Shastri's Washington Is The Key Issue Before Nation

The Prime Minister must NOT go to Washington. Three weeks ago, NEW AGE raised this slogan first. Today this demand has become the central demand of Today this demand has become the central demand of the democratic movement in this country. The latest issue of BLITZ carries a powerful editorial on this precise issue. Last week, PATRIOT editorially de-clared: "The people do not want the Prime Minister to go to Washington now or ever in the future and they will regard it as a sign of lack of self-confidence in the Government if Mr. Shastri yields to the pres-sure of the American lobby in this country."

THE visit to Washington has become inextricably intertwined with the whole question of the lessons of the period since the latest Pakistani aggression began.

Which way are our poli-cles to advance? To the Right or to the Left? For greater dependence on the imperialist powers or to-wards self-reliance, with the assistance of the friendly Soviet Union and other so-cialist countries? cialist countries?

Immediately after the cease Immediately after the cease-fire, sensing the mood of the people, there was a general condemnation by even leaders of the traditional right and centre, inside and outside gov-ernment, of the anti-Indian stand of the imperialists.

Equally there was forth-right tribute to the Soviet Union and the socialist coun-tries, which had stood by In-dia at the moment of our greatest need. The monopoly press was forced to bend be-fore the popular mood, but it bided its time.

Back To Old Moorings

Today there is a turn about, which must be noted seriously. The speeches of the Prime Minister during his tour of the country are an Indication of this at-tempt to swing public opi-nion back to the old pre-August moorings.

August morings. The nation is amazed at the tributes paid by the Prime Minister to a so-called re-thinking in the US govern-ment. The monopoly press yelled in delight. Birla's HINDUSTAN TIMES front-page lead story (November 2) was headlined: "PM welcomes change in US Kashmir stand", "Pakistan has received no mange in US Kasnmir Stand", "Pakistan has, received no fresh supplies of arms". <u>TIMES OF INDIA</u> headlined the story: "PM notes change in US attitude".

What is this change? Gold-berg is reported in the Indian press to have childed US jour-nalists for not trying to understand the Indian point of view. Hurrah, shouted the wishful American lobby, our masters have saved us. The Prime Minister leapt in with a good chit for Goldberg. Un-fortunately, he forgot to add that the US press did not print a word of what Gold-berg is supposed to have said. PT. 480 aid will be contiwhat is this change? Gold-

PL 480 aid will be conti-nued. Hosannas to the anna-data. Now it will not be ne-

cessary to miss a meal on Mondays, nor to take over wholesale trading in food-grains, nor to cut the loot of the profiteers and hoarders....

But again it all remains wishful thinking. The US blackmail through food con-tinues as always. When did the Prime Min-

ister discover that the US



has stopped supplying Pa-kistan with armaments? He takes the word of the Iran and Turkish governments that they are not sending American arms in the name American arms in the name of CENTO to the Ayub dic-tatorship. What has hap-pened that we must take their denials or protesta-tions of innocence as gospel truth today, when we did not do so all these days?

Has the American attitude changed in the Security Council? Not at all. Despite Shastri's tributes, the perfor-mance of Goldberg in the latest series of meetings is as anti-Indian as before.

It is the US which insists on a resolution endorsing the actions of the Secretary-General in regard to the UN observers' appointments and duties. Only the Soviet Union stands firmly against such a resolution, and the meeting is postponed from day to day.

US Enmity Continues

The USA continues to in-sist on tagging on the so-called political questions to that of a cease-fire.

A planned campaign in the monopoly press accompanies the new discoveries of US friendliness for India. The entire tone has changed Now it is all studied building up of opinion in favour of "a fresh opinion in favour of "a fresh approach" to the imperialists. The arguments are summed up in one running theme: India is a larger country than Pakistan, much more stable, so why should the Dollar lords not give India their support in return for similar privileges as those they receive in Pakistan.

The executive of the Ame rican Party in India, which



Vol. XIII No. 45

7 - DEC - Brhe Late Jawaharlal Nehru with Leonid Brezhney

oscow Calling

L ISTEN to the voice which calls from the Today again it is the Soviet Union which land of the builders of communism. It, is rightly looked upon as our country's best is a voice to which the Indian people have friend by the widest masses of our people. turned again and again during the last fortyeight years with hope and joy, confidence the most concrete kind. and friendship.

1965

Copy

The October Revolution stirred the Indian national movement as no other event. It inspired radical thought which spread; through the ranks of the fighters of freedom through the words of numerous leaders, above all through the writings and speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru.

The October Revolution inspired the birth of socialist thought in this country, which led to the foundation of the Communist Party in 1025:

Through all the years since 1917, the Red Banner flying across the Soviet Union has been an inspiration to the hundreds of millions of this land. The Soviet Union was a bulwark of

strength for the freedom movement. Lenin's words, rang out in solidarity with the antiimperialist fighters of our land.

After freedom; the land of the October Revolution became the one real reliable friend, which could be counted upon to assist India in defending its sovereignty and integrity, in building its own independent economy and defence potential. Again and again this friendship was demonstrated at * ON PAGE 13 moments when it was need most.

And again it has been proved by deeds of

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New Delhi November 7, 1965

25 paise

On the question of Kashmir, the Soviet Union has all along helped India to thwart. imperialist designs and conspiracies to grab the strategic valley. Today again in the Security Council, the Soviet Union fights our battle; the battle of anti-imperialism and peace, based on principle.

The toilers of this land turn again and again to the example of Moscow in their struggle to end the death grip of monopoly and for the building of socialism.

The Soviet Union stands guard for all mankind for peace, for national independence, for progress, democracy; socialism.

On the glorious anniversary of the October Revolution, the Indian people salute with new vigour the true and tested friendship of the Soviet Union,



SABOTAGE AT ALGIERS



MAR TWO

THE AFRO-ASIAN Summit is off. The enemies of Afro-Asian solidarity are celebrating their vic-

tory. The partisans of solidarity are naturally deeply disappointed.

The imperialists and their partners shout aloud that the Bandung spirit is dead, that Afro-Asian solidarity has been buried, that the era of Afro-Asian triumph is over. And in the black darkness which follows the end of the Algiers meetings, there may be many who believe that the butchers have had their way and cut to pleces the great, grand, powerful solidarity, which has been built with the blood and the flesh and the bones of the martyrs for freedom of the two continents.

But the anti-imperialist spirit can never die.

The peoples engaged in heroic struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism counted on the Algiers Conference to give them support of a kind they need desperately. Already the delegations of the freedom movements of South Africa, of Angola and Mozambique, of Aden, of Southern Rhodesia had arrived in Algiers. They were confident that the solidarity of all Afro-Asia would assist them in giving a spurt to their final assault on the imperialists, who hold them in chains.

Their hopes were shattered by those who sabotaged the summit at Algiers. In far-away Vietnam, a hero nation listened for the trumpet call from Algiers, which would rally not only the two continents, but the whole world to their support in their magnificent struggle. The Vietnamese people waited for that call in vain: it was smothered in the raucous bedlam of those who sabotaged the summit at Algiers. In Latin America, in the Dominican Republic, in

Cuba and in other countries peoples battling against US interference and aggression looked across the ocean to Algiers, confident in the knowledge that Afro-Asian solidarity was a force against imperialism, which was a powerful contribution to their struggles. Latin America looked in vain.

Why were the imperialist enemies of Afro-Asian solidarity allowed to have their way? Who is responsible for the sabotage of the Algiers summit? Who is responsible for blunting the edge of the sword of soli-darity at a moment when it needed to be at its sharpest?

O! pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth That I am meek and gentle with these butchers.

The imperialists would not have had their way, had it not been cleared for them by those who claimed to be the only true champions of Afro-Asian solidarity. The Chinese leadership realised it would be in hopeless minority at the summit. That is why it resorted to its tactics of blackmail and boycott, of the big stick. It counted on the Afro-Asian nations' devotion to the cause of solidarity. It counted on the deep desire to ensure the participation of all countries in the second Bandung.

But the Chinese lost much more than they won. This is the essential truth which must be grasped. Never have so many Afro-Asian leaders openly criticised the Chinese leaders as they do today, for their abominable tactics of blackmail and big nation pressure. More, the great majority of those who spoke at Algiers supported the participation of the Soviet Union in the Conference, despite and in the face of the Chinese threat of complete boycott if the Soviet Union were admitted to the Afro-Asian family.

Yes, the Chinese leadership sabotaged the Algiers summit. But the postponement of the summit is not a victory for the saboteurs. It can in reality be a powerful step towards the further isolation and defeat of their utterly wrong policies which only help the imperialists. It can, indeed, "put a tongue in every wound... that should move the stones ... to rise and mutiny."

For the moment there may be laughter in the top circles in Peking. But it is ugly laughter, for it is the same kind of laughter which blares forth from the imperialist dovecotes in Washington and London. (November 3)

Futile Philosophy Of Wait And See

lays of brave declarations and lofty sentiments from Prime Minister and his colleagues about the country's firm and unequivocal positions in foreign and domestic policy. But little seems to be happen-ing to give these policies specific, concrete shape. Rather the indications are

newage

Otherwise and doubts are by ginning to be entertained all round about the real intentions of those in authority. The feeling of uneasiness was quite widespread in the opposition as well as Con-

gress party circles as the cur-rent session of Parliament opened on Wednesday. This was not a little streng-thened by the Prime Minis-ter's meeting with a few op-position leaders on Tuesday, from which the Communist

Party, the SSP and even the Jana Sangh were left out be-cause, it was explained, all could not be informed about Even to those who attended

Even to those who attended the meeting, the Prime Minis-ter had little to say. Besides reiterating some of the things he had said in public meet-ings, Shastri told opposition MPs to wait for the final form in which the Security Council resolution would emerge before he would be in a position to say anything new.

The waiting for things to happen and others to take their decisions pervades all their decisions pervades all government thinking and activity today, whether in foreign relations or economic planning. The government has given away the initiative

THERE is no dearth these which only a few weeks ago days of brave declara- it appeared to be firmly hold-

In this situation of uncertainty and fumbling which is overtaking the government leadership, the reports about the visit of Shastri to meet. nson in mid-Dec mber are not only gaining credence but are assuming more and more are assuming more sinister possibility.

The Prime Minister's Calcutta speech and his repeated statements about change in American stand on Kashmir and Indo-United States relations are seen at least as a definite shift in his attitude

New Delhi

Letter

and approach compared to the earlier ambiguity and silence. It is not without significance

that besides reports about the agenda being prepared for the proposed Shastri-Johnson meeting, inspired reports have started coming in of the Ame-

rican readiness to consider Indian requirements of PI, 480

imports on a long term basi

The officials in economic ministries expect to hear re-ports of similar changes in

American position about ge-

neral economic aid pretty

The assertion of Food Min-

ister Subramaniam that he

had no knowledge about new PL 430 imports therefore sounded hollow specially when he added that the pre-

sent position on month

S000.

month basis courd not tinue long and he expected things to clarify within two onth basis could not conor three month

NOVEMBER 7. 1865

Those who heard him oaging connected this expectation with Shastri's proposed visit to Washington

The meetings of Java Pra-The meetings of Jaya Pra-kash Narayan with the Prime Minister on Nagaland, it is understood, covered wider ground than merely that ter-ritory. Kashmir too is believhave been discu ed to

Rajaji who is in New Dalhi in connection with the meet-ings of the Swatantra Party, is also believed to have given m Kashmit some "advice directly to the Prime Minister

The line abvocated by them is that the government should deal with Sheikh Abdullah on Kashmir, at the appropriate time. The

Swatantra resolution calling for a policy of "con-ciliation" in Kashmir was designed in the light of such

The Prime Minister has not said yes to such advice but he has not given a definite NO either, it is understood. Informed circles consider such private discussions on Kashmir not wholly unrelated to the proposed Shastri-Johnson meeting. Some hold them to be really a preparation for

the same. Till the Prime Minister comes out in the open and takes the people into confi-dence on what is going on dence on what is gol behind the scenes, that are gathering will not be dispelled. Parliament ses-sion should be an ideal occasion to do so.

_____R___M_

To Go Or Not To Go, That Is The Question

E VERYBODY serves to know about it except poor little me, said the fly when asked about its impending visit to the spider. Of course I have not refused to go. And then the spider had had an operation. Didn't you see the picture with the great big cut in his tum-my? And didn't you read all about it in the with the diagrams and all?

Yes. Lilo seem to remember something which that old spider lover P... L 420 had said about it. But did he really say all you say he said about something being fixed for December? You know what the press is, it must have distorted what I told him.

Did P. . . L 420 say he was my personal re-presentative? Well you know the old boy, be is a little difficult. Did I ask him to arrange a visit to the spider? I don't know really. He did And I never And I never And I must drop a line to P ... L 220, he really must be a little more careful about what he says and does, as my emissary, though of course I am resisting the spider's Hobby, didn't you see the headlines in the anti-lobby press. And if 'I go, I won't get raoght in the

web, I am too cute for that. But I never said I would go. Nor that I wouldn't. You found that what I said in A . . . was

different from what I said in C... and still more different from what I said in C... and still more different from what I said here in D...? Well flies do flit. And I have been absolutely consistent in saying that I would like to go, but have not agreed to go, though not refused

but have not agreed to go, though not refused to go, because perhaps after all I would not like to go But have you seen the change in the spider? One of his legs is now wagging so prettily, quite unlike the angry look it had earlier. Fer-haps the spider is no longer as spiderish as before

Why not let bye-gones be bye-gones. Let's forget and forgive

To go or not to go? Yes, you are right, that is the question. I must have a look at my December dairy.

30-31, the "emergency" problems on the industrial relations scene will be siphoned through an inter-ministerial committee. And "compact Standing Tripartite bodies will be constituted at the Central and State levels with Labour Min-isters as Chairmen to review and ment problems and when neces-sary forward them for action to ment of fair price shops in industrial the Inter-Ministerial Committee." resolve major labour and manage-

MOVEMBER 7, 1965

The short, matter-of-fact res tion adopted by the Indian Labour Conference at the end of its two-day travail did not arise from any of the fifteen odd items on the agenda pro-posed by the Ministry of Labour.

The real issues which were ultimately posed for discussion in the conference were, in fact, raised in an ATTUC memorandum to the Union Labour Minister. The HMS and UTUC also made identical demands that the ida items be held over to discuss agenda items be new over the grave issues which came up the recent emergency period.

These special problems raised by ATTUC and others, to quote from the ATTUC memorandum, were:

First and foremost is the alleged "crisis" in the cotton textile in-dustry in all important industrial centres. The cotton textile industry is the premier organised industry in In-dia and the unliateral decisions of employers declaring lay-offs, closure of shifts and closure of entire units caused serious industrial unrest and tension. Some of the state gov-ernments have also taken unliateral actions to cut the DA of workers (as in the Vidarbha and Khandesh re-gions of Maharashtra) and throw the entire burdens on to the shoulders of the industry.

Employers Violate Code

In no case has the decision of the 16th Indian Labour Conference stipulating a two-month notice for closure of shifts, etc., been observed by employers. The alleged difficul-ties of the mills over accumulation of stocks are also highly exagger-

ated and the precipitate action taken by them are not warranted by the actual state of affairs.

Secondly, important units of engineering industry and coalmin-ing industry have also resorted to closures and lay-offs. An instance is the case of Indian Tinplate Co. In shedpur which is engaged in defence production. The action of this foreign-owned company which has a near-monopoly in production of tinnlates has to be seriously noted.

Tendency of employers in engineer-ing and coalmining industries to put sure on government and workers pressure on through clos res and lay-offs requires to be nipped in the bud by stern

The problems of rehabilitation of industries in Punjab affected by recent hostilities and relief to be urgently given to the workers in border states have also assumed serious proportions. There are several hun-dreds of workers rendered destitute since the employers ran away; closing down factories, without even paying

M In the plantation areas in West Bengal, the employers are curtail-Bengal, the employers are curtai-ing the rice content of rations des-pite holding sufficient stocks. Even the statutory provisions regarding D.A. revision under the minimum wages notification are not imple-

On the crucial question of hold-ing the price line, the measures which were to be taken under earlier

ners in the discharge of national obligations.* undertakings, have not been imple-mented in many centres. In recent period, the traders have again raised The wordy duels apart, the emplo-yers' postures in the ILC have some ominous significance. It was not for prices taking advantage of the emer-gency situation. Even the price indices which do not correctly reflect the actual price trends have recorded the nothing that Naval Tata listed the fallacy in the computation of DA and the allegedly discriminatory treat-ment meted out to the private sector sharp rise in prices. in this respect.

0



A most tragic case is that of the coalmine workers in relation to whom the average six-monthly rise in the all-India index is 161.66—just 0.34 point less than 10 points rise to 163 entitling them to a DA revision by Rs. 4.88 per month from July 1965. If only the expert committees' re-ports on Delhi and Hyderabad indices are published and the indices correctice done to the workers could have been rectified.

General discussions on these and other live issues dominated the pro-ceedings of the ILC. The belated thinking which started in official circles on solutions to the problem led to gen ral rambling observations from the official benches while Naval H. Tata-the employers' representative went for a real exercise in shadow-boxing.

Public Sector At Discount

Naval Tata scored several points-quite some of them, at the expense of the public sector, the much-vaunted "model employer" which, he could prove, had turned to be a really one. He said private employers not much use for the code of disci pline and if the government thought the code was good "try it in your own public sector. Be a model employer yourself. We will learn from you."

From the flambovant exhibition of shooting at random and acting a martyr and threatening to boycott the tripartites ("if the tide continues to turn against us as it has for a long time now") on October 30. Naval Tata piped down the next day into a self-righteous declaration "of 100 per cents. support" to the Labour Ministry "in anything that you are going to do to solve the problems... we are all part-



when the actual level of prices has been showing an upward rise, the DA of workers, especially in Calcutta and Howrah, have been cut and the demand of the trade unions for appointing an expert committee to probe into the price indices which are prima facie faulty has not vet

The cry is already going up about the "crushing" burden of DA which is unrelated to "productivity". The government's refusal to ensure a fair DA system for workers and employees in the public sector and government employees was the chief point of the employers to force a cut in DA.

Even in the case of such inquiries What was worse was the lame ex-as in Delhi and Hyderabad, although cuse of the Labour Minister, D. San-



the expert committees have sub-mitted their reports some weeks back; the government has not as yet published them and ordered the maximal corrections in the indices. required corrections in the indices. With the result, the DA of workers linked with the all-India consumer price indices has been frozen,

It was, of course, an amusing performance when the employer dele-gate accused, industrial tribunals as partisan to labour since they depended "too much, on the Labour Ministry" for their life! On whom does the Labour Ministry depend?

jivayya that a middle-class cost of living index will have to be computed to provide a rational linking for the ernment employees' DAt

Tata Talks **Of Birthright**

Again, Tata could talk of his "birthright" to close down factories at will since he knows only too well that the policymakers will only be too pleased to guard this birth-right. When government was itself so shaky in accepting arbitration to res putes in the public sector the ployers could aim well at this diffidence and with remarkable effect.



Tata virtually made it clear, that the employers had no intention of prac-tising voluntary arbitration which deprives them of their "sacred" right of appeal to the Supreme Court.

On behalf of the AITUC. Indrajit Gupta categorically stated that mere reiteration of industrial truce resolution was not the real issue. Employers are continuously violating the truce as the Pak forces are doing with re-gard to the cease-fire line. They also started with the massive infiltration —like the infiltration into the Bonus Commission and sabotaging a unanimous report.

The businessmen were raising the prices and the price line has not been held during the emergency. The government should have taken advantage of the situation and put down black-marketeers and others who raised the prices by speculation and creating scarcity artificially. oulation

He warned against the employers who have business connections across the border and the anti-national acti-vities of certain foreign concerns.

Indrailt Gupta criticised the government for not protecting the guan-tum of bonus previously enjoyed by workers even though the employers representative too favoured it in Parment

In such conditions, industrial truce was not a live instrument and in any case, the employers had no intention to honour it.

In the present acute crisis of fore-ign exchange, the country could not afford the luxury of allowing import of costly computer machines by the oil companies, LIC, State Bank, etc. and such schemes should be given up.

The ludicrous situation of retrenchment in EME workshops in an emergency situation was pointed out later by AITUC delegate, K. G. Sriwastava. He said retrenchment is being forced in defence undertakings by doling out orders for necessary equipment and supplies to the private sector.

The HMS and UTUC delegates criticised the government and the em-ployers and gave various instances of anti-labour policies. The INTUC de-legation was also generally critical of the employers and demanded governmental action to prevent closures.

All items on the original agenda of the conference was held over to be discussed in a session of the Stand-ing Labour Committee. There was only a general discussion on one item -the unemployment insurance sche-me. The suggestion of the workers that its details should be referred to a small committee was held over for "further consideration" on Tata's

Unanimous Conclusions

The resolution adopted unanimously the conference summed up;

"The Indian Labour. Conference having considered the situation in the country against the background of the current emergency and the un-easy ceasefire along the borders with Pakistan and the continuing threatening posture of China:

(a) Congratulates the defence for-ces and assures them fullest support of all sections of this Conference:

(b) Supports wholeheartedly the reliance in every sphere of economic activity and calls upon employers, workers and government to work together to give a concrete shape to a sustained programme of self-reliance and for this purpose urges govern-ment to mobilise all resources in the country, particularly for defence production

(c) Welcomes the declaration by labour to avoid work stoppages and the declaration by employers to maintain uninterrupted production;

(d) Appreciates the liberal contri-buttons already made by all parties to the defence effort of the country: and

(e) Believes that while the streng-hening of defence potential is imperative, the objectives of planned development must also be pursued."

The conference certainly moved to certain realistic positions and a note of urgency has at last been struck. But will the employers and government live upto it? The inter-ministerial committee proposed and the new standing committees will have a testing time to justify their existence. PAGE FOUR

WEST'S ATTEMPT TO WOO INDIA

With the search for a resolution by the Security Council still on, India had reason this week to feel satisfied that her firm stand against any discussion by the Council on the internal situation in Kashmir at Pakistan's instance has had a welcome effect on the Council's debate which earlier had started with the fulminations and dirty diatribes of Bhutto.

THAT debate has since been conducted hack-Libeen conducted back-stage, and there is concern to avoid a complete rupture in the Council, if we are to go by the reports from New York, on the question of the Secretary-General's actions and the course to be adopted to further the implementation the September 20 resolu-

Reports have pointed out that the Soviet Union is op-posed to the Security Council endorsing the actions of U Thant, taken without the authority of the Council, which is what the Americans and their allies want. This has helped to strengthen India's fight in the Security Council.

Similarly, the firmness in India's stand that the Council cannot mix up the cease-fire with a political solution of the conflict has shown to the Anglo-American bloc that they cannot force decisions on New Delhi in her present

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firm and principled stand, she wins respect from the imperialists, who are otherwise accustomed to put pressures on her. The con-sistent stand of the Soviet Union for a correct and peaceful solution of the ndo-Pak conflict and against any interference by the UN in the internal affairs of Kashmir, which

has been an unfailing source of strength to India, facto is no less a major preventing the imperialists from pushing through their schemes to help Pakistan.

Hence the slight change in the tone of the US and Bri-tish members of the Security Council and their admission that the Council has no judicatory powers to exercise as though it was trying to arbi-trate in this dispute.

But this change, whatever it is worth for, is far from he Anglo-American bloc that hey cannot force decisions in New Delhi in her present nood. From all this, observers have come to recognise that where New Delhi takes a illusory as the so-called

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"friendship" of these powers for India, about which they wrote so much in the past but which turned out to be utter hoax when the crisis

alewaye

came Yet their attempt now is to resent these undependable "friends" in a more favour-able light before the Indian to full the people's



conscience into forgetting the imperialists' support to Pakis-tan and treachery against India, by suggesting that they have shifted their position on Kashmir. Much is sought to e made out of the utterances of Arthur Goldberg, the Ame-rican delegate, in the UN, for this purpose.

What is worse, the Prime Minister himself is willing to give credence to this cam-paign, as his recent state-ments in Calcutta reveal. shastri has said that the US attitude in regard to Kashmir has somewhat "softened"!

If the Indo-Pak conflict has proved one thing, it is that only by resisting the West's blackmail and blandishments and by taking a firm and principled stand on all issues with which we are face to face, whether it is Kashmir or something else, could we redeem our prestige in international forums and ensure for us the support of other friendgovernments and powers

To hope for the "under-standing" and "support" of the imperialists in these cases solicit disappointment and betrayal.

A SHIFT IN **POLICY**?

UNFORTUNATELY, New Delhi seems to understand this only at the height of a conflict. When tension is relieved, it becomes natural and easy for it to drift again.

Among the ministerial pronouncements, which mark this drift in New Delhi's actions and thinking on policy matters, was the unusual statement last week by a Cabinet Minister that the time had come for India to reconsider whether she was bound by the agreement which re-cognised China's suzerainty over Tibet. suzerainty

Unusual, because it was not known that the Cabinet had come to such a conclusion and yet a Cabinet Minister made this statement in the presence of the Dalai Lama. The Prime Minister, when at his Calcutta

to be that where China misbehaves, we should also mis-behave. When Peking gives up fidelity to principles, New Delhi should do likewise! A very strange attitude for any country to adopt which wants to conserve a good image and fair reputation in the out-

press conference, refrained from clearing the mystery of Chagia's impromptu state-ment of policy.

Apart from the implica-tions of individual function-ing by ministers even with regard to important political

regard to important pointers decisions and changes in policy, if changes are con-templated, the argument put out by the Union Edu-cation Minister for such "reconsideration" is another instance of an ad hos ar-

instance of an ad hoc ap-proach to basic interests of the nation.

Chagla said that India had

signed the agreement on the express condition that China would safeguard Tibetan au-tonomy and since China has

not done so, we should now

go back on that agreement. The plain logic of this seems

Further, as an editorial THE TIMES OF INDIA put it. "One of the most gratifying aspects of the present situa tion, as it has emerged from the Indo-Pakistani conflict, is that the non-alignment po-licy has been fully vindicated. Yet the import of what Mr. Chagla has said is precisely the opposite in the degree that there is an implied con-fession of error in the past.

"This is all the more de plorable at a time when there is abundant evidence in endorsement of India's China policy, founded on the conviction that coexistence is the ultimate goal from which New Delhi will not be deflected even Peking's aggressive tactics".

The demand which Chagla has now made, with all its implications and natural conences of a shift in foreign policy, is precisely the de-mand of the pro-imperialist Right reaction in the country. And it had been rejec-ted by the late Jawaharlal Nehru, every time the Rightists raised it in Parliament and outside

The present statement by the Union Education Minister is not only a thoughtless step in the wrong direction, but it will also give rise to doubts and misunderstanding about about the government's policy in the minds of friends abroad.

SWATANTRA FOR C'WEALTH

THE Swatantra Party has spelt it out clearly and officially; no quitting the 'Commonwealth for them.

The decision of the Swatantra Party's Parliamentary

NOVEMBER 7, 1965

Board to oppose Congress member Bhagavat Jha Azad's resolution in Parliament on withdrawal of India from the Commonwealth exposes them for what they are.

The Swatantra is the only party in the country to come out openly in support of re-taining the shameful links with the British imperialists and their Commonwealth. Even the Pakistani aggression and the support of Britain for the aggressor has not changed their loyalties.

But desnite the Swatantra and despite those Swatan-trites in the Congress like S. K. Patil, who are all to "save" the Comeager monwealth, Indian public opinion has never been so strong as today in favour of itting the Commonwealth.

The demand is raised from all sections and all parts of the country. Recently the Delhi Municipal Corporation adopted unanimously a Conmember's res urging the Government of India to sever ties with the nwealth.

The debate on the non-official resolution will be re-sumed in this session of the Lok Sabha. It would be in-terested to watch how the gov-ernment responds to this national demand.

KASHMIR AND PM's US VISIT

Shastri-Johnson meet-A A ing before long can now be taken for a settled fact. The Prime Minister's own replies to questions in his Calcutta press confer-ence should dispel all doubts about New Delhi's thinking on the subject at the mome

S K Patil, whether he was authorised to work for an early visit by Shastri to USA or not, has done his part of the job and as we pointed out in these columns last week has predicted that the visit come about the middle will of December. The Washington lobby in the capital is obviously pleased with the result.

Meanwhile, THE TIMES OF INDIA has even reported from Washington the agenda for the meeting, which inclu-des "The Kashmir problem INDIA has and what the USA can do to help solve it"!

The report makes it clear that under this head, what Washington wants to achieve is partition of Kashmir under TIS acgis. That is the "new interesting idea" being prepared for Shastri to inspect, when he goes to Washington, and there is a lot of talk about possible "aid" to make

In this connection. obserthe US and British repre sentatives in the Security Council and their sudden willingness to concede that India too has a case in regard to Kashmir could well be part of the strategy to soften Indian resistance to an imperialist mediation and partition of Kashmir.

-K. U. WARIER

NOVEMBER 7, 1965

The whole country has been amazed at the political acrobatics of E. M. S. Namboodiripad on the most urgent questions of today arising specially from the Pakistani aggression, From place to place and from time to time he has changed his stand, tacked to the wind blowing from his Party colleagues. Finally, he has landed up with the "special status of Kashmir" and estimating the "cost" of war.

IT should be recalled that mir a special status within the **I** T should be recalled that this a special status whether the form $E_{\rm M}$ is and the CP (Marxist) never is not the point at issue at all statue thinking or talking The quarrel is whether Kashabout the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the special status for mir is an integral part of the point at issue at all the point at a special status status at a special status status at a special status at a special status at a special about the special status for Kashmir earlier. All the time that Kashmir was being more completely integrated with India, they never uttered a word of protest. Wisdom seems to have daw-

One can legitimately ask whether all this sudden stress ned on them only now, when the imperialists have launch-ed a new offensive to grab the strategic Valley of Kash-mir. To say the least, it is a on "special status" is not the first step in the direction of questioning the fact of acces-sion, leaving it open, making it also a point for negotiation most extraordinary reaction. It will be recalled that prolonging Kashmir's special the imperialists, who used it as an indication that the Government of India was amen-

able to pressure and might be blackmailed into surrender. It also helped the corrupt Bakshi regime to get away with monstrous misdeeds. ishmir that, above all, in Kash demanded the complete integration of their state with India. They were backed by progressive opinion throughont India.

Besides, one would like to ask Namboodiripad and the CP (Marxist), how on earth is going to help solve the conflict between our country and Pakistan by conceding Kash-

Company The way he is talking about "special status" can only lead to the conclusion that he is to the conclusion that he is seeing the dispute not as that between Pakistani aggression and Indian defence of sove-reignty, but as that between the "centralising" and "tyra-mical" Indian Union and the so called urge for Kashmiri autonomy or foredom. It is a autonomy or freedom. It is a pity that in this case, as in so many others, he has placed himself in the company of the imperialists and the dog-matist disruptors of the anti-

imperialist front.

In Imperialists'

India or not. If is Kashmir's accession to India that spark-ed off the Pakistani aggres-sion in 1947 and that has been

the bone of contention ever

as part of the "price" for "peace".

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK PFIZER'S RACKET

The patents racket run by foreign drug monopolies is a wellknown affair. Several times in the past has public scrutiny been directed to it. Despite widespread public demand, the Government of India has not only two tons. They also public demand, the Government of India has not claim it is sold in Africa and deemed to do away with the patent rights enjoyed by the foreign drug monopolies. by the lile many kisils of bacteria by the foreign drug monopolies.

T HE latest exposure in the kills many kinds of bacteria. American monopoly with a In many countries (including worldwide network, the Pfizers. And it has appeared not in any "the Pfizer's patent name communist newspaper but in the blue-blooded British news-wackly the SUNDAY TIMES.

ful and efficient. "broad spece Hungarian drugs are equal to trum" antibiotic, that is, it the best in the world.

worldwide network, the Pfizers. And it has appeared not in any communist newspaper but in the blue-blooded British newsweekly, the SUNDAY TIMES, Condon.
In its column, "Insight", the SUNDAY TIMES (October 24) has really done a good job of exposing the profiteering in the blues of explanations and excuss interesting facts emerge.
Mulged in by the Pfizers, self is that the order which Hungary to the spokesman of the company.
The essence of the exposure story is as follows:
The Pfizer organisation entered into an agreement with the Hungarian state, drug marketing firm Medimpex for yeterinary can maketing firm Medimpex for the burchase of an extremely important antibiotic drug called oxytetracycline. In return, the Medimpex. The agreement was entered into in 1981.
Oxytetracycline is a powerful and efficient. "broad speerfurm" antibiotic, that is, it
Mathed efficient. "broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient. "broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient. "broad speerful and efficient. "broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient. "broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient. "broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient. "broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and efficient. "broad speerful and efficient." broad speerful and the best in the world.
D

look attractive.

vers in the capital even suggest that the so-called "change in the attitude" of

(November 1)



of Namboodiripad cutting claim to be the most himself and his party off from anti-imperialists to the progressive mainstream in jumped at such a chang India It is amazing that anybody who has lived through of the people. the past few weeks in India But for should have failed to sense the and his part new and healthy mood of the people.

Nor is this the only example have expected those who fiery . anti-imperialists to have jumped at such a chance to mobilise the widest sections

But for Namboodiripad and his party it would seem that the Pattons, Shermans, Sabre-jets, Naplam bombs.



Anti-impearialism today has reached an unpre ted height. The role of the and UK imperialists has d in all its antibeen exposed in all its anti-Indian nakedness. The supply of deadly weapons to Pakistan, the blackmail at-Pakistan, the blackmail at-tempted through practical-ly stopping PL-480 and other "aid", the false pro-paganda—all this has an-gered the entire people. But Numberduring and the But Namboodiripad and the CP (Marxist) appear to have

completely failed to respond to this popular mood. They have maintained a total silence about the imperialist help and partisanship in faof Pakistan. One would

Now comes the price part

Medimpex sells oxytetrac cline to Pfizers at 16 pour Medim oxytetracya kilogram. Reductions ran ing from 10 to 85 per cent

Marketing terramycin in India too. The price charged is as high as it is in Britain. It is the same Pfizers that prevented the Hist

West German missiles etc., just do not exist. It is an outstanding example of there being none so blind as who will not see.

Similarly, it is strange but true that Namboodiripad and the CP (Marxist) do not find a single word to hail the antiimperialist action and demonstration of our people. No statement is issued on the subject by somebody who cannot be accused of being shy to

not be accused of being sity a come out in the press. Quit the Commonwealth; end PL 480, stop relying on imperialist "ald"—none of these slogans have been taken up for mass campaigning by the CP (Marxist). Will their leadership care to explain this strange passivity to their rank and file as well as to the people, in general? Sincere communists in the CP (Marxist) should ponder on this

problem. Or, again, let us take the question of self-reliance. The experience of the past few weeks has brought home to the people of India as never before the need for economic independence, for rapidly be-coming self-rellant in food, defence, and strategic industries. This desire for selfreliance has a profound antiimperialist content since it is almed at ending defendence on the US and UK imperia-lists.

Misplaced Eloquence

But the CP (Marxist) vircondemns all attempts at achieving self-reliance defence as "militarisation in the economy". It waxes elo-quent that the proposed turn nolicies in the direction of independence in defence mat-ters will spell disaster for the economy.

What does the CP (Marxist) want? It, too, agrees that we should defend our territory, even against China, let alone Pakistan, But how? By relying on the imperialists? Or by making maximum efforts at on the imperialists? self-reliance, combined with such help from friendly socialist states as can be had?

If the UAR and Indonesia are to be praised for proceed-ing in the direction of arma-ments self-reliance and seek-ing military aid from socialist gresion, then why not India if she can made to go along. the same road?

Just because the CP (Marxist) takes an absurd contradictory position on these basic problems it is quite unable to do any thing about the needs of the people's livelihood. It displays, in fact, a contemptuous atti tude to the people.

Because of their stand they are not able to see that advancing a national platform for defence, self-reliance and the peoples' needs, will give the widest sweep and depth to the struggle on all the three inter-related fronts

Lastly, the approach to the Soviet Union. At no time since freedom has there been such a flood of love and respect for the Soviet Union in India. It is justly regarded as the only Big Power that stood by India, honoured all its pledges and strove to bring about peace as soon as possible.

The CP (Marxist) is quite urable to share this national unable to share this national pro-Soviet mood. Even to this day their organs or their acting General Secretary. have not thought it fit to how Soviet planes, Soviet cil, Soviet submarines strengthened the backbone of India's defence. Nor do they highlight the fact that it is the Soviet Union that India' has the confidence that selfreliance can be quickly achie

Their 'Neutrality'

The Marxists claim to be "neutral" as between China-and the Soviet Union. One can leave aside the question as to how neutrality is possible he-tween a friend of India and an

aggressor against India. One would like, instead, to ask: why is it that in the various organs of the CF (Marxist) only the Chinese line on the Communist con-troversy is printed? Why is it that only the Chinese slanders against the Soviet Union are reproduced a never the Soviet reply and counter-charge?

One can challenge Namboo-iripad to give a shred of vidence. from PEOPLES' evidence from PEOPLES' DEMOCRACY, JANSAKTI, DESH HITAISHI, etc., to show that even one Chinese slander has been con-demned or even one Soviet criticism of the Chinese line reproduced. "Neutrality" sheer deceit.

Earlier he used to say that he agreed with the "Soviet line" on international affairs. But lately he has taken to being diplomatically silent on the question.

The anti-Soviet stand of the CP (Marxist) is actually duite logical, even if the logic is perverse. Its stand is that the Congress Government is their main enemy. Any enemy of this enemy is its friend-hence alliance with Muslim League, Jana Sangh, Swatantra, etc. Similarly any friend of this enemy is their enemy. Hence, since the Soviet Government adopts a friendly attitude to the Government of India it becomes the enemy of the CP (Marxist).

It does not matter for them if the Soviet stand helps antiimperialism, helps the building of the national-o emocratic front. greatly raises the prestige of socialism in India. And if the masses appreciate the Soviet stand, to hell with the masses!



From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: The paddy levy scheme of the An-dhra government has come under heavy fire from the peasants. It is patently discriminatory and totally unimaginative.

ALL PURPOSE

burn to - water

HE scheme divides the I state into two: Krishna, East Godavari and West Go-davari districts on the one hand and the rest of the state on the other.

Unnatural Division

Farmers in the Krishna and Godavari districts are exem-pted from the levy. Reason given is that there would be 75 per cent procurement from the rice millers in these districts. In the rest of the state. the levy is directly on the

This means that the caltivators in the Krishna a Godavari districts can sell their produce to the millers at any price they liked while others are forced to sell it at fixed price to the government.

Again, the levy is based on the method of irrigation only. The government does not take into consideration that even with identical source of water

supply, there is wide varia-tion in yields in various areas. The new scheme is also faulty because agricultural labour is paid in cash in the coastal a eas and in kind in

should buy directly fro the Telengana area, Farmers in both areas do not have the same amount of surplus even if the total yields are the measures for raising food-grains production, the most same.

This topsy-turvy sche of the government came in for sharp attack by X. V. Krishna Rao, general secre-tary of the Andhra Pradesh Ryotu Sangham, at a press conference in Hyderabad.

Rao wanted exemption of two acres under assured water supply and four acres under other sources from the paddy levy. Land cultivated from rains only should be completely exempted. He was also against the

system of levy. The govern-ment should go in for mono-poly procurement from the peasants all over the state, he said. The Food Corporation

ELECTRICAL

INSTRUMENTS

DROUGHT HITS ANDHRA

HYDERABAD: A serious drought has hit Andhra. Even the usual ly green districts have gone grey.

NOVEMBER 7, 1985

Scarcity of water has affected the Rayalaseema and Telen-gana areas in particular. Here the plight of the peasants is really depressing. There has been no sowing of

There has been no and the second crop in these areas. This has resulted in rural unemployment. Agricultural lab-ourers and poor peasants are faced with the problem of buying food. The seriousness of the situa-

The seriousness of the situa-tion can be gauged from the fact that Congress MLA J. Vengal Rao has mentioned bout hunger deaths in Kham, am, a normally prosperou

News is pouring in from the Rayalassema and Telengana regions of the campaign for setting up relief works imme-

diately. While the people are thus suffering from food scarcity, Congress bosses are reveiling in feasts and ostentatious

in feasts and ostentatious spending sprees. J. V. Narsing Rao, former Congress Minister, celebrated his daughter's marriage in the presence of a thousand yuests, among them Union Minister N. Sanjiva Reddy and Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy. Minister Brahmananda Reddy. May be because he is the chairman of the state Electri-city Board, the current power shortage did not affect Narsing Rao's celebration; there was enough and more illumination for the marriage.

Famine Stalks Maharashtra From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: Widespread famine conditions have developed in Maharashtra. The kharif crop has been completely lost; look-out for the rabi crop is quite pessi-

R AINS have failed totally village.

and the last hopes of any showers have been given up

peasants and guarantee them

important of which is the distribution of banjar lands to the landless agricultural

Restrictions on cultivation

of wastelands like sival jame and porambokes should be removed, Time limit should be set for tilling kancha

lands under the occupation

iands under the occupation of landlords, failing which they should be distributed to the landless. Supply of water and elec-tricity should be assured. Credit facilities extended to the noor necessary Monure

the poor peasants. Manure

and fertilisers should be made

that all-party committees

should be formed at all levels

to implement the grow more food campaign. Peasant orga-nisations should be associated

with the working of these

chalked out a programme of

conventions and seminars at taluk and district levels to discuss the drive for self-

discuss the driv reliance in food.

The Ryotu Sangham has

vallable cheap and in plenty. Krishna Rao also wanted

Krishna Rao also suggested

fair price.

Increasing

Production

The chronically deficit state of Maharashtra thus faces a whole year of hard times. The cts of central help are also bleak. The secretariat of the Ma-

harashtra state council of the CPI met in an emergency session on October 28 to consider the grave situation.

The secretariat demanded are easily available. Cattle is that the government should the worst hit by the famine immediately declare the conditions. not stick to the old system of calculating annewari in the face of the stark reality of famine.

measures which the CPT has demanded are: Total ban on the export of foodgrains like bajra, ong, tur dal from the state. moor

This is urgently necessary to check the soaring prices. The state government must demand from the

Centre an equitable distribu-tion of all the food stocks that are nationally available. Are nationally available. Setting up of grain banks in every village, by taking over all surplus from indivi-dual farmers; Stocks should be exported only after meet- of farmers were also demand and of the

Famine works should be started in a big way, with emphasis on enhancing pro-ductivity in agriculture. The wages to be paid should be determined by present needs and not by the obso-lete famine code. There must be fair price shops at all such work sites

The government should establish cattle camps at * places where fodder and water

relief' committees should be set up at all levels to se-cure the people's cooperation to tide over the difficult period shead

The Communist Party also demanded that other mea-sures like installation of pumps, grant of loans and fer-tillisers should be undertaken with warlike urgency so that whatever can be saved of the coming crop would be saved. Long-term measures like distribution of fallow and surplus land among landless agricultural labour compulsory diversion of irrigated land into foodgrain cultiva-tion, proper price incentives **NOVEMBER 7, 1965**

The USIS map showing Kashmir as part of Pakistan



INTELLECTUALS AND PAK AGGRESSION From AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: A dent of the West Bengal College and University Tea-obers' Association, Maitreyce writers, educationists, teachers and represen-tatives of political parties and mass organisations was held in the city on October 22 to consider and evolve the tasks of intellectuals in the situa-tion arising out of Pakis-tani aggression against at an early date to chalk out India.

Nearly 75 persons, includ-ing principals of colleges, professors, secondary school teachers and others attended the meeting.

Prominent among the parti-cipants were, Principals. Ramani Mohan Roy, and Arun Sen, Monmotho Roy, drama-tist, Sabitabrata Dutta, actor, actor. Bose, writer, Manin-han Chakravorty, presi-

at an early date to chark out concrete programme for mobi-lising the people for streng-thening national defence, to consolidate the forces of com-munal harmony and national integration, for strengthening, commune independence and

self-reliance, and doing away with dependence on foreign countries for food.

A bigger meeting is to be held on November 7, to form a Sponsoring Committee for the proposed convention.

Settle Pak Aggression Victims **On Land Given To The Birlas**

From B. S. SARAO

CHANDIGARH: The agrarian economy of the three border districts of Punjab-Ferozepur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur-has been shatered as a result of the Indo-Pak conflict

A BOUT 47 per cent of the districts was directly involved. in the military operations. A In the mintary optication: A large part of the population of these districts had to be evacuated as their villages. came under shelling range. After the ceasefire, they have gone back to their villages but their losses are table because of the Pakistani heavy. The loss of kharif troops, presence nearby. The crop itself is estimated to Paks have spread mines in

he 50 per cent, in some be 50 per cent, in some areas even 100 per cent. The state government has stated that including the vil-lages of Khemkaran sector, fifty villages are still under Pakistani occupation. rakistani occupation. Besides these, certain villa-ges, though not, under Pakis-... tani control, are not yet habi-table because of the Pakistani

ABO - 5 Mi is a portable multipurpose, multi-range rectifier for measuring current and voltage.

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From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: Recent weeks have witnessed a widespread and popular campaign throughout Ultar Pradesh, the keynote of which is the demand, 'Quit Commonwealth'.

TITERALLY hundreds of in different parts of the state, In which speakers criticised the role of the Anglo-Ameri-can imperialists in the recent Indo-Pak conflict and demanded that India should sever connections with the Commonwealth.

The Communist Party, trade unions and kisan sabhas took the initiative for the campaign.

Along with the quit Commonwealth demand has come the demand for nationalisation of British concerns, spe-cially the British-owned oil companies. Also resolutions ernment to free itself from dependence on PL 480 food imports and to make India with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Just as the condemnation of British and American mperialists has never been so vehement among all sections of the people as today.

so also the popularity of the Soviet Union has never the Soviet Union has never been greater among the masses than now. Every-where, people have ex-pressed spontaneous appre-ciation for the Soviet Union and halled the USSE as india's best friend.

Students Demonstrate

An instance of this was recently seen in Lucknow, where the students, joined by thousands of other people, staged a big protest demonstration before the American Cultural Centre and the British Council Library.

The same Lucknow, when a member of the Cultural De-partment of the USSR Embassy in India paid a visit to the city, gave a warm and en-thusiastic welcome to him thusiastic welcome wherever he went.

The five thousand strong militant anti-American and anti-British demonstration by the students of Lucknow

Anti-Indian papers are being burnt



their fields

heir fields. Recently, those who have thus been affected by the Pakistani aggression held a convention which was at-tended by leaders of almost all the political parties in the state

the state. The convention demanded that these sufferers should be given immediate help for rehabilitation. Refugees should be given all facilities to estab-

lish themselves again. One step suggested was that those people whose villages are still under Pakistani con-trol should be rehabilitated on the more than acres of land reclaims more than a lakh

Sutlej the Reclamation

Instead of gifting this fertile land to the Birlas under the specious plea of setting up seed farms, this would certainly help the heroic people of the border districts whose hearth and home have been destroyed by the Pakistanis.

Anyhow, the government should assure these sufferers who have stood actively in support of our jawans that they would not be left to the mercy of fate but would be provided adequate and immediate relief

n October 19 came more or less as a climax to the po-werful current of anti-imperialist sentiment sweeping the state during these last

Despite the massive display of police might and force, the students demonstration students demonstration on October 19 was disciplined and Deacefn

The students, watched by The students, watched by thousands of citizens, de-monstrated before the Ameri-can Cultural Centre for over an hour shouting anti-impe-rialist slogans and denounc-ing the pro-Pakistan bias of the Americans and their pro-neganda media paganda media.

They demanded, removal from the Centre of atlases which showed Kashmir as part of Pakistani territory as also of those newspapers and magazines which had malici-ously propagated anti-Indian views during the recent Indo-Pak conflict.

They burnt copies of the American magazine, NEWS-WEEK, and London TIMES before the Centre. They tore out a map of India, Pakistan and Ceylon from one of the American atlases which show-ed Kashmir as a part of Pakistan and, after inscribing on it that it is all wrong and that Kashmir belongs to In-dia, they signed it and hand-ed over to the American care-takers to forward it to their oblefe in Unchrotecher chiefs in Washington correction

Nameboard Removed

They did the same thing before the British Council Library. They asked that the offending signboard of the library be removed from "British" be crased from it. "British" be crased from it. They persisted in this de-mand for hours and left only when the board disappeared.

Next day, on being inform ed that the provocative board had been hoisted again in the same way, first a few stu-dents and then a crowd of about a thousand went to the British Council Library to persuade the authorities to remove the board. The student crowd waited for full four hours. Five of their lea-ders sat down on an indefinite hunger-strike.

They were not tired, but the police and those whom it was trying to protect got tired. They sought to provoke the students. A seige was laid. Countless lathi-flaunting po-licemen cordoned off the area. Then on some silly pretext they started raining lathi blows on the boys.

The hungerstrikers were arrested. For hundreds of yards on each side, students and others were chased by the police. The whole area was made to look like a miniature battle-field.

Sucheta and her mentors cannot tolerate any people's demonstration against the British or the Americans. this

PAGE EIGHT

Textile Workers Rally To Meet Bonus Challenge From D. PONNIVALAVAN TAMILNAD

MADRAS: Mill workers in Coimbatore have mustered their strength to meet the challenge of the employers who want to cheat them out their legitimate bonus.

ency, the mill own-important textile ers in this centre of the South have sought to hoodwink both labour and government on the bonus issue. It was given to understand by them that most of the mills were experiencing a glut and as a consequence were running

Even workers' leaders were at first made to believe this and they joined hands in try-ing to get certain privileges for the mills from the government. But when leaders of ment. But when leaders of the trade unions, AITUC, HMS and DMK, demanded work-sheets and balance-sheets to average this defined and the sheets of this defined and the sheets of the sheet verify this claim of the mill owners, only some of them obliged and the majority just refused

In the absence of any positive proof of losses, therefore, the workers de-manded 8.5 per cent as Diwali bonus. In the negotiations, the mill owners offered to pay Rs. 40 as interim bonus-thus disprov-ing their own earlier con-



The Labour Commissioner intervening had no solution to give, except to advise the workers to accept the Rs. 40 which the mill owners were offering. The workers natu-rally refused and mobilised themselves for a peaceful agitation.

No Bonus,

reasonable terms.

A 'no bonus, no home' agitation was begun on. October 13 and continued for ten days. During this period, workers, after car-rying out their duties, stayed in the mill premises ins tead of going home. About 35,000 workers participated in the agitation. The appeals by INTUC lea-

ders were ignored and in the -thus disprov- Jothi Mills (owner, P. R. Ramakrishnan, Congress MP), tention of loss. the workers accepted the lea-On an appeal by the union dership of the ATTUC and



elewage

jappan. This was followed by a mass

fast and wearing of black badges on Diwali day by over 1,500 workers and TU leaders,

Parvathi Krishnan, P. S. Chinnadurai, Kattoor Gopal

and Venkittu. The situation continues

to be tense and the unions

have notified their inten-tion to launch direct action,

including general strike, if

no agreement is reached within a reasonable time. It is to be noted that of the three lakh rupees contributed

by the industry in Coimbatore as first instalment to the Na-

tional Defence Fund, the share of the mill owners was

only Rs. 98,000. The workers are keen to contribute more

But the employers who want to deny them their bonus and

the government which feigns

ca) Formarly Professor of Chemistry.

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36 Sodhana Ausadhalaya Road Sauhana Nagar, Calcutta 40

Bhagalour College.

Ghose, M.B B.S. (Cal.)

ing a hostile attitude.

sness are both display-

to the NDF.

AMRITSAR: The narrow-mindedness of the Jan Sangh leaders and their anxiety to make political capital out of the common people's desire to help the jawans was the cause of an ugly situation in one of the localities of Amritsar.

Jan Sangh Seeks To

N that area, known as there in the leaflet in their Kittias, a lot of cash was representative capacity as raised from the local people for sending sweets to the jawans at the time of Diwali. To this, the reply from the Among those who collected people was: Why then the the money was a lan Sanch name of the third MIA is

But in each packet, the Jan Sanghis put in a leaflet which conveyed Diwali greetings to the jawans from "Balram Tandon MLA and Baldeo Parkash MLA and other citizens". The top of the leaflet had the Jan Sangh symbol, the lighted lamp, which could also be interpreted as sym-bolising Diwali 1

wavans at the time of Diwali. Among those who collected the money was a Jan Sangh worker. The locality is predomi-nantly Sikh and anti-Jan Sangh. Everyone, however, contributed his might to the effort and sweets were pre-pared with the money.

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went upto the police. But the behaviour of the police was objectionable. It is reported that a police inspec-tor slapped one of the objectors. The persons who objected to the Jan Sangh leaflet in the sweets for the jawans were threatened with arrest by the police, while the Jan Sanghis were shown all courtesy by them. them.

lighted lamp, which could also be interpreted as sym-bolising Diwali! This has led to consider-able resentment in the locali-ty. At a largely attended when the news of this public meeting, held on Octo-ber 23, a resolution was adopted deploring the Jan buted to the project, objected. Sangh attempt to make poli-They were mostly Congress and Akali sympathisers and wanted that the leaflet should be taken out. The Jan San-ghis did not agree and argu-ed that the two names were

MILLOWNERS RAISE CRISIS SCARE

From SARALA-KARKHANIS

P OMBAY: The textile blindly endorsed by the gov-industry in Maharash- ernment. tra is fast slipping into a crisis. Some of the textile mills have been completely closed. Some have closed their third shifts. In yet some others, certain de-, partments have ceased to work

Badli workers have been thrown out on the streets in large numbers. Even by con-servative estimates, the num-ber of thus unemployd comes to tens of thousands.

Simultaneously, some of the state-run mills have forced a cut in wages on the workers. The cut is to the extent of 30 to 40 per cent. The private sector is planning to follow suit.

Strike In Vidarbha

Textile workers of Vidarbha have already expressed their resentment against these anti-worker measures by a regionwide textile strike. The strike was a complete success.

The plea of the millowners is that the industry is facing a critical situation due to piling up of stocks. This spebeen has

It is a grossly exaggerated picture. Neither the stock position nor the credit squeeze nor the balance sheets war-

rant such a conclusion. The only reason can be that the millowners want to create a scare. This is done with the

ulterior motive of queering the pitch for the second wage board for textile in-dustry and to extract more concessions for themselves and to force lower standards f wages on the workers.

Criticising the government for its blind acceptance of the millowners' stand, the secretariat of the Maharashsecretariat of the Manarash-tra state council of the CPI has demanded that a tripar-tite conference be held im-mediately to discuss, the matter.

The government should intree government should in-tervene in favour of the workers instead of itself en-croaching on the workers' in-terests and giving the green signal to the employers; the

workers are preparing for a big battle against the onslaught of the employers. It is clear that unless the government drastically changes its pro-employer stand, workers will not be in a position to increase production:

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A developing country has to depend for some time on external assistance till its economy becomes self-reliant. It is precisely in this field that one can evaluate in mate-rial terms the true friendship the

N the case of India, it has been N the case of India, it has been proved beyond all doubts that the Soviet Union is its best friend—not only as an ally in international sphere of activity but also in domestic sector helping India take such steps as to develop a self-reliant economy.

Of course; Indo-Soviet coopera-tion is not limited to these two sectors only. The cooperation extends to various other fields, each of which in turn contributes to the strengthening of the bonds of friendship. But the first place goes to the economic coope-



Prime Minister Shastri being received in Moscow by Premier Kosygin

REDSTARSHALLNEVER BE DIM...

L OOKING out of the hotel window in Moscow, I could see below endless streams of people, men and women, briskly walking through the snow-covered street—spec-tacle of energy unleashed, the power that put the have-not on the throne have-not on the throne and changed the destiny of mankind.

of mankind. And high above, I look up to the Red Star on the Kremlin spires, and I could not help feeling how much of history, of man's struggle to be free from bondage, is linked up with that symbol shining like a red diamond.

a red diamond. To reach Moscow for the nniversary of the great Nov-mber Revolution is like a ember Revolution is like a pilgrimage—not only for the Communists but for any one interested in ending inequality in society. And that was how it was when the working people of Russia under the leadership of the Bolsheviks stormed the Czar's Winter Palace forty-eight years ago and proclaimed the birth of the first workers' tate in bistory.

tate in history. Others had striven before Others had striven before them—Spartacus in Rome to G-romunards in Paris—but they could not retain the heights despite their unforgettable martyrdom, and the forces of elass tyranny had overpowered them, one and all. Enriched by the experience of them all, the experience which Marx processed into a

And not only have the forces And not only have the forces of oppression, those who would want to put the clock back, have since then failed to dis-lodge the power of the toiling man: rather this power has grown stronger and stronger, and in less than fifty years, has become today. a super-power. become today a super-power, as powerful as the greatest state that capitalism has so

state that capitalism has so far produced. A miracle indeed in man's deathless journey through his-tory. But the miracle was re-cognised even in less than a decade of the great Revolu-tion: one far-sighted American after a visit to the land of socialism in the late twenties had exclaimed: "I have seen the future, and it works!"

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S TANDING in the biting cold of the Russian winter, with snow Hakes falling all over, one should normally have been frozen and benumbed. But not so could one be on the November, Revolution Day in the Red Square when the cavalcade of freedom passes in front of you: As the marching feet passed in salutation before the Lenin mausoleum-arms and men.



You too should take Sadhana's you too should take Sadhaha's wonderful medicine, two teaspoonsfull of <u>Mritasanjibani</u> mixed with four teaspoons of <u>Mahadraksharista</u> (six years old), twice a day after meals, to keep you in good health. They remove weariness, increase the appetite and digestive powers and help you get rid of cough and coid.

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA-DACCA





The period is not long enough and obviously the economic coope-ration between these two countries cannot yet do away with the tradi-tional ties India has with other

None of the traditional ties India has with other countries can be des-

ration which has developed between the two countries in the period of last eleven years or so. cribed as one helping Indian economy to be self-reliant. In fact this term "self-reliant" India's "friends" other than the socialist countries do not like. The non-socialist "friends" would like

never. This is the most vital difference. This is a nut-shell is precisely the difference between the two systems: sides othe canitalist and socialist as regards

capitalist and socialist as regards their cooperation with India. After India became independent, it sought to develop its economy at a fast pace and to overcome the depen-dence it had over two centuries on western countries for acquiring neces-news goods and services. But none was sary goods and services. But none was oming. The west was ready to



No country was ready to help India set up another steel plant, and hest-tant as the Government of India was in seeking socialist aid, it had to knock many a door to realise this truth

And then wisdom dawned. The. agreement to set up Bhilai steel plant was concluded with the Soviet Union. The was contributed when the botter botter It was on February 2, 1955 that a breakaway from India's traditional past occurred in the field of economy. Afraid to be left out high and dry. other countries in the western block

the awe-inspiring night of the Scolet power and the creative greatness of the socialist man, —one could not help being struck by the grandeur of the Great Socialist Revolution. For over four decades now, the glory of socialist labour, what heights it can capture— and beyond, literally storming the heavens—has inspired the toiling men in every land, from the bleak arctic waste to the stearning tropical jungle, from the giant factories to the bound-less prairies For every worker in his daily struggle for a better deal, the spectacle of Labour Enthroned has been a source of never-ending inspira-

Labour Enthroned has been a source of never-ending inspira-tion. From the barricades in Berlin to the triumph at Dien Bien. Phu, from the militia pickets in Madrid to the anti-war par-tisans in Tokyo, the spirit of the November Day leads on the toiling humanity on the journey to the final emancipa-tion from the thraldom of capital.

tion from the inflation of capital. Never before in history have so many been inspired to fight for so much for such a long time by a single event. And standing at the Red Square, watching the parade pass, you have the feeling that history is advancing before your own even.

is advancing before your own eyes. And it was not inspiration alone that the November Revo-lution has provided to the millions upon millions of work-ing people. Wherever Man has fought for freedom and against oppression, there has come succour from the land of the November Revolution. The

Algerian revolutionaries know it and the Cubans acknowledge

it and the cubans acknowledge it. Whether in the precincts of the United Nations or in the armed reckoning with Hitler, the Soviet Union has never wavered in defence of man's liberation. No people in history has sacrificed so much for the uplift of so many as has the Soviet people. They have foregone their own comforts so that the Chinese people may build a new and prosperous life for themselves. Neither the frowns of the imperialists nor the in-gratitude of the chauvinists has led the Soviet Union to lose

gratitude of the chauvinists has led the Soviet Union to lose faith in the ultimate advance of humanity.

ODAY the message of the T ODAY the message of the November Revolution is the message of peace. For, the Soviet people have shown the world that through peace, and not through war can the wheel of progress be moved faster in every land. It is the imperialist conversor who gains in war.

every land. It is the imperialist oppressor who gains in war. The might of the November Revolution itself can ensure a world without arms, a world which can very well be the harbinger of the Singing To-morrows for which Gabriel Peri and Julius Fuck gave their lives in the complete confidence of the final triumph of socialism all the world over. Communism is Peace. Communism is Inall the world over. Communism is Peace, Communism is In-vincible. The Red Star over the Kremlin spires shall never grow

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also then came forward. And in vary-ing terms, not always to India's ad-vantage, other agreements were also signed with UK, West Germany etc. But none was as good and beneficial as the agreements India concluded with the socialist countries, parti-cularly the Soviet Union. There were to have India as a source of raw mate-to have India as a source of raw mate-rial, as a market for selling goods of the capitalist world; but could not like this country to be self-reliant-in all agreements with the capitalist

countries. Today, the Soviet Union alone, be-sides other socialist countries, is co-operating with India in 44 projects-and all of them are vital for India. The Western world never wanted, nor does it want now, to help India with machines that would manufacture heavy machines to replenish requirements of industrial machinery.

For any country's industrial growth, this is most important. You can have a steel plant but you also need to make new ones and replaneed to make new ones and reple-nish the old worn-out machines. It is through the Soviet Union that India is having its first heavy ma-

chine building plant at Ranchi. It is wellknown today that the Soviet Union has helped India with hardwares of defence to meet the immediate need. But it does not stop plants for manufacture of such hard-ware so that in near future India will be able to depend on its own produc-tion for its needs.

cooperati Indo-Soviet economic. Indo-Soviet economic cooperation today covers steel making-two steel plants: Bhilai and Bokaro; machine building plants-Ranchi and Durga-pur; electrical equipment plant-Hardwar; oll industry-prospecting and extraction as well as refining; power generation; pharmaceuticals; contentioned sceletones; scele gricultural assistance; scientific

agricultural assistance; scientific know-how to make Indian engineers self-smficient for further progress etc. The significance of the Ranchi machine building plant can be gua-ged if it is taken into account that, every year this plant will produce 80,000 tons of machinery for the steel industry, oil drilling, mine lifts, every the

excavators etc. The Durgapur machine building plant will produce machinery required for coal mining. In addition the Hardwar plant will be producing heavy electrical equipment for power pro-

jects. These are sectors which are most vital to the growth of any-country. No other country, ever gave such unstin-ted and selfiess assistance to India at any time in India's history.

It will not be an over-statement to say that the core of India's indus-rial might has been established with Soviet assistance and it is from this strong core, India's giant; industrial arms are spreading all over the country acquiring greater and grea-

ter might. Thanks to the Soviet Union which supports the basic policies of India, this country has been saved from the ignominous fate of becomfrom the ignominous fate of becom-ing a neo-colonial country tied to the capitalist world in chains of dependence. This did not happen because the

Soviet Union was there; because October Revolution had taken place which not only created a new coun-try and a new order but also a new orientation for the entire mankind.

orientation for the entire mankind. Not exploitation but real and un-stinted assistance to under-develop-ed and developing countries is the keynote of this new orientation. It is because of the October Revolu-tion, the tide of freedom movement has taken an impetuous turn. More and more countries are becoming able to shake off the shackles of subjura-tion the shackles of subjurato shake on the shakes of subjurt tion of imperialism and these newly-liberated countries. India is not an isolated example—are able not only to be free but also to defend their



October Revolution: Impact On Afro-Asia

THE history of the subjugation of Afro-Asian countries by the imperialist powers was simultaneously history of anti-colonial war. but the crisis of the colonial system deepened only after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution of 1914, which created real prerequi-sites for the success of the national-liberation movement in Asia and Africa. The front of imperialism was broken

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The front of imperialism was broken through and its economic, political and military might was weakened. The world's first socialist state became the bulwark of the world revolutionary process, a mighty force revolutionising the broad masses of Asia and Africa. No sooner had the Soviet State come into existence than it issued a call to

all the oppressed peoples for freedom. Lenin's Decree on Peace, the Decla-ration of Rights of the Working Peo-ple and the Exploited People, the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, and the Appeal of the Soviet Government "To all Moslem Working People of Russia and the East" show-ed the peoples of Asia and Africa most clearly that a new state had emerged on the world scene, which had firmly taken the course of pursuing an anti-imperialist policy, the course of sup-porting the struggle of the oppressed peoples for liberation.

Lenin's ideas of liberation of the peoples were embodied in concrete steps of the young Soviet State.

steps of the young Soviet State. Its rejection of special rights and privileges, stipulated in different conventions and treatles imposed in their time by the tsarist govern-ment on China, and the annul-ment of unequal treatles between tsarist Russia and Iran, Turkey and other countries, made it much easier for many neonles of Asia to Geht for many peoples of Asia to fight imperialism

The Soviet socialist state rendered substantial aid to Afghanistan in the struggle against the colonialists. It was the first to recognise her independence and to establish diplomatic relations with her. The Soviet-Afghan treaty of friendship, signed in 1921. plaved a big part in consolidating Afghanistan's international position.

In 1920, when the imperialist powers were getting ready to split up Turkey, Soviet Russia was the first to recog nise the revolutionary government

headed by Kemal Ataturk, a later concluded a treaty with him "On Friendship and Fraternity."

Subsequently, in conditions of the economic blockade of Turkey by the imperialists, the Soviet Union, despite the economic difficulties which it was itself experiencing at that time, lent. financial (10 million foreign-exchange, roubles) and technical aid to the young Turkish Republic.

One of the Soviet Union's most outstanding army leaders, M. V. Franze, was sent to Turkey where rrunze, was sent to Turkey where Africa after the October Revolution. he largely helped to bring to a suc- National organisations were set up, cessful end the struggle of the Tur- which came out under the slogans of kish people against imperialism and self-determination and freedom its agents.

This historical significance of the October Revolution for the destinies of the national-liberation movement was repeatedly stressed by many lea-ders of the national-liberation movements of the world. Sun Yat-sen, the outstanding Chi-

nese revolutionary democrat, called it the "great hope of mankind". Jawa-

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Y. ETINGER

harlal Nehru, the late Prime Minister of India who highly appraised the role and significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the world historical process, had said: "I have no doubt that the Soviet Revolution had advanced human so-

clety by a great leap and had lit a bright flame which could not be smothered, and that it had laid the

foundations for that new civilisation

towards which the world could ad-

Although the biggest imperialist powers united to make up for the loss of one-sixth of the land surface of the earth, which broke away from their influence, an undying torch flar-ed up on the globe which was destined to kindle the flames of freedom for the on pressed

the oppressed. The light of this torch of freedom

lit up the Afro-Asian countries and facilitated the development of the

national-liberation movement there.

The May 4 Movement in China in 1919, the anti-Japanese pprising in-

1919. the anti-Japanese uprising in Korea in 1919, the armed actions of

the Indian patriots in 1918-1922, the organisation of revo-lutionary councils and the upsurge of the guerrilla movement of the Jengelis in Iran (1918-1921), and a rumber of popular uprisings in Egypt (1919-1921)—such were the events which followed the revolution in Russia. Social forces—the working class and

the national bourgeoiste—joined in the anti-imperialist movement in the most advanced countries of Asia and

as the East African Natives Association and Central Gikuyu Association in Kenya sprang up in British-domi-nated East Africa. In the African National Congress of South Africa, re-presentatives, of the national intelli-gentsia took over as leaders in place of tribal chieftains.

of tribal chieftains. The influence of all these organisa-tions on the masses grew considerably. Trade unions began to act in a num-ber of Afro-Asian countries which later became a genuine school for many African political leaders. As the Soviet state grew stronger and scattering associated

As the Soviet state grew stronger and socialist construction proceeded in full swing, Soviet aid to the peoples waging an anti-imperialist struggle also grew steadily. The Soviet Union consistently fulfilled its international duty. This aid was no longer limited to mili-tary and political support. But in the first store of the general

But in the first stage of the general crisis of capitalism and its colonial system, the anti-imperialist move-ment did not achieve decisive succes-

A new upsurge of the national-liberation movement began later when, as a result of the victory of the Soviet Union and all freedom-loving peoples in the Second World War and the transformation of socialism into a world system, imperialism was dealt a fresh strong blow.

The democratic processes in the colonies widened and deepened in the course of the anti-fascist liberation war. The colonial system of imperialism began to crumble under the blo of the nal-liberation movement. notio

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A view of the October Revolution Anniversary parade in Moscow, November 7, 1964.



I T is often thought that prior to Russia dates back to the 1890s and the Great October Revolution n 1917, neither the revolutionary truggle in Russia nor socialism revolutionary Pyotr Kroptkin in Paris. in 1917, neither the revolutionary struggle in Russia nor socialism were ever heard of in India. That's

a gross error, of course. As early as in the 1870s, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, a classic name in Bengali literature and brilliant author, toid the Indian readers sympathetically about socialist ideas in the West in his paper "Samya" ("Equality"). He mentioned the "International" and pointed out that the day would come when the socialist order is established all over the Earth. In 1890, lectures on socialism were

delivered in Bombay by a specially invited member of the Fabian Society. His lectures roused the enthusiasm of the Indian audience, on the one hand, and the evident irritation of the

hand, and the evident irritation of the British, on the other. In the early 1890s, socialist ideas were written about by the Bengali genius Rabindranath Tagore who had already written in one of his article, "Socialism" (1892), that a mighty social revolution was growing ripe in Europe and that it might take place then or in the nearest future.

Another amazingly far-seeing statement on the future revolut

48 Years Of Soviet Power

DARADOXICAL as it may appear, the first socialist state, whose people cleared the way to the space, was lagging far behind the developed imperialist coun-Granulated tries not so long ago.

Only 48 years have passed since October 1917—a very short period in-deed in the march of history. Up to 1917, that is up to the Socialist Revolu-tion, Russia's share in the world indus-trial output amounted to only four per cent, while the technical level of its economy was 10 times lower than in the USA.

And it must be noted that the people had to give 20 of the 48 years of exist-ence of the Soviet Union to the struggle against foreign imperialist intervention, to the Second World War and to the ehabilitation of the

And so, how much time did history leave them for creative work? A little more than two-and-a-half decades. But even that brief period proved sufficient for the free Soviet man.

Industrial production in the USSR exceeds pre-recolutionary level by approximately 50 times. While in some of the Union Republics, such as Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Armenia, the rates of economic development have been still higher.

Let us compare the production figures of major industries of pre-revolutionary Russia (on the eve of the First World War) and the Soviet Union:

1913 1964 Electrical (milliard k.w.h.) 2 459 (million tons) 29 554 energy Coal Oil 29 554 10.3 223.6 4.3 85.0 1.8 64.9 " Steel Cement And here is what the difference in

es looks like:

1913 1964 (million metres) 2,672 6,974 474

11.2 3.623 (thousand tons) 1,363 8,209

After the Socialist Revolution, pro-After the Socialist Revolution, pro-duction of many types of commodities, was organised anew. Entire industrial branches — aviation, automobile, tractor, manufacture of synthetic materials and a number of others—have been created during the years of Soviet power.

The very face of the villages has changed. Large cooperative and state enterprises, equipped with uptodate machinery, have replaced the scatterpeasant farms.

Although the number of people engaged in farming has dwindled by almost half, agricultural output increased 2.4 times in 1964, as compared with 1913

During the years of Soviet power, real incomes of workers have increased approximately sixfold, and of members of agricultural cooperatives (kolkhozes) sevenfold, as compared with the pre-revolutionary level. Soviet people are consuming better food, dressing well, and satisfying their cultural needs more fully

More than 68 million people, or nearly every third citizen in the USSR, studied during the 1964-65 academic year in the Soviet Union. This exceeds the student enrolment in pre-revolutionary Russia by more than fivefold.

The network of higher and specialised secondary educational establishments is developing at an especially rapid pace. The norulation of all the 15 repub-

leveloping at an especially rapid pace. There were nearly seven million lics of the Soviet Union enjoy absolutely students in the 1964-65 academic year as compared with 181,000 students in social and cultural spheres of life.

Cotton fabrics Leather (million pairs) sugar Vegetables oil

471 2.240

208,000 to 2,133,000.

Improvement of living conditions is facilitated by high rates of housing

In the first half of 1965 alone the Soviet neonle have been provided with 500.000 new modern flats, total-ling about 21 million square metres of floor space (in 1913 the housing resources of all the cities in Russia totalled 180 million square metres).

There are such phenomenon in the life of Soviet people that are no longer noted now, and some of them cannot be reflected in figures.

Exploiting classes have been fully eliminated in the USSR. There are no oppressers here-neither domestic nor foreign. Unemployment was done away with, once and for all, 35 years ago.

INDIAN LEADERS ON SOCIALIST THOUGHT



Russia in the 1914-15 academic year. Education is free in the USSR, and students receive State stipends.

The Soviet state maintains a huge network of medical institutions, the number of which is being increased steadily, surpassing the health-service system of pre-revolutionary Russia many times.

Compared with 1913, the number of doctors in the country's health-service organisations has increased from 28,000 to 523,000, and the hospital beds from

Many infectious diseases have been eradicated in the USSR. General cases of illness among the population are dropping, and child mortality has re-duced sharply. The average life span in the Soviet Union has increased to 70 years (prior to the Revolution it was 32 years).

Vivekananda did not only write that "a time will come when there ers)" but, according to his followers, struggle. he pointed directly to Russia as the first country where "the next upheaval ideas of socialism which, though they that is to usher in another era" would take place.

The first Russian revolution of 1905-1907, already, was welcomed with enthusiasm in India. Brochures about the revolutionary struggle in Russia were spread illegally in Bengal, Mad-ras and Delhi. National leaders holding different social and political views, such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Madame B. R. Kama and Mahatma Gandhi. voiced their attitude to the events in Russia in 1905.

And they all, just as many other nationalists, considered these events to be an important example to Indians of liberation struggle against tyranny.



Mahatma Gandhi, on the one hand, and Madame Kama, on the other, each of them in their own way, called upon the Indians to follow that ex-

Mahatma Gandhi, who at that time was living in South Africa, wrote in his newspaper INDIAN OPINION: The present unrest in Russia is a great lesson to us... The Russian workers and all other servants declared a general strike and stopped all work. And the Tzar could not do anything and the last could into the anything because it was quite impossible to exact work from the people by force at the point of the bayonet. We, too, can resort to the Russian remedy against tyranny"

In her vivid exposing speech against British domination in India, made at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart in 1907, Madame Kama said that the time would come when the Indians would rise and would follow the exa of "our comrades in Russia, w

we send our special fraternal ings."

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Of course, the idea the Indian national leaders had about the liberation struggle in Russia in those days was far from complete, especially as re-

had won a sympathetic interest, were known but to few people in India, and their knowledge of these ideas was quite approximate, indeed.

The criticism of the bourgeois system, which Indian nationalist think-ers came out with, was of an abstract moralising nature: It was the denunciation of an evil without bringing out the laws and concrete ways of strug-gle against that evil. "They were ideas more humanitarian and utopian than scientific," Jawaharlal Nehra wrote later.

The very first news of the socialist revolution in Russia was met with great hope in the national-liberation, great hope in the national-liberation, democratic movement of India. Thus, in her presidential address at a ses-sion of the Indian National Congress in 1917, Annie Besant spoke of the Russian revolution and of the pro-bability of the establishment of a Russian republic in Europe and Asia as of a factor which radically chang-ed the formerly existing situation in India India

Progressive people in India strove to understand the social essence of the October Revolution and to estimate its significance for the human TOCH

Here is what Rabindranath Tagore REVIEW in July 1918: "It is quite pos-sible that, as a nation, she will fall; but if she falls with the flag of true ideals in her hands, her fallure will fade, like the morning star, only to usher-in the sunrise of the new age." It was with reference to the revo-

lution in Russia that Tagore was saying in that particular manner of his, that India, too, must join mankind's morning procession towards truth. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was pointing

out that India should not be afraid of Bolshevism, for its idea of social justice had always been inherent in

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Another view of the parade, November 7, 1964

Tempestuous Growth In Indo-Soviet Union is the as-the government of trade relations between this coun-try and the Soviet Union is the as-

exchange crisis, the government decided to stop all imports of petro-leum products from the western, foreign exchange sources. The free gap between demand and indigenous production was sought to be bridged through increased imports from the Soviet Union and an agreement was signed accordingly

PACE TWELVE

with that country. This was possible because imports from the Soviet Union did not entall any foreign exchange expenditure on India's part. These are on rupee pay-ment basis, which is one of the most significant aspects of Indo-Soviet

Rupee payment system was intro-duced in India's trade with the Soviet Union when the two countries entered into their first trade agreement on December 2, 1953. Under this agree-ment, the Indian rupee was for the first time recognised as a currency for payments in foreign trade. Not only was the rupee recognised as a currency for payments; the Soviet Union undertook to purchase from India goods that are necessary into their first trade agreement on

from India goods that are necessary to pay off India's imports from the Soviet Union. That meant there would be no balance of payments problems between the two coun-tries. It was indeed a novel experi-ence for this country.

From this experience about the expression, "not aid but trade"—a principle that is today the main economic slogan of all the un-derdeveloped countries in the world.

AFRO-ASIA AND **OCTOBER REVOLUTION** *FROM OVERLEAF

Sovereign state began to spring up, one after another, in place of the mer colonies. The struggle of the peoples of Asia

and Africa against imperialism conti-nues in our times. It embraces a wide sphere of political and economic, interrelations of the developing coun-tries with the imperialist powers.

In the struggle for genuine nation independence, the peoples of Asia and Africa lean on the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist coun-

The world socialist system stands like a shield in the way of the im-perialists who would like to restore the colonial system in Africa and Asia. And this is the direct result

of the October Revolution. Its influence is also reflected in the fact that the ideas of scientific socia-lism are becoming ever more wide-spread on the African and Asian soil, where a number of states have taken the road of non-capitalist development. In many Afro-Asian countries socialism has turned into a real programme of building of a new society. This characterises the main trend of the present development. of such states as the United Arab Republic, states as the United Arab Republic, Burma, Ghana, Guinea, Mall, and the Congo (Brazzaville), who are scor-ing big successes in the upbuilding of their national economy and in the social and cultural fields.

The profound socio-economic trans-formations which are being carried out in these countries are strengthening the revolution and consolidating the cause of world socialism. Socialism, the triumphant ideas of

which scored a victory for the first time in Russia in 1917, is now becoming the banner of all progressive forces which are fighting against im-

E ARLY in 1965 when India was faced with an acute foreign exchange crisis, the government lecided to stop all imports of petro-

sand per cent.

thousand per cent. This also means that the trade turnover target set for 1966, under the third five-year agreement between the two countries in 1963, would be realised one full year earlier.

The enormity of this increase in the trade between India and the Soviet Union can be understood only when the small increase in India's trade with capitalist countries is also

-by-PAULY V. PARAKAL

noted. Our trade with United States Germany 100 per cent and with Britain just five per cent during 1953-63

1953-63. Again, it has to be seen in the pers-pective of the falling share of under-developed countries in world trade. The share of South-East Asian countries in world trade dropped from 6.3 per cent in 1960 to 5.5 per cent in 1962; exports of developing countries accounted for only five per cent of world exports against 6.2 per cent in

 The third notable aspect of Indo-Soviet trade is its increasing diversity. In 1953 India's exports to the Boviet Union consisted solely of traditional goods like skins, hides, spices, tea and coffee. As the volume increased about Rs. 70 crores in 1964-a variety.

of other goods also found their way into the Soviet Union. Under the latest trade agreement, finished and semi-finished goods are exported in larger quantities, to be exported in larger quantities, reaching 45 per cent of the total in

grown in recent years. In 1953 the trade turnover between the two countries amounted to a paltry one crore of rupees. In ten years, by 1963, this had gone up to go up to Rs. 140 crores. In 1965 it is expected to be of the order of Rs. 210 crores—an increase of more than two cent

cent. In the last two-three years, the Soviet Union has also started supply-ing India under the terms of the trade agreement complete equipment for the construction of power stations. Among them are Detratu in Bibar for the construction of power stations. Among them are Patratu in Bihar, Mettur in Madras, Balimela in Orissa and Harduaganj in Uttar Pradesh. The Soviet Union's contribution to the mechanisation of India's agri-to the mechanisation of India's agri-

culture is also commendable. Today

culture is also commendable. Today there are nearly ten thousand Soviet tractors rendering meritorious ser-vice in India's fields. A big event in Indo-Soviet trade relations in 1964 was the signing of the agreement for the delivery of Soviet agricultural machines and equipment for the central mechanis-

equipment for the central mechanis-ed farm at Jatsar in Rajasthan. The increase in India's oil imports from Soviet Union has been mention-ed earlier. Beginning with the first contract in 1960 for 1.5 million tons of oil products, it has grown to the stage when the entire Indian demand, minus India's own production, is met by the Soviet Union.

The reason for the successful de-velopment of Indo-Soviet trade is that from the very beginning these have been based on correct principles. These principles are mutual benefit, absence of barriers, most-favoured nation treatment and long-term con-tracts which help to bring planning

into trade relations. These are in direct contrast with different forms of discrimination practised by the western countries in international trade like the application of preferential tariffs, quantitative restrictions and discrimination in transport of cargoes.

capitalist countries also put The

- NOVEMBER 7, 1965

The desire of the developing coun-tries to get out of the jaws of insati-able profit greed of the capitalist countries found expression in the International Trade Conference of 1964,

ternational Trade Conference of 1964, in convening which the Soviet Union had a major role. The Soviet Union fully supported the demands of India and other develop-ing countries at this conference. One of the practical steps taken by the Soviet Union to help the developing countries was the decision to abolish all wittoms tariffs on all commodities all customs tariffs on all commodities

it buys from India. India's trade relations with the Soviet Union are centuries old. We are told that in the Russian epics of twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there are vivid references to Indian traders and Indian merchandise.

Russia had sent legations to the Moghul court at different times to establish trade relations. Afanast establish trade relations. Afanast Nikitin, the first Russian traveller to set foot on Indian soil was a trader In Astrakhan, in Western Russia, there was a thriving trade centre of Indian community till the nineteenth century.

It was the foreign domination In was the totelal plunder of the India and the colonial plunder of the Indian economy that followed which ruptured these flourishing trade relations between the two countries.

These western countries had even sought to block the first trade agreement between India and the Soviet Union, because they well knew that it would open up new vistas for India's trade and economic progress. But they could not succeed and that much good for India.

Today, India and the Soviet Union have successfully picked up the lost thread. And day by day, the economic and trade ties between the two countries are growing stronger, to the advantage of both.

INDIAN LEADERS ON SOCIALIST THOUGHT * FROM OVERLEAF

the Indians themselves. In 1921, Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in his "Political Future of India" that Bolshevism was a true, a genuine idea and that an idea could not be destroyed. The progressive national leaders of

India who in a number of important political and philosophical issues held views that were different from those of Marxism-Leninism were gradually coming to that conception of socia-

lism. Thus, it was under the influence of the Great October Revolution and of a study of the works of Marx and Lenin that Jawaharlal Nehru arrived in the 1930s at his basic socio-political conclusion that: "Socialism is the only key to the solution of the world's and of India's problems" there being "no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and subjection of the Indian people except through socia-lism."

lism.". Thus, the Socialist Revolution in Russia had an inspiring effect on the development of the great Indian people's struggle for its national and social emancipation and promoted the rise of this struggle to a new level.

Subsequently, the very existence of the Soviet Union and its achievements played an immense part in the libera-tion of India and other countries under the imperialist yoke. Today, the growth of the world socialist system hich had heer ushered in by the Great October Revolution is a m factor of these countries' progress in tional development.

Shastri Must Not Go To Washington

*FROM FRONT PAGE

0

NOVEMBER 7. 1965

goes by the name of Swatans come out with a resolution openly calling for what it calls "a radical revision of the country's foreign policy, the discarding of dog-ma and the adoption of rea-listic diplomacy". This is made more explicit in the following

-"Initiative in organising the defence of democracy to dismay in progressive cirin Asia"-which everyone knows means the defence of US imperialism:

-Remaining inside the Commonwealth (and pre sumably also tied to US

nam", which means sup-

port to US imperialist ag-

gression against the peo-

All this is tagged on to proposals on Kashmir in line with those of imperialism. The Swatantra Party does not

say plebscite in so many words, but all the references in its resolution to "obliga-tions undertaken by India

towards the people of Kash-mir", "a solution... in the in-terests of both", and the call

for "a policy of conclliation" in Kashmir and the condem-

nation of the arrests and de-

tention of the leaders of the

pro-imperialist "plebicite". lobby in Kashmir—all mean the same thing.

The Swatantra Party has

been encouraged to come out in the open for an avo-wedly pro-American policy demand at this time, when

the memory of the Sabres and Pattons is still green,

solely by the drift in gov

Encouraging

Swafantra

Kal-shek regime:

ple of Vietnam:

apron-strings); dence on PL 480, ab -Opening diplomatic relations with the Chiang

childish diplomatic game? The democratic movement -"Defence of South Viet-

Only Brave

Words?

understands well that the only way to safeguard India's independence and sovereignty from the blackmail and pressures of the imperialists is to sharpen the anti-imperialist edge of our policies.

Running to kowtow before the Texas dollar king will only help to weaken India further. It will lose us the respect and support of the socialist and anti-imperialist world which is our armour against the onslaughts of the imperialists.

SHASTRI MUST NOT GO TO WASHINGTON-that must be the rallying cry of the democratic movement. It embodies in it the entire urge of the people of this country for a shift away from dependence on imperialism, for standing on our own feet, for friendship and cooperation with those who have proved their solidarity with us during these perilous times. (November 3)

Rajasthan: Go Slow In Land Reforms

JAIPUR: The law on imposition of cellings on agri-cultural holdings in Rajas-than, which has been limping ahead without being tho-roughly implemented for the last ten years, is proposed to be further shelved, reports IPA.

Pressure is being put on the

Pressure is being put on the State Government to phase out its implementation in gradual stages. Already, the big land-holders had enough oppor-tunity to circumvent provi-sions of law and transfer most of their lands illegally. The travalls of land reform to prior the prior the prior the start began when the in Rajasthan began when the Revenue Laws Commission was entrusted with the task of evaluating the impact of land reform measures in Ra-

Instead of doing so and then following it up with sugges-tions for removing the lapses, the commission proceeded to the commission proceeded to suggest revenue and land management laws which actually would benefit the big Now in the third report.

the commission is under-stood to have told the state government that "we, the commission, are of the view that it (ceilings law) should be implemented in a manner that would not cause undue hardship." mented in a manner

The commission is also reported to have observed in its draft report that "in Rajasthan it is very difficult to say how much land is going to be available if the law relating to cellings is implemented."







ernment policies and the outrageous tributes paid to imaginary shifts in TIS no licy by government leaders The whole world has now

begun to understand the vital significance of the Shastri visit to Washington. The Prime Minister's refusal to contradict (actually his vague statements have only con firmed them) Patil's declara-tions in Washington, have led

Were all the earlier brave meant to be moves in a words about ending depenconsidering our attitude to the Commonwealth, only

CAUGHT LYING A crime becomes all into a PIA Boeing 707 bound for Pakistan on a special flight. when it is sought to be

W. GERMANS ARE

menage

falsehood. That is the case with the Bonn fascists. Their lies on the score of their arms deals with Pakistan, and subsequent statements about having ban-ned arms deliveries to Pakis-tan (and India of course) since the commencement of Indo-Pak hostilities, have now been shown up for all they are worth.

covered up by outright

The truth has been brought to the world's gaze by a fel-low-traveller of their own camp—a distinguished West German newspaper DEUT-SCHE VOLKSZEITUNG.

The newspaper unravelled recently a fascinating story— of how the secret Bonn in-structions for handling arms deliveries, to Pakistan were Pakistan were nted. It so hapbeing implemented. It so hap-pened that a foreman at an airport and the workers who were to load the arms for Pakistan, tripped up.

By coincidence, the inci-dent of loading the West German arms on a PIA Boe-ing took place right under the nose of the UN Secretary-General U Thant. It happen-ed when U Thant was return-ing to New York from his talks in Karachi and New Delhi during the days of the conflagration.

U Thant made a stopover at the West German airport of Frankfurt Rhein-Main, where he was received by the Chief of Protocol on behalf of the President of the German Federal Republic.

Read on—this report from DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEI-TUNG of September 25-for the rest of the story:

"On the same day the fol-lowing happened at the very airport: A foreman discovered that cases containing war material were to be emplaned

for flight. "The foreman and the workers refused to load the war material. They could not believe the Pakistan Airlines' aerodrome officer that a spe-ric clal permission should have ant been given by the Federal an-inquiry was made of Bonn. kis-rrse) To the workers' great em-barrassment, the Ministry of Transports gave their appro-1 and explicitly pointed out the Shall and Village Indus-tries Commission, continues to of Saurashtra. The hub of his influence is the Rajkot area where Congressmen look to him for guidance even at the risk of displeasure of big boss Morarji. tions with the Foreign

Clear enough; is'nt it!

Or has the Bonn Foreign Office still to provide some "clarification" to remove "mis-understandings"?

MORARJI **OPTS FOR GUJARAT**

HARDLY did the ceasefire on the Indo-Pak frontier commence. when the war between Congress politicians for the loaves and fishes of power was resumed in all

One of the veterans in this game is the dichard politician Morarji Desai. Having been edged out from the Centre by a cleverer man, who unlike Morarjibhal does not have a one-track mind, the ambitious Morarji has now considered it fit to concentrate on Gujarat.

Better grab what is at hand and secure it against . inroads—that seems to be Morarjibhai's reasoning.

The target is none else than the former Congress chieftain U. N. Dhebar, who



PAGE THIRTEE

But now this small pocket too is to be smoked out. Camping in Ahmedabad for a whole week, Morarji has seen to it that all loose tied. Summons we ons were issued to three senior Congress leaders of Rajkot district, Chimanlal Nagardas Shah, a former Dis-trict Congress President, Jethalal Joshi MP, and Dev-shibhai Patel, president of Rajkot Congress currently.

The ostensible agenda of the deliberations was means to gear up the Congress machine in the district for the purpose of the next elections Morarji drew up a three-poin

•All three Raikot leaders were entrusted with joint res-ponsibility for tackling prob-lems of the district.

• The three leaders should meet periodically, discuss and take decisions—even if one of them was absent.

• If there was any, point of difference amongst them, it was to be referred to Morarji Desai and his award would be binding on leaders. all. the

What was important in this whole, scheme was the last point—namely that Morarji's word was binding on Rajkot. That clinches the issue so far as Rajkot goes.

-BHIMA

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An earlier sample

that mostly on surm The commission's draft

This is due to, "the trans-fers made during the period the law relating to celling remained unimplemented."

The commission has also conceded that "the general view is that there has been a good deal of illegal transfers.

conducted by the state gov-ernment had indicated that "about 23 lakh acres of land may be available by the im-plementation of the ceiling law." But the commiss "this figure is based

report also expresses the view that the application of the law would fetch suffici-ent land to rehabilitate only about 4000 families.

142 pp

FOR AN INDEPENDENT directions and as rapidly as rough the possible. Vagueness regarding the possible. Vagueness regarding the fourth Plan must end forth-with. It can no longer be just does not know its mind **DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY** about the new plan. Asoka Mehta has warned on Octo-ber 17 that "the abnormal situation contained the dangerous potential of a push-

Pakistan's aggression served to bring to sharp focus "It is this approach that the basic problems of India's development. It showed has made Britain and the US in a flash that the enemy of our territorial integrity was drag their feet in regard to the establishment of four also the enemy of our economic independence—the forces of world imperialism, headed by the United States

IT was a Pakistan armed and abetted by imperialism that invaded our territory and hoped to inflict a humiliating defeat on us. And at the very moment of war cam the threats from Washington and London that food, wea-pons and economic "aid" to India would be "suspended" might even be comple hree

PAGE FOIDETEEN

The collusion of China with Pakistan—a clear example of its hegemonistic ambitions and disruptive role in the world anti-imperialist movements-made no difference in. the attitude of blackmai

The trouble with PL 480 is wellknown enough. Inspired rumours notwithstanding, it is quite clear that the US imperialists are quite deter-mined to use food shortages and the possibility of large-scale starvation to try to bring India to its knees.

As the Washington corres. ndent of the ECONOMIC TIMES noted (September 30) regarding the US decision not to sign another PL 480 agree nent despite India's request

"Observers regard this as a deliberate effort by the US to use food not for peace but for politics... The halving of the July allotment is a reminder that the US can starve India into a settlement of the Ka-shmir issue with Pakistan. The pressure has been strong-er on India than on Pakis-tan. Under the agreement Paan had enough food in the pipeline to meet its needs upto the end of December" This attitude on food sup-

obstructionist ap-

proach on the question of fer-tiliser imports and fertiliser production by India, The FINANCIAL EXPRESS (October 9) reported that the US AID had earlier given in-

ormal but firm commitments to provide foreign exchange for the fertiliser plants plants at hin. It has Durgapur and Cochin. It has used the pretext of Pakistani aggression to dishonour these commitments. The US go ment has also suspended ship-ment of rock phosphate and sulphur, two crucial raw materials for the production of fertiliser

Sabotaging Defence

Food and fertilisers was followed by deliberate sabo-tage of vital armaments production. Although remarkable progress has been made in this field in the past seven or eight years. there is yet considerable leeway to be made up. And the US and British impe-rialists are determined to see that this is never done. K. Rangaswami wrote in THE HINDU (October 7): "What is essential to note is that the western policy of arms assistance goes only to the extent of providing an initial 'outfit' for a limited number of divisions and cer-tainly not for increasing the indigenous 'output' over which they could have no control. In other words. Britain and the United States are not keen that India show come self-sufficient in regard to its military requirements...

ordnance factories for which they promised assistance nearly two years ago. Only one factory producing amu-nition has been established at Varangaon in Maharashtra with American assistance. No progress has been made in regard to the setting up with American assistance of two more factories at Ambaihari and Tiruchiranalli and another with British aid at Chanda. If India is determin-ed to make itself self-sufficient, it must explore how these factories could be established if western assistance is not forthcoming in the immediate future."

It is also reported (ECONO-MIC TIMES, October 16) that the US had originally agreed to supply plant and machinery for the Marut fighter bomber, the HF 724; it had also agreed to train technicians and design engineers but it looks as if this is now not likely to come through. While the en-gine of the HF 24 would come from the UAR foreign aid was expected from the US for putting up the manufacturputting up the manufactur-ing facilities for serial pro-



this experience that a national slogan has emergtion to take a firm anti-imperialist stand betrays a deplorable tendency to lag

Sen examining some crucial aspects of defence and de-velopment and economic self-reliance. taken the view that the Bank

Fourth Plan schem gramme falling in the cate-gory of 'defence orientation There are people who think that even the Aid Consortium may die a slow death What is considered sinis-

FCONOMIC TIMES. October It is out of the force of

ed—self-reliance here and now. The government has also taken up the slogan. Unfortunately, however, it has failed to precisely locate and name those foreign countries who are against our self-reliance and those who are for it. This hesita-tion to take a firm anti-

mood for a "plan holiday It is



behind both the the situation as well as the urges of the people.

It means a persistence of what must be called the PL-480 mentality_reliance on imperialist "aid" in order to avoid radical democratic transformation of our economic structure both in agri-

culture and industry. S. G. Barve of the Planning Commission nailed down this approach as one of foreign aid as a crutch rather than as a walking stick. He added: "I must confess that we have been a little too prone to rely upon foreign collabo-ration and a little too overready to avail ourselves of foreign aid just because it was available. A chastening e matters is all to look in the the good." (YOJANA, October 10). He is supported in his con-

tention by H. Venkatasubbiah: "There is no doubt that, by a detailed scrutiny of industrial projects, it will be possible to liminate a substantial sum of foreign aid. But it is doubtfu if the government and the Planning Commission are as yet prepared for the measure of ruthlessness that the pro-cess may involve. Besides foodgrains, a lot of American assistance is consumed by power projects, for example India already has facilities reducing aid on this account."

fore of implementing the slogan of self-reliance is to take a firm, national decision. to do away with, on our own, imperialist "aid" in as many

Some of the "pushback" has This is the first of a series of articles by Mohit already materialised. The total allocation for both the Centre and the states in the first year of the new plan has been set at Rs. 2,080 crores. This represents a ten per and is Rs. 179 crores less than the allocations for the final year of the Third Plan. It

should be recalled that it had should withold aid from any been first proposed that the first year's outlay should be of the order of Rs. 2,963 crores. This was scaled down to Rs. 2,610 crores, then to Rs. 2,235 crores and now finally to Rs. 2,080 crores. What is worse is that this

cut really represents a "pause" in planning. It simply represents a guess at the am finances likely to be available for development, apart from defence, tacked on to the implementation of such schemes

as are already in the process of construction. Far from planning, more detailed and comprehensive planning, the government seems to be in a been asked to prepare draft plans-one taking imperialist "aid" into ac

and one presuming that "aid" will not be avail

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And in Yojana Bhavan "it is

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ndertaking

THE working out of new, more decentralised methods in the socialist countries was preceded by several years of criticism of the defects of the old overcriticism often as to have become by now pretty familiar. In the first place, there are the numerous stories of how the various ways in which productio production targets were measured gave a bias to the form in which

gave a bias to the form in which the target was fulfilled. To the extent that there was lati-tude at the plant or enterprise level regarding the type of product to be turned out, the management not un-naturally took advantage of this so as to achieve the target in the easies possible way (and the fact that managerial and technical staffs ware awarded a bonus for plan-fulfilment that represented a sizable addition to. salaries was an added induce-

ment to do so). Human nature being what it is, the production of a given yardage of cloth made from expensive rather than cheap materials was encouraged, or tools made from high-quality steels rather than from lower-quality, which would have served almost as well and would have released the scarce better steels for more important uses. This was encouraged because the plan was more easy to fulfil in this way; and it was hardly surprising that ma ments under very great pressure to fulfil their targets. (in disgrace if they didn't, as well as losing their bonus) should have taken the line of least resistance.

Snare Parts Shortage

To this reason has also been attributed the shortage of spare parts (e.g. for tractors and machines of all kinds) which at times assumed critical proportions: when a factory had made a articular part this would book-in more towards plan fulfilment if it, were combined with a lot of other components (made elsewhere) to assemble a completed tractor than if it were sold separately.

It might seem that these difficulties are not very fundamental and could be met by minor changes, in-volving no radical alterations in the methods of planning and ma-nagement. To some extent this is true: for example, gross output as a basis for judging plan-fulfilment was changed to net output (or added") over a large part o Soviet light industry; and after 195 the former was abandoned in all but a few industries as the basis for pre-miums of managerial and technical staffs.

Similarly in Poland net output was adopted in principle as far back as 1957, and would long since have been adopted generally but for the slowness of industrial administrators to abanion traditional methods for a new

one. Nonetheless the defects we have re-ferred to have an importance for this reason: it is because the traditional indicators of plan-fulfilment, with their emphasis on purely quantitative fulfilment, have defects of this kind that attention has recently been turnthat attention has recently been turnd towards some alternative and "synthetic" index, which we shall see in the proposals of Liberman and others has been found in the profitability (in a halance-sheet sense) of the produc tive activities of an enterprise. Almost any particular index of the sort we have been decribing has a distorting effect of some kind upon output-

Of course, with profitability as the index. assortment may be effected if the profit margins on different lines of output differ appreciably. This is why a reform of the price system, as well as more frequent adjustment of prices in line with changed costs, is a accompaniment of other changes

To come, however, to three defects of the previous system that are cer-tainly more fundamental.

Over-Tight Planning "Our profit has nothing in co There is a saying, at any rate, that a wise manager may overfulfil his plan by four or five per cent but never categories such as profit, price, money are quite different with us . . . Our profit, with panned prices and utili-sation of net income for the good of by as much as twenty: II he use, and could hardly fail to have his planthe whole of society is the result and target stepped-up sharply next year. In the past there was a tendency for at the same time the real effectiveness of labour expe the planning authorities, suspecting that what came up from below erred on the "soft" side, to over-compensate by what was called "over-tight plan-ning"-setting targets higher (and tures". Similarly an article by Sukharevsky (from Kommunist), after maintaining that g"___setting targets higher "the index of profit possesses various advantages over that of (reducing) price cost from the standpoint of simulating enternorms lower) than were attainable without special effort and strain. This served to penalise the conscient and to have negative consequences of prises," goes on to say that: its own in the shape of failures to deliver necessary supplies by the stipu-lated date (with resulting dislocations "the level of profit reflects at the of production-schedules at the receiving end) and accentuated shortages

Thirdly, experience has shown that there has been too little econd plant and equipment, and too little care taken to put it to the best use and to maintain it. This is because hitherto the cost of using (or of nonusing) equipment has not been mad to impinge upon the enterprise. The size of so-called basic funds (or fixed

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where foreign aid is to come for the Plan The whole work of plan formulation is at present in doldrums... Indica-tions are already available

sortium is being stalled to pressurise India. The net result of all this economic diplomacy is that great da-mage has already been done and is still being done to the Fourth Plan."

The screw is also tightened by the World Bank. A thoroughly anti-Indian West German called Herr Kaupisch was recently sent to New Delhi as the Bank's representative. His insulting behaviour became insulting behaviour became too much to swallow. He seemed: to be particularly angry that the governmen had not meekly accepted the World Bank's proposals regarding devaluation.

Bank's officials arrogated to themselves the right to deter-mine India's fiscal policies, tax concessions, import: levies and what not. The governsted these Some of the World Bank sentatives have generally

duction. This is now in jeopardy. To cap it all has come the

pressure through threats and ambiguity about aid in gene-ral. As Narottam Shah noted in the ECONOMIC TIMES

(October 5): most disconcerting "The aspect of the question as re-gards the Fourth Plan is that, with barely six months left for its launching absolutely for its launching, absolutely nothing is yet known as to how much of

that the issue of calling a meeting of the Aid India Con-

Subsequently, some of the ment and there is scope for

(THE HINDU, October 9) The first prerequisite ther

what extent the US aid will be forthcoming" (ECONOMIC' TIMES, October 10). This policy of drift, deplorable at any time, is disastrous at ont There is no need for this

amazing lack of self-confi-dence if we, look at the situation objectively. It is the capitalist character of the government that is preventing full realisation both of what has been built ap in India already as well as of the friendly and genuine aid available from the Soviet Union and other socialist

Perceptible Advance

India is not what she was in 1947 or even in 1955. There has been a perceptible advance in the direction of economic independence. The turn made in 1955 has paid good divi-

To take a few examples: India is self-sufficient in the maiter of foodgrains to the extent of 93 nor cent: in do fence potential to 80 0 per cent; in crude oil to 33.3 per cent; in building steel plants to 33.3 per cent; in machine tools to 50 per cent: in nower to 80 per cent; in transport to 86 per cent. The situation is even better with regard to coal, manganese ilmenite iron ore and the like

One can and will later on point to certain critical shortages for which the government policy has been largely responsibile, but there is absotely no reason for lack of

1 self-confidence It is the spirit of advance that has to be con a crash programme for eco-nomic independence on a demogratic basis



PAGE FIFTEEN



tative achievement, whether as a mere "success indicator" or as a basis for material incentives, has been found to conflict seriously with improvements of quality, and with the introduction of new products and of novelties in design. Yet in an age of technical progress and rising levels of consumptio the introduction of new products and the widening of variety is as important as increasing the output of an existing range or "menu" of products. Because capitalism in the age of admen and high-pressure sal admen and high-pressure salesman-ship carries novelty and variety to a ridiculous and wasteful excess, there is no reason to go to the opposite ex-treme and to deny them any place in a rational socialist society. Yet to in-troduce a new product, whether a new machine or a new line in consumers' croods usually involves time and trou-

goods, usually involves time and trouhle It involves experimentation and trial runs, which interrupt the pro-duction-flow, possibly some reorgani-sation of the production-line, and even re-tooling. A manager who is under pressure to fulfil a quantitative output-target will heartily grudge such delays and concentrate on terrupted production of the old pro-duct, whether consumers are sated

with it or no. Secondly, the management of an enterprise will obviously have an easier life and be more likely to reach the plan-target, the more leniently this target has been set in relation to the productive resources and capability of the plant in ques-tion. There will be a temptation to get technical "norms" or coefficients leniently set and to conceal reserves of capacity if these exist. It has to be remembered that the planning authorities inevitably rely to a large extent on the enterprises themselves to supply them with the essen-tial costing-data on which such norms are based.

True, the planners have certain means of checking the data supplied to them, such as investigations made by local planning representatives and comparing the results of like-situated enterprises. But an overworked plan ning apparatus cannot check every item of information it receives more than 200,000 enterprises; a practice it is the case that the n gement of a large enterprise has an appreciable say in the targets and norms assigned to it.

Firstly, emphasis on purely quanti- capital) does not affect the costs of ative achievement; whether as a mere output, and the provision of new equipment is made by a free grant to the enterprise from the State. To this extent the fault lies in the price system rather than in the system of management. But the more the system of management is decentralised, the greater the influence of defective prices: so that the two questions are nevitably interwined and cannot be

After all that has recently been written (by Liberman himself and others) it should hardly be necessary to emphasise that profit as the net income of a socialist enterprise has an altogether different significance from profit as an economic category under canitalism But in view of the confus. ing talk of so many bourgeois com-mentators, and of those with Chinese Party leanings, this perhaps needs underlining For one thing when selling. price is fixed (i.e. fixed by higher

******** MAURICE DOBB ***** **********

authority) the enterprise cannot make a profit by restricting output and raising its price: it can only do so by enlarging its output to the maximum and by lowering costs (i.e. being more efficient than the plan budgeted for).

This comes out clearly in several of the documents in a very interest-ing and timely collection entitled Planification, published in June of this year by Recherches Internatio-nales a la lumiere du Marxisme in Paris, For example, Liberman, in his contribution to the Baryda dicert contribution to the Pravda discus-sion of September 1964, declares:

"Our profit, if one starts from the fact that prices correctly reflect the average costs of production of the branch (of industry), is nothing else but the effect of increasing produc-tivity of social labour expressed in a money from. That is why we can, in basing ourselves on profitability, en-courage real efficiency of production. At the same time encouragement is not enrichment. Profit cannot be trans formed into capital since no one can privately acquire means of productio with his bonus, neither the manage nor the trade union nor individuals And in his original and much-quo ted article in Pravda of 9th Septem-ber, 1962, he declared:

with capitalist profit. The nature of measure of the

same time quantitative and qualita-tive indices of the functioning of an enterprise. If the prime cost per unit of production remains unchanged when the volume of pro-duction is increased, the mass of profit increases. The lowering of prime cost does not depend as directly as the size of profit on the ex-tension of production.

least by the wholesale centres. The cost-price of market production reflects the cost of production without taking account of whether proion has been sold or remains in the depots of the producing enterprise".

Actually, the tendency towards some decentralisation in planning is to be dated from the middle '59's. Yugoslavia as early as 1951 (three years after her unfortunate, Stalinprovoked, break with the Soviet Union) initiated an extensive de-centralisation which gave individual enterprises as much independence as Soviet "trusts" had enjoyed during the NEP period in the '20's; and which also made wages and salaries vary (above a basic wage) with the "net income" of the enterprise in which the workers in question were employed.

Also introduced was a large measure of self-government within the enter-prises. Initially enterprises (or associations of enterprises) could even fix their own selling prices; but this had obvious disadvantages, and centrally fixed price cellings were later impos-ed, and in 1962 a Federal Board of Price Control was instituted

At the same time longterm (e.g. five year) planning was terminated. Else-where it was in the course of 1956 that moves were first made (notably in Poland and to a smaller extent in Czechoslovakia and USSR) the number of targets fix to redu fixed in the central plan and also the number of products allocated at topmost levels. leaving the remainder to be determin-ed at some lower level (in USSR most-ly at the level of the separate repub-

Question Of Price Policy

Curiously, at this time economic discussion mainly centred on the question of price policy (also on the use of mathematical methods); al-though in Poland there was also some discussion of so-called "economic models", or modes of economic functioning, in a socialist economy (eg. the work of Professor W. Brus).

In 1957 in the Soviet Union came Khrushchov's sweeping decentralisa-tion on a regional basis: substituting control and administration by over a hundred regional economic councils (Sovnarkhoze) for that of the previous highly centralised all-Union Ministries. At the same time more res-ponsibility was assigned to republican Gosplan (e.g. in fixing prices and in controlling the wholesale sale-andpurchase organisations of various in-dustries). But this change, sweeping as it was, had no more than a minor effect upon the independence of individual enterprises

The activities of the latter were still bounded by various indices and stin bounded by various indices and "limits" imposed upon them from above, and the bulk of their sup-plies were still subject to allocation-quotas fixed by higher authorities (although there was some increase in the category of supplies which could be contracted for directly be-tween enterprises and the appropriate trading agencies, especially in the case of consumers' goods).

In Czechoslovakia in 1957-58 there was an extensive decentralisation which had a very considerable effect in increasing the powers of enter-prises. As a result of it, something approaching two-thirds of all indus-trial investment undertaken came from funds at the disposal either directly or indirectly, of industrial enterprises (i.e. either enterprises them-

* On Page 12

Kashmir Tour Impressions

Kashmir for a fortnight to pension loans. study the political and economic situation there. It is urgently necessary to While there we met Chief pay attention to the growing un-Minister G. M. Sadiq and employment among the middle other ministers, political workers and other people and toured the Valley ex-tensively. situation there. tensively.

The Valley has mostly been cleared of the infiltrators. The sadig government to deal with the situation created by the leaders of the Plebiscite Front and some rowdy sections of stu-dents have proved effective. The plan to organise a continuous hartal and demonstration by fanning religious passions in hartal and demonstration by fanning religious passions in order to back up the Pak claims that the people of the Valley are up in arms against India, has for the moment collapsed. As at the time of the coming in of the infiltrators, so now the mass of the people are not cooperating with such Pak inspired man-course ouvres.

There is ample evidence to show that the UN observers and foreign press correspondents (particularly from the USA and and toreign press the USA and (particularly from the USA and UK) are playing a sinister role in these developments. We strongly urge upon the govern-ment to ban the entry of such foreign correspondents into the Valley.

Besides the threat of Pak ag-gression and Pak-inspired dis-turbances and imperialist intri-gues a number of other serious problems face the Sadq govern-ment. One of the most urgent is that of nearly one and a half lakh of refugees. The Central Government must help the state to rehabilitate these war-uprooted people—both Hindus and Mus-lims. Some relief is being given to them but it is too inadequate and what is needed is to treat them at par with the refugees from East Pakistan.

Another problem is that of the partial failure of the paddy crop and the cońsequent econo-mic distress caused to the pea-



On behalf of the Com-munist Party of India we toured Jammu and badly affected areas and sus-Kashmir for a fortnight to pension of realisation of taccavi

In the solution of all these problems and tasks the people and the government need the support and cooperation of the rest of the country. The tour has strengthened our conviction that unitedly we can and we must defeat the impérialist and Pak-inspired conspiracies in Kashmir and go forward to strengthen the ties of national solidarity that bind the golden valley with the Land of Ashoka and Akbar, of Gandhi and Nehru.

Z. A. AHMAD Chandigarh Secretary, National Council of CPI



1994人名法斯尔含**和**美国

alewaye.

Land Revenue Racket In Andhra

REVENUE officials in and what is credited to them Nizamabad district of some villages and enquired Andhra are swallowing huge amounts of money collected from the peasants as land revenue. Defrauding of government is rampant in the Bodhan, Bans-

wada and Nizamabad taluks. The revenue officials collect sugarcane rates (tax on land for sugarcane crop) but they show on their records as the land being under paddy and remit to the government only at the rates for paddy crop. The difference (sugarcane crop is charged higher rates of tax) is pocketed by these officials.

The practice has been going on for the last six years or so. Even on a modest account, it is calculated that about Rs. 80 lakhs have thus been pocketed by the revenue officials.

AVTAR SINCH MALHOTRA Secretary, Punjab State Council of CPI The fraud came to light when public works and irrigation authorities were doing localisa-tion. Hearing about the differ-state Council of CPI ence in what the peasants pay

Faulty Procurement Plans of Sahay Govt

B IHAR government's new procurement plan has caused concern and anxiety among large sec-tions of the people not ex-cluding Congressmen. The plan is to impose a levy on all cultivators above the limit of five acres at the limit of five acres at the

This will certainly cause hard-ship to a large number of mid-dle and even a section of the poor peasants who produce no marketable surplus even accord-ing to the findings of the sub-committee of the Congress Par-liamentary Party. liamentary Party.

On the other hand, the levy of just 12.5 per cent on the rice millowners will leave the bulk of their stocks free for sale in the blackmarket. The big grain dea-lers will also enjoy a similar licence. The procurement prices announced are low and unattractive too.

There is serious apprehension in the people's minds that un-less radically changed, this year's procurement plan is going to be a flop as was the case last year. The state government too is perhaps not unaware of this Patna

I mut of five acres at the rate of 40 kilograms per acre in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas and 60 kilograms in the rest of the state. This will certainly cause hard. Ship to a large number of mid-dle and even a section of the poor peasants who produce no in the hands of the government. I would most earnestly appeal to the state government plans even now by imposing a cent per cent levy on the surplus of big grovers, big traders and rice millowners and by instituting a system of government monopoly of purchases of rice and paddy so that all marketable surplus is in the hands of the government. EXAMPLE IN THE INFORMATION INFORMATION

Accompanied by fair and re-Accompanied by far and re-munerative prices to the growers and guaranteed supply of in-dustrial goods to them at cheap and controlled rates, this system of monopoly purchase of rice and paddy will guarantee the success of state's procurement plans,

I appeal to the government to convene an emergent session of the Bihar Legislature in Novem-ber to evolve an agreed plan of procurement and distribution of foodgrains, in which all except a handful of hoarders and blackmarketeers are

> INDRADEEP SINHA Secretary, Bihar State Council of CPI

ine peasants showed me re-ceipts given to them by the off-cials for the tax paid by them. I went to the tahsil headquarters and checked the *faisal patti* and and checked the *faisal patti* and found that there were lots of discrepancies. Some of the village officials, to whom I talk-ed, said they got only two annas as their share and the rest went to the officials.

NOVEMBER 7. 1965

An urgent enquiry by a high-ranking official is called for into this land revenue racket. The corrupt officials must be brought to book. The villagers are pre-pared to prove the allegation if any impartial enquiry is con-ducted; only the enquiry must be undertaken by somebody out-side the influence of the revenue officials involved. officials involved.

Nizamahad VEMURT BALATAR

Power Cut To Affect Industries

A 25 per cent power cut has been imposed in Madras state. In the ther-mal area, the cut will be 200 per cent. The Industries and Power Minister R. Ven-kataraman has said that the

cut will affect supply to Trade union leaders fear the

t will .t will .cerala and Andhra ... This is the first time that a cut throw thous... the state during winter months of employment. aduring the last 27 years. Only agricultural load has been lovers of private sector are exempted from the cut though also on the move. They want the government to allow the private sector to enter power generation and distribution. The rightwing in the Congress and the government is assiduously supporting this demand. The government should cor rouvocally against '

Supply to the studios must be assure the stopped completely and for the trenchment of period of their inactivity, the allowed on workers should be paid full power cut. salaries; only one show should be permitted in the cinema Madras I

Bravo, Amritsar

and distribution. It should also assure the workers, that no re-trenchment or lay-off, would be allowed on the plea of the

D. PONNIVALAVAN

Council. Chheharta

(RSN's cartoons used to delight

F ROM Mysore, R. S. that you may publish it in your Naidu has sent a dona- paper. tion of Rs. 10 to the relief Amritsar SATYAPAL DANG fund for the victims of the Chairman, Citizens' Defence, hombing in Chbeharta Relief and Memorial

by him. I am sending the cartoon to you in original with the request once more—*Editor*) My Road Brue 1 XE R 6 North . Bh

NOVEMBER 7. 1985

MOSCOW: Soviet people are preparing to celebrate 48th anniversary of the October Revolution in an at-mosphere of optimism and self-confidence. Continuous economic progress, the successful completion of the Seven Year Plan expected this year and far-reaching economic reforms in industrial management and plan ning which would pave the way for even greater ad-vance and a faster rate of economic development-all these form the background to this year's Soviet national holiday.

world.

Frank

Articles

But while avoiding open

polemics the Soviet press has published a series of frank articles elaborating the Soviet

position and emphatically putting forward the thinking

The basic question is that of coordination of the nation-

al and international tasks of

a country where the working class is in power.

The articles warn against

"Left Communist" and Trotskyite mistakes calling for a so-called "revolution-

ary war" against world capi-

of the CPSU leadership.

IN the international field a series of important and high level consultations have been going on between the leaders of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries of East Europe.

PRAVDA announced on Sunday that the latest two-day conference took place on October 29 and 30 between the Party leaders of Soviet Union and Poland in Byelorussia. Brezhnev and Gomul-ka and other top leaders took part in the discussions.

The discussions revealed complete understanding and unanimity of views. Economic and political relations and plans for the further improve-ment and expansion of co-operation between socialist countries were discussed. The communique emphasises the importance of regular met-ings and consultations for the unity and solidarity. of the socialist countries and the world communist and work-ing class movement.

Farlier Soviet leaders had similar top level consultations with the leaders of Czecho-slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, GDR and Hungary.

These consultations are considered to be of far-reaching significance not only for the consolidation of unity and cooperation in

Economic Reforms: Why?

* FROM PAGE 15

In September 1962 Pravda launched the well-known discussion opened by the contribution of Professor Liberthe contribution of Profession Linder man entitled "Plan, Profit, Premiums". He called for a new system whereby enterprises should be freed from "petty tutelage" and a mass of detailed regulations (he spoke of "costly efforts to influence production by non-eco-nomic administrative methods").

At the same time they should be governed by an incentive system such that "what is advantageous to society is advantageous to each enterprise" and "what is disadvantageous to sociand "what is disadvantageous to soch ety is disadvantageous for the person-nel of enterprises." He proposed an in-centive scheme under which bonuses to the enterprise and its members should be proportional to its net income or profitability.

profitability. In his original proposal profitability was interpreted as a ratio to basic and turnover funds (i.e. total capital): bonus was to be proportional to profit-rate. The scale of payments proposed in the first article was, however, de-fective; and in subsequent version of the scheme as adopted it seems to have been changed to one in which bonus is proportional to profit after payment to the State of a tax or charge according to the size of total basic and turnover funds.

Once this was introduced, the enterprise would be encouraged to draw up its own production plan. "It is the enterprise itself which knows and can best discover its own potentialities"; and under such a scheme it would be plated to mobilise reserves, not to hide them, to raise labour produc-tivity and to cease hoarding idle manpower or equipment.

It would be stimulated to win the sustom of consumers by producing what was in demand and by attention o quality and the initiation of new new re-think critically the accepted pre-the state of the st custom of consumers by producing what was in demand and by attention what was in demand and by attention to quality and the initiation of new products and varieties. ("Note that the system we propose will oblige enter-prises only to produce what can be realised and purchased. Enterprises will be led to calculate the effective-ness of modern techniques and cease to ask unthinkingly for no-matterwhat new equipment at the expense of the State.")

Two years later, after some experi-Two years later, after some experi-mentation in the interim, the discus-sion was reopened in Pravda, this time with an article by Trapznikov, an automation expert and a corres-ponding-member of the Academy of Sciences, in which the substitution of conomic for administrative measures f direction and the introduction of a new incentive-system along lines of the Liberman scheme was strongly urged.

¹ The upshot was that the system was extended to 400 enterprises in consumer goods industries, mainly clothing. Latest news is that all texclothing. Latest news is that all tex-tile and shoe factories in the Lenin-grad and Moscow regions are about to go over to it. The enterprises base their annual production plans primarily on the basis of advance orders from wholesale and retail organisations, and in some cases the enterprises set up their own shops (as has happened for some time in Yugoslavia). The signs are that the system will be extended more widely in the near future. in the near future.

The similaries to be found between all these schemes (in different socia-list countries-Ed.) are due partly, of to the influence of





the economic field but also for a new streamlining on the ideological front in the light of the latest situation and important developments in different parts of the

While China continues to slander and attack the Soviet Union, the CPSU leadership and other socialist countries, the continuous emphasis here has been on a search for practical, anti-imperialist unity and an avoidance of open polemics in accordance with the decisions of the consultative meeting of 19 Par-ties in March this year.

talism. This mistaken path was rejected after the October Socialist Revolution.

While it is emphasised that the socialist countries cannot adopt a policy without consi-dering whether it harms or helps the anti-imperialist fight abroad, the fatal consequences of interference in this matter and forcing upon other people one's own will other people one's own will are pointed out as contrary to Marvism-Leninism.

Socialst countries while accomplishing revolutionary tasks cannot replace the other detachments of the liberation struggle. PRAVDA warned that "such actions could lead to the unleasning of a thermonuclear war and cause. irreparable damage to all peoples and the liberation movement."

It is being emphasised that the main effort of socialist countries has to be concen-trated on the building of so-cialism and communism on the basis of their economic and military strength. This is the decisive factor in helping the liberation struggle and the worldwide swing towards socialism.

ment of the socialist countries again

loping countries

The help to these countries is given not from surpluses or goods which cannot be used consumed here (like some or consumed here (like some of the help from the west) but things are given which could very well be used by the so-cialist countries themselves.

Obviously referring to the Chinese attacks above all, PRAVDA recently declared "all those who attempt to discredit this help insult the most noble feelings of work-ers of the socialist coun-telas" tries."

Slanders Nailed

Articles here have been continuously emphasising the straight-forward anti-impe-rialist stand of the Soviet Union and the importance it attaches to the support and solidarity with the anti-impe-rialist and liberation struggles.

"Inspite of the slander of wards socialism. Faster economic develop- the peoples who are fighting ment of the socialist countries against imperialism know

will also be the guarantee for quite well the clear unambi-increasing the valuable help guous anti-imperialist position o the newly liberated deve- of our country", PRAVDA deguous anti-imperialist position. of our country", PRAVDA declared.

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Another Chinese argument which has been rejected is the claim that advanced socialist countries should hold back their own development to help the less advanced as a practical proof of international solidarity

PRAVDA said that this international levelling down would discredit socialism and would not bring about any fundamental improvement in

The same sort of reason ing was advanced after the October Revolution in rela-tion to the different Soviet Republics. It was suggested that everything be divided up equally. This was rejec-ted because it could only undermine the economy of the developed republics and could not help the backward areas.

The policy adopted was that the advanced republics should progress fast but the less ad-vanced should go even faster with help from the former. This same principle should be followed in regard to the so-cialist countries.

cepts and dogmas of the past period. But this influence has by no means been of a one-way kind; and thinking and discussion have been too indepen-dent for any mechanical copying of one country by others such as occurr-ed in the personality cuit days. The old and dogmatic modes of thinking in defiance of experience, which have obstructed change (and which form the basis of absurd Chinese charges of "bourgeois tendencies") have not en-tirely disappeared but are rapidly dis-

Basically the similarity in solution is due evidently to the similarity of problems in socialist countries that have achieved a high level of industrialisation and face a new stage of development What gives these solu ions e vital interest as an enrichment of Marxism is that they represent the working out (in the spirit of scientific discussion and bold experimenation) of new, more decentralised models of socialist economy, whereby market relations (and the Khozraschot autonomy of enterprises) play a larger role within the framework of planning (which governs the major relations and general structure of development). For the present writer these changes possess a quality of excitement; and he hopes that they will also appear exciting, at least to his follow economists.

(These extracts have been taken from an article by Maurice Dobb in MARXISM TODAY, theoretical and discussion journal of the Communist Party of Great Britain, in its issue of hor 1085)

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RHODESIA : Wilson Surrenders To Racialists

dependence, all the indications are that Britain has clearly refused to use all the means necessary for really preventing such a development.

PACE EICHTEEN

His move for obtaining "guarantees" from the white five percent of the Rhodesian lation of "unimpeded progress towards majority rule" after independence, seeks to hide behind all the talk of imposing economic sanctions and of consultations both with the Rhodesian African leaders as well as governments of the neighbour-ing African Commonwealth countries, that Britain has already ahandoned the cardinal principle that there would be no independence without majority rule.

At the time of the last commonwealth Prime Minis-

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P T M

Now the recent summit meeting of the Organisa-tion of African Unity has not only warned Britain of their unanimous support for any Zimbabwe govern-ment in exile in the event of UDI by the whites but also it clearly demanded that Britain should take the necessary military measures in such an eventuality.

To this voice of independent Africa, Britain's answer has been a clear No. Wilson and Ian Smith have now agreed to set up a Royal Commission of investigation headed by the Chief Justice of Rhodesia, Sir Hugh Beadle as Chairman.

Displaying only sweet reasonableness to the Rhodestan Whites, Wilson has already foresworn the use of military force. Instead, what he in fact

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vent

Rightly did Ghanalans describe this whole episode as the "white settlers' con-spiracy in Africa"—the slogans on the placards with which they demonstrated at the Accra airport as Wilson left for London at the end of his talks with President Nkrumah.

President Nkrumah emphahad come for the African

ZAMBIA :

Glorious

One Year

states to start making mili-tary plans and warned Bri-tain of the grave consequences that would flow from any at-tempt to set up a new racialist state in the heart of Africa irrespective of whether by an act of British Parliament or by a UDL

The Ghana government considered the proposed com-mission "a betrayal of four million unrepresented Afri-cans and a device to sidetrack the issue".

The threat in fact hanging over Rhodesia is really one of the establishment of a second resident Nkrumah empha-South Africa and that is how illy declared that the time all independent Africa has come for the African taken the challenge.

The most remarkable thing in Salisbury during the few days while Wilson was there were the almost continuous demonstrations by large groups throughout the day in what became a. remarkable show of strength.

this light

and protest. The high water mark of these demonstrations was reached as Joshua Nkomo, the leader of the banned Zim-babwe African People's Union. was brought from a restric-tion camp at Gonakudingwa, near the Mozambique border, to see Wilson.

NOVEMBER 7, 1985

It speaks well of the grow-

It speaks well of the grow-ing Indo-African understand-ing that Indian opinion-especially most of the news-papers-have rightly under--stood the Rhodesian issue in

The huge assembled mass of Africans began to chant and dance at the sight of their leader, in a daring defiance of the white police which of course promptly turned huge alsatian police dogs to disperse the demonstraters

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

trade and economic develop- of good neighbourly relations. I consider the treatment I have They have already worked received an insult to my countrv.

try." The reason for South Africa's refusal to grant a visa to Mako-toko was that he has been widely described in the South African press as "under com-

Makotoko is not the first Basutoland citizen to be refused a transit visa. Ten student members of the Basutoland.

Congress Party are still kicking their heels in London for want of transit visas. All their appeals to the Bri-tish government to take action tish government to take action and get them proper transit visas to return home have gone

Community

A CONFERENCE of twelve East African

Move Towards Fascist Ruige in Brazil of Justice who was also empowered to negotiate with the political parties.

The government of Marshall Castello, Branco has abolished all political parties in Brazil and given sweeping powers to the military tribunals. The new institutional act imposed by presidential decree and supported by the army, gives the President the right to declare a state of seige and rule by ordinance for a period of 180 days a period of 180 days,

victorious:

omy of the states.

down two years ago) be tolerated.

EVER since the normal political life in the coun-try was put to an end nearly two years ago by the right-wing forces—as was demanded by the US government and implemented by the army-the Marshall has been opposed by the great majority of political forces in the coun-

MOVEMBER 7 1985

At that time the imme-diate "provocation" was that under the leadership of President Gonlart, Brazil was furning "dangerously" was turning "dangerously" towards a policy of non-

For the largest Latin Ameican country both in size and in population, to do so would have been intolerable for the United States and a coup was organised in the traditional Latin American style and the Marshall was installed to presidentship.

This was followed by all-round repression and the disbanding of much political life in the name of fighting inflation and solving the e

He also appointed a former Opposition to the new re- Ambassador to Washington, gime has continued ever since Juracy Magalhaes, as Minister

YANKS ARE DETESTED IN SOUTH VIETNAM Says U.S. Student

V EW YORK : The New York Times Sunday Magazine Section published this week a lengthy article by an American student named Hope Selby who visited Saigon where she had conversations with South Vietnamese .students.

Americans are detested in tion: "What do you think of South Vietnam and their Ho.Chi Minh?" the Saigon Saigon puppets are absolutely student Lin Li Ngoc replied: isolated from the people and "He is a patriot, above all not supported by them, she else...and a national hero". ot supported by

not supported by them, sne eise, and a mutuan more swrote. The real power behind Apart from revealing the the scene (in South Vietnam) true situation in South Viet, is not American officials but nam the publication of the American officials but nam the publication of the American officials but nam the number of the scene (in South Vietnam) true situation in South Viet, is not American officials but nam the number of the American officials but the scene (in South Vietnam) the student Hung Van Quat-is also highly significant in "Slip a few here and a few that it shows the big change there and voila-you have a in American public opinion coup d'etat". The student on the USA's role in South Khank Do added: "Of Vietnam, which is reflected in course, the Americans control the New York Times deciding the Government here, anyone to publish such an article which so strongly indicted the article in the New York Times is also highly significant in that it shows the big change in American public opinion on the USA's role in South Vietnam, which is reflected in the New York Times deciding to publish such an article which so strongly indicted the US government US gover

conrise, would win, Hope ven Selby was told by a student "W from Sajgon, Huac Minh Cov Tuyet.

which so strongly indicted the US government. If national elections were sent South Vietnam Covern-held in South Vietnam in the ment, the student Phan Hung near future, Ho Chi Minh, of said that the days of the Government were numbered "We students want to see a vernment of the

public of Zambia by the nial territory. racialists from the south. Another Zambia is surrounded on almost all sides by Portuguese colonies and by states with racist regimes. Its geographi-cal position was indeed res-possible for the first diffi-

culties encountered by the country. The racists and colonialists started subversive activities against the young republic. They tried and are still trying to undermine its economy, to complicate its political life, to sow internal discord among the different tribes in the on all sides. They tried and are still trying to undermine its economy, to solution in value. They tried and are still trying to undermine its economy, to solution in the one of Basuto-tory and its completely surrounded by the latter on all sides. They tried and are still trying to undermine its economy to solution in the one of Basuto-tory and its completely to all sides. A CONFERENC

country etc. As the protectorate prepares While the young republic is celebrating its first anniver-sary this week, Zambia has already made notable ad-vances in the field of edu-cation, in reducing unem-ployment, in the appearance of doctors in the remotest tion to her growing inter-national prestige and the efforts to break from her eco-nomic ties with the racist and President Kenneth Kaun-da have played an active part in the struggle against regimes of Rhodesia and President Kenneth Kaun-da have played an active part in the struggle against tron participating actively in the Organisation of African Unity, Zambia takes a lead-ing ranitic adding the first and president Kenneth Kaun-da have played an active part in the struggle against the Organisation of African Unity, Zambia takes a lead-ing ranitic participating actively in the Organisation of African Unity, Zambia takes a lead-ing ranitic participating actively in the Organisation of African Unity, Zambia takes a lead-ing ranitic participating actively in the organisation of African Unity, Zambia takes a lead-ing ranitic participating actively in the organisation of African Unity, Zambia takes a lead-ing ranitic participating actively in the organisation of African biotical biotical schere a played an active south African officials that pro-south African officials that pro-south African bio visa at Jan Smuts the organisation actively in the organisation of African Unity, Zambia takes a lead-ing ranitic participating actively in the organisation of African Unity, Zambia takes a lead-ing ranitic participating actively in the organisation of African bioticals that pro-source integration actively in the organisation of African bioticals that pro-source integration actively in the organisation of African biotical pro-source integration actively in the organisation of African b

from participating actively in the Organisation of African Unity, Zambia takes a lead-Ing part in offering a base to the liberation movements in Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. Concrete steps are now beine taken to strengthen Zambia's unity with the inde-pendent African countries in the north-Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in the field of

A S the tension in R h o d e s i a keeps mounting before the white racialists make their final desperate bid for unilateral declaration of independence, there is increasing pressure being brought upon the Re-

ponsible for the first cum-culties encountered by the THE tiny British pro-tectorate of Basuto-

the different tribes in the As the protectorate prepares country etc. As the protectorate prepares While the young republic is for eventual independence from celebrating its first anniver- Britain, the South African



Ingre was another crisis brew-ing up in the university where nearly 200 out of the total 283 teachers resigned in pro-test against the transfer and dismissal of 15 members of the

The students went

The students went on strike protesting against the university virtually being under the occupation of the faselst government and against the Rector's high handedness who had accus-ed the teachers of subver-stan

Former President Kubits-

chek whose arrival from exile had given a great fillip to the movement for the restoration

movement for the resource of democracy and normal po-

been put under arrest and is

being interrogated for the subversion he is alleged to have committed several years ago while he held power.

As a result of the gruelling

and fascist condition of the interrogation, Kubitschek is reported to have had a heart

on

teaching body.



but things came to a head last month when in the regional elections held on October 2 the followers of the leftist-supported former President Kubitschek were returned

This immediately produ-ced a orksis in the govern-ment; as against a liberal section among the ministers who were for respecting the people's choice, there were the hard-liners of the army led by the War Minitser Ge-neral Artur Costa da Silva and the former Governor of the State of Guonobara who wanted outright sup-pression of all political par-

ties and ending the auto-For some time the President tried to strike a balance by seeking to make conces-sions to the right by reducing the autonomy of the states and warning the political parties that no challenge to the "revolutionary institu-tions" (that were clamped

pluma

tack.

The latest presidential de-crees have turned Brazil vir-tually into a fascist state, with no political parties, arbirary rights for the President to disenfranchise any citizen of all political rights for a period of upto ten years, disperiod of into ten years, dis-enfranchised citizens simul-taneously to be shorn of all immunity enjoyed by persons in high office, the next pre-sidential , elections to be held on the basis of indirect elections—these are some of the features of this move towards fascism in Brazil



Foreign Capital In **Portuguese Colonies** Simultaneously with it, there was another crisis brew-

THE United Nations sanctions against Portugal Special Committee on and all UN bodies discontinue he implementation of the economic and technical aid to the implementation of the Declaration on Granting Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples (the 24-Nation Committee), while dealing with the pro-blem of the Portuguese colonies, took up last week the report on the activities of: foreign monopolies which oppose the application of the declaration to the Portuguese colonies.

The discussion on this report prepared by the Com-mittee's sub-committee on the basis of the opinions Afro-Asian group, was of the highest significance that the struggle for colonial liberation at the UN level was taken a stage further in that it was linked with the role of foreign monopoly capital, the real strength behind the Salazar regime.

Representatives of the im-perialist powers, United States and Britain, immediately demanded the re-jection of the draft report. The draft states clearly that foreign capital which predominates in the economy of Angola, Mozamhique and other Portuguese colonies in Africa rendors substan-tial financial and other material support to Salazar in suppressing the national liberation movements.

While declaring that the British delegation would vote against this draft, the British representative particularly objected to the recommenda-tions given in the draft that the Security Council apply economic and that country.

The World

PAGE NINETEEN

Representatives of African and Asian countries rebuffed the attacks of Western delethe attacks of western dete-gates. Gebre-Egzi of Ethiopia emphasised that the conclu-sions of the report on the de-trimental influence of foreign companies in Portuguese colocompanies in Portuguese colo-nies reflected the real state of affairs.

Mamadou Moktar Tiam of Mali and Rafik Jelejati of Syria pointed out that the adoption of the report would constitute that minimal help which the 24-Nation Com-mittee can render to the fighting peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guines Guinea.

Portugal, Mamadon Mok-tar Tiam said, would not have been able to carry on the dirty war in Africa had not Salazar's NATO alles rendered assistan rendered assistance to Lis-bon and invested capital in the territories under Porta-guese administration. The report of the sub-committee was then approved

without amendments by a ma-jority of 14 votes (Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Irad, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Iran, Iraq, li, Poland Stetra Leone, Syna, Tunisia, USSR, Tanzania and Yugo-slavia) against 3 (United States, Britain and Australia) with four abstentions (Chile, Denmark, Italy and Venezuela)

The delegations of Ivory Coast, Uruguay and Cambodia were absent during the votwere ing.

-BARENPRAY

COMINTERN 7th CONGRESS **MEMORIAL CONFERENCE**

AN international confer-A ence devoted to the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International was held from October 21 to 24 in Prague.

The conference was jointly sponsored by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Editorial Board of the journal Problems of Peace and

It was attended by the re-presentatives of 35 Communist and Workers Partles, among whom were many distinguish computing and the world computer movement who actually participated in the Seventh Congress thirty years ago, such as Dolores Ibarruri

(La Passionaria, Spain) and Jacques Duclos (France).

The representative of the Communist Party of India, S. G. Sardesal presented a report entitled the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism in India.

The main report of the conference was delivered by Boris Ponomareyov, Secretary of the CPSU Central_Comof the CPSU Central Com-mittee, entitled the Historic Significance of the Seventh igress of the Comintern. and the Present Day.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern made an outstand-ing contribution to the de-velopment, advance and en-richment of Marxist-Leninist theory and the strategy and the threat of a new world

tactics of the struggle of the working class and above all against fascism and world war.

The line adopted by the Seventh Comintern Con-gress constituted a landmark in the development of the world Communist move-ment including its internal struggle against rightwing opportunism and left-wing sectarianism and dogmatism.

The historic significance of the Seventh Congress lay above all in the fact that it mapped out a strategic plan and flexible tactics for the broadest united front for rallying together all anti-fas-cist and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the onslaught of fascism and

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KAMARAJ: BOUQUET FOR USSR. ly spoke out at Aurangabad that our policy remained unchanged. BRICKBATS FOR U.S. But the Minister has spoken up again for the bomb: "We may not use the bomb at all but it will make the enemy think twice before he creates trouble for us."

A great deal of shilly-shallying is going on in Delhi over many vital matters. Quibbling over the Prime Minister's Washington visit and PL-480 food are sharp pointers.

At such a time it is refreshing to read in PATRIOT an authorised sum-mary of the 50 speeches Congress President Kamaraj delivered recently in Tamilnad. He has driven home plenty of home truths with disarming frankness. Highlights:

The Congress President has charged America with aggression by proxy. "They have stabled us in the back by proxy, namely, through Pakistan."

He pooh-poohed the idea that the United States gave Pakistan Pat-tons and Sabres to fight the Soviet Union and China. They were "deli-berately given for use against India."

He emphasised this point by asking the obvious questions: could Patton tanks cross the Himalayas? Sub-sonic Sabres of any use against the Soviet rockets?

Kamaraj reminded us that "Ame-rican weapons killed our jawans" If Pakistan is arrogant and imitating Hitler it was because of the military backing it received from."its western

He wants the nation."to be proud of our friendship with the USSR." In the last 18 years of our trouble with Pak-istan on the Kashmir issue (thanks to western backing for. Pindi) the USSR has "consistently stood by us. Not in words alone, but in deeds it has proved to be our most loyal griend."

The Congress chief dehounced un-named groups of people in India who "curry favour with America" and are "pathologically prone to suspect" In-do-Soviet friendship,

Nor could he understand the logic of these people who want us "to mort-gage our freedom right now to the Anglo-Americans" in order to safe-gard our freedom against the poten-tial threat from China.

PRO-COMMONWEALTH CHIT: are heart-warming, morale-pronouncements. But it is These are heart-warming, raising frustrating to see that Administration is prone to tread a different path.

Unhappily Kamaraj himself has given a handle to the government to go along the way it is going. The other day he gave an interview to the AICC. ECONOMIC REVIEW in which he cautioned against quitting the Commonwealth.

The ECONOMIC REVIEW is not the type of journal that goes hunting for type of journal that goes hunting for interviews. In fact, some months ago, when it blasted the Vletnamese and extolled the Americans, it did not think of seeking Kamaraj's guidance.

People like T. T. Krishnamachari are still on the editorial board of this journal. It is plausible that the gov-ernment wanted a pro-Commonwealth chit from the chief of the organisation



before the storm regathers in the cur-rent Parliament session when the debate on Bhagyat Jha Azad's resolu-tion is to be resumed.

Undoubtedly the government's harsh tactical pose towards the Common-wealth is changing radically. In this connection it is interesting to read what the London correspondent of the INDIAN EXPRESS wrote the other dav.

He reported that the idea of another visit by Shastri to London "has also been set afloat. In origin, this proposal is more Indian than British." We will know more about the British visit "when S. K. Patil minune to London in the float week returns to London in the first week of November."

SECOND ROUND: There is a good deal of talk, loose or otherwise, by people in authority about a second round of Indo-Pak war. Defence Mi-nister Chavan was the first to pro-nounce on such an eventuality.

The thread was picked up by Home Minister Nanda. Speaking in New Delhi on November 1, he said that "only the first round has ended between India and Pakistan and there

GOLD RUSH



Courtesy Times of India

could be another round, may be within a month or two."

On the other hand, the Prime Minister has by now stated more than once that the Americans are not replacing the military hardware lost by Pakistan in the first round.

It is quite on the cards that hints from high places at a second round of conflict are designed to keep up the national cohesion which is already crumbling under rightwing pressures.

Or could it be that Central Minis-ters are indulging in their usual pas-time of talking out of turn? As for instance, the stance that Chagla took on Tibet. Mehr Chand Khanna is a class by himself.

It was only on receipt of several in-quiries from our foreign missions in the wake of Khanna's public campaign for nuclear bomb that Shastri belated-

In a way the Prime Minister himself is setting the pace for this kind of cacophony. In Calcutta he was more positive about his Washington visit.

Back in Delhi, "everyone , knows about it except myself." On the same day when the Prime Minister said this, his colleague in charge of Rall-ways and much else was emphatic that that the visit "will come about around the end of this month."

UNMELTED GALLIC HEART: Vijayalakshmi Pandit is junketting to Bonn to bring about a change of heart in the Erhard government about Kashmir and allied matters.

Farlier, she met de Gaulle of France, and we were informed that de Gaulle was now in our pocket. But an un-charitable newspaper commentator has gone on record that the lady has failed to melt the Gallic heart.

HAVE no precise idea how many Birlas we have. That is because the Birlas, unlike some other tycoon families, figured only once in Parliament.

Only once there was a breeze about the Birla brood. That was when an enterprising member dug up the audi-tor's reports on New Asiatic and Ruby insurance companies. Many skeletons were exposed in the reports, but the government dutifully suppressed them.

To come back to the point. The Birlas are not too many. Lord be praised for that. But one thing I know for sure: at least four of them had scooted from India during the Indo-Pak war.

Scrambled for safety! Oh Nol' We are told all of them had engagements abroad, previously fixed. It is fortuitous that their stay abroad coincided with the Armageddon.

The first to come home after the cease-fire was G.D., the Maharaj to some of the Congress Ministers. His first pronouncement in Bombay after landing was that the Indian Prime Minister should go to Washington and sing for his sumer. his supper.

All that is known. What is not known is that the Maharaj had more than one meeting with the US State Secretary, meeting with the US State Secretary, Dean Rusk, Informants say he also had a tete-a-tete with Defence Secretary McNamara, And, of course, scores of Congressmen and tyccons besides.

It is presumed that G.D. had con-veyed his impressions to Shastri while he was in Bombay. One of the very first public functions that Shastriji attended during, his visit to Bombay was signi-ficantly a Birla function.

Be that as it may, the Maharaj must be supremely satisfied with one other development. Within a fortnight of his return home a miracle has taken place.

I wonder how many people have pondered over a cryptic official an-

nouncement last week that Jaisukhlal Hathi has been put in charge of defence supplies.

= Whispallery =

Birlas Come Back

Hathi is a Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs. What has Home to do with Defence and oice versa? We may go on asking this puz-zling question but meantime Hathi continues both in Home and Defence.

Hathi was looking after defence sup-plies after the Chinese aggression till he was taken over in the Home Ministry. During that period the Birlas had their en

They had secured a Rs. 3 crore con-tract for collapsible bodies for troop carriers. They are the biggest suppliers in that field.

During the same period something else had happened—something very un-seemly. There was a high official in defence production. He was removed from government service for corruption. The charge was proved after a depart-mental inquiry.

And what do you think has happened to that buddy? Rightaway he was absorbed in one of the Birla enterprises.

Birlas are reaping what the brave awans have sown—not only in the industrial field but also in agriculture.

We all know that the Punjab government on instructions from the Centre had already installed them as the bigzamindars with a thousand-acre gest ed farm.

Now they are about to pull off a 30,000 acre farm in Madhya Pradesh. Here they will grow crops from the seeds they rear in the Punjab on a sub-sidy from the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

We may be sure that Shastri will continue to miss a meal a week till after the Birlas transform Indian agriculture from scarcity to plenty.

