooperation to the government in repelling aggression.

As working people we have been asked by the government to abjure the path of industrial strife till the emergent situation persists. While readily responding to the call of the leaders of the country, we do hope that similar reciprocity will come from the management of the Life Insurance Corporation of India and other insurers.

For quite some time past, it will be recalled, the issue of automation of clerical work by installing Electronic Computers has been the cause of wide-spread unrest and strife in the Life Insurance Corporation of India. We hope, the government will not permit the Life Insurance Corporation of India to undertake the project of automation of clerical work.

We would also hope, sternest measures would be taken against profiteers, hoarders and black-marketeers who are utilising the crisis situation to their advantage and all steps would be taken to curb down the soaring prices.

We are confident, as on past occasions, the insurance employees would not lag behind and would put in their very best in upholding national honour, dignity and integrity.

SAROJ CHAUDHURY  
General Secretary  
All-India Insurance  
Employees' Association

DEFEAT  
PAK GAME

THE country is passing through a critical period. The gigantic task that the government has taken to defeat the nefarious game of the Pakistan Government requires the active and unreserved support by all the people of the country.

The Insurance Employees in this hour of trial and tribulation cannot remain passive spectators. In this national task, the insurance employees along with other sections of the people stand solidly behind the Government and the Nation. They would feel it a great privilege to undergo all possible sacrifices.

We call upon all Insurance Employees throughout the Zone to stand by the Government and the Nation and to make all possible sacrifices till the task taken up by the Government is fulfilled.

The supreme need of the hour is to produce more so that the Nation at all spheres is enriched. So we call upon the Insurance Employees throughout the Zone to work more, to support all steps of the Government and to make all possible attempts to mobilise all section of the people behind the government for defending national prestige and integrity.

New Delhi  
RANJIT GHOSH  
General Secretary,  
Northern Zone Insurance  
Employees' Association



## BOOK REVIEW

of a plebiscite on the specious plea that the people of Kashmir are mostly Muslims and therefore it must be integrated to Pakistan.

The fact is that India and Pakistan are now two nations but not on the basis of religion. If that would be the basis, then, as M. C. Chagla pointed out, 50 million Muslims of India would become "aliens in their own homes". Pakistan is neither secular nor democratic.

The pamphlet brings into sharp focus India's magnanimity in regard to Pakistan as is shown in the handing over by India to Pakistan Rs 550 million as its share of the cash balances of undivided India; the canal waters dispute; the repeated no war offers etc.

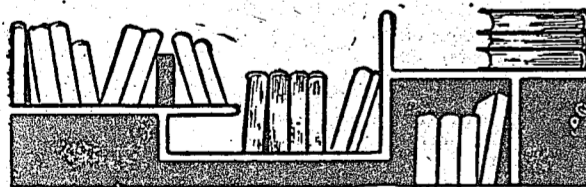
But Pakistan has been stabbing India in the back, of which the aggression in Kutch and Kashmir are just two recent examples.

Of course, the pamphlet, brought out as it is by the government department, has nothing to say about imperialist designs which activate serious conflicts between the two countries. It does not mention that the birth of Pakistan was the outcome of Muslim religious fanaticism, whipped up by the British imperialists.

Pakistan, which is a cruel symbol of religious fanaticism, is still being guided, more aggressively than before, basically on an anti-India principle. Essentially, it is not a peace-loving state; its rulers suppressing all democratic movement under heel, have identified themselves with the war-bloc.

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—SADHAN MUKHERJEE



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# In The Land of Dollars Higher Education Too Expensive For Many

A little boy of about three years stands at the side of the road looking attentively at the happy graduates in long robes and flat square caps who have just received their diplomas.

THIS photograph was recently published in the American NEW YORK POST. The newspaper writes that it is time for the youngster to begin thinking of how to have money so that he could put on such a robe and cap twenty years hence.

The NEW YORK POST, in an article together with the photograph touches on one of the most serious problems of present-day America. A problem which worries many millions of US citizens—how to get a higher education in the "richest capitalist country".

What worries American parents who dream of seeing their children as college and university students?

The NEW YORK POST gives the following answer to this question: there is a very simple and threatening fact. While higher education is becoming more and more necessary to compete for a place under the sun in the modern world, tuition fees at colleges or universities soar upwards, leaving behind all the possibilities of a rank and file family to pay the expenses.

In the past ten years the cost of education in the US went up more than two-fold and will increase by another 100 per cent in the next few years. Whereas in 1940 the cost of a college education was about 5,000 dollars, now after 25 years, it is 13,000 dollars.

The US Department of Education inspected 65 Colleges in the country with the aim of establishing the students' social status. It turned out that only 16 per cent of 7,344 students are workers' children. This is not surprising. A college or university education costs of an average 2,500 dollars a year, and in some universities it has reached a record level of 3,500 dollars, now after 25 years, it is 13,000 dollars.

It is not for nothing that the American trade union newspaper PACKINGHOUSE WORKER wrote that the US educational system catered to the needs of the well-to-do families and all kinds of barriers were placed in the way of workers' children who want to receive a higher education.

Things are not much better regarding secondary education. Every year 250 thousand American teenagers leave school and go to look for work, for it is necessary to earn a living in order to help the family.

Francis Kennel, Head of the Education and Social Maintenance Board, had to admit at a conference on education held in Washington that the state schools, which according to American educational super-

visors themselves, do not give school children even the minimum of the necessary knowledge, fall to the share of workers' families.

According to President Johnson's recent admission, 85 thousand primary and secondary school teachers in the USA have an insufficient qualification; 170 thousand have only higher school diplomas.

The low salaries of school teachers lead to the fact that fewer and fewer young people choose this "not very profitable" profession. In Michigan, one of the richest states in the US, the salaries of secondary school teachers are lower than that of charwomen. Therefore it is not surprising that people without knowledge and qualifications often teach the growing generation.

The youngster shown on the NEW YORK POST photograph will really have to surmount many barriers on the way to the sacred Master's degree.

Mort Levy, Director of the Teamwork Foundation, an American organisation whose object is to struggle against illiteracy, spoke about this. According to him there are about 63 million people in the US, or every third American's reading skills are below the average.

Children of well-to-do parents attend private schools, where they receive a good education. The state schools, which according to American educational super-

# AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

## SUDAN : OPEN INTERVENTION

SUDAN is planning to publish materials and documents confirming the widely-known foreign intervention in its internal affairs.

During the recent period, the Sudanese troops have captured heaps of foreign arms, including artillery, which have found their way into the southern parts of the country through Leopoldville Congo.

The South Sudanese separatist rebels have received training from experts known to be Americans smuggled from Leopoldville.

Earlier reports say that US combat plans have strafed Sudanese towns and villages and detachments of white mercenaries led by Americans have been fighting against Sudanese troops.

These assaults being mounted upon the sovereignty and integrity of Sudan are attempts on the parts of colonialists to give concrete shape to their plans of splitting Sudan and grafting the dismembered parts of the country on Leopoldville Congo, "their own Republic" ruled over by their "trusted guys".

This explains the open intervention in favour of South Sudanese separatists and the NATO pledge to support them.

## "EXOTIC" SNAPSHOT

A MEMBER of "US AID" mission in Lagos decided to call on one of his relatives in the Nigerian town of Akure.

As a memento of his visit he wanted to take back with him some photos, which could really be called "African" and should confirm his camera skill as well as his capacity to be a resourceful film producer. He sought around and managed to persuade twelve school boys and girls to take off their

## TREASURE HOUSE

THE people of Congo (Brazzaville) now have a treasure-house of their culture: in accordance with the decision of the Government of the Republic, the National Museum has been opened in the capital last week.

Speaking at the inaugural ceremony, the Minister of Culture and Art, Georges Manti, called the museum "an important milestone in the history of Congolese art", and an institution "which will preserve the cultural heritage of the people."

While based in Brazzaville, the museum will have in future permanent displays in other towns of the country.

## AFGHANISTAN ELECTIONS

OUR neighbour country, Afghanistan, has been through a week of elections: new representatives to the "Valusi Jirgah", the lower house of the Afghan Parliament, have been completed. The Jirgah has 215 seats.

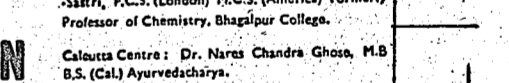
The Afghan Parliament consists of two chambers: the "Valusi Jirgah (People's Jirgah)" and the "Mishrano Jirgah" (the Jirgah of Elders). Members of the lower house are elected for a 4-year term.

On October 14, both the houses will have their first joint sittings.

—DARSHAK

## HAPPY FAMILY

Regular use of "Sadhana Dasan" made of Indian herbs and plants, according to Ayurvedic method, removes foul smell emanating from the mouth, cures all kinds of dental diseases, strengthens the 'Enamel' of teeth. Teeth become healthy, strong and bright, the face also glows with smile. That is why, we use the wonderful dental powder



## SADHANA DASAN

Adhyaksha Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghosh, M.A. Ayurvedic, Satri, F.C.S. (London) M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nares Chandra Ghosh, M.B.S.S. (Cal.) Ayurvedacharya.



## THREE CONTINENTS GET TOGETHER

## SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE IN HAVANA, JANUARY 1966

By M. KALIMULLAH

Havana, capital of revolutionary Cuba will play host to a historic conference from January 3 to 10, 1966. On the invitation of the United Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution, the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is scheduled to take place on these dates—a stirring start to the new year.

THIS decision was taken by the Preparatory Committee for the Conference, which met in Cairo on September 1 and 2, 1965.

This is the first time that the anti-imperialist forces from the three continents are joining together to carry the battle to the very doors of the world's biggest imperialist power.

This decision was not easy and it was the result of a very long and bitter struggle. The Afro-Asian Solidarity movement, from its inception, is trying to forge unity with all the anti-imperialist forces in all the continents. In its Council meeting in 1961, it took a decision to extend this movement to Latin America. During the last four years many efforts were made to give shape to this decision, but it was frustrated because so many obstacles were put by some of the forces working inside the movement.

## Chinese Tactics

The delegates from China, supported by those from Indonesia and Japan, opposed this approach at every stage. They opposed the inclusion of any reference to peaceful coexistence, to nuclear tests and disarmament in the agenda, but they could not secure a single supporter.

They literally challenged the proposal to invite progressive international organisations and solidarity committees of the Socialist countries as observers, on the plea that they are not anti-imperialist.

The Chinese delegate went to the extent of charging that these organisations are interfering in the internal affairs of Algeria, and that they issued statements against the present regime. But to their dismay, it was the Algerian representative, the Ambassador of Algeria in UAR, who refuted these charges and politely but strongly chided them for such methods. The meeting approved the whole list of observers prepared by the Afro-Asian Secretariat, and which was adopted at the Winneba Conference.

The climax of the meeting was reached, when the Chinese, Indonesian and the Japanese delegations challenged the right of the Latin American delegations to prepare and submit the list of participants from Latin America. The Venezuelan delegate, on behalf of the whole Latin American delegation submitted a list of democratic organisations from different countries which would be asked to set up broad solidarity committees.

The Chinese delegation, along with its two allies, not only submitted an alternative list, it opposed inclusion of Communist Parties in the list.

In fact they proposed the reactionary Peronist Party in place of the Argentinian Communist Party. This move really exhausted the patience of the Cuban and other Latin American and African delegates.

They tellingly exposed the organisations which were proposed by China and its friends. Most of them were fictitious. One of them was under the control of CIA agents, and some were interested more in splitting the democratic movements than fighting imperialism.

Most of the delegates specially those from Guinea, Tanzania, India and the USSR demanded that the representation of the Latin American countries should be left to members of the Preparatory Committees of that area, and no other country should interfere. This proposal was adopted.

## POISON GAS AGAIN IN SOUTH VIETNAM

American forces have again started using on a wide scale poison gas against the population in Vietnam.

ACCORDING to the NEW YORK TIMES (September 8), a spokesman of the US command admitted in Saigon on September 7 that in an operation near Quihnon, the battalion commander "used tear-gas to drive women and suspected Vietcong from caves and tunnels."

But that is only part of the admission. What has not been admitted is the fact that poison gas, other than tear-gas, is now being used by the US as combat weapons.

Use of poison gas is contrary to all international law and treaties. Its use by the US in Vietnam can only be compared with Nazi Wehrmacht's use of gas as a means of destruction and injury.

This is a monstrous crime against humanity but the American war-lords continue to commit this offence regarding the protests of the world opinion.

Along with this gas warfare, US has already increased its strength of combat troops; the figure is now estimated at 150,000. Peace in Vietnam is nowhere in sight.

## US Spurs New Test-Ban

THE real face of US imperialism could again be seen in sharp relief at the 18-nation disarmament meeting currently being

held in Geneva. A proposal on behalf of the neutral nations, sponsored by the UAR, calling for a halt in underground nuclear tests above a certain size and voluntary moratorium on blasts below that size, has been spurned by the US. The Soviet Union offered to accept the proposal immediately.

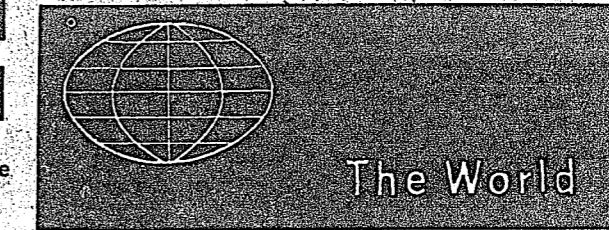
The partial test-ban treaty signed in Moscow in 1963 relates to nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. It does not cover underground tests.

The American refusal to accept the neutral proposal and its insistence on the so-called "inspection" are indicative of the American designs on the entire question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, further tests and general disarmament.

It is wellknown that on-the-spot inspections are now no longer necessary with the development of instruments which can detect such tests from a long distance. Both the US and the USSR can detect such tests right from their homelands.

That America is not really keen to effect an agreement on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons or further tests is also borne out clearly by the draft it has presented to the disarmament committee on this subject.

This draft, as has been pointed out by the Soviet



delegate, not only does not preclude the danger of further spread of nuclear weapons but is directly aimed at legalising the creation of the NATO multilateral force with the participation of West Germany.

## de Gaulle's Threat

FRENCH President de Gaulle's threat to quit NATO has created consternation among the NATO members. It has also created considerable confusion in Washington and posed a dilemma for Pentagon: what to do?

If France quits NATO, then the US will have to take back its entire military machine stationed in France, either voluntarily or under French orders.

The NATO military system, directed against socialist countries, has been built up over the last twenty years and Paris is its headquarters. After the end of French "hospitality"; it will require a lot of efforts to instal the intricate system in another country, expeditiously and effectively.

## The World

the next choice as the NATO headquarters. The Wilson ministry then will truly and fully become an American appendage turning Britain into an American subsidiary.

## Thieves' Kitchen

AN interesting court battle involving West German policy is now in the offing.

Professor Friz Baade, Social Democrat member of the Bundestag (West German Parliament) has filed a defamation suit against the State Secretary Von Hase.

Baade said a few days ago that special "wells" are being dug widely by West German military engineers along highways to hold atomic mines.

Hase refuted this statement and declared that it "contradicts common sense". Baade, feeling that he has been described as a "liar" has taken resort to legal proceedings.

This step has created a complicated situation for the Bonn war-office. If the court goes into the details of the reasons why these wells have been dug and so on, Bonn's strategy of war will be exposed.

Hence, Bonn's top officials are trying to bring about a private "settlement" of "no offence meant" so that at least the war-plan of Bonn will be saved.

—Sadhan Mukherjee (September 13)

## WILSON'S HYPOCRISY ON VIETNAM WAR

From KAY BEAUCHAMP

LONDON: There has been considerable concern expressed at the United States bombing a few days ago of one of the dams in North Vietnam's vital irrigation system and the bombing of the hydro-electric power station 80 miles from Hanoi.

IT is known that some military chiefs have been clamouring for the bombing of dykes and dams which could flood the whole Red River delta, drown millions of people and destroy the rice crop.

Norman Buchan and other Labour MPs have urged the Foreign Secretary to protest against this further escalation of the war.

The hypocrisy of the British government was revealed by the White Paper issued by the Foreign Office entitled "Recent exchanges concerning attempts to promote a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Vietnam".

As co-chairman of the Geneva Conference the British government has the responsibility of dealing with breaches of the Agreements. Instead this document shows that it has issued not one word of criticism of the United States actions in Vietnam.

The National Liberation Front is ignored throughout the White Paper and a most important document, the Appeal to Parliaments of the world by the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is omitted.

The pressure on the government to change its policy on Vietnam is continuing. Many meetings, marches and demonstrations calling for the withdrawal of the US forces in Vietnam have been held in recent weeks.

The members of the delegation from the British Communist Party to North Vietnam have addressed many meetings after their return. They have stressed that the main thing that the people of Vietnam are asking of the British people is that they should force the Labour Government to cease supporting US aggression.

The National Council for Peace in Vietnam has now launched a ballot asking people to fill in a form replying to the following questions:

"Do you think that the government should: (a) cease supporting the USA in the Vietnam war; (b) act independently for peace on the basis of self-determination and the withdrawal of all foreign military forces?"

The Council is asking the local Vietnam councils, labour movement organisations and other progressive organisations to carry out the ballot in such a way that it will be taken to at least a million doors in the coming weeks.

## Why this Meet?

[Excerpts from the Appeal]

**SOLIDARITY** among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America has long been a reality and the coming conference can be regarded as the climax of a movement which has been gaining strength along with the development of the national liberation struggle throughout the three continents.

The global strategy of the imperialists who claim the right to rule the world constitutes a challenge to the peoples of the three continents.

The concerted attacks launched against national independence, sovereignty, progress and peace as witnessed in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, Congo and Palestine and elsewhere are a clear evidence of this strategy.

That is why this conference will be an appropriate action to counter this challenge.

The people of the three continents deeply realise the imperative character of the solidarity that should bind them and the need to coordinate their struggle against the common enemy, the US imperialism. The Afro-Asian solidarity movement has always felt this need.

In spite of all imperialist intrigues attempting to isolate it from Latin America, the movement has worked relentlessly for the realisation of our common aspirations. Likewise, the liberation movements and the popular organisations of Latin America have succeeded to break the tete-a-tete with imperialism.

There is a strong bond which binds the peoples of the three continents. They have all faced the same problems and the same dangers, namely oppression, exploitation, aggression and armed intervention.

## Last Ditch Fight By Chinese

The Chinese and their friends did not give up their fight here. As a last straw, they tried to minimise the importance of this conference and opposed the extension of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement to Latin America. They opposed putting the word solidarity in the title of the Conference.

Though the final decision will be taken by the Conference itself, the overwhelming majority feels that the Afro-Asian Latin American Solidarity movement should replace the present Afro-Asian Solidarity organisation.

It is very heartening for all the anti-imperialist, freedom and peace-loving people that a great hurdle has been crossed and way has been opened for the unity of all the freedom fighters. They are looking forward for this great Conference.

## LEFT FORCES FEDERATION FRENCH CP'S STAND

PARIS: The National Bureau of the Radical Socialist Party agreed in principle to the conditions of its joining the so-called "Federation of Democratic and Socialist Leftwing Forces."

THIS decision adopted on September 8 after a stormy discussion at the national bureau of the party revives the hope of some anti-government republican circles for establishing a bloc of the leftwing forces and the groups of the bourgeois centre. The so-called "minor federation"

The idea of forming this bloc in preparation for the presidential election in December has been put forth by the general secretary of the Socialist Party (SFIO), Guy Mollet, after the failure of the efforts of socialist mayor of Marseilles, G. Defferre, to form a "big federation" which would include side by side with the socialists not only the parties of the centre but also the openly rightist political groups, such as the clerical MRP (People's Republican Movement) and the so-called "independents", etc. The contemplated elec-

Refusal to cooperate with Communists remains the cornerstone of the programme of the new federation which is in the making now.

A statement issued by the leadership of the radicals after the meeting urges the parties with which it is conducting negotiations to agree as quickly as possible on a common presidential candidate of the left for the presidential post.

As far as the French Communist Party is concerned, L'HUMANITE wrote on September 9, it is well-known that "it considers that the only way to defeat the personal power regime is to nominate a candidate of the alliance of all the forces of the left on the basis of a democratic minimum programme".

If the Socialist Party continues to obstruct such an agreement, the paper notes, the French Communist Party will nominate its own candidate "who will campaign for an alliance of workers and democratic forces".

## Profiting From The Past

Profiting from Defferre's bitter experience, the socialist leaders stopped flirting with the rightwing reactionaries and clericals. The "permanent committee" for creating a "little federation" set up in July includes representatives of the radicals, the socialists, the UDSR (Democratic and Socialist Union of Resistance) and some small republican groupings and clubs.

## BONUS BILL: AN ANALYSIS

By SATISH LOOMBA

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# BIHAR DETENUS STILL IN JAIL

## Sahay Ministry's Vindictive Attitude

From K. GOPALAN

**PATNA:** Despite extreme hardship due to high prices and scarcity of food articles and bitterness created by the brutal repression of the food movement by the government, people belonging to all shades of political opinion have risen to the occasion in defence of the country.

**BIHAR** is one of the border states which would be exposed to Pakistani attack if the war is escalated in the eastern sector. This potential danger has rallied all people to strive to strengthen the defence efforts of the government.

Among the opposition parties, the first to come out with support to the government in the defence

measures were the CPI and the SSP, which had jointly sponsored the Patna Bandh action and the statewide agitation for food.

They immediately withdrew the agitation and called upon the people to mobilise all resources to meet the Pakistani challenge.

The state council of the CPI urged all-out unity to meet the aggressor, and called

ed on the people to fight anti-national elements who sought to sow seeds of communal discord.

However, the government, which had appealed for co-operation from all people and opposition parties, has been rather tardy in taking steps to mobilise all the people.

It continues to refuse to release the prisoners who were arrested during the recent food agitation. About 4000 people—all leaders and activists of the CPI and the SSP, trade unions and NGO organisations—are still in jails.

Despite repeated statements in Parliament by the Union government that all those arrested during the food movement would be released, the Sahay Ministry has kept the jail gates closed, out of pure vindictiveness.

In fact, the latest tactic of the Sahay government is to release some Communist leaders formally, only to rearrest and detain them under the DIR.

The Communist Party is also being excluded deliberately from the all-party defence committee set up under government initiative.

The government has also failed to take effective

measures against hoarding and blackmarketing. As a result acute scarcity of foodgrains and other essential goods continues.

According to reports received from different parts of the state, rice and wheat are very rarely available in fair price shops and prices of these commodities are so high in the market that they have gone almost beyond the reach of middle and low income groups.

In Patna itself, prices of coarse and medium rice have recorded a further rise of Re. 1 a maund within a week—to Rs. 54 and Rs. 59 a maund, respectively. Fine rice is selling at Rs. 70.

Wheat other than the imported variety is not available in the market at all. Many hotels in Patna have stopped selling chapatis. In some parts of Bihar wheat is selling at Rs. 50 a maund. Even sattu and flat rice are selling at Rs. 2 a seer.

Coal and kerosene are rapidly disappearing from the market. Soft coke is selling at Rs. 3.25 a maund as against Rs. 2.75 only four or five days ago.

In most areas, kerosene is either not available at all or selling at 50 Paise a bottle

## RAJASTHAN HOARDERS STRIKE DIRTY DEAL

**J AIPUR:** The Rajasthan government has decided to withdraw all cases against foodgrain hoarders and blackmarketeers in the name of the emergency.

There are several cases pending in law courts for violation of the Foodgrains Licensing Order, the Essential Commodities Act and such other legislations.

The Chief Minister is understood to have now asked the officials to take necessary steps to withdraw all these cases.

The decision was taken on the insistence of some pro-hoarder elements in the Rajasthan cabinet. They said such a step was necessary to mobilise efforts for national defence.

The foodgrain dealers are also reported to have asked the government to make gestures of goodwill so that they would be encouraged to hold the price line.

Despite the government's decision to withdraw the cases, there is little indication that traders, especially the bigger ones, have responded to the gesture with sincerity.

against the fixed price of 37 paise.

In some places biscuits and matches are also reported to have gone underground.

## MULGAONKAR CASE

# NEW AGE WINS REVISION PETITION

**THE** revision petition filed by D. P. Sinha, printer and publisher of **NEW AGE** weekly, against an order of the trial magistrate in the defamation case instituted by S. Mulgaonkar, editor, **HINDUSTAN TIMES**, has been upheld by the Additional Sessions Judge, Delhi on September 7.

The Magistrate had disallowed a question on behalf of D. P. Sinha to Mulgaonkar in regard to a photostat document which showed Mulgaonkar had taken a sum of 45,000 French francs in 1947 from S. R. Rana in Paris to be paid to Jawaharlal Nehru.

The revision petition was argued by V. K. Krishna Menon on behalf of D. P. Sinha. Details of his argument were published in **NEW**

**AGE** of August 8.

Upholding the contention on behalf of D. P. Sinha, the learned Additional Sessions Judge observed that the case "is a case of exceptional nature, because its bare statement is convincing to show that the order of the learned magistrate in disallowing the question is wrong."

He also pointed out that the case "is otherwise distinguishable" and "seems to be of exceptional nature, because the public interest is involved in it..."

Finally, the Additional Sessions Judge recommended to the High Court that "the order of the magistrate be set aside and suitable directions be given in allowing questions to the witness (complainant-respondent) in respect of the document in question—his previous statement."

## ANDHRA WORKERS IN DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

**HYDERABAD:** Andhra's working class is in action for national defence.

Typical is the decision of the workers of the Singareni Collieries Workers' Union to work for two days on holidays and contribute their earnings to the Defence Fund, the Kashmir Chief Minister's Fund and the Nehru Memorial Fund.

Ten thousand workers participated in a mighty rally in the industrial area, Mursheerabad, where Satyanarayana Reddy, convener of the state Sangram Samiti exhorted them to step up production in view of the present crisis.

The workers are also throwing their full weight behind the

efforts for communal harmony and for fighting the efforts of the hoarders and unscrupulous traders to profiteer at this time.

In view of the aggression, the hungerstrike which had been undertaken by Communist Makhdoom Mohiuddin together with some of the Marxist Communists, to press the demands of the detenus in Andhra jails, was given up on September 7.

Speaking on the occasion, all leaders of the Communist Party and the Marxist Party pledged themselves to work for national defence against the Pakistan aggression.

A joint meeting was held in Cannavaram in support of national defence, communal harmony and the release of detenus.

## SEPTEMBER 28: NATIONAL DEFENCE DAY IN KERALA

From S. SHARMA

**TRIVANDRUM:** September 28 will be observed as **NATIONAL DEFENCE DAY** in Kerala in response to a joint call of left parties, three central trade union organisations and the Kisan Sabha and the Kisan Panchayat.

About 125 representatives of

these organisations met at Ernakulam on September 12 under a presidium of T. K. Divakaran, P. Balachandra Menon, Sivarama Bharati and Mathai Manjooran.

The conference adopted a resolution calling on the working class and the toiling peasantry and all patriotic people to hold demonstrations and rallies and to strengthen national defence efforts.

The resolution said that in the war situation created by Pakis-

tan aggression, the primary duty becomes defence of motherland and the popular will should be channelised in that single direction.

But certain policies of the government towards opposition parties and trade unions do not help such mobilisation of popular efforts. If people were to spontaneously rise as one man, the government should respect their will and right to be part of the national effort and concede their just demands, which alone will rouse their morale.

Only determined effort on the part of all left democratic forces and trade unions will compel the government to concede their demands and check the vested interests in the towns and the countryside from exploiting the war situation to their partisan advantage.

The conference set up a twelve-man committee to mobilise left democratic efforts for national defence and safeguarding popular interests, like introduction of statutory rationing and guaranteeing minimum twelve ounces rice ration, for taking over wholesale food trade and banking, and release of detenus.

The executive of the Kerala state council of the CPI, meeting on September 11, has called on all party units to reorganise their work with the objective of rousing popular enthusiasm for defence.

The committee asked the government to take effective steps to maintain communal harmony and stringent action against hoarders and blackmarketeers.

## CPI GENERAL SECRETARY TOURS BORDER AREAS

C. Rajeswar Rao, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, has been touring the border areas in Punjab for the last one week.

His visits to places like Amritsar which are facing with courage the air attacks of the Pakistan aggressors have been of immense assistance in building up the morale of the citizens and in intensifying popular efforts in support of the armed forces.

**NEW AGE** will carry next week an account of Rajeswar Rao's tour of the Punjab.