

Some sober thinking is now being done on the language issue. But what a price had to be paid to make the dull-heads in the ruling party see that everything cannot be done by imperial fiats from Delhi, that while India, no doubt, is one country and one nation against the foreign invader, it has fourteen or more linguistic sub-nations within one family and the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution is not a mere lifeless list but a living reality:

HIS is not the first time that the leadership of the Con-gress Party, not only in Delhi but even in the states, has failed to grasp the powerful force, the mighty mobilising and binding emotion, that "linguistic sub-nationalism" reassence today in nationalism" represents today in India's conditions.

The Congress leadership, including Nehru, failed to be mov-ed on the question of the forma-tion of the linguistic states and the breakup of the multilingual states when the Constitution of the Republic was framed.

The British-made amalgam which killed the culture of the people of each linguistic social group by the "cosmopolitan-ism" of the slave-market was more or less lifted into the map of free India.

Hence, no room was left to see that the alien English was re-placed by the regional language of each state, which alone could have paved the way for making Hindi an all-India link language.

And as the governmental ma-chine was still run by the, British trained ICS gentry, some of whom did not even speak their own mother tongue at home, the transition to our own regional language in the "home state" and to Hindi at the centre remained a matter of paperwork and a few files.

The absence of any scientific socialist ideology in the ruling party disabled it from under-standing that the vast mass of multi-lingual free India would express its freedom and seek its progress in many forms of demo-cracy, one of which would be "linguistic democracy."

#### STIFLING THE URGES

Every such urge was sought to be stifled by the slogan of India's unity and the need for an all-India language as sym-bol of that unity, that symbol of course being none other than Hindi. of course than Hindi.

The result was a blind oppo The result was a bind oppor-sition to formation of linguistic, states, refusal to seriously and honestly replace English by the regional languages of the people and then slowly going over to Hindi as the official link.

Those who fought in Tamilnad Inose who fought in Tamilaad recently and the three young men who burnt themselves for their own mothertongue are not the first to bring sense to the ruling party, to make them realise

what a force the question of lan-guage can be and especially when it is further tied up with a general discontent with life and living under an all-corroding monopoly capital.

Years ago, when Potti Srira-mulu of Andhra fasted to death in a long hungerstrike, which mun or andra rasted to death in a long hungerstrike, ' which slow death is more difficult than the quick though heroic burning of oneself at the pyre, the ruling party refused to heed the lesson.

Then also, students went into action, railways were stop-ped and the whole of Andhra went on a general strike and hartal. That great action was neither anti-Hindt nor anti-Tamil.

It was for the Andhra state and the Telugu language, for the linguistic democracy of Andhra linguistic democracy of Andhra Pradesh and the break-up of the multi-lingual Madras state. Only after that sacrifice Andhra state was formed.

#### MAHARASHTRA STRUGGLE

Then Maharashtra demanded its own linguistic democracy. Again it was refused. The mono-poly capitalists of Bombay, led by Morarji Desai and blessed by the top Congress leadership, re-fused to heed to the voice of the people. people.

Over one hundred people, mainly workers, were killed in mainly workers, were knied in the general strike and hartals that followed. Only after that sacrifice Maharashtra state was formed and bilingual Bombay. was broken.

This time the issue is different in form though basically the same in content. Its ramifications are also wider. It also contains some dangerous seeds of national disruption

Though the trouble storted in Tamilnad, the fact that it has evoked response in many "non-Hindi" states shows that the tissue, though basically of linguistic democracy and lin-guistic nationalism, is taking general ant-Hindi and pro-Evaluch motures. English postures.

If these are not correctly handled, they will develop the trends of national disruption, a division of the people into Hindi and non-Hindi alliances and blocks.

And such blocks fomented and utilised by reactionary forces and parties will soon lead to the parties greatest setback to the unity of

democracy, setback to progress democracy, setback to the of the working people and ism. the country, setback and demo unity of socialism.

The fact that the Swatantra leader Rajagopalachari, who once as a Congress minister in 1937 made Hindi compulsory in Tamil-nad to the detriment of the Tamil language, and declared Communists as enemy number one to the detriment of the work-one to the detriment of the workone to the definited of the work-ing people and to the delight of the British, is now, championing not Tamil but English, and not even English, but merely the "anti-Hindi" mood shows how reaction is skillfully using a legiti-mate anger of the people for its own purposes.

The fact that certain mill-The fact that certain mul-owners and millionaires gave money and resources for the flare-up, while these very men-deny the demands of the starving, middle-class employees and workers, shows how antisocialist, anti-democratic forces are using the legitimate ange are using the regulate anger of the people to divide the democratic masses and push forward the exploiting bour-geols interests of this or that state.

At the same time the fact that ren Congress President had to At the same time the fact that even Congress President had to protest against the muddle-head-ed attitude of the central leader-ship and the majority therein, that the Tamil ministers from the cabinet had to resign shows that it no longer remained an issue even of the ruling party but became an all-India popular issue cutting across the harriers issue, cutting across the barriers of parties and even classes.

At such a time, it is neces-

Though Nehru in his days opposed the break up of multi-lingual states, yet he had the equanimity to understand the issues and that was what led him in the end to agree to the lin-guistic states and further to formulate that famous "assurance" which now has become the

which now has become the plank for every party and every state for healing the breach that may divide the nation and the people into Hindi and non-Hindi warring blocs.

Basing ourselves on that wise approach, let Parliament take the

necessary steps to give a statutory form to the "Nehru Assurance".

The approach, shown me leaders like Sus

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S. A. DANGE

Nayar, Ram Subhag Singh and others, urging that no statutory changes be made on the others, urging that no statutory changes be made on the ground that it would be a surrender to "oiolence and blackmail", is unhelpful and disruptice. That in this they are supported by the Jan Sangh, is still more eloquent. It is also

It is also interesting to find that some parties or their leaders are pro-Hindi in Hindi areas and anti-Hindi in other places. The utter opportunism of the Swatan-tra of Rajaji is prochaimed by M. R. Masani giving freedom to his flock to do whatever they liked, provided they remained faithful to reaction. It is also interesting to find

#### **REACTION'S** ROLE

Some actions of the demon-strators in Tamilaad were cer-tainly inspired by reactionary lea-ders. Otherwise, what was the sense in burning Hindi books, and libraries and schools? What was the sense in eaching the and libraries and schools? What was the sense in sacking the house, and library of President Radhakrishnan? Why stop Hindi films and cinemas? It is both bad business and bad 'nationalism'.

At the same time, it is a remarkable fact that rarely was private property as such touched. The furious mass went at the The furious mass went at the property of the central govern-ment and particularly the rail-ways and post and telegraphs. Mills and factories remained untouch he

This bappened, not because railways are particularly a sym-bol of "Hindism", but mainly because they were the vehicle of

in an

weapon, on which he relies in his struggles,

And it is a fact to be noted that during this whole episode the major part of the workers in Tamilnad did not, launch a general strike nor were the majo-rity of the factories closed.

In the calls given by the stu-dent council, there was one for a hartal but not for the general strike of the working class, apart from the spontaneous support which was evoked by the general sentiments and tensions.

It is noteworthy that in the Maharashtra struggle, the main weapon used was the combi-nation of the general strike and hartal and satyagraha.

In order to find the way out In order to find the way out of the present impasse, it is first of all necessary to take steps to give "statutory guaran-tee" to the Nehru Assurance in a form which is commonly agreed to and which must be effective. Mere speeches of ministers or resolutions of Parliament have no validity.

Second, all the languages of the states in India must have national status in Parliament and in day to day life.

Third, every state must replace English for all purposes by its own regional language with suit-able accommodation for the needs of the linguistic minority in each state.

#### SLOW CHANGE-OVER

Fourth, transition to Hindi as link language must be made slowly and gradually in the ser-vices and governmental business. During the process English should continue to provide the alter-native, wherever necessary, with-out obstructing the growth of Hindi or the non-Hindi languages.

The character and composition of the all-India Hindi language should be developed and enriched should be developed and enriched by drawing upon all the languages of India and also of other count-rise and it should not be blindly tied down to Sanskrit, as some Hindu revivalists want. That only reacts adversely on the growth of Hindi Hindi

Fifth, the disruptice ideas of Hindi and non-Hindi blocks of socialled north and south should be discouraged as they divide the people and harm the unity of the country.

Sixth, all the arrested students, workers, etc., should be released.

Seventh, all the progressive and democratic parties must re-member that this crisis cannot be member that this crisis cannot be overcome unless the growing economic misery of the masses is overcome, unless the growth of the monopoly vested interests is curbed, and the wealth of the nation is used for people's living and not for the exploiters. (February 17)

sary for the people, the parties (especially the Congress Party and, the Congress members of Parliament of, the Hindi re-gion) not to be carried away or blinded by their own linguis-tic nationalism\_ and try to "impose" here and now, by a fat, Hindi as the only and immediate official link lan-guage of the Union. police and military reinforce-ments.

Thus to blame the demon-strators as being "anti-social" or to call the upsurge as one of hooligans would only lead to a wrong understanding of the problem, though this does not mean to say that such ele-ments did not utilise the up-surge for their own ends.

It is also not very wise on the It is also not very wise on the part of the Congress leaders to drag in the "left" Communists, because the lefts in their pro-gramme also are in favour of Hindi becoming the official link language of the country.

And if they really had the power to move these masses, as is mistakenly attributed to them, they would have done if for bet-ter purpose and not for burning Hindi books or stations or Presi-dent Radhakrishnan's house. No Communist, if he is true to bis philosephy, tries to iton a No Communist, if he is true to his philosophy, tries to stop a railway by merely burning a signal box in a true movement of the masses. It is the action of the working class, the great strike

#### A Round Of Violence

## **ANDHRA: FEELINGS SHARP IN NEIGHBOURING AREAS**

#### From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD February 15: Violence has burst out HYDERABAD February 15: Violence nas purst out in Andhra also though the language issue had not boiled over in the state with the same intensity as in the neigh-bouring Tamiland till February 15. When violence came, it came with the force of a gale. Police firings, mass attacks on railway stations, trains and post offices—all by the Congattacks on rainway stations, trains and post onces—all is as it should be by the Cong-have happened in Nellore. Clashes have taken place in Kakinada, Anantapur, Kurnool and Madanapalle. EELINGS against Hindi are pressed approval of the policy of running highest in Andhra in reas and that small section which go in Tamiland, but the trouble ay swell and spread to other the secure training the pace of making Hindi the link language. The same time, the techni-cians and that small section which goes to evening colleges are also conscious that opportunities should be made available for better knowledge of English so that they could more easily master higher skills.

days of the Nizam's rule:

The deteriorating situation has

problem. Already, a wide area of agree-ment exists, especially with regard to the speedjest possible introduc-tion of Telugu as the state lan-tion of Telugu as the state lan-

guage. Not a single party in the state including the Congress has ex-

EELINGS against Hindi are running highest in Andhra in the Rayalaseema region border-ing on Tamiland, but the trouble may swell and spread to other parts as well. The Telengana region has been the quietest, perhaps, because of the prevalance of a knowledge of Urdu and Hindustani from the ayays of the Nizam's rule:

But with the growth in num The deteriorating situation has given added urgency to the call of the secretariat of the Andhra state council of the CPI for an all-party meeting to work feeling seems to be that those out a common approach to the problem.

Partial expression of this feeling, more current among the higher levels of the rural intelligentsia, is that more should be done for the better teaching of English in the state so that the

### Gloomy Shadow Falls On Assam From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG February 13: The reports of the painful events in the South following the language agitation there seem to have a cast its shadow of gloom over Assam. Political parties and students' organisations have so far kept silent on the issue. There has not been any public monstration of any feeling.

Some letters have demanded to suppress the language agitation, amendment of the Constitution to in the opinion of the daily, is make provision for permanant harmful for democracy. bilingualism, with continuation of Even the latest policy statement English as an associate official made by the Prime Minister in has broadcast to the nation does Some of the bar associations not seem to have satisfied the local adopted resolutions opposing the Press.

press have been appearing sug-gesting a "go slow" in the matter. Even the pro-government press have been appearing or the matter. Even the pro-government press put the responsibility for the events in the South on the govern-ment. "By declaring Hindi as the official language of the Union, New Delhi sowed the wind and is now reaping the whirlwind in the south", observed the editorial of the pro-government Assam Tribune. It warned: "The fact that the movement has not yet spread to other non-Hindi speaking states does not mean that the people there have ac-compli". With the news of the anti-Hindi agitation brusting out in Calcutta which naturally influ-ences events in this state to a considerable extent, political observers are worried that the students and youth in this state may also be infected by the agitation. On the eve of the Republic Day a large number of posters, issued by the Akhil Bhartiya Hindi Trachar Samiti, appeared in the urban areas. These posters exhorted the people to transact all their daily business in findi. These posters have now come for derisive comments in common gesting a "go slow" in the matter. Even the pro-government press put the responsibility for the events in the South on the govern-ment. "By declaring Hindi as the official language of the Union, New Delhi sowed the wind and is now reaping the whirlwind in the south", observed the editorial of the pro-government Assum

*compli*. The data point as fund and the sum of the sum gains momentum." present This was followed by forthright granted.

ETTERS have been appear-ing in the press opposing the army to quell the agitation. immediate change over to Hindi. Utilising the services of the army Some letters have demanded to suppress the language agitation, amendment of the Constitution to in the opinion of the daily, is

Some of the bar association and opted resolutions opposing the Press. "imposition" of Hindi as the sole Meanwhile in public places official language. One district bar where students and youth meet association in its resolution. de-heated discussions of the issue manded parity of all the national languages. Editorial comments in the local seem to admire the "heroic self-sacrifice" of their counterparts in Madras. With the news of the anti-

reatens to assume the size of charged and tension has been countrywide movement as it mounting. According to them the

Telugus, too, could hold their own in the all-India services and new technical sciences like

engineering and medicine. The bulk of the working class

higher skills.

#### VARIED REACTION

The urban middle. class and the students have varied reactions. There seems to be a peculiar

dichotomy of approach. On the one hand, there is gene-ral agreement that the language of administration and of politics should more rapidly be exclusive-

should more rapidly be exclusive-ly Telugu. But, on the other, there is widespread scepticism as to the possibility as well as advisability of replacing English by Telugu as the medium of instruction at the university level.

The democratic movement in The democratic movement in this state, at any rate, has to face the objective fact that the rejusal of the Congress to do anything in a planned man-ner to replace English by the regional language, has resulted in English acquiring a certain



As for the link language, there is as yet not very fierce opposi-tion to Hindi in this context. But even those who do not oppose Hindi do not support it enthusias-ticelly item.

Hindi do not support it enthusias-tically either. The deep and pervasive influ-ence of Sanskrit in Telugu does help to make persons realise the point that English is infinitely more alien than Hindi. But these non-opponents of Hindi would, at the some time like the near of the same time, like the pace of Hindi introduction to be gra-dual and phased.

Note must be taken of the fact that the sentiment is Note must be taken of the fact that the sentiment is growing for English to conti-nue as the link language. The argument is that this would place all the linguistic groups in India on a par, whereas Hindi would inevitably give an edge to these maken method

status over the last seventeen years among wide sections of the middle class, including the university students. It is the working class and its allies who will have to take up the task of restoring national self-respect and democratic sense in the sphere of language, there as yet not very fierce onnosi-tis g, as, yet not very fierce onnosi-

Command is behaving. People naturally ask if the High Command and the Cabinet, as a whole, were not parties to the decision to make Hindi the official language from January 26 this year? Why are differences coming into the open only after the storm over Tamiland?

The solution that appears to The solution that appears to find the widest support is first some form of statutory action to embody the assurances given by Nehru to the non-Hindi states; second, greater speed and purposefulness in making Telugu politically and adminis-tratioely supreme; third, so long as English retains its pre-sent position, greater facilities should be given to more and more students to become profi-cient to it;

is Hindi would inevitably give an edge to those whose mother-tongue it is. Let all be at an equal disadvantage-that is the at sentiment of quite a large num-ber of people. As for the agitation in Tamil-o nad there is widespread sympathy t for the passions that have been ar aroused and for the supreme sacrifice that some people have made. But the subsequent hooli-i ganism has been widely disap-i proved. Democratic opinion is divided

## LANGUAGE STATES

### Tamilnad CPI Suggests **Remedial Measures**

The secretariat of the Tamilnad state council of the CPI has suggested the following measures for solving the language tangle:

The order and commu- language issue and evolve I nique declaring Hindi a united national approach as the official language to the language issue on chould be beld in abevance. The above lines. should be held in abeyance. There should be un-equivocal statutors to the language issue on the above lines. The Chief Minister of Madras should import 2 equivocal statutory safeguards for the assur-ance given by Pandit Nehru diately call a meeting of the student representatives that English shall continue as an associate language as long as the non-Hindi-speaking people desire it. ing taken and request the The right to answer papers of the Union Public Service Commission Adequate compensation should be paid to the families of the victims of examinations in all the 14 languages should be grant-

police firing at Annamalai Nagar and other centres as There should be a gua-rantee to make the well as those injured. regional language the lan-guage of the state, the judiciary, the administra-tion and the medium of instruction in all the states. 9 All arrested students should be released and the cases against them 5 in the educational dent.

5 In the educational dent. sphere, the three lan-guage formula should be into all police firings, in all the states. 6 The Prime Minister call a meeting of all poli-tical parties to discuss the

lent occurrences that have taken place during the last fortnight in various parts

from all educational insti-

tutions and explain to them

that necessary steps are be-

students to give up the

aritation

## Anxiety Pervades All Strata In Orissa

would be taken up some time later. This is certainly

a serious development. In this connection, some of

daily, put a poser: If a simi-

language, where will it end?

#### From RAMKRUSHNA PATI

CUTTACK: The introduction of Hindi as the official language from January 26 did not receive any sympathetic response from the intelligentsia in Orissa; rather it has brought a mixed reaction.

rated

T is considered as hasty, Though there was some tinged with some amount flutter and stir on the crucial of imposition since Oriya days of the changeover, the language is not yet accepted as the official language in the mained calm. This is mainly state. because of the fact that no. organised move to whip up passions and emotion was

The riots and violence in the south that took a heavy toll of human lives and resulted in loss of property has not evoked any sympathy in the state; it has evoked only disapproval.

#### GENUINE ANXIETY

Still, there is genuine the comments in the press in the comments in the press in Orissa are interesting. The PRAJATANTRA, H. K. Mahatab's paper, declared that in view of the assurances given by the Prime Minister, the anti-Hindi movement in the south chould not be fail anxiety about the future of non-Hindi speaking people in services, education, etc. Prime Minister Shastri's

reiteration of the assurances given by Pandit Nehru as to safeguarding the interests of the non-Hindi speaking peo-pie has gone a long way to the south should not be tolessure the people. All the same, a section of

lar movement as that of the dirty hooliganism going on against Hindi is worked up by the Hindi people also for keeping Hindi as the national the people feel that the Constitutional provisions Constitutional provisions would become a bar on imnless\_if\_is\_rightly\_amend--ed. plementing these assurances

Union is solving the language problem was cited by the SAMAJ which said that the Soviet Union had adopted Russian as the official language even while encouraging all the regional languages; it strengthened Russian natio-nalism and Russian unity.

The paper said that if India does not learn from this ex-ample and if a national language is not recognised and used then Indian nationalism and independence will be at stake

#### made in any quarters. The Swatantra leader, R. N. Singhdeo, while speak-STUDENT ing at a public meeting at SYMPATHY Bargarh, has declared that the anti-Hindi agitation

The student community in the state seems to be sympa-thetic to the anti-Hindi agi-tation but strongly critical of the violent nature of the agitation in the South.

Several student leaders in a joint statement expressed concern at the loss of life concern at the loss of me and property in the Madras agitation and said that the movement should take a direc-tion that would not cause any KALINGA, Biju Patnaik's loss to life and property. They appealed to the students of South India to stand. unitedly for the preservation of peace, but also demanded a categorical assurance from the government that would be honour-The example of the Soviet ed both in letter and spirit.

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of the state. UNITY IS SUPREME SAY SANER PEOPLE From K. GOPALAN

PATNA, February 14: The violent anti-Hindi agitation in the south has come as a rude shock to all sec-tions of people in Bihar. Political circles expressed deep concern over the dangerous repercussions of the agitation.

THERE is a realisation among the same sections of the people that never be-fore in the nation's brief in-dependent history have we faced such serious threat to method to allow English can save the unity of the country", he is prepared to allow English

our survival as we face today. Even the protagonists of Hindi have been moved by the "agonising voice" of the antagonists of Hindi; They are now prepared for an "immediate rethinking on the subject of Hindi". They feel that Hindi should not be imposed on non-Hindi-speaking people at the cost of national unity. Feelings of the moderate sections among the protagonists of Hindi was voiced by the eminent Hindi poet Ram-dhari Sinha 'Dinkar', Vicechart Sinna Dinkar, Vice-chancellor of the Bhagalpur University. In the course of a statement he said: "In view of the powerful and agonising voice in which the antagonists of Hindi in Madras has spoken, an im-mediate rethinking on the subject of Hindi is essential."

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 burning themselves to death . It cautioned the govern-over an issue which can be ment: What has happened in settled by the ordinary ex- Madras is tragic enough but mediate retrinking on the over an issue which can be ment: Which has happened in since there was already us gua- possible of the lost stature of the setup to be more tragic in the situation he said: ing released these dangerous government is stampeded into the situation he said: ing released these dangerous government is stampeded into the stature of the setup to the sale of the setup to the

It Was Policeman's Rule in Tamiinad

## **AGITATION IS OFF BUT TENSION REMAINS**

#### From OUR CORRESPONDENT

MADRAS, January 15: The visit of Indira Gandhi to Madras and the reassuring words from her-Hindi was to be the uniting force, but instead if it tends to disrupt, we should have second thoughts over it-has had salutory effect. The agitation has been called off by the students and clam has returned to the state.

**D** UT, the clam is an uneasy sanity had any chance of success, one. Violence has only taken was sufficient to draw out the a breather. It is touch and go worst aspects of vendetta and even now. Any moment, at the slightest provocation, it might flare m action

tion stalked the state from corner to corner.

ner to corner. The civil administration was on the brink of collapse. Army had taken position in battle readiness in several tours. It still is in that position, wait-ing for any eventuality. The count of the dead cannot still be made with any accuracy. It all started on the Republic Day. Initially it was a spark. Now

to bottle them safely?'

While pleading for "states-

manship, imagination and tolerance", the editorial said: "What this nation does in the

largely

14

coming weeks will largely decide our future. That future

daily from Patna, the INDIAN

While expressing full agreement with the Prime Minister and the Home Mi-

nister, an editorial in the paper on February 14

as formal outcal language of the Union. The government imme-diately concluded that they were: acting under DMK's inspiration. Statements were forthcoming Statements were forthcoming threatening reprisals against stu-dents who so much dared as to protest in public.

or in public. On the Republic Day and subsequently, the policeman was put in charge. He started tackl-ing the agitation in the only way with which he is familiar or in which only he had train-ing

It all started on the Republic Day, Initially it was a spark. Now it is flames all around. Not much organisation was needed to en-large the dimensions of anti-Hindi agitation. Bureaucratic bungling, coupled with the foolish policy of exhibit-ing mailed fist and resorting to fisticuffs against impressionable students, where only reasonable

Then it was a retaliation in Then it was a retaliation in kind. The protest against police action touched off angry militancy. All over the state, the students were in a mood to defy law and express themselves as violently as they could.

A new body styled as the Stu-A new oon styled as the stu-dents' anti-Hindi Agitation Coun-cil came into being. Students of law, medicine, arts, and techni-cal and engineering colleges took it upon themselves to reply to the challenge.

In the face of this posture, the content beat hasty re-treat, totally inconsistent with all its earlier bombast. It closed down colleges and schools ini-tially for a formight. The clo-sure continues and therefore sure continues, and threatens to continue indefinitely.

Then there was the stopping of strongly opposed all moves to amend the Constitution: offices, setting fire to transport "To meet the demands of vehicles, wholesale attack and Madras State Constitutional unlawful control of wayside rail-

he climbed down to assert that no harm would be done to the non-Hindi speaking people and non-Hindi speaking people and "if necessary" government would seek to redress specific grieo-ances felt by the people of the state after the formal usher-ing in of Hindi on this year's Republic Day. A few days later, the Chief Minister said that without ask-ing for Constitutional amendment they could get further assurances from Central leaders for "perma-nent bilingualism".

nent bilingualism".

a breather. It is touch and go even now. Any moment, at the slightest provocation, it might flare up again. What the state saw during the last fortnight was something which could not have been imagined a few days earlier, It was a sprawling orgy of violence all to viel a state form cor-

Negatively, Madras has veered round to the view that under no circumstances Hindi alone could be the official language of the Union and the status of English as an equally rightful official language would have to be assured. be assured.

be assured. Gone are the expressions, "link language", "associate addi-tional language", "thefinite use of English", "use of Eng-lish as long as people of the non-Hindi regions desire it" and the like. It is now perma-nent bilingualism, the right to retain English for eternity and the assurance of its unalterable position in the Constitution.

Originally the Chief Minister talked of the unfairness of hav-ing to impose English on the Hindi-speaking people. On that ground alone he rejected a for-mal change in the Constitution.

But under the impact of an upheaval, he is all out in favour of an amendment to the Constiupheaval, he is all out in favour of an amendment to the Consti-tution. Assurance of the place for English as the Official Language means that Government work both in the Hindi and non-Hindi regions would have to be carried on in both languages by Consti-tutional compulsion and neces-sity.

sity. This, indeed, is a major shift in the state's position. Normally this would have mollified the students by imparting to them a sense of achievement. But it is sure continues, and threatens to continue indefinitely. The agitation spanned out and was no longer confined to college with batches of students picketing the post offices. There there was the stonning of

This stand of the students have not struck any sympatho-tic cord among the same sec-tions of the people. Only the hearts of Rajaji and Annadorat have been gladdened by **U**.

humiliating details. On January 24, the Chief Mi-nister asserted there could be no since there was already the gua-rantee, for use of English in-definitely.

## may bring us either strength or hopeless disintegration.

or hopeless distinct. What is it going to be?" Perhaps the real reaction of the Hindi-speaking people was by another English is prepared to allow English to remain "as long as our countrymen want to retain it." While expressing this "pure and unadulterated emotion", Dinkar disapproved proposal to amend the Constitution to accommoda-te the demand of the anti-

NATION.

## INDIA AND VIETNAM Firm Anti-Imperialist Stand Is Called For China problem other than

the quitting of the US armed forces. The longer they remain, the greater.

grows the danger of a world

That danger has reached

boiling point. India must not

sit with its hands folded and

its eyes blinded by false "theo-ries", while the flames leap

If India could take the ini-tiative at this moment for

strong and effective interven-tion by anti<sup>2</sup> imperialist Afro-

Asian nations, peace could be

saved and the way opened up for the withdrawal of the Yankee armies.

Will India take that ini-tiative? Not unless public opinion asserts itself more

opinion asserts itself more strongly than till now, in-sisting on the Government of India's taking the action which the world expects it to take: calling for the im-mediate withdrawal of all

US armed forces from

(FEBRUARY 16)

HE language problem

national crisis of the first

Language has become the

whip with which the men

in power seek to settle scores among themselves.

scores among themselves. The crisis is sought to be

used as a weapon to jockey someone out of office and

Push and pull and the

Fush and pull and the law of the jungle; the right reactionary forces are having their hey day. The Swatantra and the DMK "lead" the anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil-nad; the Jan Sangh and the RSS threaten "counter agitation" if Hindi's citous

And of course within the

Congress, within the right parties every man for him-self, every man for his

"state", every man with an

every man with his tongue rolled out to catch the vote

in the way he thinks he will catch it best.

Now the formulae are be-ing tested out. A 'consen-

ing Committee is to meet.

The people, however, do not forget that it is the

same High Command who are responsible for the cri-sis itself.

same Chief Ministers

constituency.

the

eye on his

ing

South Vietnam.

magnitude.

someone out of someone in.

conflagration.

nwards

#### By ROMESH CHANDRA

In the midst of the flood waters let loose by the language crisis, it was inevitable that the Government of India had little time to examine with anything more than the usual perfunctory sniff the latest events in Inde-China. But whatever our internal preoccupations may be it would be disastrous to be complacent: what happens'in the coming days in Vietnam is of vital sig-nificance not only for world peace, but for India's future as well.

ITTLE seems to have been

Prime Minister Shastri's all for a Johnson-Kosvein meeting was followed up by a letter to the two leaders. But the major proposal for a reconvening of the Geneva a reconvening of the unit. Conference seems to have remained where it was.

The most unfortunate aspect of the whole affair has been the reluctance of the Ministry of External Affairs to say a word about what it knows to be at the root of the present crisis: the continued and increasing presence of US armed forces in South Vietnam.

Not only that. Even the announcement of the despatch of South Korean troops to uth Vietnam (again in brazen, open defiance of the Geneva Agreement) has been received in silence by a government which is supposed t be the chairman of the Inter of he national Supervisory Commission charged with ensuring the observa of the Geneva Agréement!

#### Why Silence ?

Why this silence? Why this blind eye to the glaring re-alities of the situation?

What is ironic is that, just on the eve of the US aggression, Prime Minister Shastri had given an interview to a French journalist in which he had called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the 1.12

But after the aggression, when the need to stress this was greater than ever, the official statements studiously avoid, all mention of foreign

Why? To give the green signal to the mercenaries from South Korea and to the expansion of US armed forces themselves? Surely it would be unfair to suggest this.

It is not clear who is responsible for this policy, which amounts to condoning US aggressive actions in South East Asia

But the "argument" be hind the policy is well-known. It is the old theme that it would be unwis India to say too much ab the US imperialists in this region because of the Chiso danger.

PAGE FOUR

Let us face this issue frankdone by India on the diplomatic front after the first days of the US aggression on North Vietnam. it is only because the People's Republic of China has come to be looked upon as a guardian of the independence of countries against the ever-present threats of US impe-

#### A Wrong Approach

The day US imperialism is thrown out of Asia, each country of the region will be able to judge policies on the basis of their own merits. And one can take it that the iso-lation of the Chinese leaders will be complete even in this region, if they persist in their wrong policies

Thus, the way to fight the wrong policies of the Chinese leaders in South East Asia lies through the driving out of the US imperialists from this region.

On the other hand, any appearance of vacillation regarding the crimes of US imperialism in Southeast Asia, any impression that India is condoning them in Asia, any impression that India is condoning them in any way, will only isolate India not only in the re-gion itself but all over the anti-imperialist Afro-Asian world.

Thus the theory of the Mi-nistry of External Affairs under which our policy on under which our policy on South East Asia is evidently turned to keep the Americans "neutral"—is a totally bogus "theory" and against India's

Having dealt with this point, it is necessary to insist that even now, at this stage a re-thinking should be ordered at the highest level

#### Tell The World

India's duty is clear. As chairman of the International Supervisory Commission, India must tell the world of the crimes committed by the US imperialists in violation of the Geneva Agreements.

US bombs have fallen right where ICC teams were sta-tioned. But the ICC is mum as far as is known!

This is shameful and ill becomes the traditions of an India which is independent enough to tell the truth.

> Let it be clear. There is % solution to the Indo-

## Kerala Election Fund of CPI

The PHQ branch has already sent Rs. 6.000 to the Kerala Election Fund of the CPI. It is Rs. 1,090 more than the quota taken at the Party Congress.

Collections are going on briskly. Now the target set is to double the quota, that is, to collect Rs. 10.000.

The Delhi state council has also passed its rine Denni state country and a still continuing.

★ The West Bengal state council has sent Rs. 1,500 to the Kerala Election Fund, according to a report received here.

Reports from other states show that the drive for fund collection is being carried out enthusiastically. Details are awaited.

Rush your contributions to

NATIONAL ANSWER TO

criminal to justice?

mental wave ends, the peo-

ses for their own ends.

Fditorial

C. Achutha Menon Secretary Kerala State Council of CPI Trivandrum

**A NATIONAL PROBLEM** How can there be confi- tions, of professional associations, to discuss the en tire issue threadbare.

I is no longer just a dence that the perpetrators problem: it has become a of the crime will bring the The Communist Party of At the same time, as the India had sugges first emotional and senti- calling of such a India had suggested the calling of such a confer-ence to Prime Minister Shastri when its delegation ple also view with disgust the antics and postures of the right reactionary parmet him on February 9. Out of such a conferen

ties which seek only to should emerge a consensus utilise the longings and of view on the problem as dissatisfactions of the mas- a whole and both longterm and immediate solu tions National integration is a long process; it has to be worked for.

It is necessary to go to the root of the problem to examine how others have tackled similar problems, to test public opinion by sending out working teams to discuss the issue with various sections in all the states.

olve the problem. Nor is it enough to put orward one's own formula, however scientific it may while later.

What is at stake is the unity of India: not just its formal constitutional unity, but its emotional feeling of

Let us not underestima the depth of the wounds caused by the events since Republic Day—wounds in the hearts of Indians which will become gaping ditches dividing Indian from ill become billion Indian Indian Indian if they are not indian, if they are not indian if t healed permanently soon. This is no time to fiddle. This is no time to fiddle. The sooner the Neros in high places realise that, the better for them and the country's future.

(FFREUARY 16)

Bihar is rapidly becoming one of the leading industrial states of India. Apart from the traditional established industries like sugar, the Jamshedpur complex and coalmining in the Inaria-Dhanbad area, new industries are springing up and older ones are being expanded. The NCDC has its coal mines in the Bermo-Giridih belt and is now entering the Dhanbad area. A coal washery is being set up in the NCDC area with Soviet help. New pits are being opened up. In Barauni, the oil refinery has gone on stream. In the Hatia area, a huge complex is being built; the HEC has gone into production. The fourth public sector steel plant is to be built in Bokaro. The only copper mine in the country is at Ghatsila. Cement is being manufactured at Ihinkpani and Dalmianagar and firebricks at Chirkunda. There are a host of other industries and factories also.

The

ENCE the new Bihar has immense industrial potential. At the same time, all the contradictions inherent in our economic system also find expression in an acute form.

The growing public sector is coming up in a state where already big monopolies are well-entrenched. Bokaro faces Jam-shedpur and the NCDC coal mines have the British and Indian coal empires to contend with.

The campaign of the private sector tycoons against the public sector takes the most virulent form. All types of obstacles are put in its way and the private sector has successed to a good extent in infiltrating the public sector by means of trusted men.

Idle

Machinery

DUIT.

It is reported, for example, that machinery is lying idle at the NCDC mines, there is no proper utilisation of installed

the NCDC mines, there is no proper utilisation of installed machinery and inadequate main-tenance which leads to frequent breakdowns. This helps the big coal mono-polists in running down the major organisation in Bihar. "mefficient" public sector and in hamstringing its production.

## BNC MILLS WILL BE **REOPENED. NO WAGE CUT** Major Victory for Workers

#### From SHARAD KOTHARI

KAJNANUGAUN: Four thousand workers of the of some INTUC leaders from BNC Mills in Rajnandgaon have won a significant victory outside, it did not bring any in their three month old structure outside and results in their three-month old struggle against the closure of the factory.

HE mill was closed on matum to the government that November 16 last in a bid to impose on the workers a 41 per cent cut in wages and dear-ness allowance on the plea of Mills. Iosses in running.

Though there is no ATTUC union in the BNC Mills, the tation. And a citizens committee MPTUC rushed to the help of the workers who were left at the mercy of the management as a result of the pro-management attitude of the existing unions affiliated to the INTUC and HMS. HMS.

FEBRUARY . 21, . 1965

A massive campaign was launched by the MPTUC for the reopening of the mills without any cut in the workers' wages and for the removal of the anti-worker controller. The matter was raised by Shakir All Khan, MPTUC president, was take backlature

in the state legislature. A meeting of the AITUC-randum to that effect was also affiliated unions held at Rajnand-gaon on January 17 gave an ulti-and the INTUC.

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It is not enough to say Failure to do this may

take a party or group view of the issue, or to insist dogmatically that one's own solution is the only correct

sus' is being sought. The Chief Ministers are summoned. The Congress Workproblem. No PARTY solu-tion can be an answer to And lo and behold, out of it; it can only have a NA-TIONAL ANSWER. a magic hat will come the solution.

The need is for the call-ing together of a wide con-sultative conference on the lines of the National Integration Conference, but far more representative of the people, of mass organisa-

agitation" if Hindi's status is in any way sought to be modified. today that "government is responsible". That is true, but saying that does not solve the problem. forward one's own formula, however scientific it may be. What use is a success ful formula, if it is not ac-ceptable now to the people

as a whole? This is not the hour to

one. This is a NATIONAL

The prioate monopolists are aided by British and US finan-ces; the public sector in Bihar is being built with Soviet, Hungarian and Czechoslovak aid. This brings out in a sharp way the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoli edge of the app

monopoly edge of the new public sector enterprises. Barauni, Hatia and Bokaro Jha. were undeveloped areas. The giant public sector industrial enterprises have a powerful im-pact on them, breaking down their age-old isolation and drawing them into the vortex of rapid industrial advance.

Multi-national labour, drawn from various states of India, speaking different languages, has been thrown together, not only in these new giants but in the old establishments like Jamshed-

polists, the INTUC has recog-nised unions in Jamshedpur, the mining areas, and the public sector enterprises, although in most places neither their mem-bership nor influence would warrant this.

Factionalism has become acute Factionalism has become acute in the Bihar INTUC as in several other states. In Janshedpur, the established faction is that of Michael John which has the sup-port of the Tatas and the former Bihar Chief Minister, Binodanand

#### Bitter Quarrel

Now K. B. Sahay, the pre-sent Chief Minister, has or-ganised his own group. The fight has reached an acute stage in Teloo, where both factions claim to be the real Teloo Workers Union.

The question of recognition still remains unresolved and a giving birth to a new type of labour force, on the other hand, new stresses and strains, new tensions are also there.

Meanwhile a section in the

From February 1 four lead-ers of the workers went on hungerstrike in front of the houses of the Chief Minister and the Industries Minister in Bhopal.

On February 4 the workers held a demonstration before the state Labour Minister to demand the running of the mills without

Though the management made an attempt to create a rift among the workers with the aid Efforts to browbeat the workers

with the help of the police also did not succeed. Many false prosecutions were launched by the police but that did not affect

the police bit that did not affect the morale of the workers. Finally, finding itself helpless in the face of mising resentment of the working class in the state, the government intervened and conceded the main demands of the worker the workers. The Chief Minister promised

to remove the present controller and reopen the mills without any wage cut. And the four TU leaders broke their fast by taking the fruit juice offered by the Chief Minister.

a united battle.

a united battle. The fact that the AITUC had gone into the battle though it had no union in the BNC Mills will also have its impact on the trade union movement in the state.

NEW AGE

## INDUSTRIAL SCENE IN BIHAR **Big Business Mounts**

directed - that the management should not dismiss any worker without the government's permis-sion. Tata criticised this inter-vention at the meeting of the Central Advisory Council of In-dustries. The Bihar Minister dustries. The Bihar Minister refuted Tata's allegations in the state legislature.

Offensive, Factional

Feuds Beset INTUC

It was clear, however, that It was clear, however, that neither side was interested in sound industrial relations or in safeguarding the interests of the workers. While K. B. Sahay wanted to protect his group involved in the Telco strike, the government took no action to enforce a settlement on the to enforce a sentement on the management on the long out-standing DA dispute or on increments. He was primarily concerned with ousing John and his group.

and his group. Similarly, in the coalfields, the INTUC has two rival unions-the Koyala Khan Mazdoor Con-gress and the Colliery Mazdoor Sangh, the latter being the organisation of the official INTUC (John group). Here also, physical assaults and active dis-ruption inter se is going on. In the coal mines, both in the public and private sectors, many pits and collieries are being clos-ed rendering workers idle and iobless. At the same time, work-load is being increased and statck on trade union rights-continues unabated. In Barauni oil refinery and the

The widespread use of gangs-ter methods in inter-TU rivalry is a new development in Bihar. So far, the trade unions have had to face gangsterism only from the management. Now attacks on each other by INTUC factions are mounting. the workers minute. In Dalmianagar also, bonus issue is unresolved and large sec-tions of workers are preparing to launch a struggle on this as well as the question of DA. In Jamshedpur, there is consider-able discontent on the question of increments and DA.

tion of workers, to the spread of defeatism and frustration among Gives Lead

The INTUC factions are also busy in fanning inter-provincial feelings. In Jamsbedpur, con-siderable tension has been created

Taking advantage of this, the Rashtriya Swajamsevak Sangh, hitherto unknown in this industrial city; has begun to organise itself.

#### Danger Signs

The signs of danger are there and unless the trade unions and other democratic forces take immediate and effective steps to counter the poison being spread by the INTUC factions and the BSS an undy stination may be RSS, an ugly situation may be created.

While the INTUC factions are thus busy, the working class The Bihar TUC has raised its continues to face serious prob., voice against the gangster me-lems. First and foremost is the thods being imported into the question of the rapidly rising TUs by the rival INTUC factions. prices.

by the Chief Minister. Though the system of compu-The success of the united ing cost of living indices is ex-struggle has inspired the workers, tremely faulty and does not tensions among workers at Jam-especially since it is the first reflect the actual rise in prices, shedpur, instance where the AITUC and the indices for various industrial When all democratic forces should unite to defeat this should unite to defeat this instance it is a shame that the Though the system of compilalarming rise.

The steep rise in prices has resulted in substantial reduc-tion of real wages even in steel and coal industries where the wage boards have granted interim relief.

#### By SATISH LOOMBA

In most cases, there is either no DA or the DA is not linked with the consumer price index. Even in coal where the DA sy linked, variation takes place after only a 10 point rise.

In the mines areas, there is acute shortage of food and the real rise in prices is much higher than the figures show.

Fair price shops have not been Fair price shops have not been opened in most areas and indus-tries, and where they exist, apart from grain and sugar no other items are supplied. Even as re-gards grain, the supplies are-most irregular.

In the coal mines, manage-ments are refusing to pay profit-sharing bonus on the strange plea that since attendance bonus. is in vogue, profit bonus connot be paid.

uption inter se is going on. In Hatia again, there is acute actionalism in the INTUC copper industry of Ghatsila, the question of bonus is agitating the workers' minds.

these circumstances, the AITUC is trying to give a correct. lead to the workers. Many strug-gles have been fought by its unions on the various questions before the workers and gains

Now efforts are being made to coordinate the movement in a better way than before. Steps have been taken to form the Bihar branch of the Rashtriya Sangram Samith, which will co-ordinate the movement against price rise not only on the state level but will link it up with the national campaign.

Miners throughout the state will observe March 1 as Bonus will observe March 1 as bonus Day and in the NCDC mines, a strike ballot is being planned. The workers of the refractories are raising the demand of a wage board.

It has drawn attention to the serious dangers created by the deliberately-fanned inter-state

should unite to defeat this menace, it is a shame that the beloved leaders of workers like Kedar Das MLA, Ali Amjad. Barin Dev, Satnarain Singh and others continue to be imprisone and warrants continue others like Naresh Dutt. against

## **Bangalore Workers Demand Price-Peg**

#### From G. S. SATYANARAYANA

BANGALORE: A mass rally of workers belonging to various trade unions affiliated to AITUC, HMS, HMP, and independent unions like the Hindustan Aeronautics Employees Association, Bharat Electronics Employees Union, Mysore State Bank Employees Federation etc., was held on February 6 to ratify the resolutions adopted at the January 14 Convention of Trade Unions against price rise. (See NEW AGE dated January 31).

T was the biggest rally held in Bangalore in recent times and represented the unity achiev-ed by the working class of Bangalore preparing for the big-gest all-India action-Bharat

The rally was presided over by S. Shivappa, leader of the oppo-sition in Mysore Assembly. Among the prominent trade union

all enterprises and distribution of foodgrains at fair price through the talk than in action.

"The government is not pre-pared to nationalise the pri-vate banks which control the sinews of economic life in the country and due to the activi-



#### A view of the demonstration

were M. C. Narashiman, MLC and M. S. Krishnan, both of the Karnataka Pradesh Trade Union Congress, S. Venkataram of the Government Press Workers Union, F. Luis of the Hindustan Aeronautics Employees Associa-tion and S. Satyanarayana of the Mysore State Bank Employees

The resolution on food situa-tion adopted at the Convention and ratified by the rally express-ed grave concern at the deterio-rating food situation. It stated:

PAGE SIX



"On the other hand the recent-ly constituted. Food Grains Cor-poration has not been able to by the rally express-make any headway in order to oncern at the deterio-situation. It stated: The assurances so ceremoniously surances have been given by the Minister for Labour,



the two world wars, of her struggle for independence and its fulfilment in 1947, and of the early years political consolidation and economic development. To the few fine histories written of this period, this book makes a naluable and significant addition. Pp. 586 Price: Rs. 35/-

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of cost of living index in Banga-lore, and release of all trade union and political leaders held under DIR.

The speakers at the rally em-phasised the need for determined, united struggle of workers to reverse the anti-people policies of the state government in a propressive direction.

Shivappa in his presidential recently held tripartite meeting convened by him to discuss the food situation have remained as address expressed satisfaction at the unity and mobilisation of the workers and stated that he was confident that the working masses of Bangalore will carry of task of "Bharat Bandh" out the ot Bangalore will carry out the task of "Bharat. Bandh" effec-tively. He drew attention to the fact that the government was warned long back at the deter-iorating food situation but the government failed to take any The resolution demanded state trading in foodgrains, nationali-sation of banks, linking DA with cost of living index providing revision of bonus rorman rational basis providing bonus in - settermises and distribution of effective steps in time.

M. C. Narashiman, in his speech made it clear to one and all that the forthcoming "Bharat Bandh" struggle is no the struggle of any one single the struggle of any one single political party or trade union, but the struggle of the entire working class and other toil-ing sections of people against the preceding inhuman condi-tions of their life.

is no ceiling on profits; all private and public sector in-dustries (including departmen-He condemned the government austres, (including department tally-managed) to be covered by bonus formula, and evalua-tion of bonus formula on a rational and simplified form for speedy settlement and re-He condemned the government for not providing even the bare minimum to the working class and strongly criticised the state government's labour policy cit-ing examples of its pro-employer attitude to strikes going on in the Mysore Commercial Union the Mysore Commercial Union The rally also ratified the reso- Ltd. and Metro Malleable (P)

covery of bonus.

per cent neu of bonus form

The resolution on bonus for-

mula, also ratified at the rally, put forward a 5-point pro-gramme, namely, guaranteed

gramme, namely, guaranteed minimum bonus; no celling to be imposed on bonus as there

ula on a

for 100

statutory rationing.

#### TEXTILE WORKERS DEMAND BONUS

BOMBAY: Textile work ers of Bombay are astin to realise their bonus dues for 1963 before the Holi' celebrations.

The Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union had demanded 25 per cent of the wages pared for a general strike o realise it in Octobe

The strike was averted when the millowners con-ceded four per cent of the vages including ance as borus at the ime of Diwali last year.

The struggle now is for the remaining 21 per cent.

The textile workers tool out a procession on Febru-ary 5 to the Millowners Association offices and held meeting at the Horniman Circle.

The meeting was add-ressed by MGKU leaders including S. G. Patkar.

## **ANDHRA NGOS RESENT** MACARTHITE ATTACK BY CONGRESS LEADER

#### From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: Government employees in Andhra are highly resentful against the anti-people cha-racter being exhibited by the Congress leadership in the state.

ECENTLY, the APCC preare certainly not going to stop the newly aroused mid-dle class employees from going further along the road of organisation and sident Thimma Reddy launched a Macarthilte smear campaign against the leader of the NGOs' movement, Sristruggle. ramillu A notable recent of the coming into t

The Congress leader declared at a public meeting that not only was Sriramulu a Communist but a desciple of rival Communist Party leader Nagi Reddy. He went on to threaten that due action against the NGO leader would

The NGOs Association has vigorously protested against this shameless attempt to disrupt its ranks and to browbeat its members who carrying on a have been campaign to realise demands

#### Bluff Called

Sriramulu himself called the bluff when he made it known that he is a Congress volunteer for many years and does not even know Nagi Reddy.

Democratic circles in the state are now demanding that Reddy should have the elementary decency to at least make a public apology. But he has refused to do so. These despicable tactics

not workmen and therefore not covered by the Industrial Disputes Act.

Out of exasperation leers in every office of the Bank went on strike on January 30 with the demands that their associa tion be recognised, that their DA be raised and that their retirement age be also raised to 58 as has been done in the case of clerks.

The management now tried to make out that the strik was illegal and ran huge advertisements calling for fresh recruits

#### was the recent strike of the officers of the Andhra Bank, fully backed by the other Firm employees of this bank and Stand

evample

Rajah.

coming into the battle

arena of ever new sections of

the white collar employees

The Andhra Bank, called

the bank of Congress Health

has 100 offices with 300 offi-

cers and 1,200 other emplo-yees. It had Rs. 25 crores

worth of deposits at the end

The interesting point is that

in 1959 the management suc-

ceeded in disrupting the united union of the bank's

employees and establishing a rival Officers' Association.

But the experience of life and the rotten attitude of the

top management soon dis-lilusioned the officers and

they affiliated their associa-

Since then, the manage-ment has refused to hold any.

talks with the officers' asso-

ciation. It even prevented any intervention by the central

conciliation machinery on the

ground that the officers were

tion to the union in 1962.

ther banks as well.

Minister Chellapalli

of last year

ceeded

. The officers were firm and the general secretary of their Association, L. V. Satyanaravana, and his wife went on Jungerstrike. The strike was called off after a week on the personal intervention of S. K. Dutt, the chairman of the Bank.

Now negotiations are to follow with that very asso-ciation of officers, which the Bank management still refuses to recognise. It demands that the asso iation disaffiliate from the Union.

Whatever the final results of the negotiations, it is quite clear that a new and importsection of the middle ss has had its first baptism ant section of struggle, using the wea-pons of organisation and battle that the working class has given to all who want justice and decent life

West Bengal Rashtriya Sangram Samiti CALCUTTA: The West Bengal Convention of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti held on February 7 in the Calcutta University Hall has been hailed as an unprecedented mobilisation of representatives of workers Biggest Mobilisation and employees in the state marking a decisive step forward in the preparation for Bharat Bandh.

enjoined that.

Cease-Work

By Teachers

N EARLY 2000 delegates rom 259 trade unions and trade federations, including two West Bengal teacher's associations gathered at the Convention at the call of the West Bengal branch of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti. The mobilisation reflected the leep discontent of all sections of the working population of the state in the growing economic hardships and their desire for united action in the face of this challenge.

Life of the working people west Bengal is indeed in West Bengal is indeed beset with unending problems. The rise in prices of all es-sential commodities continues -inabated. The government by increasing the fares of the transport has added to the spiral.

Introduction of statutory rationing in the greater Cal-cutta area has mitigated only slightly the position regard-ing basic food, as the quantity is inadequate, particu-larly for manual workand the price of the variety of rice available is sometimes too high for the common man. At the present moment bulk of the supply is of fine variety costing Re. 1.10 per kg.

Defective Indices

The general wage level is forced transfers, retirement much lower in West Bengal and retrenchment, than other industrialised states and the DA is not linked with cost of living indices in many industries. Moreover the cost of living Legitimate trade union work index itself is defective, as can be seen from the fact that during last year when trial of large number of trade

Delhi Textile Workers Get Rs. 10 Lakh Benefits By Our Staff Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Textile workers in Delhi have won many concessions as a result of the recommendations conciliation board set up after the August 1964 agitation of the workers to realise their longstanding demands.

IN terms of cash, the bene-fits now realised by the workers would be about Rs. 2 All permanent workers to lable a more Mont dea 10 lakhs a year. Many de-mands of the workers relatelating to conditions of work have also been accepted

#### Unity Gains

This is the first conciliation board set up under the Indus trial Disputes Act 1947 for textile industry in Delhi and as such the outcome has been hailed as a victory for the unity of the workers and their the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union.

The following are some of essions gained by the workers:

Out of the eight unpaid national and festival holi-= national and restival noi- - posts in each department days given to wokers. every present level or 80 per cent year, payment in respect of of the workmen required to five will henceforward be run the department which-made to both the piece and ever is higher.

FEBRUARY 21, 1965

with one year's service will get four days casual leave in a year. Badlis will get this penefit if they have years' service. Extra wages for two hours on a pro-rata basis will be paid to the workers on a night shift on the day pre-

ceding the changeover of the shifts. There will be only two shifts on the day precluing the changeover. This fulfils one of the demailds of the workers pend-ing for the last two years.

The demand arose because the textile mills in Delhi work on all seven days of the week unlike in other textile centres.

should be maintained at the A The number of permanent posts in each department

prices went up in all parts of India, the West Bengal index showed decline over a period and the jute and of Toiling Masses Ever ootton textile workers had to suffer a cut in DA to the tune of Rs. 18 lakhs.

The benefit which could have accrued through ing of fair price open-shops by employers are also not there as the employers have not opened the shops even though the 22nd session of Indian Labour Conference

The entire teaching community in the state is in ferment. For long they have suffered from sub-standard salary. All their protests and sub-standard requests have gone in vain. Now they are determined to fight for their demands.

The secondary teachers will go on continued cease-work from February 16, the primary teachers will stage demonstrations in front of the Assembly and resort to squat-ting and the college and uni-

versity teachers are prepar-ing to boycot examination processes. White collar work-ers in banks, insurance companies and foreign-owned pe-troleum are facing large scale

General Insurance employees are facing unemployment due to closure of companies. is being hampered through arrests and detention without

union workers under DLR As in the case of strike in the Jay Engineering Works and the sympathetic general strike and the general strike against high prices the government resorts to DIR to make large cale arrests of trade union workers.

Meeting in this back-ground, the Convention considered all these aspects of the situation and fully endorsed the demands made endorsed the demands made by the central Rashtriya Sangram Samitl. Besides those demands the Coven-tion also formulated the following demands:

Immediate setting up of an expert committee to probe into the compilation 2 of consumer price indices, which should include trade union representatives;

Introduction of increas-O) ed quota of ration for heavy manual workers,

Ensuring regular sup-G ply of good quality rationed articles, prices of which have to be reduced;

Adequate supply of rice to factory canteens; ിന്

Promulgation . of ordi 8 nance pending legislation for opening of consumer stores in all factories, estab-

#### From Aloy Dasgupta

electronic computers in offices;

Immediate nationalisa. g tion of general insur-ance industry.

The Convention appealed "all trade union organisato "all trade unon the tions to take part in the Rashtriya united platform of Rashtrive Sangram Samiti with a view to building up a mighty united movment on the basis of these demands which common to all sections of workers and employees irrespective of affiliations"

Already local and district branches of the Samiti have been formed at some places The Convention called upon upon all unions to carry forward the process and to cover the entire state with such united committees:

#### Demands

#### Charter

The convention adopted a plan to carry on an agita-tion through meetings and demonstrations on the above demands during Februar and then to take a mas deputation of workers and employees to the state Le-gislative Assembly some-time in the second week of March for submission of a Charter of Demands to the

On the basis of the will be observed as "DE- run the department, which-

Reversal of the policyMANDS WEEK" by wearing of introducing labour badge and by holding me-t-saving machines, such as ings and demonstrations in all areas and districts The first phase of the programme will culminate with a mammoth mass fally of workers and employees on MAY DAY in Calcutta.

> The convention also supported whole-heartedly the demands of the secondary demands of the secondary teachers and called upon all trade unions to lend full support and nelp to the propose cease-work of the teachers.

> By another resolution the convention called upon the government to "terminate the state of emergency and to restore normal law and order ituation in the country." It further urged upon the government "to immediately withdraw the DI Rules and release forthwith all the political and trade union leaders and workers detained without trial." Release of workers convicted under DIR for participation in trade union struggles was also demanded

Satvapriva Roy, President of the All Bengal Teachers' Association presided over the Convention. Monoranjan Roy MLA General Secretary BP-TUC and Jatin' Chakravorty MLC, General Secretary, WBUTUC were elected joint convenors. Among the prominent speakers were Indrajit Gunta MP. Secretary, ATTUC, Tram Md Ismail President Workers' Union, Anila Devi, nands the last week of April General Secretary, ABTA and

seven

of the workmen required to run the department which-ever is higher.

This meets a demand of the workers pending for the last five years. The employers had been keeping large, numbers of workers as badli or temporary and even industrial tri-bunals had declined to in tervene in the matter.

S A regular grievance procedure, mainly on the lines approved by the tripar-tite Standing Labour Commit-tee should be set up in all the mills.

The conciliation board was set up by the Delhi adminis-tration just 24 hours before the general strike of the tex-tile workers was to start, on August 11, 1964 The strike was to be the highpoint of : monthlong agitation which included hungerstrike by some of the union activists at the mill gates.

B. D. Joshi, general secretary of the Kapra Mazdoer Ekta Union, represented the workers on the conciliation board along with P. H. Bhargava of the INTUC. The board consisted of two representa-tives each of the workers and the employers with B. Krish-namoorthy as its chairman.

#### ASSAM GOVT STAFF WIN THEIR POINT From M. Bhattacharya

SHILLONG: The Assam government has had to bend before the united will of its employees in Now-

THE order thus withdrawn the employees. But this did was issued by the deputy not deter the deputy com-commissioner of Nowgong missioner from taking his vin-This gentleman had ordered dictive step against the em-the deduction of one day's ployees. salary of all the Grade III. The employees organisations and IV employees in the dis. salary of all the Grade III. The employees organisations and IV employees in the dis-trict for having observed a NO WORK DAY in August missioner and directed their last

The employees observed the No Work Day to protest ag-ainst the unsatisfactory re-withd commendations of the pay ommittee regarding revision

committee regarding to the pay scales. The pay committee's recommendations fell far short of the demands of the employees and it did not accept the demand that the pay scales should be linked with the

No Work Day, the state go-vernment had revised their earlier decisions on the pay committee reco and given more benefits to

gong district and revise one of its vindictive orders.

members in Nowgong not to accept their pay for Decem-ber unless the order was withdrawn.

Accordingly, the Grade III Accordingly, the Grade III and IV employees in Now-gong observed a NO PAY DAY on January 2 and refus-ed to accept the salaries for December out of which the one day's salary was to be cut.

cost of living: Since the observance of the the state government, the de-puty commissioner has now puty commissioner has now withdrawn his order and the employees have since accept-ed their salaries for Decem-.



After discussing the nature of India's independence and how it was won, the Party Programme goes on to outline the basic features of the internal developments during the past seventeen years. In this article three chapters can be taken up—dealing with aspects of independent development, with the contradictions of the path pursued by the ruling class and the conditions of the people.

N these chapters the Programme also clinches cer-tain controversies that had gone on in the Party for years, as well as answers some central problems that have ariser cen in the minds of other politi-cally conscious elements in India and abroad.

Essentially, there are two main themes of debate and ssion which are concluded by the formulations of the Programme contained in these chapters.

First, has India's independence been strengthened the years since freedom? The Programme gives an unequiocally affirmative answer to stion

It concludes that the imperialist plan to keep India within the bounds of 2 semi-colonial economy has been rebuffed and our country has made advance along the path of inde-pendent industrial growth. The rival Communist Party systematically refuses to cognise this glaring reality. Onesidedly drawing upon statistics of increased private foreign capital holdings in India since 1947 and the vast foreign loans con tracted during this period, it arrives at the conclusion that economy is not the Indian only heavily dependent the imperialists but that on but that this

Erroneous Understanding

ny year.

This means that India today is economically more dependent than she was seventeen years ago, i.e., that India is a semi-colony rapidly on the way to complete sub-

dependence is increasing year

jugation. Drawing attention to the entirely new heavy industries and the emerging new trade patterns that have been estabished in the past decade in our country, the Programme firmly repudiates this erroneous understanding. It concludes that the ruling class has placed India on the path of independent capitalist de velopment.

The background to this development was the relatively greater growth of the national bourgeoisie in even under British rule. in India

Another factor was>the programme of rapid industrialisation drawn up by democratic elements in the Congress, as well as by the Communist Party, as part and parcel of the national urge for freedom itself. Despite this background in the first eight years or so

PAGE EIGHT

after freedom, the ruling class did not boldy take up the implementation of any pro-gramme of industrialisation, without which all talk of economic independence was sheer futility.

It hoped to secure impe-rialist "aid", by serious com-promises and concessions, to build up the economy. This approach was reflected in the First Five Year Plan

These illusions were shattered and roughly around 1955 with the formulation and discussion of the Se-cond Plan-frame a new turn was made towards industrialisation, especially the establishment of heavy industries,

The factors behind this turn were: the objective class interests of the national bourgeolsie which wanted to strengthen its independent position: the disillusionment with abject reliance on im-reflaism which did not serve these interests of the national bourgeoisie: the manifestation of the mass urge for develop-ment expressed turough the growth of the democratic movement; the increasing power and force of attraction of the socialist camp.

One of the characteristics of this turn was the expansion of the public sector in industry, as well as in finance and trade. This is one of the specific features of the development of capitalism in India. The Party Programme has therefore made a profound analysis of this phenomenon.

The public sector is categorically stated to be a form of state capitalism, thus sharply demarcating the Farty from those who view the growth of the public sector itself as the growth of socialism.

Those who hold this view are falling a prey to the ideo-logical cffensive of the ruling party, which wants to pass off its plans for capitalist development as some sort of pro-gress towards socialism.

#### Attitude to **Public Sector**

At the same time, the Programme equally categorically states that the public sector becomes an instrument of building an indpendent na-tional economy, of weakening the grip of foreign monopoly capital and to a certain ex-tent, of Indian monopolies.

The Party is, therefore, far from neutral on the conflict between the private sector and the public sector, since both are forms of capitalist development day. It is for the most rapid

the public sector so that it quickly at-tains a commanding position in our economy.

The public sector has, in fact, become one of the focal points in the class battle taking place in India today. The monopolists wish to prevent any further expansion of the public sector; they want to infiltrate it and to utilise the public discontent against bureaucracy and inefficiency in this sector to take it over. The monopolists are helped in their campaign by the heavy concessions made to them by the government and to by its utterly anti-democra-tic, inefficient method of running the public sector. especially towards its work-

The Party therefore not

only mobilises against the monopoly attack on the public sector but also simul-

taneously struggles for pur-

ging it of monopolist in-finence and ridding it of bureaucratic efficiency.

rapidly

Its demand is for a demo-

cratic public sector, rapidly expanding, which will act as a decisive anti-monopolist factor. Such is the compre-

hensive, integrated approach

Another notable feature of

dependent economy promi-nently featured in the Pro-

id, particularly that of the

Soviet Union. Such aid is cru-

cial significance in the defeat

of the imperialist plans to retain India as a semi-colony.

As a result of such aid

whole new branches of indus-

try have sprung up in our country and that too in the

public sector which go a long

way towards eliminating the

on the capitalist world mar-ket for trained manpower.

materials and machinery. The rival Communist Party

programme grossly under-

imperialist significance of socialist aid, seeks to write it

off just as a routine commer-cial transaction and almost hints that it is all going to

an entirely opposite position. It views socialist aid as es-

sential for independent anti-imperialst economic growth. as a crucial force aiding the completion of the national

Second, the Programm

hammers home the point that India has yet to achieve full

NEW AGE

cratic revolution.

Party Programme takes

profound anti-

legacy of our colonial legacy of our colonial past; in reducing our dependence

stimates the

heln capitalism.

progress towards an in-

e is the role of socialis

of the Programme

Sacialist

Aid

pite unprecedentedly favour-able circumstances, India still remains linked to the world

capitalist pressure. This failures stems directly from the compromising and reactionary features of the path of independent capitalist development.

What are these reaction ary and compromising features? this In the first place,

In the first place, this path has put huge and in-creasing burdens on the common people. It has sharpened the glaring dis-parities, helped the rich to get richer while the abys-nel living conditions of the mal living conditions of the overwhelming majority have not materially improved.

won through sharp struggle and costly sacrifices and is constantly threatened with

Nor is it the workers alone

who have suffered from the capitalist path. The over-whelming bulk of the pea-

the urban

strata and even many indus-

trialists and traders, i.e., large

sections of the national bour-

geoisie, have also felt the ad-verse effects of the capitalist

It is not merely a question

of the suffering of the entire nation, except for the mono-

whole noint is that all this

suffering has taken place

polists and landlords.

and costly

santry

nath.

being wiped out.

simultaneously with a miser bly low rate of growth, with slow, halting development. Continuing misery and suf-Continuing misery and suf-fering for the overwhelming majority, combined with a niggardly growth-rate—this is one of the most serious ne-gative features of the path of capitalist development.

In the second place, while imperialism and feudalism no longer dominate as in the past, while these ene-mies of the nation, have been curbed and restricted, they are far from being routed.

While the persistence of feudal and semi-feudal relations is gone into in detail in the chapter on agrarian re-lations, the three chapters being analysed here deal in detail with the policy of com-promises with and concesions to imperialism.

Not only are foreign monopoly concerns not nationalised, but the national bourgeoisie itself seeks to expand by inviting foreign private monc-poly capital in partnership

the imperialists are clear in-

with itself. The trebling of foreign private capital investments since independence. the increasing trend towards collaboration agreements including in the while sector and the conditions which socalled e.o. tions on which socalled eco-nomic aid is accepted from

dications of the reactionary aspects of the capitalist path So long as this policy of MOHIT SEN conciliation with imperialism continues India cannot deelop fully a self-reliant national economy nor can im-perialist interference in our Whatever small advance might have been registered by the working class has been registered political life be fully prevent-

middle

The

#### **Concentration of Economic Power**

In the third place, the basic policies of the ruling class have led to an enor-mous concentration of cconomic power in the hands of a few big monopoly gronps.

These groups have establi-ed a ramified system of control over vital sectors of in-dustry, banking and trade. They constitute a powerful reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-national force and

+ ON PAGE 12

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FEBRUARY 21, 198

#### WOMEN'S EDUCATION FUND **USED FOR ROAD-BUILDING!**

NEW DELHI: Women's Education Day was observed in Delhi on February 13, the birthday of late Saroiini Naidu.

THE meeting, called by the National Federation of Indian Women, passed the following resolution:

This meeting of the NFIW held on the occasion of Saro-jini Naidu's birthday is of the opinion that the right to edu-cation is one of the fundamental rights of all children but it not been applied through-India especially in backout India especially in back-ward and rural areas and more particularly to girls.

We feel that general edu-cation and vocational and technical training should be-come accessible to young people and especially girls and women in all states especially in rural areas where it is neglected most.

We also recommend to our local organisations to develop and co-operate with other organisations in literacy cam-paign and in liquidating illieracy.

We urge the government to take action to implement the provision of the Indian Consti-tution in this connection forth-

mend to the go-We reco we recomment to the government that special mea-sures for girls education be included in the Fourth Plan and effectively implemented, serious consideration be given to filling the gap betw girls' and boys' education. Meanwhile the disclosure

bricks, steel and cement.

# Dockers Get Higher DA, But

NEW DELHI: An emergent meeting of the Central Wage Board for Port and Dock Workers held at Bombay on February 10 has recommended immediate application of the recently enhanced rates of dearness allowance in central government services to all major ports.

THE board will continue its would be effective from Octodeliberations on the question of interim relief, irrespective of the proposed application of the central government scales of DA. The issue will be taken up by the board on February 22. would be effective from. Octo-ber 1, 1964. Wage determination and revi-sion through wage boards in other fields is progressing painfully slow, particularly in respect of interim relief.

The meeting on February 10 **Textile** was called at the request of the was called at the request of the Union Transport Ministry. The Port Trasts had decided to defer

Trusts, Dock Labour Stevedore Associations, and other oncerned authorities to implement scheme which als entral government scales of DA, ceiling on bonus, whenever there was a revision According to The revision in the DA rates

as per central govern FEBRUARY 21, 1965

Wage Board rt Trusts hav yment of the revised ... JA pending a decision by the wage board on iterim relief while the workers' organizations had urged immediate payment. The All-India Port and Dock Workers Federation had called for direct hoard has held that part of the total wage bill, in wised DA view of its contemplated compul-the sory payment. \* the labour, representative \* the labour, representative \* the infimum w \* the balour, representative \* the infimum w

The first meeting of the Cept-ral Wage Board for Engineering Industry is understood to have top consideration of interim relief. consideration to the given a balancing factor in the bonus scheme which also provided a

According to the workers' side, the principle of set-off and set-on which qualified the pay-



made at the session of the National Council of Wo-men's Education about funds allocated for women's education have been spent

for non-educational purposes has created a flutter in edu-

Addressing the seventh an-nual session of the council, its chairman, Raksha Saran said that in spite of the recommendations of the council, dations of the council, the Central Advisory Board of Education and the State Edu Board of

This, she said, proved lisastrous. Because of their meagre resources, the states diverted the funds to other purposes such as building. of roads and power houses. But the council was, how-

ever, able to persuade the states to utilize the funds earmarked for 1964 only on girls' education for the first

She hoped that women's education would no longer be the first casualty when a cut was imposed as used to be the case in the past.

Raksha Saran complai that schools were not being built because of shortage of

## WEST BENGAL CONGRESS INTUC Wing Snubs Boss Atulya Ghosh, Wants Independence

A PALACE REVOLT IN

CALCUTTA: The recent session of the Bengal Pro-vincial National Trade Union Congress was significant in more ways than one, reports IPA. Held only a couple of washe often the Durgapur resolution was of weeks after the Durgapur session of the Indian National Congress and at a place within a few miles of it, the very timing and situation of the INTUC meet was bound to attract interest. Actually it turned out to be even more interesting than had been expected.

OLITICAL observers in West Bengal there is no love West Bengal were intri-gued to find that the list of speakers for the conference which was fairly long and contained besides Chief Minister P. C. Sen a number prominent leaders of Congress, did not include the ame of Atulya Ghosh.

#### Not Even Followers !

In fact none of those who are known to be his loyal followers had a place in the list of the speakers at the TNTUC session,

lost, the exclusion of Ghosh told its own tale.

That the INTUC in West Bengal is becoming a rallying point for those opposed to Ghosh was demonstrated even more clearly in the prsidential address delivered by Kali Mukherii, Every word in that address must have stung Atulya Ghosh and angered him beyond measure.

Giving open expression t what has been informally dis-In view of the well-known cussed by so many delegates fact that between Atulya to the Durgapur Congress, Ghosh and the INTUC in Kall Mukerji plainly stated in a retreat from the stand taken by the Congress from Avadi

The speech is replete with criticism of the policies of the Congress government, which would have gladdened the heart of many an opposition critic

Kali Mukherji has charged Congressmen of entering into opportunistic alliances with feudal interests for the sake of winning the elections and asserted that this was responsible for the delay in imple-menting the policy of land reforms

He has lashed out against the concentration of wealth and pointed out that only twenty industrial houses controlled one-third of all the capital invested in industry in the country.

He has drawn attention to the falling real wage in West Bengal and after analysing the trend of prices, has come to the conclusion that workers in West Bengal are earning today less than they were in

#### Make It Independent

EVEN MORE, KALL MUKH-ERII HAS MADE THE AL-MOST SACRILEGIOUS SUG-GESTION THAT THE INTUC MUST BE MADE INDEPEN-DENT OF THE CONTROL OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY

If to this is added the decision taken by the INTUC to take up the organisation of agricultural labour in West Bengal on trade union lines the whole thing emerges in its true light as a bid to challenge the supremacy of the great chief of the West Bengal Congress, not only in the urban areas but also in the countryside.

Will the INTUC leaders be able to succeed in breaking the monopoly of power enjoyed by Atulya Ghosh or are they doomed to fail as so many similar attempts have in the recent past?

That depends entirely the daring and capacity those who are making the bid. But the fact that the bid is being made at all is a signi-ficant feature of the situation.

PAGE NINE

## WAGE BOARDS MAKING VERY SLOW PROGRESS

ment of the four per cent mini-mum should be taken as a deferred form of profit-sharing rather than as a deferred wage as suggested by the employers. Second, on the question of im-mediate interim relief to workers be labour

in low-wage pockets, the labour representatives on the board demanded urgent consideration but this proposal was opposed by

employers' representatives. The issue will be discussed at the next meeting of the board to be held on February 25. to be held on February 25. The board is also likely to

inclusion of powerloom factories within its scope. It agreed, at its first meeting, to include sew-ing thread industry within the scope of the board's powers for wage determination.

#### United Stand

The three trade federations vernment therefore desired th of engineering workers belong-ing to the INTUC, AITUC and wage board and the interim r HMS had urged before the port re-examined, if necessary wage board immediately after -(IP/

NEW AGE

per cent wage rise, with minimum of Rs. 30 per mont minimum of Rs. 30 per month, should be awarded as interim relief to the engineering workers

The wage board has decided to ask for n oranda fron ory-wise, indicating the extent

factory-wise, indicating the extent of wage adjustments done during the last 18 months, and the pre-vailing basic wage and DA rates. The state governments and emp-loyers would be requested to furnish the lists of factories and information relating to many furnish the lists or meaning to wage.

quested to comment on the memo-randa sent by workmen and later there will be hearing of the par-ties on the issue of interim relief.

The Government of India has referred back the interim recommendations made by the Central Wage Board for Non-Journalist Employees to the Journalist Employees to the Central Wage Board, for a fur-ther examination of the various points of plew.

Representations were made by some of the employers and trade unions over various points in the interim recommendations and go-vernment therefore desired that these points be considered by the wage board and the interim re--(TPA)



South Vietnam Liberation Front Soldiers

## World Protest Against Attacks On Vietnam

nist Party of USA in a nist Party of USA in a statement described the US air attack against North Vietnam as "an act of brutal aggression which horrifies the world." The statement adds that the aggression "shows a brazen in-lifference to public opinion. Its wetklessness is underscored by the the base of commons demanding a peace initiative. This was an open expression of dissatisfaction with the British foreign policy. The motion pointed out that

Several hundreds of youth and women demonstrated in New York before the UN building on February 7 and 8 demanding stoppage of US aggression on North Vietnam. They called upon President Johnson to "turn back from a dangerous and unilateral course that risks fullscale war in Asia." Asia.

Asia." MONTREAL: A militant de-monstration before the US Consu-late voiced anti-American slogans on February 7 and protested aga-inst US aggression on North aggression TORONTO: Several hundred

the worldwide protests against the aggressive US acts in South-East aggre

NEW YORK: Chair-man of the Commu-buge mass really convened by Communist Youth League a the nounced the US aggression.

The statement adds that the aggression "shows a brazen in-difference to public opinion. Its recklessness is underscored by the fact that this attack took place while the Soviet head of state was visiting Hanoi. It constitutes the gravest threat to world peace since the Cuban crisis." Several hundreds of youth and women demonstrated in New York before the UN building on February 7 and 8 demanding stoppage of US aggression on North Vietnam. They called upon President Johnson to "turn back government should support a policy in Vietnam which "is un-just and that exposes mankind to an appalling danger."

The Scotish miners' executive and the British Peace Committee demanded government action to end the dangerous situation in Victorers

A protest meeting, of the stu-dents of Edinburgh University on February 10 demanded US call off its aggressive designs. MOSCOW: Several thousand

TORONTO: Several hundred people demonstrated on February 7 before the US embassy and demanded "US HANDS OFF VIETNAM". The leaflet issued by the demonstrators described the US action as "cowardly and murderous" and pointed out the situation could "escalade into World war." BERLIN: The Covernment of GDR denounced the American raids as "extremely grave provo-cation and a gross violation of international law." A seminar of prominent journalists which was the worldwide protests against the students on February 10 joined the american the demonstration, along with Vietnamese students, were youths s and students from many countries to students. The demonstration and a gross violation of international law." A seminar of the worldwide protests against the students from many countries to students. The demonstration and success to fast after a large group of Soviet the worldwide protests against the students the statement of protest as well as a large group of Soviet students. The demonstrators circu-lated the statement of protest handed to the United States Ambassador, and also the petition

the 1954 Geneva

ships by Vietnamese guerillas

PUBLICAN on February 8 warn-ed; "Still there is time to arrive at a sensible policy of peaceful coexistence."

BELGRADE: BORBA described the US action as "a uni-lateral aggressive action" against the "sovereignty of an indepen-dent country."

dent country." PRAGUE: The World Fede-ration of Trade Unions appealed to the working people and trade unions to demand immediate cessation of US aggression and pro-vocations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam describing the attack as "new crimes of American imperiali

BEIRUT: The Lebanese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity on February 11 called upon the US government to stop operations against DRV and withdraw its troops immediately from South Vietnam.

VIENNA: The World Coun-VIENNA: The World Coun-cil of Peace condemned "the ir-responsible, callous and highly dangerous action of US govern-ment" and demanded the early reconvening of the 14-nation Ge-neva conference and withdrawal of all troops and armaments from South Vietnam. BUDAPEST: The bureau of the World Ecolection of Down

the World Federation of Demo-cratic Youth in a statement on February 12 resolutely condemned the US aggressive acts. It called upon the youth of the world "to struggle for the immediate end-ing of the US war against the

Vietnamese people." On February 13 more than 2000 students demonstrated in front of the US legation in Budapest and demanded withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam.

HAVANA: Foreign Minister of Cuba Dr. Raul Roa condemned the US attack on North Vietnam and described it as "an insolent challenge to world public opinion and a dangerous risk for peace." The statement added: "Such actions can be prevented or crushed only through effective help of the socialist countries, of the peoples who are ready to defend their rights to live on their own, and of the peaceloving crushed on the socialist countries.

The government and the people Cuba support the decision of Republic of Viet the Democratic nam to resist the aggression and demand fulfilment of the Geneva agreement. The American pretext to justify the barbarous aggression is cynical and shame-ful."

Dr. Raul Roa concluded his statement with a call to all Socialist countries to be united in the has

MARCH 19, 1950 marked the beginning of the anti-US intervention struggle of the people of Vietnam. It was on that day, for the first time, two US warships moved up the Saigon river to bring in supply of war materiel to French occupation forces. ESPITE the state of war and the ships beat a hasty and Martial Law prevail- retreat, ing, about three lakh Viet-

In a way this was a sym-bolic action which was to be repeated on a much big-ger scale in the years to come And March 19 became the National Struggle Day against US imperialism in Vietnam.

But the US did not learn the lesson. After the French withdrawal licking the Igno-minous scars of the battle of Dien Bien Phu, the US on the very next day of the signing of the Geneva agreement in 1954 swiftly moved into the place vacated by the French. addressed to, the , co-chairman of Thus from the first day ALGERIA: ALGER RE- gan violating the agreement and thwart the aspirations of the people of. Vietnam for self-determination and re-

unification. The US found a cover in the puppet government of South Vietnam and by 1961 when it discovered that the puppet government would not be able to carry through its neo-colonialist designs, it threw away the cover and openly set up in Saigon its own military operational command.

Since then the US warlords have been trying to put the country under heel by brutal repression: by napalm bombing, chemical warfare, setting up over 8,000 concentration camps (most of which were distroyed by the patriotic forces) and by carrying on an all-out undeclared war. But the results were just opposite of what the US hoped t end, for. The war did not the Vietnamese a could be choked nor Vietnamese aspirations

more than 400 men, about 1800 disabled; 20 captured and 24 missing. The loss of armaments and equipment of war is inestimable. Till now about 5,000 million dollars have been poured into South Vietnam by the US to keep the puppet regime propped up. Its daily expen-diture in South Vietnam amounts to more than 15 million dollars.

the South Vietnam National Li-

Lidon

THAILAND

Till date, USA has

On the other hand,

beration Forces have already cent of territory occupied about three-fourtn of the South Vietnam terri-tory-even according to US official figures, it is over 50 per cent: out of 43 provinces, 22 are in the hands of libera-22 are in the hands of libera-tion forces whom the US describes as 'Vietcong guerrillas'.

The Americans themselves admit today: Saigon is a city mostly sealed off from the countryside According to another observer, American hold over South Vietnam reduces to only about 10 per

nqay

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VEETNAM

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Areas of Communist strength

Quinhon

Dalat Bichoa 9 Phannang O Saidon

Americans Demand

night.

nam. The late President Kennedy saw the Vietnam issue as "a tunnel with no end in view" and President Johnson finds only "a lot of hard work" there, French President de Gaulle has pointed out, learning from experience, that "the war cannot be won no matter how much air and naval power the United States. commits....' And 'yet the US Pentagon

And yet the US Fentagon assistance. But on November insists on carrying on its undeclared war in Vletnam in complete disregard of all in-ternational norms. It refuses to agree to a plan of neutra-lisation which Fear Puet US to agree to a plan of neutra-lisation which Dean Rusk US Secretary of State sees only ment' also vanished. The preas "a formula for surrender".

But the American people governments. o not want this war: 1 The last coup by Khanh had ther do a number of polirudely made, Washington aware to the fact that it has finally lost all political influtical leaders and senior observers. To Walter Lipp-mann the prospect is thus:



hostilities in Vietnam:

IDSCINITIES IN VIETNAM: ECLARATION: "...the es-sential purpose of the agree-ment relating to Vietnam is to settle military questions with a view to ending hostilities and that the military demarcation line is provisional and should not be in any way interpreted as consti-tuting a political or territorial boundary." the two parties shall ensure that the zones assigned to them do not adhere to any mili-tary alliance and are not used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy." The Geneval agreement was signed on July 20, 1954 and the participant countries including the

the hostilities and to guarantee their democratic liberties."

• • • ARTICLE 16: "... the introduction into Vietnam of any troops reinforcements and additional mili-tary personnel is prohibited..." 0 0 0

ARTICLE 17 (a): "... the inaggressive actions Vietnam. troduction into Vietnam of any reinforcements in the form of all Mass-scale reprisals and tortures types of arms, munitions, and other war material, such as combat aircraft, naval craft, pieces of ordnance, jet engines and jet wea-pons and armoured vehicles is prohibited..." being carried on in South Vietnam, And above all, the artificially divided Vietnam is not being al-lowed to be reunited.

• ARTICLE 19: "With effect from the date of entry into force of the present Agreement, no mili-tary bases under the control of a foreign state may be establish-ed in the regrouping zone of regrouping zone of



Whole people of South Vietnam have taken to arms

## CAMBODIA gulfof Siam

Bengko

How The Press Saw It

New York Times map showing Liberation Front held areas

to North Vietnam.

a summit where immediate considerations of prestige can be excluded".

THE STATESMAN's

Describing the recent

NEW DELHI: The Indian press, in general, has Hoa "should be admitted and condemned the recent American adventure and welcom-retaliation ordered so summarily" red Prime Minister Chastries (for the particular of ed Prime Minister Shastri's suggestion for a negotiated solution of the crisis. Here are some comments by some to North Watnam leading dailies:

THE FINANCIAL EXPRESS

changes of puppet governments, it is that the United States has absolutely no business to remain on this part of Asian soil."

The paper says further: "The The paper says further: I he very fact that three-jourths of South Vietham is under Viet Cong rule is a further proof of the way in which the wind is blowing. In such a situation it would be wrong to think that the Communists have in-ternened in another country's ned in another country's

According to the paper, Asia has every reason to fear that the war in Vietnam might spread to list countries to be united in the nas every reason to rear that the common endeayour to end the war in Vietnam might spread to aggressive designs of Yankee im- new regions unless the Geneva perialism in Asia, Africa and conference on Indo-China is re-called to resolve the dispute.

In an editorial comment (Feb-ruary 10) the newspaper expressed the opinion that "the threat to peace" and "the danger of a dis-astrous war which neither of the two Big Powers really want can be removed only by discussions at a summit where immediate consithan 2000 front of apest and of US THE FINANCIAL EXPRESS The Financial particle headlined "Misadventure" (February 9) ex-pressed the fear: "if events pro-gress as dangerously as they are doing at the moment, Vietnam insolent c opinion r peace." South Vietnam, the paper goes on to comment: "if there is one sin-teffective antries, of puppet governments, "South 2010 and 2010 and

article "Danger in Vietnam" (Feb-ruary 9) tried to find some sort of a comprehensibility in the US bombing decisions but has as much failed in doing so as in making even a mention of the Shastri proposal. In a leading article "Futile" THE TIMES OF INDIA (Feb-ruary 9) described the American reprisals as having "the desperate air of a defiant gesture to which no alternative can be found."

The paper went on to say: "They (the Americans) do not even have the unambiguous honesty of an open drive aga-tist North Vietnam and repre-sent the compromise of one who realises the futility of mili-tary action but rejects inaction as damaging to prestige." Describing the recent American adventures in Vietnam as an "aerial gunboat diplomacy" THE INDIAN EXPRESS (February 9) pointed out that President John-son's military advisers evidently believe that "judicious, carefully controlled bombing could have a deterrent effect", both military and psychological."

The paper described the Shastri The paper described the Shastri proposal as "the only way out of this dilemma". To the decision of Washington that the attack on Pleiku and Tuy Asia is not to go up in flames".

tervene affair."

## SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATION FRO

The Americans finding no other way to tackle the situation have now resorted to 'tac-tical' and 'reprisal' bombing tical' and 'reprisal' bombing of North Vietnam territory

on the ground that the guerillas are being supplied with men and materials from there and they would have to smash these supply lines so that the guerillas could be 'starved out' and dealt with.

This is nothing short of a fiction: it is perhaps the

the Americans. The South Vietnam liberation forces belong to South Vietnam; they are the people of South Vietnam who are struggling to throw hack the American aggressors and assert their independence. It is their land and the Americans cannot weed them out.

The South Vietnam Liberation Front came into exist-ence on December 20, 1960 on

★ On page 12

**K**a.)

Another detachment of the Liberation Front Soldiers

Pull Out

There is no moral, legal or practical justification for the US to stick onto South Vietnam. But it continues to do so because firstly it is afraid to lose self-generated prestige and secondly, it will mean a major debacle in its strategy of neo-colonialism in South-east Asia.

T can never win the war "What we face is the dishas unleashed in Viet-tinct possibility that we the late President Ken-saw the Vietnam issue with a new government in tunnel with no end in Saigon which asks us to leave and sues for peace in Hanoi, Speaking frankly, we may not be able to do bet-ter than that . . ."

The only argument with which US warlords used to justify their presence in South Vietnam was that the Saigon government had sought US assistance. But on November 1, 1963 even that pretext was sent governments are by no means legally constituted



But obviously Johnson But obviously Johnson does not wish to be a spec-tator and between a pull-out and an all-out war, he has chosen the intermediate of taking the war into North Vietnam.

He declared: "We have no hoice now but to clear the decks and make absolutely clear our continued determi-nation to back South Vietnam in its fight to maintain independence."

But who is really fighting in South Vietnam?

According to Hilsman, the war in South Vietnam is "over Americanised" and this "manageable mess" is looked upon by Senator Richard B. Russel, chairman of the Senate Armed Services. Com mittee as ". . . we made a terrible mistake gelling involved in Vietna

Senator Albert Gore suggested: "The search must be not for scapegoats but for facesaving disentangle-

a military solu ments ... tion in Vietnam appears not only impractical but impossible.<sup>9</sup>

There are other voices too, There are other voices too, for example, of Senators Wayne Morse, Frank Church, majority leader Mike Mans-field, Earnest Gruening and a host of others who disap-prove of Johnson line in Viet-nam.

Along with the voices of political leaders, there • are the voices of responsible people from every walk of Ame-rican life: doctors, professors, lawyers, students, trade union leaders and so on. US must extricate itself from the mess of Vietnam is the demand of these people.

NEW YORK TIMES on February 11 editorially pointed out that in South Vietnam, "those who profit by the American presence want the United States to by the American presence want the United States to stay. Those who feel frus-trated by American powernationalists, Communists, Buddhists, and probably the majority of the peasantry, who simply ask to be left alone—want the Americans to go.

\* On nage 19

## US Flouts Geneva Agreement

Execerpts from the agreement on the cessation of

boundary." signed on July 20, 1954 and the participant countries including the USA, solemnly recognised Viet-nam's inviolable rights to indepen-dence, sovereignty, unity and na-tional integrity. But ten years have since elapsed and the agree-ment is yet to be implemented.

On the other hand, the US has been continuously violating the agreement. It has imported into South Vietnam more than nico South Vietnam more than 25,000 armed personnel, war material including planes and helicopters and arms. Its war-ships are openly cruising in the Vietnam sea and carrying on aggressive actions against North

lowed to be reunited. So far US has built up 169 airfields and 11 naval bases in South Vietnam. From Septem-ber 1954 to March 1964, the US has illegally introduced into South Vietnam 2,308 shipments of military equipment and wea-pons. More than 5,000 flights

*arms.* From 1955 to 1964, 234 US huge torture chamber. From July military and administrative officers visited South Vietnam. The De-fence Secretary himself, came 14 times. In 1981

times. In 1961, the strength of govern-in South Vietnam ment troops in South Vietnam was three lakhs; by 1964 it in-creased to six lakhs and another one lakh South Korean troops are shortly expected. In 1954, the number of US

armed personnel in South Viet-nam was just 200. In 1965, it is, above 25,000 excluding another lot of 5,000 advisers and 'AID' personnel.

Nine hundred prisons were built; 3.7 lakh people jailed; 1.6 lakh murdered; 6.8 lakh disabled due to torture or bombing; 16,000 women torbombing; 16,000 women tor-tured or raped; 8,000 children detained and 30 lakh people were herded into concentration camps. And since 1954, USA and South

Vietnam violated. North Vietnam airspace and territorial waters in-numberable times including bomb-ing raids and open aggressive



Vietnamese people shot down by the American

## AN ECONOMIST SPEAKS OUT

K. N. Raj is not merely one of the more eminent of India's economists. His capacity for unorthdox analysis of concrete problems confronting our economy has always combined with an unorthodox but steadfast adherence to the pragmatic belief of the necessity for socialism if India is to live and to grow.

He convincingly demonstrates that there is no case for any sudden spurt of investment in the consumer goods industries, since the problem there is not one of lack of investment but of indemtilication of capacity. Effect Of one of lack of investment out of inderutilisation of capacity. Incidentally, he also neatly disposes of the argument that heavy industries have inevitably a very long gestation period and that the direct and indirect em-

At the same time, he points out that the 3.5 per cent growth rate achieved is inadequate to

antiary. Now primer in the most brochure they merit the most brochure that all the evidence available goes to prove that there is no reason why the government should abandon any of its basic proclaimed policies or its declared ideal of rapid industrial growth as the foundation of an independent and democratic India. He convincingly demonstrates that there is no case for any sudden spurt of investment in sudden spurt of investment in the consumer goods industries, since the problem there is no

### P.L. 480

Taking up the recent sharp rise in food prices, he makes certain new points. Taking up the recent sharp rise in food prices, he makes certain new points. First, it is his opinion that the rise in national income achieved in the past fifteen years is not very far short of what was targetted in 1950-51. It is also likely that the official figures underestimate the growth in out-put, e.g., of small manufacturing enterprises. In any event, the rise is twice or thrice that achieved under British rule. At the same time, he points the take a producers the adverse terms of trade of wheat and the PL 480 imports which in 1960-61 formed as much as 50 per cent of domestic output. The government displayed criminal complacency in failing buffer stocks, adopted likeral sale policies which dampened wheat production and then had empty warehouses when a lean year or

two arrived. It is significant that while

### **Contradictions** Of Capitalist Path

#### \* From page 8

form an important segment. f the economic base of right reaction in the country.

It is these monopoly groups who work in closest collabo-ration with the foreign imperialists to subvert all the progressive features of India's path of development.

thus, treated in the Pro-gramme not as some ordinary economic phenomenon. It is treated as a profoundly political problem, as a matter of the balance of class forces within the country, as an issue involving our national destiny itself.

It is also treated as a matter concerning the growing differentiation in the national bourgeoisie itself, which is

obviously, very important strategic and tactical imstrategic and tatitat in-plications. For, the mono-if also is quite clear that poly groups seek to enrich themselves not only at the expense of the masses but and our rcople.

PAGE TWELVE

The growth of monopoly is, India's national regeneration

compromising and reaction-ary features of independent capitalist development forms capitalist development forms the basis of the CPI's stra-tegic line of an alternative path.-of a national-democra-tic, non-capitalist path. The CPI not only has no

bourgeoisie itself, which a not a bourgeois class. This differentiation has, attempted to be built in India werv important by the Congress leadership is to congress leadership is it also is quite

The achiecement of the minimum essential of a free per cent growth in agriculture is well within the bounds of feasibility. The problem is not one so much of increased in-oestment as of freeing agricul-tural producers from the ty-ranny of high rents and fluc-tuating prices. He suggests an immediate

rie suggests an imme of agrarian reforms: proper record of land-holdings; fixation of rent in absolute money terms; and the rice prices—of which imports formed only four per cent of domestic output and whose price did not fall—were about 15 per cent higher now than in 1962-63, wheat prices now are 60 per cent higher than those prevailing in 1962-63. This violent upswing in prices has led to increased consumption by wheat growers on even small plots and to a certain holdback on their part which has signi-ficantly reduced the marketed surplus of wheat in the recent period. absolute money terms; and the receiving of rent through some nent agency. govern

In addition the state must create an adequate machinery for market operations in foodgrains

market operations in footgians on a large scale. Turning to industry, the most important point the author makes is to point to the fallacy of the view that what is required is a vast flow of foreign private capi-tal.

tal. Analysing the cost of various kinds of loans and that of pri-vate foreign equity capital he demonstrates that the latter is by far the more expensive and that "there is no case for a gene-ral relaxation with regard to foreign private capital". Fourth, the author feels that with the levelling off of defence expenditure and the seven per cent rise in production expected this year; it is likely that "prices may not fall to any

BOOK REVIEW

significant extent till August or September. But there is little reason to doubt that prices will start moving downwards in the course of the current year".
If is essential to guard against the terms of trade moving too much agricultural products.
Fifth, Raj discounts the overpessimistic approach that there has been total stagnation in Indian agriculture. A compound growth of three per cent has taken place between 1952-53 and 1961-62 with foodgrains moving at the compound rate of 2.5 per cent and non-food products at the compound rate of area.
The best policy would be to concentrate upon trying to get loans with a long period of repayment or tied to exports. While the short repayment is the terms of trade and the size their cost despite low interest, it has the great merit that "Soviet aid is really in the nature of trade and this is advantageous to both the Iending and receiving countries". In this connection he sharply criticises what can only be called calculated unwillingness to insist the fullest transmission of four per cent. This growth has been largely based on extension of area.

S. Vietnam Liberation

almost all localities of South

nection with the challenge from China, he outlines a pro-gramme for more equitable distribution of income in India and insists that the more serious threat to our country in the coming users is the nectiserious threat to our country in the coming years is the possi-bility of being diverted from our basic economic objectives and policies based on a mis-conceived and exaggerated notion of what that challenge conceived and en notion of what that

notion of total that characterize really is. The brochure is brief (28 pages in all) and very closely argued, making a review summary more than usually difficult. One can only hope to stimulate others to go through the work itself.

#### Point Of Difference

There is one point of diver-gence, however, which needs to be mentioned. Raj has not spell-ed out at all any measures for curbing and eventually breaking the concentration of economic power in the field of industry. At least, not in these lectures, least, not in these lectures, though one recalls his earlier arguments for the nationalisation of plantations and banks.

Even in agriculture, his minimum programme of re-forms might turn out to be rather too minimum, in the sensa that the forces in the sense that the forces in countryside which must im ment them would require t radical measures, if they to be moved significantly.

Ceilings, distribution of fallow lands and a minimum wage, at the very least, need to be added

the very least, need to be added to his proposals. One can agree that a deli-berate attempt is being made by right forces to create a crisis of confidence to basically modify the healthy features of accepted

the healthy reatives of accepted objectives and patterns. But without a considerable degree of radical structural change both in industry and agriculture, any optimism about the implementation of these ob-iectives might itself be a parmight itself be a parjectives tially t

-MOHIT SEN

## INDIAN PEOPLE SAY: US IMPERIALISTS QUIT ASIA **Militant Protest** March In New Delhi

NEW DELHI: The posh Diplomatic Enclave in the Indian capital rang out with the slogan, "American Im-perialists Quit Vietnam, Quit Asia", when the Communist Party of India organised a demonstration in front of the US embassy on February 9 to protest against the

American attacks against North Vietnam. UNDREDS of workers and ted in the demonstration. It was led by Bhupesh Gupta, G. Adhikari, Yogindra Shar-

ma, members of the central Among other slogans shou-ted by the demonstrators were "Long Live Brave Vietnamese Peaple", "Down with secretariat of the CPI.

le", "Down With Ameri-Warmongers" and "Gunboat Diplomacy Shame Shame"

After the demonstration a meeting was held on the lawns in front of the US embassy where Bhupesh Gupta and Yogindra Sharma spoke.

Bhupesh Gupta warned Americans that their gunboat liplomacy was heading towards disastrous consequences in South Fast Asia

He said that the Vietnapeople were not alone

ing abuses at the demonstra tors. They were warned off by the demonstrators. - A memorandum presented

bassy by M. Farooqi on behalf of the demonstrators said:

Bhupesh Gupta speaks at the meeting

#### **Massive** Protest **Demonstration** In Bombay

BOMBAY: A massive protest demonstration against the US highhandedness in South East Asia was organised by the Bombay council of the Communist Party of India

The demonstration started from the Choupatty and ended before the US consulate in Bombay, which was guarded by a big posse of police force. For about an hour, the demon-

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into hundreds of concentra-tion camps—described as 'strategic hamlets' by the US. The Front undertook the res-ponsibility of leading and organising the popular resis-tance in South Vietnam. Since the formation of the Front, it has steadily gained strength and it has the full support of the people of South Vietnam. In 1962, it was able to hold its first Congress at a

and small businessmen); the Radical Socialist Party (re-presenting the intellectuals in Saigon and other urban cen tres) and the People's Revolutionary Party (representing the peasants and workers and militant intellectuals).

14 million people of South

Front Vietnam. Tens of thousands of struggles have been fought under the Front's leadership drawing national-political organisation in hundreds of thousands of participants. From early 1961 till now, the Front forces have

destroyed about 600 enemy strongholds; put out of action. 245,000 government troops in-cluding about 2,000 Americans, will. more than one million hec-tares of land to the peasants, blew up innumberable military convoys, military trains, vehihave downed about 140 aur-

craft of various kinds and damaged another 1,000. The Front does not have to depend on any outside help: US forces are the source to provide them with arms munition. Here is a report (TIME, April 17, 1964) which shows from where the Front forces secure "By dawn, 28 government men lay dead, 36 wounded, and the Viet Cong

ment troops in large numbers come over to the Front side. mbers Since, 1961, more than 125,000 government troops have crossed over to the Front.

The Liberation Front is not 14 million people of South The Liberation Front is not Vietnam, more than seven a band of Viet Cong gueril-million have since joined the las' bolstered up by the "out-Front. The Front has its side forces' as the Americans committees at all levels in describe it. It is a fullfiedged

of the South Vietnam inhabi-tants reflecting the popular It has already redistributed

introduced new social re-forms, set up educational ins-titutes and instiled a new life in the liberated areas. There are now 40 newspapers and 17 magazines published in the Liberated area of South Viet-

presentative of the people and therefore the US can never annihilate it with its puppet government nor can it stem the liberation of

South Vietnam. The last French High Commissioner in Indo-China, Maurice Dejean, who witnessed the battle of Dien Bien Phu succinctly described the helplessness of the Americans. He said: "Militarily, the situation in South Vietnam today is strikingly similar to that, which prevailed in Indo-China, during the last days of French government there.'

The US will meet its own Dien Bien Phu' at the hands of the South Vietnam freedom fighters like the French very soon.

FEBRUARY 21, 1965

on February 10.

leaving Asian affairs to be settle by Asians themselves.



## also at the cost of broader also at the cost of model non-monopoly sections of the national bourgeoisie.

created the danger of whole-sale anti-democratic subver-sion. Life itself has proved

the national bourgeoisie. Thus, the capitalist path pursued by the ruling party by its inherent logic has pro-duced its own nemesis and

and rebirth. Contrary to the slanders circulated by the rival Com-munist Party, this accurate and ruthless analysis of the

## cles including warships

to hold its first Congress at a village inside South Vietnam. Apart from delegates from various walks of life, the first various walks of life, the lift Congress of the Front was at-tended by all the three poli-tical parties of South Viet-nam: The Democratic Party (representing the intellectuals

that intellectuals). The Front today has more than 23 political and work-er-peasant organisations embracing all sections of people and out of the total

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the crest of the peasant uprisings against the plans of US authorities to herd them into hundreds of concentra-

From Centre Pages

and arms:

had made off with virtually every weapon on the base." And this is not an isolated story. And in addition, the govern-

nam. The Front is the real re-

in their fight against foreign troops on their soil and the struggle against the puppet regimes propped up by the US armed might. He exressed solidarity with

the fighting people of Vietnam port of the Indian people.

Attempts made by two goondas, presumably hired by the Americans, to provoke the demonstrators were foiled. Some of Uncle Sam's beatniks who gathered near the demonstration also tried to

create disturbances by sling

officials of the US em-Public opinion in India unanimously demands the withdrawal of American armed forces from Vietnam so that the people of South Vietnam can decide their future in peace and unhindered by American imperia-

list intervention. The presence of American armed forces in Vietnam is a source of danger to peace in South East Asia and in fact the whole world and is in total violation of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China

Your government knows it very well that the people of South Vietnam are totally opposed to intervention by the United States in their affairs and that the American stooges in South Vietnam do not last more than a few days and have to be changed occassion ally. To hide the shame of the

defeats which the American imperialists have suffered in South Vietnam at the hands of the national liberation forces the US government been resorting; to deliberate rovocations against the De-



A partial view of the demonstration in New Delh

mocratic Republic of Vietnam which is a source of inspira-tion to the people of South it has increased the danger Vietnam. of war.

However, the latest provoca



CALCUTTA: Eight left parties in West Bengal in-cluding the Communist Party of India organised a demonstration before the American consulate in Calcutta on February 9 to protest against US bombing over North Vietnam.

a meeting was held at A delegation representing the Maidan where a resolution the eight left parties met the was adopted condemning the 'US consul and handed over a "unprovoked attacks against copy of the resolution. North Vietnam which amound the delegation included Vis-ted to aggression"

the presence of foreign troops Nikhildas of the RSP, in South Vietnam was tant- The demonstrators shouted amount to violating the sove- slogans and carried banners reignty of that country and which demanded: "Hands Off demanded immediate with- Vietnam" and "American Imdrawal of foreign troops from perialists Quit Asia"

EFORE the demonstration, the soil of South Vietnam.

ted to aggression". whath Mukherjee of the CPI, The resolution stated that Jyoti Basu of the rival CP and the presence of foreign troops Nikhildas of the RSP.





NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

## **IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION IN CONGO Colonial Terror Behind** CHumanitarian Mission And it is known that he already has over 500 mercenaries under his command. In addition, there are 250 Belgian "advisers"

#### By N. EEDORENKO

(Soviet, Permanent Representative at the UN)

On the plea of "the humanitarian mission of saving white lives," Belgian paratroops were last November brought in US planes to the Congo via a British colonial possession, Ascension Island, for renewed open aggression against the Congolese people. Y this one stroke the colo-meeting in Addis Ababa early in e Congo's patriotic forces, bols-were maked with the congolese to the colo-meeting in Addis Ababa early in monor the approval of all Nato mem-ber states. Thus another graphic demonstration was provided of the long-known fact that Nato is an aggressive organization, were the redom and been going, on for white lives," Belgian paratroops were last November

Y this one stroke the colo-nialists intended to crush the Congo's patriotic forces, bols-ter up. Tshombe's tottering pup-pet regime, and strengthen their own positions in the country. But the colonialist interference be the south and centre of Africa a base for a counter-offensive Africa not only geographically. As President Nkrumáh of Ghana has pointed out, "the Congo's degree of independence will materially affect the ultimate contrality, the colonalist accordingly, the colonalist accordingly

ces of the entire continent. The new stage in colonialist subversion in Africa began last July, when the foreign monopo-lies put their agent, the Katanga separatist Tshombe, at the head of a puppet regime in the Congo. And when the Congolese pat-riots replied with a fresh surge of their struggle and before long freed a substantial part of the country, the imperialists went country, the imperialists went country, the imperialists inter-the country's sovereignty and bed with more gross inter-to the rescue of the sinking pup-the regime. This riffraff, brought up in American planes and using Bel-gian, American and West-Ger-man arms, won notoriety by particularly savage atrocities. The imperialist armed inter-the Congo's freedom under cover of the UN flag directly imperill-ed the country's sovereignty and bed with more gross interahead with more gross inter-ference in the unhappy country's

#### PLOT HATCHED

All the way back at the begin-ning of August there were reports that the foreign monopolies, which still own the Congo's natural riches, were taking steps to wipe out the patriotic movement. During the first half of that month, we know from the press, talks already took place in Brus-sels between American and Belgian government representatives on the subject of assistance for Tshombe. The business kings Tshombe. The business kings interested in the Congo's conti-nued colonial exploitation also shared in these talks.

Thus the selfish interests of the international monopolies were the force that again produced open imperialist aggres-sion in the Congo. sion in the Congo. What followed these discus-

What followed these discuss- that on November 24, when the sions, everyone knows. As the paras descended on Stanleyville, Foreign Minister of the Brazza-Tshombe openly boasted that ville Congo pointed out to the the fall of Stanleyville would en-Security Council, the represen-tatives of the African states in the Congo.

PAGE FOURTEEN

Accordingly, the colonialist sally in the colonialists a challenge to all Africa, a tlash between the colonialists and the national-liberation for-ces of the entire continent. The serve the colonialist and the national-liberation for-ces of the entire continent. The serve the colonialist and the national-liberation for-ces of the entire continent. The serve the colonialist and the national-liberation for-ces of the entire continent. The serve the colonialist and the national-liberation for-ces of the entire continent. The serve the colonialist and the national-liberation for-ces of the entire continent.

independence.

The facts show that Tshombe, The facts show that Tshombe, the foreign flunkey whom the African states would not even admit to the first assembly of the Organization of African Unity, and then to the Cairo nonaligned summit, defied Africa by starting a frank sell-out of the Congo's riches to the colonialists. Simultaneous with the armed intervention, the foreign monopo-lies were busy arranging with Tshombe's Planning Ministry the last details of a scheme for dividing the Congo into "spheres of

Under that scheme, each of Under that scheme, euch of the Western Powers who lend Tshombe money is to get an area for which it will itself pick the officials and other administrative personnel.

Those were the real reasons for the Belgian paratroop drop on the Congo, carried out with the the Congo, carried out with the obliging cooperation of the US and Britain. It is not surprising that on November 24, when the paras descended on Stanleyville, Tshombe openly boasted that the fall of Stanleyville would en-

NEW AGE

ght in by American planes from outside when it became clear that existing strength was insuffi-

And who is at the head of the mercenaries, who directs their criminal actions? Why, Frederic Vandewalle, former Belgian Con-sul-General with Katanga separatist Tshombe. Only now w him a colonel, not a consul.

in Tshombe's army, and for all practical purpose

The same day, a big "develop-ment" plan was announced in Leopoldville, to be executed in and West Germany. We also know that in his efforts to justify the intervention Belgium's Foreign Minister said, It is necessary to emphasize in this context that the appearance of Belgian paratroops in the Congo and the growing number of Belgian military advisers and foreign mercenaries is a glaring infringement of Security Council decisions, which laid down that all Belgian and other foreign military personnel and merce-naries were to be withdrawn from the country.

is an aggressive organization, domination over the Congo's used to crush the freedom and independence of peoples. The Belgian paratroop drop on Stanleyville, and then on Paulis, was meant as direct military assistance to Tshombe's cuttrotas, who had not been able to bold out against the freedom the freedom operated from within the Toneign Minister of Mali showed up before the and "advisers" in Tshombe' army), while the other was brou-What is more, the Security Council decisions laid down that

These are Zanzibar people protesting against US intervention in Congo in August 1964



## WEST GERMANY IS SOUTH AFRICA'S THIRD BIGGEST TRADE PARTNER

NAIROBI: West Germany is the third biggest trade partner of the South African apartheid regime. This was stated by Kenya's Assistant Minister for Economic Planning and Development, Mwai Kibaki, at

western Kibaki said. Kibaki, led the delegation of his country to the recent Cairo conference of the Economic and Social Commission of the Organisa-tion of African Unity (OAU),

This was described by Min-ister Kibaki as a "delibe-rate effort to distort and misrepresent" the report. N INETYFIVE percentage of where his delegation had this should be put right not that all South African foreign given a report on trade be-because we want to change western countries. South African foreign given a report on trade be- because we want to change was conducted with tween several states and anything we said but because countries, Minister South Africa in 1962-63. the facts should be as we put anything we said but because the facts should be as we put them to the commission and Western papers alleged not be taken out of their context to be used entirely for what appears to us as cold that according to this re-port the GDR and the People's Republic of China were conducting extensive war tactics," the minister

trade with South Africa

The creation of the Multilateral Nuclear Force (MLF) would inevitably have an adverse effect on the further development of the international situation. The socialist camp would not watch passively these endeavours and would be compelled to adopt appropriate measures in order to ensure its own security.

T is true that our attitude can have in their eyes, for T is true that our attatude can have in their eyes, for towards this conception is example, the clause pertain-defined not only by the direct ing to the renunciation by military consequences of the formation of the MLF. We are also, and perhaps even more, interested in the poli-tical implections of this plan are also, and perhaps even express even today their fear more, interested in the poli- of exactly such a course of tical implications of this plan. events, despite the fact that

indifference how the rela-tions inside the NATO will be shaped, what will win? The forces. What will win? The tendency for a detente or the cold war forces?

It is certain that the formation of the MLF and the atomic armaments of the Bundeswehr strengthe revenge-seeking aspirations of Bonn, could not fail to affect the political orienta-tion of the Atlantic Alliance. The increase of the role of West Germany within NATO would be bound to activate all reactionary centres in the West, particularly in the United States.

Western politicians who think that the negative effects of the MLF may be neutralised by some guarantee clauses appended to the potential agreement on the creation of the MLF are wrong.

What value can be ascribed to such guarantees by their very supporters? What value

tion of the MLF is enough to

Degaulle's

Poistion

### Rumanian Minister **On Indian Visit**

THE Bucharest weekly LUMEA (The World) Utilized in the building of a solvent extraction plant, with a capa-city of 600,000 tons yearly. has published in its latest issue an interview with Mihail Florescu, Minister of the Oil and Chemical Industries of Rumania, in connection with his twoweek visit to India.

The inauguration of the Barauni refinery, built by Indian, Soviet and Rumanian specialists has been an outstanding event in the mic life of India, Em economic life of India. Emphasised at the inauguration was the contribution made by the Rumanian People's Republic to the development of the Indian oil industry and the fact that this cooperation was nations. minister

He further referred to the data on Rumanian-Indian co-operation in the domain of oil. In 1957, Rumania delivered the drilling rig, which bored at Jawalamukhi the first state-owned oil well of India. This first drilling rig was operated by a mixed team of Indian experts

Subsequently, coopcooperation Subsequently, cooperation was enlarged with the con-struction of the first state-owned refinery at Gauhati, a refinery, with an annual capa-city of 750,000 tons. At the Barauni refinery, the Ruma-nian industry has contributed

Negotiations for greater co-operation are being conducted at present. They refer to the expansion of the Gauhati refi-nery and for new oil equip-ment and refineries to be erected in India. At the request of the Indian side, Rumania has worked out lately an important number of tenders for modern chemical facilities. I want to stress, M. Florescu

went on to say, that the Indian experts who continue to work at the installations of the Gauhati refinery, have got familiar in a relatively brief interval with technology and efficient operation. For more efficient operation. For more than a year now there has been no Rumanian expert at been no Gauhati.

FEBRITARY 21 1985

mitment made ten years ago? Supporters of the idea of the MLF assert that this concep-tion is the only way of avoiding the creation of purely German atomic forces, either on the basis of their own production or in cooperation with the French.

It seems that the latter It seems that the latter eventuality is rather doubt-ful. De Gaulle is not in the least inclined to grant others, West Germany in particular, the same rights he reserves for himself. As regarding the possibility of West Germany producing its own nuclear weapons,

there is no doubt that such a possibility exists. But anybody who thought that the crea-

In the last eight years, over 200 Rumanian specialists have worked at the Gauhati refinery and at the oil wells in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat states. Likewise, 70 Indian engineers and techni-cians received specialised training in geology, drilling, crude-oil extraction and pro-cessing in Rumania.

On the basis of the designs supplied by the Rumanian institutes, work is going on at for completing the present for completing engineering complex at da. The deliveries of te of tech cal equipment to this complex will be complete soon.

Negotiations for greater co-According to the terms of the agreement, repayment of, the credit will be made in non-convertible Indian rupes spread over a period of 12, years. The rate of interest is 2.5 per cent per annum. Re-payment will begin one year after the delivery of the last batch of essential equipment necessary for commissioning the generating units.

This is the third credit granted to India by Poland. The two earlier credits totallexpert at

A POLISH VIEW MULTILATERAL NUCLEAR FORCE

dissuade West Germany from such intentions would be bitterly disappointed.

On the contrary, it is more probable that, as a result of its increased influence in the Atlantic Alliance in connection with the formation of the MLF, West Germany would try to play on the contradictions between the NATO members to achieve full self-dependence in the field of atomic armaments. These contradictions would be rather sharpened than weakened following the formation of the MLF

All peaceloving, peoples of the world bear the responsi-bility for thwarting any West German attempts at gaining access to nuclear, weapons. This view is not dictated by hatred towards the population of the German Federal Republic.

But we must not forget that the German Federal Republic is the only Euro-

Indo-Polish

**On Credit** 

**P**OLAND has offered to India credits worth

Rs. 10.5 crores for financ-

ing the purchase of two

power plants from Poland

with a generating capa-

According to the terms of

necessary for comm the generating units.

Another feature of the agreement is that Poland will utilise the amounts repaid for buying Indian goods in accor-dance with the trade and

payments agreement in fore between Poland and India.

force

Bridges Of Amity

All the envisaged capacities ing about Rs. 30 crores have of the installations have been been given mainly for the exceeded and the refinery has development of coal mines and brought in important beachts. for certain industries.

Agreement Exchange Of

city of 125 mw. each. over in New Delhi on An agreement to this effect February 11 to the Na-was signed in New Delhi on tional Archives of India. January 25.

·马马·萨拉马·马马·马马·

Indo-Soviet

Documents

A list of documentary materials on the his-

tory of India and Russian-

Indian relations stored

in the State Archives of

the USSR was handed

The list covers the period

between 1706 and 1933.

Two Soviet scientists from

the State Archives of the USSR visited India in De-

cember 1962 under the cul-tural and scientific exchange tural and scientific exchange programme between the two countries. In 1963, two Indian

scientists paid a return visit to the Soviet Union. These mutual visits led to an agree-

ment on exchange of copie of archives on mutual basis.

It is in this connection

that such a list has been sent from the Soviet Union to India. A similar list of docu-

ments about Indian-Russian relations kept in the National Archives of India has already

Archives of India has already been submitted to the USSR

By MIECZYSLAW KWIATKOWSKI

pean state to put forth serious political 'aims with regard to its neighbours and conduct a systematic policy of sabotaging dis-armament and detente initiatives. The Bonn government still believes that it can barness the entire At-lantic Alliance to the cart of its revisionist aspirations.

Neither must we ignore the fact that under the existing conditions a conflict about Germany would lead to a direct confrontation between the Warsaw Treaty and the Atlantic Pact And this would threaten the world with dis-

aster. The MLF protagonists have therefore many reasons for mediation over the storm they have themselves unleashed It is no doubt a positive phenomenon that opposition against the Bonn pressure has appeared in the West, and that no rash decisions have been made so far.

The world public opinio

would no doubt welcome the abandonment of the idea of the MLF with great satisfaction. It would be a victory of common sense, an act which could open the possibility of a resumption of the broad that it' dialogue between. East and West on the subject of numerous international problems

> The Polish people follow with particular attention the development of events con-nected with the problem of Multilateral Nuclear Force.

Every step, every under-taking which increases the influence of the West German militarist and revisionist cir-cles in the Atlantic Alliance and gives them access to nuclear weapons, cannot but awaken understandable anxlety in Poland

#### Nuclear Freeze

saw Treaty,

#### This is why we do not in the least confine ourselves to a determined condemnation of all projects aiming in that direction. We oppose to them solutions which would really contribute to the security of Europe and to a detente in its every heart, on the line separating the forces of NATO from the forces of the War-

This end is served, among other things, by the Polish initiative concerning the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe, or the Gomulka Plan put forth one year ago to freeze nu-clear armaments in this region at the present level.

The same end is also served by the proposal submitted by Minister Adam Rapacki at the present session of the UN General Assembly to convene a conferenc of all Europaan states (with the participation of the United States) in order to examine the problem European security in all its



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PAGE FIFTEEN

## **Bonn-Tel Aviv Tie-Up** SECRET ARMS DEAL **COMES TO LIGHT**

#### From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: Details of the agreement between the governments of West German and Israel have now come to light in the context of UAR-West German trial of strength over Nasser's invitation to Walter Ulbricht to visit Cairo.

T has been conclusively within 16 months By Autumn 1964; arms and equipments worth 200 million marks had already been sup-plied In target 6 the proved, despite loud West German denials, that a secret agreement on military training and armament aid existed between West German and Israel since 1956. The second stage of the

reement was finalised in 1960 and in October 1964, it was renewed in a meeting between Konrad Adeneur and Ben Gurion at New York's Waldorf-Astoria hotel. The renewal was done radio equipment. Multison in strict secrecy and behind supply amounted to 20 mil-the West German Parlia-Under this agreement, a

The renewed agreement military aid worth 320 million marks to be supplied to Israel

FROM PAGE 14

behind this time, that hypocriti-cal excuse is not new and should deceive no one. Especially revealing in this res-

American and Belgian consuls in Stanleyville radioed to their go-vernments just a couple of days before the paratroop invasion, on November 21.

This appeal explicitly stated that all foreigners in the patriot-controlled territory were alive, and would remain alive if the Belgium dis-continued military assistance to Tshombe forthwith. The backware to the security Council not worth the paper it was Sudan, Guinea, Mali, Kenya, the inception, he could recall not worth the paper it was Sudan, Guinea, Mali, Kenya, the inception, he could recall not worth the paper it was Sudan and Sudan

American and Belgian pleaded with their go-The ments to adopt at once a cy of absolute neutrality, vernments to have neutrainy, policy of absolute neutrainy, which alone, they said, could safeguard the lives of their

#### Paratroopers Sent Out

But we know how the "humanitarians" responded to this appeal: they put the interests of the monopolies before the in-terests of those they professed to protect, and the paratroops were sent into action

ent into action. The so-called humanitarian on was in reality a barbarous mission was in reality a barbarous slaughter not only of the patriot rebels but of the civilian popu-lation. Now, after the event, even the capitalist press admits that the joint operation by the Belgian-American interventionists and the foreign mercenaries was

the foreign mercentaries was actually mass murder. According to figures in the New York Times, 3,000 Con-golese were killed in the first two days alone—November 24 and 25. These facts are a damning days alone—November 24 and 25. These facts are a damning exposure of the colonialist and racist nature of the intervention, and show up the interventionists hypocrisy.

It has also been attempted It has also been attempted to justify this arrant inter-ference in Congolese internal affairs by saying that it had the "consent" of the Tshombe puppet regime.

PACE SIXTEEN

What an argument! The re-port of the UN commission of investigation into the circum-stances of the death of Prime Minister of the Sudan said with Minister Patrice Lumumba and Tshombe's so-called complaint ag-his colleagues, published as a ainst African countries that it was

Under this agreement, a total of 1,000 tanks are to be supplied to Isreal by March 31, 1966. The agree-ment also includes further

supply of aircraft and other ar material

In terms of this agreement the West German officers have so far trained up over 5,000 Israeli soldiers at the Hamburg training centre. Particularly alarming is the

West German-Israeli coope-ration in the field of nuclear; biological and chemical rese arch towards the production

by equipments marks had already method. In terms of this agree-ment, the aid included 200 Reno... tanks (M-48 type), and seve-with West Gramman is carrying on research in type. It also included 18 war-his ships and five speedboats of ang Jagur class 55 type, tactical neur aircraft (Flat G. 91 type), New helicopters, anti-aircraft guns, "ta tank-busting weapons and "to equipment. Munition "tests is the atomic reactor "the Nagev desert. The "a government" West German government has allocated 81.5 million marks for this research.

THE Deputy Prime Minister of German Democra-tic Republic, Bruno Leusch-ner, passed away in Berlin on February 10 after a sudden heart attack. He was 54.

**BRUNO LEUSCHNER** 

Son of a cobler, Leuschner rose to the high position by his own perseverance and tenacity. His life is an example of an ordinary worker be-coming one of the top digni-taries of a state.

Leuschner joined the Communist Party in 1931. After Hitler came to power, Leus-chner went underground and remained in Berlin for three

Leuschner languished in prison and concentration camps. He became free only when the Red Army overran the Mauthausan camp. From 1945 Leuschner devo-

From 1945 Lensenner devo-ted himself to the construc-tion of a new Germany. He was appointed the chairman of the State Planning Com-mission in 1952 and a Deputy Prime Minister in 1955.

He headed a GDR govern-ment delegation to India last year. He met Prime Minister Nehru and discussed the Ger-man question with him. Dur-ing that meeting. Leuschner also offered on behalf of his government a substant longterm credit to India. substantial

Calcutta, February 15: The way Hindi was introduced as official language on this year's Republic Day has roused deep anxiety and strong resentment in the minds of the people of West Bengal. That no untoward development has taken place is the measure of maturity of the people and sober attitude adopted by all the political parties in the state.

Amoteration on the issue. De menum of instruction in legal, Amrita Bazar Patrika owned by medical, engineering, science the family of an influential cabi- studies and must be the language ner ranny or an innuential capi- studies and must be the language net minister of the state wrote of the courts. This is the voice editorally on January 28: "To of the vested interest of the Eng-say that Hindi has been intro- lisb-knowing elite of the present duced as India's principal language day society. ed as India's principal language day society. pursuance of the directive duced as India's principal language in pursuance of the directive principle of the Constitution is to take shelter behind too rigid a legalistic argument in disregard to stern realities....prudence call-ied for postponement of its imple-mentation till the willing consent of the non-Hindi people as was repeatedly assured by Prime Mi-mister Nehru." It also suggested that if

to stern realities....prudence called for postponement of its implementation till the willing consent of the non-Hindi people as was repeatedly assured by Prime Minister Nehru." It also suggested that if necessary. Constitution can also be amended. This was generally the tone of all the newspers, except of course Ananda Bazar which is spouting anti-Hindi wenom and wants the retention of English as the only official language. But unfortunately the 'contro' or English, the regional languages, their role, pushed to the background. Not only Ananda Bazar Artrika as late as February 13 wrote editorially, "not two and definitely not the fourteen languages, should be kept as India's state

BOMBAY: The Swatantra general council's two-day meeting here has been noteworthy only for its brazenly advocated reactionary views on India's internal and foreign affairs matched by an attempt to present an image of powerful opposition to the Congress.

rat-plus becoming the prin-

trat—plus becoming the prin-<br/>cipal opposition in some other<br/>states like Andhra and secur-<br/>ing 125 seats in Parliament,<br/>all in the 1967 general elec-<br/>tions.print for their monopoly press<br/>also.More significant however<br/>than these wishful dreams<br/>have been the outspoken pro-<br/>monopoly, pro-imperialist pro-<br/>gaganda from the platformprint for their monopoly press<br/>also.Thus the plan for the attack<br/>in Parliament, to force still<br/>more concessions from TTK<br/>for the private sector when<br/>the new budget is presented.More significant however<br/>than these wishful dreams<br/>have been the outspoken pro-<br/>monopoly, pro-imperialist pro-<br/>government is increasingly<br/>proving vulnerable to pressure than these wishful dreams have been the outspoken pro-monopoly, pro-imperialist pro-paganda from the platform of the Swatantra. Befitting the managing agency of the monopolists in the country, demand a free loot for the

poor, but all the emphasis was on how the tax burden was on how the tax burden In the true tradition of US has prevented "capital for- fifth columns everywhere, the mation and the entry of Swatantra took a grave view foreign equity capital" and of it and pronounced that acted as a "disincentive" to "the freedom of Laos, South

FEBRUARY 21, 1965

ASANTS proposals to the meeting outlined a pro-gramme of expanding the organisation and consolidat-ing its strength where it exists now, with the aim of captur-ing power in three states— Orissa, Rajasthan and Guja-the backward and the strength where it exists organisation and consolidat-ing its strength where it exists now, with the aim of captur-ing power in three states— orissa, Rajasthan and Guja-the backward and the strength where it exists not bus becoming the prime to bus becoming the prime

the Swatantrites came. out with a sharp criticism of govwith a sharp criticism of gov- national interests, this re-ernment's tax policies only to actionary outcry against gov-

demand a free loot for the "free enterprise". The resolution on Union Government's budget while criticising "the excessive and indiscriminate" tax burden was naturally not concerned with relief for the poor, but all the emphasis

ernmental policies was even

by all who want to see the dangerous tension in the heart of Africa removed and are really prepared to help the African states achieve genuine indepen

The Congo problem, being essentially an African problem, must be settled primarily by Africans, by the people of the Congo themselves.

These just demands were sup-ported at the Security Council by all who want to see the

FEBRUARY 21: 1965

(NEW TIMES NO. 5)

documient of the Security Council n and the General Assembly, offic cally established Tshombe's resp routing of the number of the Security Council data of Lanumba and his associates. To freque the properties is, in the stociate strational the councy away as payment for imperialits support. To speak in these conditions, the means of the Tshombe rame anations, the resolution. To speak in these conditions, as the colonialists support. To speak in these conditions, and to four the Atteman antions, tho order the species result associates that the compose was not worth the paper it was statering the contrary away as payment for imperialist support. To speak in these conditions, and to four the Atteman antions, tho order the socialist provide of the second the destre and statering the contrary away as antoring the contrary contrary contrary away as antoring the contrary contrary contrary away as antoring the contrary to contrary away as antoring the contrary to contrary away as antoring t

payment for imperialist support. To speak in these conditions, as the colonialists do, of the "legality" of the Tshombe regime is to trample on Security Council decisions, to mock the Congolese people's heroic struggle for free-dom, and to flout the African nations, who vehemently protest the color rations in the represented total dis-That is why the represen-tatices of many African states, The memorandum stressed that out. Manoeuvre. Manoeuvre. Manoeuvre. Manoeuvre. Manoeuvre. The nations who called for the pointed out in their memorandum stalleville and elsewhere in the former colonial peoples have wore, furthermore, intended to preconvertion of African Unity. The memorandum stressed that out. Manoeuvre. Mano

in South Africa and Rhodesta, peace. The African representatives also Speaking at the Security Coun-nailed the colonialist attempt to cil, the Foreign Ministers of the admit in his speech that, though father responsibility for the Con-Brazzaville Congo, Ghana, the associated with the UN since its

Tranization or Arnean Unity. The memorandum stressed that out. the British-supported Belgian-US aggression constituted not Alone That is why the represen- Organ tatices of many African states, The and Mali for one, told the the Security Council that one might US equally well speak of the only legality of the facist regimes intern in South Africa and Rhodesia, peace The African representatives also Spe US aggression constituted not only interference in the Congo's mal affairs but a danger to In The World



It was the Communist Party which first put the whole matter

## THE LANGUAGE TANGLE W. Bengal: All Parties The reaction of the people to the decision to transact all official business of the Central Government in Hindi was quick. The repression on the anti-Hindi demonstrators in the South anger-ed the people. Almost all the lead-ing dailies wrote editorials urging moderation on the issue. Amrita Bazar Patrika owned by

iv Three language should be enforced,

be conducted in all Indian languages and so long that is not decided English shall be the only decided English for developing equally with Hindi, all the other languages of India."
 West Bengal Assembly also passed a resolution smail mously on the Union Government to consider introduction of "parity of all national languages in Parliament, Central administrative language in Parliament, Central administrative language and labers of the transitional period English for communist Group leader to the central administrative language and be used for Union Public Service Commission examinations.
 Speaking on the resolution, of "parity of all national languages at findia examination". The motion said that English, 'a foreign language, should be replaced by an Indian language and that Hindi would emerge ultimately as a language of communication between different states and that fudge of Hindia" should be encouraged as it was "a national language".

But English should continue to rival CP. FB RSP and BCPI res Should be entriced,
 Examination for services shall be conducted in all Indian languages and so long that is not decided. English shall be the only language for examination, and
 But English should continue to be used until people in the non-Hindi speaking areas were ready for the change-over. It also called for adherance to the recommenda-tion of the Chief Ministers confer-tion of the Chief Ministers

# Ugly Face Of Reaction of Hindi films and screening of Hindi films and scre

print for their monopoly press

from the monopolies, Masani and Co. are now preparing for a more vigorous assault. In the wider context of

At a time when the entire democratic opinion in the world has condemned Ame-rican aggression against North Vietnam and the wal of US forces has become an imperative neces-sity for peace and indepen-dence of nations in South East Asia, the Swatantra council came out with its support to President Johnson's policy of "resisting Communist advance" in South East Asia

It criticised the Govern-ment of India for not getting involved on the side of the imperialists in Vietnam and Laos and "deplored" the gov-ernment's failure to give military assistance and send a "volunteer force" to Malaysia. All in all, the entire resolution was worthy of Pentagon's

stooges. The outright opposition of reaction to the policy of nonalignment and peace and open advocacy of military alliance with imperialism—this in short is the substance of Swatantra approach to India's foreign policy and the Bombay meeting of its general council has only reiterated what it stands for. But it was done more blatantly this time.

Both in regard 'to internal Tradition In the true tradition of US fifth columns everywhere, the Swatantra took a grave view of it and pronounced that but the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of it and pronounced that the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of it and pronounced that the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of it and pronounced that the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of it and pronounced that the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view of the true tradition of US swatantra took a grave view swatantra t

NEW AGE

tions observers could note that except on the most reactionary aims, there was no unity among the Swatantra elite gathered here. This was particularly clear on the language issue, the most crucial issue agitating public mind today. Opinion was so sharply divided in the general council that it decided to take no stand on the question of official language!

#### Super Opportunism

Masani talking to pressmen on Sunday said that his party did not adopt any resolution on the anti-Hindi agitation in Madras and that it has given 'freedom" to its members on issues like regionalism and linguism etc.

Obviously, the idea was that the Swatantra can exploit regional and linguistic passions in each place to its advantage to sow further disruption and weaken the unity of democratic forces in the country.

This was more evident in the speech of Rajagopalachari at the Chowpatty meeting where he declared that he himself will deal with the language issue and the party need not bother about it. He of course vehemently stands for English for ever.

#### From AJOY DAS GUPTA

pectively) 'which urged upon the state government "to convene an all-party conference on the lan-

ly quoting portions NEW AGE editorial the issue.

#### Equal

#### **Opportunities**

In one editorial it said "In In one eational it said In a multi lingual and multi national country like India real mental integration and unity cannot develop without equal facili-ties and opportunities for all languages and nationalities. It ties and opportunities for au languages and nationalities", It further said that the govern-ment should therefore reconsi-der the position on the basis of the reality that exist today. It hoped, "the government also have understood that imposition of Hindi as the only official language has done more harm

of Hindi as the only official language has done more harm than good." Janasevak, the daily edited by Atulya Ghosh, Congress boss, wrote editorially, "strong senti-ments both for and against Hindi should be moderated "and it also should be moderated "and it also hoped that the Central Government would do all that would ment would do all that would do good to Hindi speaking and non-Hindi speaking regions alike. Jugantar also emphasised on the question of national integration and said that adoption of Hindi as the national language in the days of national movement was days of national movement was envisaged as a uniting and bind-ing factor and if Hindi today posed a danger to unity and cohesion, its introduction should not be insisted upon. The demand that Prime Minis-

ter Nehru's assura s on language issue should be incorporated in the Official Languages Act has been widely raised

PAGE SEVENTEEN

## **KOSYGIN VISIT TO VIETNAM AND KOREA** Soviet Initiative To **Overcome Differences**

#### From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Premier Kosygin's visit to the Demo-cratic Republic of Vietnam and to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is over and he is back home. He had talks with the top leaders there and while passing through Peking had an exchange of ideas with top Chinese leaders as well

T is too early to talk of the far-reaching consequences of this highly important political tour; much more will be clear after the Soviet Premier reports back to the Party leadership and go-

But certain things are already being noted by political obser-

There is no doubt that al There is no doubt that al-though differences still remain, the meetings and exchange of ideas in the three socialist capi-tals have been highly useful and will contribute considera-bly towards a further develop-ment of cooperation, under-standing and fraternal relations between the Parties and states.

The emphasis has been on the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the Communist movement, one thing is quite clear: the Soviet Union on its clear: the Soviet Union on its side is sparing no effort, and is exploring all avenues for the attainment of this well-desired

The persistent rational approach, of the new Soviet leadership and the calmer, reasonable tone and stopping of open polemics creat-ed the necessary prerequisites for a further step forward to be taken which materialised in the shape of this trip.

#### MARKED CHANGE

There has been a marked There has been a marked change in the atmosphere here as far as relations inside the socialist camp are concerned. A friendlier climate has been created and a much more fraternal attitude is in aridence evidence.

During the last ten days or o this relaxation has been quite evident here in Moscow.

The Fifteenth anniversary of the signing of Soviet-China Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mu-tual Help has been observed here on a big scale and in a new atmosphere.

A number of top Soviet leaders including Kirilenko, Shelepin, Voronov, all central committee presidium members, candidate member of the presidium Grishin and secretary Ilyichov attended the meeting, in the Hall of Columns on February 13. meeting, in the Hi mns on February 13.

A delegation of the China-Soviet Friendship Society led by the Chinese Minister of Educa-tion was also present.

PRAVDA devoted a lot of space to this occasion and the emphasis was on the fact that for moving forward to new oic-tories of socialism and communism, further strengthe ing of ion in hin and co

PAGE EIGHTEEN

the coming years would be essential.

What is being repeatedly made clear here is that whatever the differences, as far as the imperia-list threat to the safety and se-curity of the socialist camp and the integrity and independence of socialist countries is concerned, no one should hope to exploit the divergences

#### IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE

Imperialist ess in aggress South-east Asia and the Amrican air raids on North Vietnam while Kosygin was paying a friendly visit to that country have only visit to that country have only resulted in a further consolidaresulted in a ruriner consolida-tion of the socialist defensive al-liance; the beginning for which was made by the recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact Powers in Poland and a further considerable. development was Kosygin's visit to the three Asian socialist countries.

About the same time a dele-gation of the CPSU led by Shelpin came back from Mongolia.

PRAVDA in an important edi-torial on February 12 declared that in front of imperialist threat, socialist countries were united and the attempts of imperialist circles to undermine this solidarity were doomed to fail.

The paper said that the cent pists to Mongolia, Viet-nam, Korea and the meetings with Chinese leaders were un-dertaken with the aim of strengthening the unity and solithe socialist commondarity of the wealth on the wealth on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian inter-

No socialist country wanted war. But as long as im-perialists threaten peace, the duty of socialist countries was to sta gthen their might and struggle decisioely against the policy of aggression and un leashing war, PRAVDA said. the

Pravda emphasisted that the consolidation of unity was a na-tural historical process taking place in complex conditions where not small difficulties had to be overcome, but ultimately Leninist in-ternationalism would win through

An article in Pravda on Monday signed Kuranin reviewed Soviet-Chinese cooperation and declared that after the October plenum of the Central Committee (when the Central Committee (when Khrushchov retired) the CPSU and Soviet government further intensified their endeavour for the strengthening of the solidarity of the. Socialist Commonwealth and the whole of the Communist movement.

As reported earlier there had been some overtures towards a possible exchange of oisits be-tween President Johnson and recent American aggressiveness and barbaric raids on North Vietnam, there has been an obvious setback to these develomments.

The Soviet government made it Ine soviet government made if clear that although it wanted nor-malisation of relations with the USA, this was a two-way process. And this process was incompati-ble with aggressive manifestations in politics which were likely to reduce to naught the various reduce to naught the various steps undertaken in the interest of improving Soviet-American relations

Soviet press pointed out that such an improvement was not pos-sible while one of the socialist countries was being bombed by the Americans. As far as Societ-Chinese re-lations are concerned although preciates India's nonalign there has been an improvement it would be native and hasty to assume that the existing differences in policies and ideo. a progressive direction. logy have been removed.

Of course a beginning has been made and if the process is allow-ed to continue by the interested parties, it can lead to unity and reconciliation ion.

That the Soviet Union is not changing its basic policies of peace, peaceful coexistence, disful cooperation, peaceful coono-mic relations, and relaxation of tensions has been made clear here repeatedly.

Kosygin's speeches in Vietnam

and the message to Chinese lea-ders also reflect this Soviet ap-

Soviet-India soviet-initial relations contained to be good and are developing in the right direction. The recent visit of Indra Gandhi and her talks with Brezhnev, Mikoyan, Gromyko and others also con-firmed this here.

Definite dates are now being discussed for Prime Minister Shastri's visit to Soviet Union and Premier Kosygin's visit to India.

Soviet aid and collaboration for India's Fourth Plan is promised and the Soviet Union still ap-preciates India's nonalignment and adherence to peaceful coexistence, still considers the development under planned state sector to be

The threat to these policies posed by the forces of internal reaction, disunity and discord and their imperialist allies is also being realistically kept in veiw.

The Nehru exhibition which opened here last week at the Lenin library and is to go on till the end of the month, the inter-est it aroused and the participa-tion of high Soviet leaders in its sections the accompanying film ened here last week at the opening, the accompanying film shows and lectures also clearly bring out the Soviet assessmen of Nehru's role and Soviet atti-tude towards India.

Despite the first round of defeat in the trial of strength with UAR, the West German government still insists on carrying through its bluff notwithstanding the fact that by now every one has seen through it.

A FTER Nasser invited GDR holdings: A French Finance A FTER Nasser invited GDR noldings. A FTERCE Curance head of state Ulbricht to visit Cairo, the West Gernan government threatened to cut off diplomatic relations has withdrawn from the gold cut off diplomatic relations with the UAR. It received a sharp rejoinder when UAR itself decided to sever diplo-matic relations unless West Germany forthwith stopped its arms supply to Israel. Israel was heing used by

Israel was being used by amount to about 1375 milthe West German and Ame- lions. rican imperialists in partirican imperialists in parti-cular as a dagger implanted in the heart of Arab free-dom. The other day the American Senate majority leader advocated for 'more arms' to Israel for its 'de-fence'. This imperialist brid-rehead in the Middle-east rence. This imperiance of the Middle-east tary Fund and another 3,000 fits smugly in West German million dollars from the US and several other countries.

After UAR's firm declara- The dollar and pound the tion, Bonn decided to play rencies which were equated with gold since 1922 in view of their stability have since Israel militarily, But as if this of their stability have since defeat was not enough, Bonn been continuously losing that again pressed for cancellation of invitation to Ulbricht. If the UAR did not comply, the West German government thundered, it will be "the end of all economic aid" to Egypt.

By now, of course, the West German tinsel dictators have piped down the threat of invoking the Halstein doctrine.

The UAR reaction to this reiteration of threat has been of calm negligence. The feel-ing of the UAR people about the West German claim of aiding the UAR was clearly reflected in what Nasser told the West German Ambassa-dor a few days ago.

reflected in what Nasser told the West German Ambassa-lor a few days ago. Nasser asked him what aid the ambassador was talking about "We did not talking about receive any aid from you. You have participated in some industrial projects and we have repaid the largest part of it at six per cent interest", Nasser reminded the amhassador.

But even then Bonn insists on its foolish threat and meanwhile Cairo goes on making preparations for the red carpet reception to Ulbricht who arrives there on February 24.

#### GOLDEN DILEMMA

CLOSELY following the example of France, West Germany is contemplating to convert part of its dollar holdings into gold.

France has already con-verted 150 million dollars into gold and is further planning to convert most of its dollar

Americans Say Pull Out ➤ From Centre Page vacuum left by the French and to contain the advance of alding the Vietnamese in 1,001 ways. But let's not be satisfied fine language as President South-east Asia."
And Johnson in mieletter that the United States in 1.

his election mandate is cover ting the war in Vietnam, taking it into the North Viet-tion now seems to have hit upon this 1,002nd way by taking the war into North

In Calcutta 500 teache

Some statewise figures aval-able are: Punjab S0,000, Maharashtra 10,000, Rajasthan 5,000, Orissa 3,000.

that the United States is in

Vietnam because it believes hat its own security is involved. Vietnam is a battle in the cold war, which is sometimes hot. The Americans went into Maxwell Taylor arrived at Sal. Vietnam in 1954 to fill the gon as the US ambassador,

**ALLOVER THE COUNTRY** 

of Punjab and Uttar Pra- increase of Rs. 30 in deamess or runjab and Ottar Ira-desh, observed a dawn to dusk mass fast in front of the Delhi Town Hall on February 14.

BOUT a thousand secondary teachers, drawn from Delhi and the neighbouring districts The main demands are an

Teachers on hungerstrike in Delhi **TEACHERS ON FAST** 

Reports received from seve-ral centres show that the fast was observed all over the country on a mass scale by teachers.

participated; in Bombay 1,200 in Jaipur 300, in Ferozepu 500

NEW AGE

Net.

nt, anti-imperialism, peace-peration, peaceful econo-

firm position.

The US gold stock today has come down to about 15,000 million dollars at the official rate of exchange (35 dollars per ounce of gold) from 25,000 million dollars in 1948. The gold reserves constitute new reserves constitute only 27 per cent of the dol-lar's face value as against 40 per cent in 1933.

Taking advantage of the dollar's sound position (they can be exchanged at any time for gold from the US) the US and many countries have now built up large dollar holdings.

But with the development of economy, trade links have grown and dollars no longer enjoy that exclusive superiority. US gold stock also is no longer that un-disputably high as it was a few years ago. The Com-mon Market's gold reserve today is almost equal to USA.

To many countries therefore dollar reserve is no lon-ger equivalent to gold in face. value; they would much better like to have real gold. Hence this onrush to ex-change the dollar holdings, Hence this onrush If the West European

contries follow the exam-ple of France and exchange their dollar holdings into gold, the value\_of\_dollar



Under the capitalist system minded people took over the forces in a developing con f competition, every coun-leadership of the country, try, of competition, every coun-try would like to have its own currency with greater weight in the international trade turnover. The crisis of is therefore just a part of the contradictions of the system itself.

6 RED

#### RIGHTISTS RETREAT

THE rightwing forces in Syria are currently try-ing to subvert the government and scuttle the reforms which have been introduced there.

The anti-government cam-paign unleashed by the reac-tionary section of the clergy, the ultra-right Muslim brotherhood organisation and the rightwingers of the Baath Party is taking more and more virulent form. Some mosques have openly pro-claimed a crusade against the resent government and call-ed upon the people to rise in revolt

In the Baath Party itself the contradiction between the rightwingers and the leftwingers has been widening very fast, for quite sometime

At the initiative of the leftwingers in the Baath Party, the government of late carried out certain very important reforms including nationalisation of key industries, The entiro oil and mineral resources of the country has been declared as state property declared as state property and mining concessions to foreign firms have been banned. Banking and in-surance have been put under effective control.

All these measures have helped the country's econo-my to progress but these steps gold, the value of dollar my to progress but these steps will slump and American could be taken only when the economy will crash. Pound leftwingers broke away from is already wobbly, and dol- the rightwingers and in alli-lar is likely to follow suit ance with all patriotically-



leads to doom.

Apart from the nationalisation and other measures, the new government took steps to democratise the political life of the country and released democratic leaders including Communists who were languishing behind pri-

All this has dealt a heavy blow to the reactionary vest-ed interests in Syria who firmly oppose Syria's transi-tion through non-capitalist path of development,

in cooperation with the rightwingers of the Baath Party just a few weeks back organised a strike to theart ing the student demonstra-normal food supply to peo-tion protesting against the ple. But thanks to the firm arrest of opposition leaders. support of the people in the government, the at-tempts of the reactionaries could be scotched.

Syria today provides yet another example of the grow-ing contradiction between the reactionary and progressive

And the species

💳 By Sadhan Mukherjee

#### REPRESSION IN MALAYA

REPRESSION continues unabated in Malaysia under the dispensation of the imperialist-backed government. In its bid to throttle the democratic and anti-imperialist voice, the government is resorting to harsh punitive measures.

All opposition voices are The Syrian big business n cooperation with the gatwingers of the Baath arty just a few weeks back rganised a strike to thwart tion protesting against the

Meanwhile the British government has held out further assurance of arms aid to Malaysia. With the steady deterioration of imperialist hold in Vietnam, an all-out at-tempt is being made to for-tify its last stronghold in Mi lavsia



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**TYCOONS DICTATE TERMS** 

Polor 2000

Th second week of February saw the international big business coming to the Indian capital. The occasion was the twentieth congress of the International Chamber of Commerce hosted, naturally, by the Indian big business and their organisation, the Federation of In-dian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Dates: February 8 to 12.

SCRAP



SOCIALISM AND

LLi the trappings of In-dia's traditional hospita-lity were there to greet the foreign capitalists. More, even some western ones were borrowed: champagne was said to have flowed like water at a lunch given by the FICCI to the guests. After all, were not the In-

dian capitalists and the TT Krishnamachari-Asoka Mehta set in the government out to attract foreign capital to the country? Why grudge a few nickels if they could impress upon the guests on the "effi-ciency and large-heartedness" of the Indian government and

of the Indian government and business community? But then, what was the reaction of the foreign capi-talists to the quest for in-vestments? To judge by their utterances at the ICC congress, the wily denizens of the free enterprise jun-gie did not oblige at all. The western capitalists.

were putting condition after condition for their favours. And all of them, without ex-ception, went against the accepted basic principles of the country in the economic country in sphere.

NEW DELHI: Fresh

from his "peace mis-sion" in the Nagaland,

Jayaprakash Narain of sarvodaya fame has turned

As a sop to the possible public indignation, he also

mir.

clauses.



The congress demanded unrestricted freedom for private enterprise if it was to assist "economic growth" in the world

The "Statement of Con-clusions" adopted mani-mously by the congress wanted "a favourable climate" to encourage a pri-vate sector which should not have to face any such frustration as "controls, restrictions and excessive administrative formalities". It urged "active association of businessmen" in preparing legislations and governdecisions affecting ment business.

business. The theme of the Congress was 'World Progress Through Partnership'. The question of joint ventures between the businessmen of the devloped and the developing countries

agenda. But here, behind the facade of unanimity on general prin-ciples, important divergence opinions between the two sides were expressed.

was therefore high on the

American big business re-presentative Arthur K. Watson, who was the most out-spoken of the western de-legates, frankly opposed the majority share idea for local businessmen in joint ventures. M. A. Rangoonwala of Pa-kistan who spoke on behalf of the developing Asian na-tions, was equally frank in opposing Watson on this point point.

The Indian delegates were rather ambiguous when confronted with such blunt propositions which are inherentby dear to private enterprise. Not because they did not agree with western capitalists but because they did not want to come out too far in

### Foreign Monopolists Launch **Offensive Against India's Policies**

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

of the country. In addition, pursuing their ambitions, they want safeguards against poown ambitions

own ambitions, they want some safeguards against po-werful foreign competition. They wanted withdrawal of restrictions in exports, out-put, patents and similar mat-ters, which, they said, were 'bound to frustrate domestic entrepreneurship. Bharat Ram, the Indian chairman of the congress, advocated caution in open-ly opposing government control over economy. How-ever, his cautious approach

control over economy, How-ever, his cautious approach failed to carry conviction with the more powerful western group in the Con-gress and the Congress came out against 'controls' as such.

An important issue before the ICC was to take a stand on the 1964 United Nations Conference of Trade and De-velopment at Geneva which on the insistence of the developing countries, supported by the socialist countries, advocated price support and preferential treatment for the

preferential treatment for the developing countries in inter-national trade. Pleter Kuin of Netherlands, who prepared the Background Report' for the Congress on behalf of the ICC leadership, clearly took a stand against the UN Conference decisions. He said: "The more force-fully the less developed coun-tries state common claims-particularly for price supportand preferential treatment, but also for increased econo-mic aid—and the more determined their efforts to enforce these claims through inter-national machinery, the greater will be the risk of growing resistance in the advanced countries."

#### GROWING RESISTANCE

It was this "growing re-sistance" which made itself felt in the session. Even the felt in the session. Even the Indian businessmen at the congress joined in the chorus demanding unres-tricted freedom for private capital—both foreign and indigenous—to flourish all over the world, even if the foreign capital is reluctant to accept majority part-nership of the national businessmen in the joint ventures. ventures.

This "resistance" went to the extent of some of the more powerful monopolists, especially from the US to even dispute Kuin's "acceptance" of planning in the developing countries a necessary measure

the open against official policy to streamline the economic structure of these countries. Watson ridiculed the very idea of planned development and remarked "file cabinets are not bad places for some plans.

> An interesting aspect of the ICC Congress was the differ-ence of approach between the US and European delegates with regard to joint enterprises in the underdeveloped countries. 1

While the European busi-nessmen felt that foreign capital in India was getting a fair deal in general, the US businessmen felt the conditions here were "dis-incentive" for inflow of foreign private capital.

#### CLIMATE PLEASE!

The ICC wonted 'a favour-able climate' to encourage private sector; it suggested that in the field of developing: infrastructure, like transport and communications, effective results will be achieved to "the extent to which private

"the extent to which part capital is involved". In the general context of industrialisation it demanded "full scope" for "resourceful private initiative" and that "overnment projects should "thirties of government projects should be "confined to activities of a kind which private enter-prise is not equipped to handle".

The ICC spokesmen made The ICC spokesmen made it abundantly and repeated-ly clear that the "conclu-sions" of its New Delhi session were not mere in-nocuous wishes but repre-sented the power of big business in every country which will tell on the poli-cles and attitudes of their governments. Taken together the de-

governments. Taken together the de-mands voiced "unanimously" by the ICC adds up to a bid for almost total reversal of pollcies which this country has: followed in regard to foreign assistance and collaboration in economic development. That these demands have

been spelt out so clearly and sharply when a cam-paign in this country is on for attracting foreign private capital, with the support and participation of Indian big business is, to say the least, ominous.

It is for T T Krishnamachari and Asoka Mehta now to make clear whether they still want to keep open the doors to foreign private capital on the terms dictated by these gentle-men of the business world abroad.

## JP LOBBIES FOR SELL-OUT ON KASHMIR

#### By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

suggests that if the people in occupied Kashmir takes the initiative, they could join the "autonomous Kashmir". Third, the autonomy of the Kashmir Valley is to be joint-ly guaranteed by India and Pakistan, and if possible by Britain, China and the Soviet Union. Union

his attention elsewhere and particularly to Kashnion. Fourth, the "autonomous ashmir" should be demili-Kashmir MIT. He is currently engaged in searching formulae to "solve the Kashmir problem" in a satisfactory manner to "all parties concerned". The latest formula currently being canvassed for by Jaya-prakash Narain revolves round an old imperialist formula: autonomy for Kashmir. The sarvodaya leader's for-mula for a sell-out on Kash-mir is stated to have six clauses.

Kashmir" should be demili-tarised completely. Fifth, the conduct of Kash-mir's foreign affairs should be divided up between India and Pakistan, India looking after the interests in Far East and Pakistan in West Asia.

Jayaprakash Narain has not forgotten to add that the ex-ternal relations of the "auto-nomous Kashmir" would con-sist only of trade and culture. Sixth, India would have right of passage through the "autonomous Kashmir" to First, the Valley of Kashmir Ladakh.

Intensive lobbying is on to put across this "JP formula" for the "Kashmir problem". The Swatantras are willing to support it, according to latest should be made autonomous; Jammu and Ladakh should be incorporated in India. Second, the Pakistani-occu-pied areas of Kashmir should be merged in Pakistan. reports. What is more, Sheikh Ab-dullah himself is prepared to . brts.

support the idea, according to the followers of Jayaprakash Narain.

not forgotten to take the posi-tion of the third party: he is agreeable provided the go-vernments of India and Pakis-

This does not mean that he has given up the demand for the "right of self-determi-nation of the Kashmiris"

either. It. only means that if the whole of Jammu-Kashmir is not available, he would be satisfied with a slice of it to set up his sheikhdom. While friend- Jayaprakash is getting /it ready for him, the Sheikh has decided to go on a world safari to canvass support against the "imperial-ist India".

The obvious pretext is the hay pilgrimmage, but en route he would enlighten the Mus-lims all over the world about "the real internal situation in Kashmir"

Kashmir". And he hopes to enlist the sympathy of Muslims all over the world for the "poor and downtrodden Kashmiri Muslims".

**NEW AGE** 

The Sheikh, however, has

tan agreed to it.

either.