

new age

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XIII No. 39

NEW DELHI, SEPTEMBER 26, 1965

25 Paise

We Shall Remember

THEY have given their lives in defence of the nation. They came from every part of this great land... from Kerala, Tamilnad, Andhra and Karnatak in the south, from Bengal, Assam, Orissa and Bihar in the east, from Maharashtra and Gujarat in the west, from Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan... from every state.

They belonged to every religion... they were Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis. In their death, hand in hand, they reinforced the unity of secular India.

We salute their memory. We honour their sacrifice.

They did not die in vain—this is our solemn pledge at this historic moment, as the bombers are grounded and the tanks grind to a halt, as the bullets cease to whine across the dividing lines between our armies.

(Photo: VIRENDRA KUMAR)

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

THE Pakistan government has been compelled by the force of world public opinion and the telling blows of the Indian armed forces to respond to the Security Council's call for a ceasefire.

The government and people of this country have earnestly desired an end to the hostilities, ever since they began. Again and again, we proclaimed that this conflict had been thrust upon us, that our only aim was the defence of our country, and that we do not seek to remain for one moment on a single square centimetre of Pakistan's territory.

The ceasefire therefore corresponds to the Indian people's dearest wishes. We rejoice, as peace-loving men and women in all lands must be rejoicing, at the silencing of the guns.

But let no one mistake this rejoicing for smug complacency. Our people understand well that the ceasefire is only the beginning. There is a long way to the end of the road.

DON'T FORGET THE LESSONS

And, in the meanwhile, as we march along the road, the greatest care and alertness is demanded of us. Not for a moment must this country lapse into the torpor of self-satisfaction.

The lessons of August-September 1965 must never be forgotten.

We have learnt once again through bitter experience what every nation learns best only when it faces treacherous aggression of the kind we have faced during these fateful weeks:

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

The imperialist powers have been stripped of their mask of friendship for India. The demand that India should quit the Commonwealth has been raised by far wider political circles in this country than ever before.

Uncle Sam's stock in the Indian markets has reached zero: our dead were shot down by American planes and tanks—yes, and by American napalm bombs.

IMPERIALIST PLOT REMAINS

The imperialists have been compelled to call off their diabolical conspiracy against India—for the moment. But their venom and hate against our people have not ceased. Their sinister aims remain.

And they will do all they can to keep up the pressure on India, through one means or the other.

The seeds for new poison plants are in the Security Council resolution itself, carefully and purposefully put into it by the imperialists and their henchmen.

★ The imperialists want to use the ceasefire to give its protege, the Ayub dictatorship, breathing time for renewed aggression at a later date. The Security Council unfortunately neither names Pakistan as the aggressor nor provides guarantees against fresh aggression.

★ The imperialists will do their utmost to use the Security Council resolution's call for withdrawal to

August 5 positions to allow the Pakistani infiltrators to remain in Kashmir, while preventing the Indian army from blocking the passes and routes, through which such infiltration has been made possible. The Security Council resolution says nothing specific about the infiltrators.

★ The imperialists will try to misinterpret the Security Council resolution to provide for the reopening of the whole question of Kashmir and to bring into the field once more the demand for a 'plebiscite', for 'self-determination' and all that.

★ The imperialists will seek to take every opportunity given to them during the so-called UN "supervision" of the ceasefire and withdrawal, to revive the dangerous project of a UN peace-keeping force, to "guarantee" the borders.

The government and people of India must act with vigilance to foil the imperialists' designs.

The Security Council resolution, for all its weaknesses mentioned above, is essentially a document which marks an advance towards peace.

INFILTRATORS MUST GO BACK

The reference to August 5 can only refer to the Pakistan infiltrators, and we must insist that the infiltrators are withdrawn and their capacity for infiltration blocked, as a vital part of the implementation of the Council's resolution.

Again, there is no reference to plebiscite in the resolution, nor to previous resolutions of the Security Council.

This was deliberate, and its only meaning is that the resolution does not mean that the Kashmir question must be taken up by the Security Council.

As far as we are concerned, Kashmir is an integral part of this country, and we are not prepared to have it 'reopened' at the point of the bayonet.

Similarly, we shall oppose tooth and nail any attempt to introduce a "peace-keeping" force into our territory of Kashmir, under any pretext.

BUILD DEFENCE POTENTIAL

While keeping a strict watch on the manner in which the Security Council resolution is sought to be implemented, and keeping a wary eye open for the dirty tricks of the imperialists, India must continue to build up its own defence potential.

This it must do with the assistance of the Soviet Union and such other countries as are prepared to help us stand on our own feet and not be dependent on the filthy "umbrellas" and other loaded gifts of the imperialists.

The threats held out by the Chinese government have not ended as we go to press, but there is hope that the pressure of world public opinion is making itself felt here also.

Vigilance and preparedness must be our watchwords, as we go forward to peace.

(September 22)

THIS IS INCENDIARISM— NOT “ANTI-IMPERIALISM”

Editorial

THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP'S intervention in the Indo-Pakistan conflict has been rightly described by democratic opinion throughout the world, as the pouring of fuel on already raging flames.

There can be no other explanation for the outrageous bellicosity of the Chinese government's notes addressed to India, and its fantastic accusations of supposed intrusions by our forces. There can be no other explanation for the moving up of Chinese troops in all their massive strength right up to the so-called line of actual control and near the Indian positions. There can be no other explanation for the provocative firings by Chinese soldiers on our borders.

At this very moment (September 21), Peking Radio is blaring forth mandatory instructions to the Ayub dictatorship to reject the Security Council's call for a ceasefire in the Indo-Pakistan conflict. Presumably, this war-mongering is accompanied by diplomatic assurances of Chinese assistance to keep up the sagging morale of the Pakistani armed forces, which have been reeling after the reverses suffered by them.

Everything that the Chinese leadership says or does is explained by it in terms of its so-called struggle against US imperialism. To justify its support to the Ayub dictatorship, the Chinese government insists that this dictatorship is fighting against US-imperialism, which is backing India!

This lie has few parallels even in the arsenal of lies manufactured daily by the Chinese leadership itself. But it is a fully polished lie, and the Chinese press and radio have been thrown into full gear to dress it up with a thousand subsidiary lies.

THE BLIND EYE

You will not hear a word on Peking Radio or read a line in the Chinese press about the Patton tanks or the F-104s or F-66s supplied to the Ayub dictatorship by the US imperialists. You will not hear or read about the Pakistan government's appeal for aid to CENTO and SEATO. You will not hear or read about the American bases in Peshawar, Gilgit and other places, nor about Ayub's proposal for the introduction of a UN peace force into Kashmir—which means essentially a neo-colonialist takeover of the strategic valley.

Is this turning of the blind eye to the truth, part of the “revolutionary Marxism-Leninism”, which the Chinese leadership claims it is practising?

The Chinese government is knowingly extending its support to a dictatorial regime, headed by notorious pro-imperialist reactionaries, which is one of the biggest recipients of US military “aid” in the whole world. The Chinese leadership is already on the same side lines as the US and British imperialists, cheering the Ayub dictatorship forward in its lunatic aggression on India.

In their broadcasts to India, the Chinese leadership pretends it is acting in the interests of “anti-imperialist forces” in this country. Again, its deed are the very opposite of its words.

BOON TO IMPERIALISTS

The use of American planes, tanks and other armaments by the Pakistan aggressors has roused the wrath of our people as never before against the imperialist powers and specially against US imperialism. However the only result of the Chinese threats to attack India has been to give an opportunity to the pro-imperialist reactionary forces to come into the open again. Once more proposals for the old imperialist air umbrella are being made. Once more the US imperialists are being painted as possible “protectors” of our Motherland.

The Chinese ultimatum has given the biggest boost to the pro-imperialist forces in this country and blunted the sharp anti-imperialist sentiment of our people, which had reached a new peak in recent days.

The Chinese leadership's actions on our border today are a boon to the imperialists. They are a tonic for the sick warriors of London and Washington.

The fact is that the Chinese leadership has abandoned the basic principles for which Communists all over the world stand. It is pursuing a dangerous policy which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism or the interests of the working masses in Asia and Africa and the other continents.

(September 21)

NEW DELHI LETTER

NOW TO TACKLE THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

WHILE India's gallant armed forces are locked in battle with the enemy over our extensive frontiers with West Pakistan, political and diplomatic tussle has begun to assume more importance than was the case so far.

The Chinese notes and ultimatums in the context of Security Council's call for ceasefire, even though China is massing troops on our Himalayan borders and has already started firing, too are closely linked with this tussle.

New Delhi appears to be fully satisfied that as on the battle fronts, where our brave Jawans have won the enemy in face of heavy odds, the initiative in the political and diplomatic field is also held by India. The ground for that was well laid when India, in response to U Thant's mission, agreed unequivocally to a simple ceasefire in the Indo-Pakistan conflict.

The onus was then placed squarely on Pakistan for the continuation or cessation of hostilities. This gave us an edge in the Security Council when U Thant's report on his mission was considered and the Council passed its present ceasefire resolution.

The Security Council resolution has many snags in it and some of the opposition leaders have already expressed themselves strongly against its total acceptance.

But it was equally clear that Pakistan rulers had found themselves in a more difficult corner in relation to the Security Council because the first and most imperative demand of its resolution is ceasefire, only after which any other step follows.

It is this imperative which Pakistan found difficult to accept unless its prior three conditions are fulfilled.

India has taken precisely this stand. Prime Minister

Shastri had sent out on Monday itself a short and simple reply in response to Security Council's resolution accepting the ceasefire at the stipulated time, provided Pakistan did the same and India was informed of the fact by Tuesday evening to enable the operational commanders to act on that basis.

Once again it was Pakistan which was seen dragging its feet in relation to Security Council resolution.

Pakistan had ultimately to bow before the world demand to end bloodshed. Involved as it is in western alliances and its total dependence on them, Pakistan had no alternative, its collusion with China and show of independence from USA notwithstanding.

But it wanted firmer assurances from its military allies in the West of backing for its Kashmir case before it knuckles under. For this purpose, it used the Chinese presence as a lever. Bhutto's mission to UN was also directed towards these ends.

The earlier public statements of Ayub Khan requesting US intervention and hints about welcoming the Soviet initiative to arrange direct talks between India and Pakistan too were in line with these objectives.

US Secretary of State Dean Rusk's statement in favour of plebiscite to settle Kashmir problem at a crucial stage in the efforts to stop fighting evidently encouraged Pakistan in the pursuit of this line as much as Chinese ultimatum to India.

It is therefore not ruled out in New Delhi that Pakistan might delay the ceasefire for some time after the UN deadline.

Meanwhile, Chinese would be expected by Pakistan rulers to act against India, while the USA and the British re-

late commitments to Pakistan on Kashmir.

Pakistani rulers are thus not relying merely on Chinese military intervention against India, but also on its western allies for support.

In the face of such manoeuvres, the Government of India is moving extremely carefully. Soviet Union's stand is straight forward and a source of great strength for India.

It would not like to commit itself to anything till Pakistan takes a position on the Security Council resolution.

The political opinion here is however growing frankly angry with not only the Chinese collusion with Pakistan but also the continuing, overt and covert, military, political and diplomatic collusion of western powers with that country.

The advocates of western military alliances for India which seemed to think that their chance had again come with the appearance of China on the scene are frankly embarrassed about this situation.

There was even a strong move, for instance, to make a formal, all-party protest by MPs against the British role. There was overwhelming support for it from all sections.

The only elements who kept away were those who are frankly pro-American elements in the Congress party and the opposition.

The mood of the common man is of course, sharper against the British-American role. A visible demonstration of this was seen when the American Patton tank, captured from Pakistanis was brought to Delhi.

The tank was to have been part of an exhibition on the defence efforts in the capital. It is learnt that the tank was not finally included in the exhibition on a request from the American embassy.

—B. M.

RELEASE MARXIST PARTY DETENUS

THE Government of India continues to turn a deaf ear to the demand being raised from all quarters for the release of the political prisoners being held under the Defence of India rules. The release demand has become specially urgent, in the light of the necessity to mobilise the entire people for the tasks of national defence.

A new appeal has been made by the acting General Secretary of the Marxist Communist Party E. M. S. Namboodiripad. In a series of statements, each one more explicit than the other, he has assured the full support of his party for the defence efforts of the government.

In his statements, Namboodiripad has not only expressed his exhilaration at the steps taken by the officers of our armed forces, but also congratulated the “political leaders who gave these officers necessary guidance and support...” “for their role in making it possible—to take the offensive into enemy territory”.

In a specific answer to Home Minister Nanda, Namboodiripad has gone further to state that “the Chinese entry (if it takes place) will not make the slightest difference to our general line of support to the Government's efforts in this war”.

In regard to the latest Chinese ultimatums also, he has expressed his strong condemnation in statements issued in Calcutta.

What excuse is left for the Government of India now? NONE.

Democratic opinion sincerely desires that the detenus belonging to the Marxist Party, who have been in prison for so many months, be released, without delay.

Their detention without trial has always been a negation of democracy. Today, their release would, as the General Secretary of their party has assured the Home Minister, assist in the defence efforts, which require the cooperation of all parties.

(September 21)

“SELF-DETERMINATION” FOR KASHMIR ?

By N. K. KRISHNAN



In its recent ultimatum to the Government of India regarding the Sikkim border, the Chinese government has raised the demand of “self-determination for the Kashmiri people” and in the name of this “right of self-determination” extended its support to Pakistani aggression. British Communist leader R. Palme Dutt has also now raised the same slogan—the slogan of self-determination for the Kashmiri people.

In an article in the London DAILY WORKER (dated September 10, 1965), he concisely states this demand as follows:

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

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

What Is The Reality ?

Are these the real facts? Comrade Palme Dutt knows very well (or ought to know) that the validity of the integration of the Kashmiri people with India, of their right of self-determination as expressed in their integration with India, rests not on any scrap of paper signed by the notorious “Mr. A.”—but on the popular and solemn verdict of the Constituent Assembly of the Kashmiri people, freely elected on the basis of adult suffrage and led by their anti-feudal anti-imperialist freedom move-

ment, the “Quit Kashmir” movement, during its grim struggle against the Maharajah had itself given the slogan of convening a Constituent Assembly after the abolition of autocratic princely rule. Subsequently, such a Constituent Assembly was actually elected on the basis of adult franchise in 1951.

It recognised the accession of Kashmir to India. It also adopted a Constitution for Kashmir, which permitted the abolition of feudal ownership of land without compensation and abolished princely rule which had not then been accomplished in the other princely states that had acceded to India.

Was the Constituent Assembly a free and independent body? Only Imperialist and feudal reactionaries or believers in the “two-nation” theory can raise such a question. What could be the meaning of freedom and self-determination, under such conditions but the ending of British domination in all its forms, the abolition of princely autocracy and of feudal landlordism without compensation?

And who else could be the instrument and guarantor of the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir but the Constituent Assembly convened under the leadership of the Kashmir National Conference on the crest of the historic peoples' struggle led by it to victory?

The biggest test for the loyalty of the Kashmiri people to integration with India,

has been one of the most brilliant historians of the Indian people's freedom movement and a valued guide and helper of that movement, should today choose to forget the most historic achievement of that movement in Kashmir and join the chorus of those who want to unsettle the settled facts of the people's movement and put the block back in Kashmir.

Comrade Palme Dutt in his article brings in the name of Sheikh Abdullah to support his slogan. Indeed, a caretaker government led by Sheikh Abdullah is suggested to conduct a “free and impartial” plebiscite in Kashmir!

Comrade Palme Dutt in this connection writes:

“Abdullah's demand for self-determination had, by 1953, become a political embarrassment to the Indian government and he was thrown into prison on the alleged grounds that he had conspired with American imperialism.”

Travesty Of Facts

There could not be a greater travesty of facts, Comrade Palme Dutt ought to know all about the renegacy of Sheikh Abdullah. Facts are there to show how the American imperialists have by playing on his vanity and ambitions trapped him step by step into becoming their instrument for building an “Independent Kashmir” as a “prosperous Switzerland of the East.”

No less a person than Chester Bowles, US Ambassador to India in 1952, openly took a hand in bringing about the desertion of Sheikh Abdullah from the aims and ideals for which he had fought throughout his earlier career. Indeed, Comrade Palme Dutt himself showed his awareness of these facts in his book “India Today and Tomorrow” (1955) where he has written:

“In 1953 the attempt of United States diplomacy to involve the Kashmir Premier in an intrigue to separate Kashmir from India was met by active opposition from India and from the majority of the Kashmir National Conference Committee, the replacement of the Kashmir Premier and the full incorporation of Kashmir in the Indian Union. The Indian government enforced the withdrawal of the American Admiral Nimitz, who had operated since 1949 as “United Nations Plebiscite Administrator” and in 1954 enforced the withdrawal of the large team of American military and civilian “observers” from Kashmir.”

The best and most effective answer to all those who now take cover behind Sheikh Abdullah to advocate plebiscite in the name of self-determination can be found in his own speech before the

—ON PAGE 11

**THE BRITISH COMMUNIST LEADER, R. PALME DUTT HAS SUPPORTED
THE SLOGAN OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR KASHMIR.
ARE HIS ARGUMENTS CORRECT ?
THIS NEW AGE ARTICLE IS AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTIONS POSED
BY PALME DUTT.**

ment, the Kashmir National Conference, whose leader in that very period was Sheikh Abdullah himself.

The validity of the claim of the Kashmiri people rests on exactly the same basis as the validity of the free Indian state itself that came into existence after 1947 out of the decision of the Constituent Assembly of the Indian people.

Marxists regard the right of self-determination as indissolubly linked with the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist mass movement of the people.

The history of the freedom movement in India against British domination is well-known. Its two arms were— one led by the Indian National Congress and directed against the direct British rule in “British India” and the other led by the states peoples' movement and directed against the double yoke of princely autocracy and Bri-

gressive development of India and for the realisation of democracy in India”

The Maharajah signed and sealed this accession in law in October 1947, only under the irresistible pressure of the “Quit Kashmir” movement from below.

The Kashmiri people's free-

dom movement, the “Quit Kashmir” movement, during its grim struggle against the Maharajah had itself given the slogan of convening a Constituent Assembly after the abolition of autocratic princely rule. Subsequently, such a Constituent Assembly was actually elected on the basis of adult franchise in 1951.

What happened was exactly the opposite, Ayub's “Operation Gibraltar” proved a fiasco. The Kashmiri people, under the leadership of the Sadq government, rallied as one man against the infiltrators and foiled their plot to capture Srinagar. The whole world could see where the will of the Kashmiri people for self-determination lay.

It is a pity that Comrade Palme Dutt, who in the past

PINDI-PEKING PLOT POSES NEW THREAT

The Chinese ultimatum to the Government of India to dismantle our military structures on the Sikkim-Tibet border which Peking alleges are on Chinese territory exposes more than ever the policy of brinkmanship of the Chinese leaders and their collusion with the Ayub dictatorship in Pakistan, an ally of imperialism, to attack non-aligned India.

EJECTING Prime Minister Shastri's offer for joint inspection, the Chinese have brazenly gone back on their own earlier demand and resorted to open provocation and blackmail. The Chinese ultimatum carries sinister implications for our defence and for peace in Asia and the world.

Already the Government of India and our people have reacted sharply and boldly to this latest Chinese threat. After the heavy blows inflicted on the Pak aggressors by our valiant forces and the rich and ready response from all sections of people to the call for defence of the country, even the rulers in Peking with their shortsighted logic could not ignore the serious consequences of trying to open a second front on the Himalayas against India.

But then why have the Chinese chosen this moment to step in and intervene in the already grave situation caused by the Indo-Pak conflict? At a time when the UN Security Council and many governments, notably of the Soviet Union and Afro-Asian nations, are striving hard to bring about a cease-fire and return of peace to the sub-continent, it is only the Chinese who have chosen the path of fanning the flames of war.

Indeed the Chinese leaders' allergy to peace is well known. But their present attempt is even more to lend a hand to Pakistan with whom they have made common cause against India. Peking may be trying to bolster the morale of the Ayub regime which has taken a severe drubbing at the hands of India's defence forces. Or it may be hoping to exert pressure on India to concede to some of Pak demands on Kashmir and cease-fire.

In either case, the question of so-called military installations on the Sikkim border is too thin a disguise to hide the real intentions of this Pindi-Peking friendship. By their bellicose designs and blind hostility to India, the rulers in Peking have placed their country on a par with such imperialist stooges as

Iran and Turkey who agreed to supply arms and oil to Pakistan to pursue her aggression against India.

The Government of India has so far acted with restraint and skill to prevent an escalation of the conflict and offered maximum cooperation to the UN Security Council's efforts for a cease-fire, in spite of the fact that this country has enough reason to feel aggrieved at the report of the Secretary General to the Security Council equating India and Pakistan.

Further, India has from the beginning held to the view that we are not for an escalation of conflict with Pakistan and our present operations have a limited objective of throwing out the aggressors and infiltrators and preventing further aggression or infiltration.

In regard to the preposterous Chinese ultimatum also, the Government of India in their Note of September 17 agreed to the demand first put forth by the Chinese themselves for a joint inspection of the points on the Sikkim-Tibet border where Indian personnel are alleged to have set up structures in Tibetan territory. This, in spite of our earlier stand that an independent observer should inspect the sites.

The Note further stated: "The Government of India on their part are prepared to arrange such an inspection (joint inspection) as early as possible, at an appropriate official level, on a mutually convenient date. If any structures are found on the Tibet side of the border, there can be no objection to their being demolished."

The rejection of this offer by the Chinese Government while extending the deadline of their ultimatum till Wednesday midnight can only mean that the Chinese, even when they first issued their ultimatum, were seeking some pretext to provoke an armed conflict with India when our defence forces are engaged in battle with Pakistani aggressors.

It is not possible to foresee the consequences of this Chinese strategy, but whatever it is, the responsibility for imperiling peace and

extending conflict will squarely rest with the Chinese leaders. The Indian people are determined to resist aggression and safeguard their freedom, whether the threat comes from Pakistan or China or from both.

IMPERIALISTS' 'AID' ASSURANCES

IT is this determination that is the best guarantee against all threats to our territorial integrity and independent national development. Yet a disturbing feature of the present situation is that following Peking's ultimatum, there is a revived longing in certain circles to look to the imperialists for aid and comfort.

Initial reports from New York and London have set political observers in New Delhi speculating on the possibility of US and British arms "aid" being resumed in the event of an attack on us by China.

William Gaud, Deputy Administrator of US foreign aid programmes is reported as saying in a television interview that US military aid would be resumed if India was attacked by China.

Also it is reported that our Ambassador in Washington and our Deputy High Commissioner in London have taken up with the US and British governments the possibility of their military aid being resumed in the new situation created by the Chinese threat.

The US and Britain may be gracious enough to say that they will resume military aid

Comment

if the Chinese attack us. And no doubt we need to buy arms from abroad to resist aggression and defend our territory. But how much are these assurances from the imperialists worth?

New Delhi cannot forget the bitter experience of seeking military hardware in western capitals after the Chinese aggression in 1962. For all the pious and sympathetic assurances of assistance by the imperialists, what they gave us actually amounted to nothing in terms of improving our strength.

The argument they had for denying our requests was that it will displease Pakistan and "upset" the balance of force in the sub-continent. Even on the question of Chinese threat, their assessment differed from that of New Delhi.

But the real reason for the US and British refusal to meet our requirements was, as is well known, their insistence that aid could be only on their own terms and the Government of India was not prepared to agree to that.

India refused to give up her policy of non-alignment, and the moves for an air umbrella etc. had to be dropped in spite of vigorous lobbying by the US and British.

Now again, with Pakistan committing aggression against India, the imperialists were quick to suspend their arms aid, bracketing India and Pakistan together. After all this experience, it will be futile for New Delhi to hope that the US or Britain would really help to strengthen our defences even in the face of a Chinese attack.

Any reliance on imperialist

support in the present situation would therefore be unwise and will only invite pressures to change our basic policies and make concessions to the imperialists and their ally Pakistan too.

QUIT COMMONWEALTH

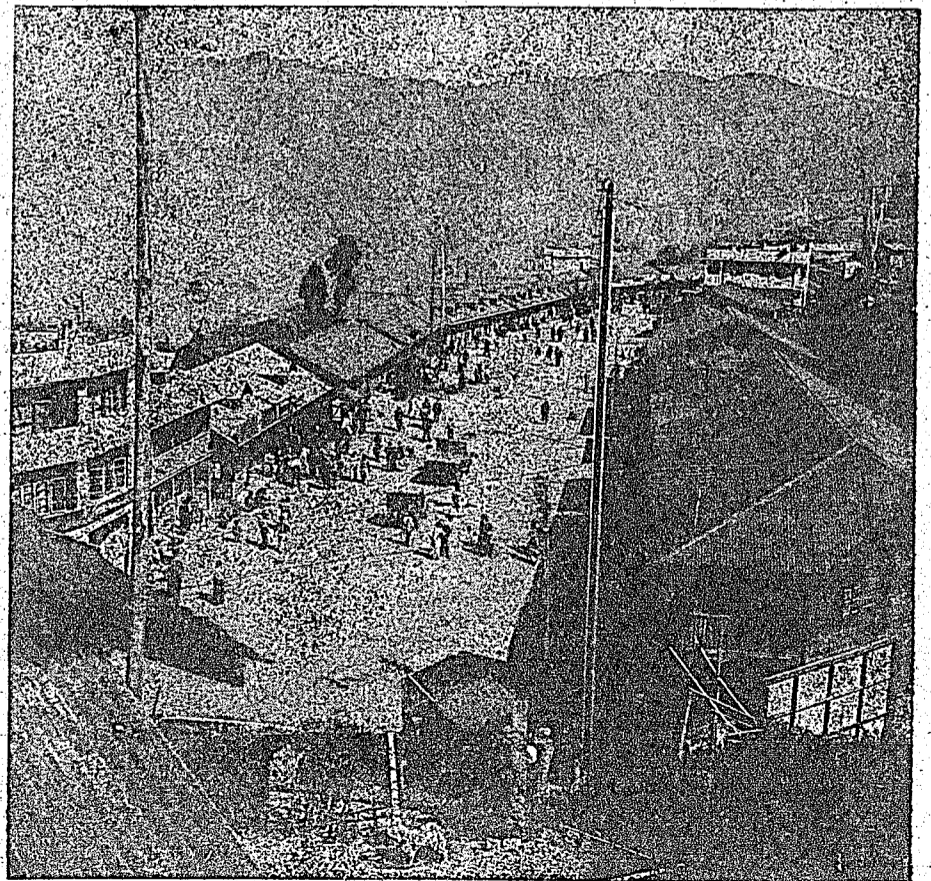
THE strong resentment expressed by members of Parliament belonging to different parties at the British government's partisan attitude and blind support to Pakistan's repeated aggression against India has timely highlighted once again the question of our Commonwealth ties.

There is a welcome realisation in more circles today that it is time for us to quit the Commonwealth and there is no need to be polite and friendly to Her Majesty's Government and take on all the insults heaped on us by Whitehall from time to time.

Even an ardent admirer of British ways like Frank Moraes is therefore pleasantly frank when he writes: "The time has come to reassess our link with the Commonwealth and to judge whether any practical purpose, including our national interests, is served by continuing what now seems to be an artificial relationship."

Surely political parties in the country should take up the issue and impress upon the Government of India the need to quit the Commonwealth in our national interest. The time for pretences is past.

—K. U. WARIER
(September 20)



A view of the main street in Gangtok, Capital of Sikkim.

PLEASE NOTE!

The managerial offices of NEW AGE have been shifted to Rani Jhansi Road. All communications, both editorial and managerial should hereafter be addressed to

New Age Weekly
Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi-1.

ROAD TO LAHORE

"Lahore—17 Miles" says the milestone. On the opposite side of the road is a pillar bearing the emblem of the International Rotary Club, and below it a brightly painted sign, "Welcome to Lahore." This is Wagah where, until September 5, the Indian and Pakistani flags flew on poles within a few feet of each other to mark the international border, and sentries stood smartly on their respective sides of the check post gates.

I was among a group of MP's who visited this area last week. Wagah is now a deserted spot, the tricolour flies alone, the silent police barracks bear scars of shells and bombs and only four or five miles further westward the Indian Army is dug in along the Ichhogli Canal facing the enemy across the dividing waters.

From where we stood we watched a huge cloud of dark smoke rising into the sky while guns thundered from both sides. This smoke, we were told, came from a blazing petrol dump on the other side of the Canal which had been hit by our artillery.

Earlier in the day, a Corps Commander and a Division Commander explained to us some of the reason for the high morale and quiet self-confidence of the Indian Jawans. The Pakistanis, they

Indians Prevail

The enemy's admitted superiority in heavy armour has gradually been blunted by the superior field tactics, better operational training, and cool courage of our infantrymen and gunners.

A tank—contrary to popular belief—is very vulnerable, provided it can be hit at close range and in the right spots by any anti-tank (armour piercing) weapon. But to be able to do this requires iron nerves, a cool head, and skill in concealment and marksmanship.

I talked over lunch to an

officer who had himself participated in the now famous battle at Khemkaran which is called the "graveyard of the Pattons." He explained how our tactics had lured these onrushing steel monsters into a deceptive terrain, where the upper crust of the soil looks hard but is actually dangerously soft and slushy.

Here the Pattons sank up to their bellies while our gunners took heavy toll of them. The same officer described Param Vir Chakra—winner Hamid Khan's superb skill in so manoeuvring his jeep-mounted recoil-less gun that he was able, single-handed, to destroy three Pattons before the fourth got him.

In fact, one of the most heart-warming things about our Army—officer and Jawan alike—is its spirit of true national integration. Bury equal Sikhs speak with equal pride of Hamid Khan and of Subedar Raju

—the hero A. A. gunner of Amritsar—whose home is in distant Andhra.

Pakistan's Sabra jets and supersonic F-104s are not to be under-estimated. Nevertheless, they too, have developed a healthy respect for the tiny, hostile Gnats of the I.A.F. and particularly for our anti-aircraft guns.

Evidence of this is the fact that, in the Amritsar area, they have given up flying at normal operation heights and instead streak to and fro at very low altitudes, sometimes no higher than the tree tops!

On the way back from Wagah we were fortunate (?) to see three Sabres hurtling at lightning speed towards our jeep; they passed directly overhead hotly pursued by two of our fighters. The Pak pilots have become famous for dropping their bombs in aimless, haphazard fashion, doing little damage of military value but sometimes causing tragic civilian casualties.

The Division Commander told us he had ordered his men to fire with even their rifles, sten-guns, etc., at low-flying aircraft, and they had succeeded in bringing down three of them. This is the technique, as we know, perfected by the Vietcong against US planes in Vietnam.

Every officer is terribly bitter about the vast American equipment which

relationship. And even a casual glance at the infantryman's weapons is enough to show that the days of complete dependence on the 303 rifles are gone.

The spontaneous upsurge of the civilian population of the Punjab has now become a household story. We saw it with our own eyes, and nowhere more strikingly than in the front-line city of Amritsar and all along the G. T. Road.

The complete lack of panic; people going about their normal avocations calmly and without fuss; passenger buses plying regularly between Amritsar and Attari along a road whose surface is scorched and scorched with the marks of constant strafing and bombing by Pak planes, the enormous crowds, silent and grim, watching wounded Jawans being carried in ambulance trucks; and the generous, unbounded love and affection showered on the soldiers in a hundred ways.

My thoughts went back to the chaotic, panicky days of 1943 in Calcutta, when lakhs fled the city at the first sound of Japanese planes. What a contrast! Such is the difference between an enslaved nation and a proudly independent one.

The Corps Commander went out of his way to impress on

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

WHO IS OUR FRIEND?

POLES apart they might be in everything else but in efforts to throw India into the laps of American imperialism, the ultra-revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the right reactionary communal Bharatiya Jan Sangh are one.

The Chinese leadership to do it by the threat of its military prowess, the Jan Sangh by strident lobbying about the Chinese danger and the necessity of depending on the western powers to defend the country.

Take the latest developments. The treacherous Pakistani attack on India with planes, tanks and arms supplied by the United States had given rise to strong anti-imperialist feelings in the country. That was something which the Chinese leadership could not face with equanimity.

Came the unfounded charges of Indian incursions into Tibetan territory on the Sikkim border. That was found to be not enough to push India into the waiting arms of the US imperialism. And so, the ultimatum was issued: vacate in three days or we will march.

This was the opportunity which the Jan-Sanghis had been watching for anxiously. They called to meet the Chinese challenge, placate the Americans and the British and call them in, in the name of defending the country.

Even before the ultimatum, the Jan Sangh started peddling its line. Said Atal Behari Vajpavee at the all-party public meeting in the capital on September 10: "In the context of the present situation, they who are trying to whip up a jihad against the US and UK are doing no service to the coun-

try." The Sangh leader explained: "India should be vigilant in regard to the danger of China coming out actively in Pindi's support. In that case, we might have to seek British and American help!"

What happens in case the British and the Americans came to the support of their ally, Pakistan? After all, both of them have made clear that their sympathies lay with Pakistan.

Are the western powers the only ones whom India can count on in case the Chinese leadership decided to have another foray into Indian territory, to help the Pakistani rulers or otherwise?

The experience of October 1962 and after does illuminate the roles of the United States and its military allies on the one hand and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the other hand in strengthening India's defence potential.

The western aid was announced with much fanfare after a soiree at Nassau in the exotic Bahamas between President Kennedy and Premier Macmillan. There were no trumpets, no publicity for the Soviet military assistance that flowed in larger quantities after the Chinese attacks.

Some comparison between the two would be highly revealing. And not to be accused of Soviet partisanship, I shall quote American sources themselves. The NEW YORK TIMES in a special despatch from its New Delhi correspondent Thomas F. Brady said on May 13, 1964:

"The Soviet Union has committed itself to somewhat greater military aid to India than has the United States since the Chinese communist invasion of Indian border areas in the fall of 1962."

Brady's can be said to be the understatement of the year. For, what was the nature of

this "somewhat greater" aid which Soviet Union had rendered India? It was more than double, that of the United States!

The report itself made this clear. By May 1964, the US had delivered "virtually all" of the 60 million dollars worth of arms which the Nassau meet had envisaged. Britain and other Commonwealth countries had promised a matching 60 million dollars worth of arms, but not much of it came to India.

Against this, the Soviet Union had delivered or firmly committed itself to give 130 million dollars worth of military hardware. And these included air-to-air and ground-to-air missiles, AN-12 planes, MI-4 helicopters, radar and allied equipments.

What we got from the United States were small arms and the dubious air exercises and the radar equipment needed for them.

We begged them for some F-104 fighter planes; we were told that our pilots were not good enough for such sophisticated stuff. We begged for a submarine; we were told that we did not need a navy. And all the time, Pakistan got the very same things which we had asked for: F-104 planes, Patton tanks, submarine...

What has the Soviet Union done? They gave us tanks to be used in mountainous terrain; they gave us the Migs, not one or two, but three squadrons of them; now they have promised us submarines. More, they are aiding and building a whole factory to turn out Migs.

Who are our real friends? To whom should we turn when anybody attacks us? The people of India know the answer very well. It is the Migs and the submarines which Vainayev and his friends might make on behalf of the imperialists.

—PARAKAL

INDRAJIT GUPTA MP

alone has made the Pak aggression possible. Across the Ichhogli Canal, built incidentally from the UN Development Fund, is a veritable "Maginot Line" consisting of underground bunkers, gun emplacements, and concrete pill-boxes. It shows how long and how carefully the enemy had been preparing for this day.

And the canal engineers have helped by making the western bank much higher than the eastern! Now, from their higher position, the well entrenched Pakistanis are able to shell our positions more easily than we can attack theirs.

American Help

And what shelling! The Division Commander said, "In all my experience in Burma and the Middle East I never saw such reckless waste of ammunition. Of course, it does not cost them anything, they know the USA will replenish their supplies."

But all this bombardment by CENTO and SEATO shells has failed to dislodge our men from their positions. The enemy dare not recross the Ichhogli Canal, or the Ravi river, at Dera Baba Nanak. Some at least of the lessons of 1962 appear to have been learned well by the Indian side.

The unmistakable atmosphere of high morale is unthinkable without basically sound officer-Jawan rela-

us that the Army was treating with utmost consideration the local villagers of the enemy areas occupied by us across the border.

Many of them had been wounded by stray shells and bombs, and were being given necessary medical care. Of course, a few among them were acting as spies and saboteurs, even sending up flares at night to guide the Pakistani artillery.

But even these got less harsh treatment from the Army than did the enemy parachutists on Indian soil at the hands of the sturdy Sikh peasants.

The officers we met did not brag or boast. They do not under-rate the toughness of the enemy. They do not talk glibly, like some quarters, of an easy walkover on the road to Lahore.

But, when we conveyed to the Corps Commander the high appreciation of Parliament for the performance of our Army, he said simply, "we are your servants. Rest assured we will always carry out whatever task is allotted to us."

We were not allowed beyond Wagah because of the risk of falling shells. But, one day, when the people of Pakistan are rid of military dictators and come into their own, the road to Lahore will be open again as a friendly, peaceful inviting road, freed from the rubble of the guns. Till then, the "Welcome to Lahore" signboard will remain on my shelf as a souvenir I brought from Wagah.

KERALA : Muslims Say Pak War Will Be Met

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Muslims in Kerala have with one voice condemned the Pakistani aggression against India. They have declared that they are not behind anyone in defence of the motherland.

THE state capital witnessed a unique demonstration when five thousand Muslims of all classes paraded the streets declaring their determination to be one with the rest of their countrymen in defence of the country.

The demonstration was organised by the Muslims Defence Council. Similar demonstrations are being organised in other centres of Kerala too.

Communist Party of India has been organising meetings on its own in all the towns to rouse the people against Pakistani aggression and explain the implications of the crisis created by the Chinese threat.

In these meetings Party spokesmen have demanded stringent measures against hoarders and blackmarketeers, release of detenus and statutory rationing in all the towns.

Memo to Adviser

In a memorandum to the Adviser, P. Balachandran Menon, general secretary of the Kerala State Trade Union Council, has warned the government and the employers against complacency in solving the urgent problems of the workers without which they cannot be roused to increase production.

The memorandum cites

Regarding other disputes in public sector concerns and government-owned industries, the KSTUC leader suggested emergent tripartite meetings to discuss and settle the issues so that industrial peace is ensured during pendency of the war against aggression.

the strike of 40 thousand tea garden workers in the High Ranges for their demand of wage increase. The role of the British management in gleefully precipitating labour unrest has been pinpointed.

Menon demanded immediate convening of the state industrial relations board to settle this dispute.

a minimum of one day's wages to the defence fund. The government employees held processions and meetings in all towns on September 17 to declare their support for the defence effort.

In Trivandrum the joint appeal was issued by 24 organisations. Ten thousand men and women participated in the demonstration.

The government employees have postponed their agitation for demands. They demanded that the government must take effective measures to hold the price line and ensure supply of essential articles like rice and kerosene.

MAHARASHTRA : Lakhs Rally For Defence

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: Maharashtra is on the march. On the march behind the jawans. On September 12, one and a half lakhs attended the all-parties rally in Shivaji Park, addressed by the Chief Minister, and by S. A. Dange (CPI), Dadasaheb Gaekwad (RPI), George Fernandes (SSP), Madhu Dandavate (PSP) and others.

THE Chief Minister assured the rally that the government would take steps to prevent rise in prices and black-marketing. Communist Party Chairman Dange, in a speech which was enthusiastically applauded, called for unity for the defence of the country, and at the same time urged government to see that the people's interests

in the defence efforts would be of great value and it is hoped that their release will not be delayed any longer.

A special feature has been communal harmony demonstrations and processions. Special defence committees of students, youth and women have been formed, and they have started collecting gifts for the jawans.

Though the food situation has not improved in the state, and that regarding the supply of kerosene has definitely deteriorated, the people are hoping that the government will act, in accordance with the promises of the Chief Minister, and take effective steps to ensure that the prices are brought down and supplies made available.

Similar meetings are being held all over the state. The government has released most of the leaders of the food movement organised by the Anti-Starvation Committee.

There are still some more detenus who have not yet been released. Their partici-

TRIPURA FRONT TO OBSERVE FORTNIGHT

AGARTALA: The Progressive Front of Tripura has called upon the people of the area to observe a fortnight from September 16 to 30 on the key issue of resistance to Pakistani aggression.

Support for the demands for release of political detenus and adequate food for the people and no price-rise will also be voiced during the fortnight.

The Front consists of representatives of the CPI, the Marxist CP, the SSP, the Tribal Union and several independents.

Meeting Not Allowed

On September 10 the Front had convened a mass meeting to protest against the Pakistani aggression but as the administration did not allow the use of microphone, the meeting could not be held.

The Front in a statement explained imperialist machinations behind the Kashmir problem and exposed their direct incitement to Pakistan to attack India.

It said in Tripura food crisis has become permanent, prices are rising daily, individual freedom faces curtailment and the state machinery is being used in the interests of the ruling party.

This situation can be remedied only through a consistent struggle by a united left front mobilising the widest sections of the people in defence of the motherland and in defence of people's interests.

ANDHRA : Workers Donate One Day's Wages to Relief

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: Over one lakh fifty thousand workers organised under the Andhra Pradesh AITUC have decided to donate one day's wages to the Kashmir Relief Fund.

THROUGHOUT the state September 21 will be observed as DEFENCE DAY. The call to observe this day by holding mass rallies etc., has been given by the state Sangram Samiti.

The CPI units are currently observing a solidarity week in the course of which batches of Party members are going around villages explaining the implications of the present situation and emphasising the need to rally for defence and to maintain communal harmony.

The all-party defence committee in the state, which met a few days ago under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister, has set up six sub-committees. In all these committees, Communist representatives have been included.

For example, the State CP secretary Rajshekhar Reddy and Krishna Rao have been taken in the sub-committee on agriculture; Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Rajbahadur Gour and Satyanarayana Reddy on industrial production, Opposition leader Venkateswarulu has been taken on price control sub-committee.

A public meeting organised by the central citizens committee was addressed, among others, by the Chief Minister and the CPI leader Makhdoom Mohiuddin.

There is splendid response on the part of the people to meet defence needs. But unfortunately on the receiving side the arrangements are not adequate. For example, blood-bank facilities are quite meagre.

A View of the mammoth meeting in Gandhi Grounds in Delhi on September 19, organised by CPI



ASSAM : All-Party Unity For Defence

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: The Pakistani authorities judging from their belligerent postures across the Assam borders would appear to be bent upon escalating the armed clash to the eastern sector also. Massing of their troops along their side of Assam-East Pakistan border had been reported even before the present clash between the two countries flared up, but recently there has been a heavier concentration of Pak troops along the border, according to official sources here.

CONCENTRATION of Pakistani troops is reported to be heavier in areas opposite Goalpara district of Assam. From here upto the border opposite Coochbihar in West Bengal, Pakistani troops are reported to be poised for an attack.

In Coochbihar areas they have already made some at-

tempts to shell our positions and reports available here indicate that they are determined to provoke a clash in this sector. Their attempt to bomb the Brahmaputra bridge recently is considered a part of this design.

This attempt of Pakistan to escalate the conflict in the eastern sector has naturally

made it incumbent on Assam to make preparations to meet the challenge. Both official and non-official agencies have been putting their energy together to gear up the civil defence measures in the state.

It is being noted here that there is perfect unity of purpose among the peo-

ple of different sections, political or other differences do not stand in the way of elaborate preparations for defence against the aggressor.

The state Assembly met here on September 6. The session was to last upto September 18. But as the Assembly met the situation along the border worsened and it became necessary to put off all normal business and devote all attention to the tasks of gearing up defence preparations.

Accordingly, a suggestion was made that the House should adjourn to enable members to go back to their respective constituencies so that they might help the people in making every possible preparation for civil defence. The Assembly was thus prorogued on September 11.

Before the House was prorogued, members from both sides expressed their firm determination to resist the aggressor and stand firmly united in this national task, sinking all other differences.

Communal Harmony

All sections of the Assembly, as also political parties outside, appeared to be quite conscious about the need for maintaining communal harmony in the state at this time in particular. It is noted with satisfaction that to this day there has been no report of any disturbance of communal harmony in any part of the state and there is awareness among the common people of the task of maintaining internal peace.

Food front, however, continues to worry the authorities as well as the people in general. Certain measures, it is claimed by authorities, are being taken to maintain a regular flow of supply of es-

sential commodities which are yet to yield definite result.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the All Assam Samyukta Andolan Parishad (ASAP) who met the Chief Minister in a deputation last week have taken up with him the question of food scarcity and high prices and the measures for solving the problem.

The ASAP had been formed at a state convention of left parties held earlier and its constituents are the CPI, the PSP, the RCPY and the Marxist CPI.

State Trading Urged

In their meeting with the Chief Minister, the ASAP leaders suggested state trading in food grains, monopoly procurement, distribution of food through co-operatives and other agencies under the strict control and supervision of people's committees and fixation of both floor and ceiling prices for paddy, rice etc. with strict enforcement, as some of the urgent measures necessary to arrest the rise in prices and improve the food supply situation.

The Chief Minister agreed with the deputations on a number of points even while pointing out certain difficulties of the administration. He, however, admitted that the question of maintaining a steady supply of food and stabilisation of prices has assumed a greater urgency in the context of the present Pakistani aggression.

The deputation assured the Chief Minister of the ASAP's full cooperation with the government for defence against the aggressors. The Chief Minister thanked them and also said that all-party defence committees would be formed at both state and district levels.

BBC-Sangh Axis

A SORT of invisible thread binds reactionary groupings of various countries—the enemies of all peoples, of mankind.

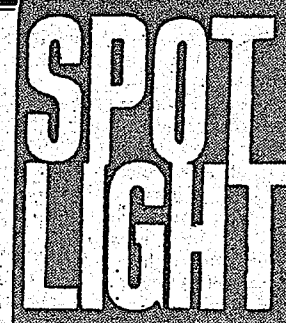
Take for example the species of communal reactionaries of different lands, who seem apparently to be pitched irrevocably against each other but actually pull in the same direction.

Speaking of these strange links between reactionary institutions, one is tempted to ask: what sort of affinity have the British Broadcasting Corporation, the mouthpiece of British imperialism, and the Jan Sangh?

Strange though it sounds, both seem to be constantly helping each other and considering to each other even when they take contrary positions as in the case of the Indo-Pakistan fighting.

The BBC's hostility towards India and its tirades all through the Indo-Pak fighting have become a scandal.

But the Jan Sangh which is supposed to be a staunch organisation dedicated to the struggle against Pakistan has a fawning admiration for the BBC. And vice versa too.



It suddenly discovered all the concentrated vices of a stark Hindu communalist!

Said the BBC, delivering a commentary from its correspondent—Shastri while not belonging to the Jan Sangh, resembled closely the mental make-up of this organisation! He was a "pure" Hindu. He had been a close associate of Purshottamdas Tandon, who was a rigid and staunch Hindu. Shastri had, moreover, been educated in the centre of orthodox Hinduism, Kashi Vidyapeeth.

Go on, BBC, lead on your listeners to the logical conclusion! Is it that a Hindu communalist is head of India's government at a critical moment of decision?

And the BBC's objective? To smear India's secular image beyond recognition.

This is quite in tune with the objective of Sanghite ideology—a singular demonstration of the link that the BBC has built with communal reactionaries in India and Pakistan.

—BHIMA

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VALIANT PUNJABIS ON GUARD

THE armed conflict between India and Pakistan spread to Punjab border after the Pakistani rocket attack on Amritsar on the night of September 5. I reached Chandigarh, early on the morning of September 8. From there I started for Jullundur by bus along with Desh Raj Sharma, office secretary of the Punjab state council of our Party to address a public meeting.

The situation in Punjab had already become quite hot. Everywhere people were agitated about the fighting, the bombing of Punjab towns and dropping of paratroopers by Pakistani planes on the previous two days. The trunk road was full of trucks and other vehicles on their way to the front.

On my way to Jullundur, I saw that villagers on the roadside had opened improvised canteens—langars as the Punjabis call them—to serve chapatis, tea, lassi, etc., to the troops going to the front.

I saw a whole village—men, women and children, working in one langar, women preparing chapatis, men offering food, and boys and girls serving water to the troops. In the first days, when a large number of troops had to reach the front in a record time, these langars were great help to the troops.

Workers have not lagged behind in this. Working class centres also opened canteens despite their meagre incomes. The Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union and the Istri Sabha opened canteens right on the main road to Lahore, one at Amritsar and the other at Chheharta under the inspiring leadership of Vimla and Satyapal Dang. The rickshaw workers of Jullundur were giving free rides to our jawans.

Punjab is noted for its traditional hospitality. Wherever we went, we were treated with love and affection, and given the best that our hosts had to offer. The men of the armed forces, whom we met in the hospital at Amritsar, also praised the hospitality of Punjab people. This time to the traditional hospitality is added patriotism and determination to defend our country.

Before we reached Jullundur that day we had another exhilarating experience. After our bus crossed the river Sutlej and reached Phillaur at about 4 p.m., we saw some villagers running to a nearby sugarcane field. We stopped the bus and enquired what it was all about.

We came to know that the Pak paratroopers were hiding in the field. A peasant saw two of them coming out of the field and on his raising an alarm, they re-entered the field. In a few minutes, the people of the nearby village and armed police surrounded the sugarcane field and started combing it out. Next day we came to know that a large number of Pak paratroopers had been captured at the place.

We heard several reports of how the well-armed paratroopers are being captured by the people armed only with lathis. In the course of this patriotic task, some villagers have laid down their lives.

By now almost all the paratroopers have been captured and those of them who have escaped being caught, so far, are thoroughly demoralised and are being caught while trying to escape to Pakistan.

The Government of India has not armed the border people of our country, while the Pakistan government has given arms extensively to their people on their borders. On the contrary, our government has taken away some of the arms which the people had with them.

Wherever we went, people asked us to put pressure on our government to give them arms. They said if this is done, they can not only help in the capture of paratroopers, but also in throwing back the enemy, if he ever dares to set his foot on our soil. They are not satisfied with the activities of the Home Guards, who were organised as an adjunct of the police force.

If the government, instead of relying only on the Home Guards, takes people into confidence and organises village defence squads under the defence committees, people can defend the villages, towns and bridges much better, and it won't cost the government anything.

The brave people of Punjab, who are geographically placed at the gateway of India who have fought every invader coming into India can fight the present invaders also and defend our country.

Next day, on September 9, myself and Desh Raj Sharma started for Amritsar by bus. We saw almost the same sight as before of unending stream of military vehicles going to the front and people serving chapatis, lassi, tea, etc., to the troops. In the opposite direction, there was another trickle of cars coming from Am-

ritsar with rich traders, their families and their luggage.

Common people were deriding these people, who were running away at the slightest sign of danger.

By the time we reached Amritsar, it was 4 p.m. We went to the district Party office and contacted Satyapal Dang. Immediately afterwards, we went to Chheharta where the Communist Party has a big mass base.

Within minutes of our arrival a Pakistani plane came at a low level, our anti-aircraft guns boomed from all directions and the plane was brought down in flames to the delight of the people.

The name of Madras Raju—for the people of Punjab all the people coming from the South are Madrasis—had already become famous among the people by the time I reached Amritsar because very few Pak planes which dared to attack Amritsar could go back because of his valient shooting.

People felt quite safe, so much so that in the latter days they started getting up

IMPRESSIONS OF A TOUR OF THE BORDER AREAS

hear the good news of the postponement of the Sant's fast. People felt greatly relieved over it. But the Sant had not arrived at this decision to postpone his fast easily. Followers of Master Tara Singh who were dominating the Golden Temple the seat of the Akal Takht were putting all sorts of pressure on the Sant. According to reports, some were even reported to have gone to the extent of threatening to kill him if he decided to postpone his fast.

Our Party car arrived from Delhi shortly. Avtar Singh Malhotra, secretary of the Punjab state council of our Party,

by a military picket and were told we were under arrest. After the military officer came, he checked up and allowed us to pass. The fact was that someone had come to a nearby electric substation that night and done some mischief, and that was why there had been extra special vigilance.

We did not get angry at these happenings, but actually appreciated the way our troops are keeping vigilance against any Pakistani spies.

What we saw in the village was that the peasants had sent away their women and children to their relatives in other villages and remained behind to look after the fields and cattle. Their morale was very high.

The agricultural labourers who are generally Harijans and other backward castes are suffering because of lack of work. They complained to us that the peasants are unable to invest sufficient money because of unsettled conditions. Consequently they are not able to make both ends meet. Stray cattle are spoiling the crops.

The people of this village also wanted arms to defend themselves. Peasants wanted that financial help be given to them so that they can carry on cultivation. Agricultural labourers wanted finan-

cial help to make their both ends meet. The same is the position roughly in all border villages.

On September 11, after returning to Amritsar, we went in the direction of Khemkaran, the border village on the Indian side opposite of which Pakistan's Kasur is situated, to visit some of the border villages.

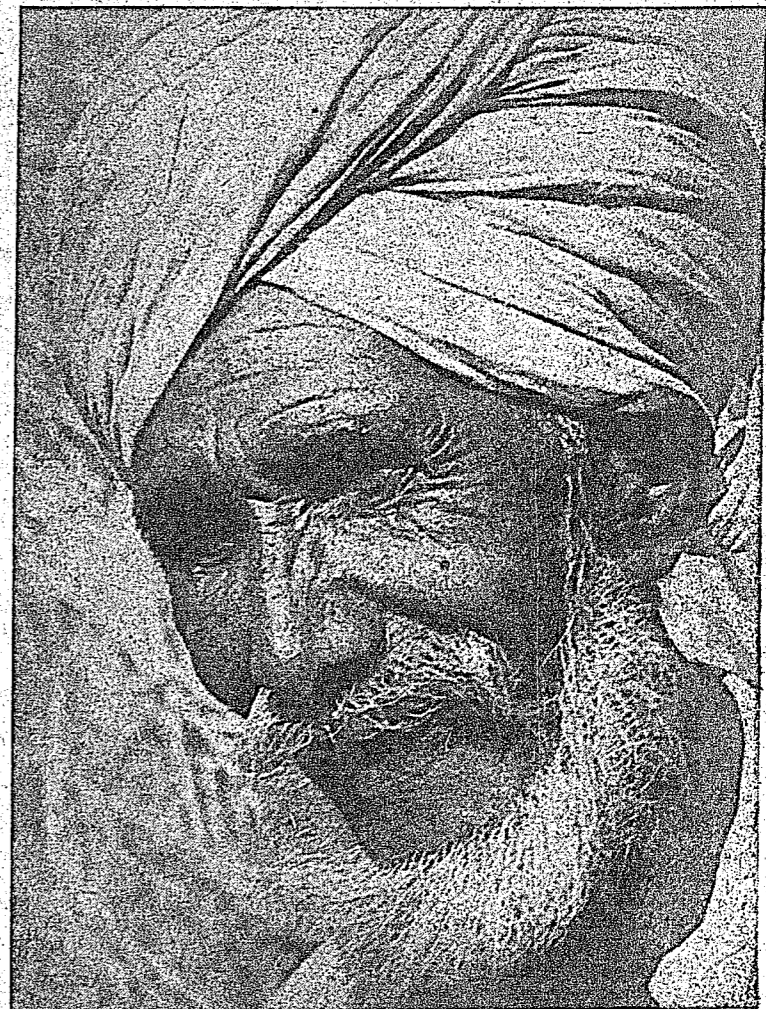
By the time we reached the junction of Pikhivind we came to know of our big success in the memorable battle of Kasur, where Pakistan's 1st armoured division is badly mauled and its commanders killed and good number of its other officers captured.

This is the biggest of the tank and armoured battles fought in this war in which more than 50 Pakistani Patton and other tanks were smashed or captured. It is in this battle that our army leaders and men have decisively proved Indian superiority over Pakistani army leaders and men equipped with the most modern American weapons.

We were advised not to proceed further, since battle front was still hot. We returned and had two indoor meetings in one village on our way to Amritsar. That evening we had a well-attended general body meeting of PMs and sympathisers of Amritsar city.

On the morning of September 12 we visited the military hospital in Amritsar. We took a basketful of fruits as a mark of love for our brave army men. We were cordially received by the authorities of the hospital. The army men were very happy that the whole country is behind them.

On the 13th morning we started for Dera Baba Nanak which is right on the



SMUGGLERS HELP THE ENEMY

SOME Hindu communal forces take delight in propagating that Muslims generally are Pak spies.

It has now been found out that Pakistan had its spies mainly from the smugglers belonging to all the communities, who will do anything for money. Two instances given below will illustrate this.

One Chanan Singh of Jangpur (Ludhiana District) who happened to be the joint secretary of the kisan section of the Punjab Congress, was caught while helping Pak paratroopers with food.

People became suspicious because he was suddenly found buying large quantities of mutton daily and this was reported to the police.

Another person Ajit Singh of Jhagili (near Pathankot) was also caught while supplying food to the paratroopers who had been dropped for blowing up the bridge at Madhavpur.

STUDENTS' VALOUR

WHEN I reached Gurdaspur, I found that oil tankers were burning at the railway station. One Pakistani plane had just bombed the train consisting of oil tankers. This was the plane which used to come everyday to Batala, Dhariwal and Gurdaspur, and drop bombs—unsuccessfully.

It was only on September 13 that it succeeded in hitting the oil train. This plane was later shot down on the same day by our planes.

Immediately after the train caught fire, the students rushed to the railway station and unlinked the rest of the tankers that had not caught fire and the railway engine, and pushed them to a safe distance at great personal risk to their lives.

Only three oil tankers burnt down and the rest of the train was saved by the heroism of the students. In this incident about 25 students received injury, seven of them seriously.



on the roofs of their buildings to witness the air-battles. I was also given a share in this respect and love of the people of the city towards gunner Madras Raju because I am also a "Madras".

It was a very anxious day for the people of Punjab in general and the people of Amritsar in particular. On the one hand, people knew that our army on the Lahore front had been held up by the heavily fortified defence system of Pakistan erected on the Ichhogil canal near Lahore and the Pakistani army had counter-attacked.

On the other, Sant Fateh Singh had not yet called off his fast and the controversy over it was raging within the precincts of the Golden Temple.

In that tense atmosphere, I went on foot—there was no conveyance available—to some working class localities and the canteen for the jawans right on the Lahore Road run by the Ekta Union under Vimla Dang's leadership.

We stayed in Dang's house right on the Lahore Road that night, of course amidst the roaring of field guns and rumbling of tanks, trucks and jeeps the whole night.

Next morning we woke up early to

Tulsi Ram, secretary of Amritsar district council; Ajit Singh Chetanpuri came to Chheharta in that car.

Then we started for the villages on the border where our Party had influence—to see how people are facing firing in this critical situation.

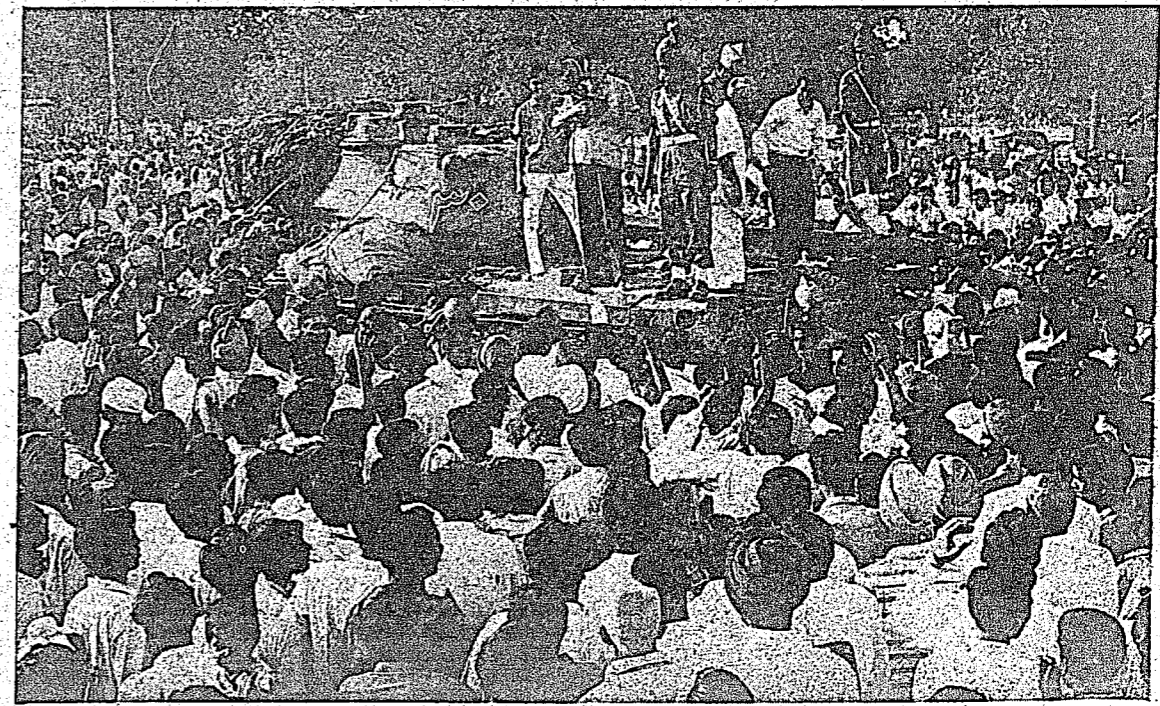
First we went to a village by the side of the Lahore Road very near the border. This was quite an eventful trip. We were checked at several points by the military pickets and allowed to pass. At the last point after checking was over, the military officer-in-charge remarked "Are you going to actually boost the morale of the people or otherwise?" We replied that the CPI had always been for the defence of our country and that if he had ever read its resolution, no doubts would have arisen in his mind. He smiled and allowed us to pass.

Finally, by the time it was dark, we reached the village. When we were holding a meeting of the villagers in a compound again a military squad came to see what exactly we were doing. They were satisfied about our bona fides and went away.

When again we were returning the next day to Amritsar, we were stopped



A familiar scene in Punjab rural areas



Captured American Patton tank reaches New Delhi

(Photos: VIRENDRA KUMAR)

MONSOON SESSION REVIEW

UNITY AGAINST
PAK AGGRESSOR

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

It was amidst the darkening shadows of an Indo-Pakistani war that Parliament's monsoon session commenced. By the time the five-week session concluded, streaks on the horizon spoke of a returning peace.

THE brief span of five weeks of this monsoon session—the shortest of all parliamentary meets—has been packed with events which outpaced a year's proceedings.

Parliamentary history has been made amidst the grim sparks of war, and this country's parliamentary tradition, still in its formative period, has already undergone a new imprint.

The most important question which the session faced was the challenge of Pakistan's war machine, and of its abettor, the Peking government.

This was a challenge to India's integrity, and its fundamentals—a challenge of an unprecedented magnitude. Parliament faced a new situation.

Unique Answer

The problem of Parliament's functioning amidst a war against aggression loomed large over the session. And its answer was a unique one.

From the very onset of the session, the government, as well as the opposition recognised the need for change. The country's struggle for self-preservation could not be made the issue of a parliamentary duel between the government and the opposition.

This was perhaps the first time in India's parliamentary history that the Treasury Benches as well as the opposition agreed to lift a vital question away from

the field of party understanding.

The mood of Parliament was a militant one, and there pervaded an atmosphere of self-confidence and sobriety in face of a monstrous threat such has been hardly witnessed before.

This helped in bringing about a new mechanism for Parliament to deal with the war with Pakistan, and the threat from China. The government and opposition made suitable adjustments.

Controversies Kept Out

While taking opposition leaders into confidence from time to time on all major developments, the government kept Parliament informed of the situation, both on the military front as well as in the field of diplomatic-political activity.

The opposition on its part largely abjured the right to raise controversial issues in the two Houses, confining itself to an expression of views which could not be prejudicial from the strategic point of view.

This arrangement worked admirably and both sides of the Lok Sabha as well as Rajya Sabha made their contributions.

The only exception was the SSP leader Rammanohar Lohia who did occasionally assert his right to disregard bipartisanship even amidst the Indo-Pakistani conflagration.

Barring this, the monsoon session witnessed the ups and downs of the fighting and the moves on the diplomatic chess-board, the sudden injection by China of its threat of "grave consequences" by a series of ultimatums, and the continued moves of the world powers with vigour and level-headedness.

This response from Parliament could not but provide immense strength to the government in the discharge of its difficult tasks.

The two principal highlights were Parliament's response to the military developments, and of events in the diplomatic field.

The thundering ovation which the Lok Sabha gave to Defence Minister Chavan's announcement of the opening up of the Lahore and Sialkot fronts was something which has hardly ever been known to Parliament.

It manifested the anger which had been welling up against Pakistan's plot against Kashmir and against India's basic integrity. Past humiliations, the Rann of Kutch affair, were still a vivid chapter.

There were good news and bad, ups and downs on the war fronts, but Parliament took all this in its stride, displaying a new forte which seemed to have discarded the panicky emotionalism so often seen on the floor of the Lok Sabha amidst similar circumstances in the past.

Another striking feature was the government's handling of the critical events for which it received appreciation and support all around.

Peaceable Approach

While his political acumen was already revealed in the negotiations with U Thant, the high watermark was registered in his replies on the floor of the two Houses of Parliament to China's two "ultimatums" of a war-like threat.

The Prime Minister demolished China's diplomatic thrusts with a characteristic peaceable approach to which Peking's rulers evidently have no reply.

To China's crude attempts to draw India into a bloody shambles through false and lying allegations mixed with

provocative language, Shastri's answer was: let there be a joint inspection of the disputed military installations by representatives of both countries as had been earlier proposed by China herself.

Peking was probably taken aback, and looked for new excuses for further provocations. Shastri gave yet another rebuff which must have made Peking's rulers look self-condemned.

Demolish Yourself

The Prime Minister said that if there are any installations on China's side, India does not object to their being removed—let China do it. Why should Peking ask India to demolish installations on the Chinese side—would that not mean Indian soldiers crossing China's frontiers?

Not having any answer to this simple and straightforward language of peace, Peking has preferred to rake up new provocations. But Chinese government stands self-condemned by its reaction to Shastri's clear and unambiguous language of peace.

The entire Parliament has hardly ever been so united in its backing for the Prime Minister's stand as during this session. It was a demonstration of unity which will be of value and sustenance in the critical days ahead.

CORRECT MOVES

THE pressures of the war situation have begun to exert a certain degree of healthy influence on the government. The demand of the democratic movement that the problems created for our economy by Pakistani aggression be dealt with by more radical measures, more control and not less, has had a certain measure of impact.

It is indeed, welcome news that cement decontrol has been called off. The State Trading Corporation has been informed that the present distribution arrangements would continue indefinitely.

The cement monopolists must feel somewhat cheated as they were contemplating a massive price rise following decontrol. They must however be relieved that no rationalisation measure appears to be contemplated by the government.

But both from the angle of strategic needs of development and the clear pattern of cartelisation, the cement industry is ripe for takeover by the state.

This call-off of decontrol has been followed up by orders by the government controlling the supply, distribution and consumption of non-ferrous metals like copper, lead, tin and zinc with immediate effect.

Considering the tremendous importance of such metals, especially copper, for defence and industrial development this measure has been adopted not a day too soon. In addition, the decontrol of

flat steel has been ruled out till, at least 1970.

It has been estimated that the demand for non-ferrous metals which stood at 234,000 tonnes in 1961 has risen to 514,000 tons in 1965 and is likely to go up to 888,000 tons by the end of the Fourth Plan.

The latter figure will have to be upgraded if a big drive is launched, as it has to be, for self-sufficiency in our defence requirements. At present we are importing over 200,000 tons of non-ferrous metals every year.

The government has delayed far too long in launching a crash programme for exploration of India's non-ferrous metal wealth. Oil had its K. D. Malaviya to put the country on the road to self-sufficiency but non-ferrous metals have had no such luck.

Take copper. Not only has very little been done to survey the country for deposits (the Rayalaseema region in Andhra is said to be a promising field) but even the known deposits have scarcely been worked up.

The Khetri project in Rajasthan was delayed for years together in the search for foreign collaboration. Even now, with a French firm having been signed on, the scheme will give us only 21,000 tons production at the end of the Fourth Plan.

In addition, the Indian Copper Corporation (the main producer) would be smelting only 16,500 tons at that time (as against 8,000 tons today). But by 1970-71 the demand for copper is likely to be in the region of 250,000 tons.

It has been reported that despite Soviet eagerness to

Economic notes

help us in this field the government has been very slow in taking up the offer.

Any scheme of controls is without much purpose if a proper price policy is not worked out. It should be remembered that the price of copper ingots have gone up from Rs. 980 per 50 kg last year to Rs. 680 this year, while the price of lead has risen from Rs. 800 per 100 kg last year to Rs. 500 this year.

Yet, the price fixed in the control order is landed cost plus three and a half per cent. And the landed cost has been made up of c.i.f. price at an Indian port, banking charges for opening letter of credit, interest charges, actual expenses of the Port Trust, clearing charges and charges of transport to a warehouse.

In effect, this means that no attempt has been made to work out a suitable price pattern.

It is reported that government is contemplating setting up a Raw Materials Corporation to channel the import of all metals. Big Business is up in arms against this proposal.

If such a corporation is set up, a rational price policy can be worked out and the recent control measure implemented in the way most beneficial to the national economy.

—MOHIT SEN

Jawans In Amritsar Will Tell

THIS IS THE BEST
CANTEEN IN PUNJAB

By VIMLA DANG

ON the Grant Trunk Road, the road to the front from Amritsar, only 13 miles from the border, a free canteen for the jawans has been set up by the Istri Sabha (women's organisation) and the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union. The canteen remains open daily from 9.30 in the morning to 6.30 in the evening, on the main road of Naraingarh.

About 50 volunteers keep the canteen going. The vehicles carrying troops to the front, stop for a few seconds only. Our volunteers standing in rows on the roadside distribute butter-milk and fruit, biscuits and cigarettes, quickly as the vehicles pass by.

The canteen has become a powerful centre of expression of the people's love and admiration for the jawans.

While the canteen is at work, sometimes the aens blow, as an air-raid takes place. Our volunteers take cover with the rest of the people. Our anti-aircraft guns take over. Often a Pakistani plane is shot down.

Then the canteen reopens, as soon as the all-clear is sounded.

★ How do we finance the canteen? This is wonderful story. We began on September 8, with a plan to open a modest ice drinking water centre for the jawans. By the afternoon, the textile workers' union had collected ninety-five rupees in small coins, and with that, and a basket of bananas, our canteen began its life.

Donations now started pouring in... in cash and kind. Within a week, seven hundred rupees had been collected at the canteen table itself. Coins and notes came from passers-by, in a surge. Our donors were clerks, workers, teachers, drivers, peasants.

And then came baskets full of cooked food. A group of Sikhs, belonging to the Ramgarhia sect, sent 16 kilograms of hot pulao one day. Another day came three large cocks to give the jawans a real treat. Women from one street brought three tins of biscuits and four maunds of gram. The people living in Habipura contributed 50 loaves of bread and twenty seers of milk... And so on. Milk, apples and pears, cigarettes... the donors are many and varied...

Our canteen is now well known. The happiest moments for those of us who are running the canteen are when some of the officers and jawans stop and have a few minutes to spare, to give us news of the front, of our victories, of the courage of our men.

If you know of any jawans going to the front and passing by here, please tell them to stop at our canteen. We shall have everything ready to give them, and they need not wait long.

The most precious thing of all which the jawans take with them from our canteen, is the knowledge of the love and affection of our working people, our deep gratitude to them for their sacrifices, and our determination to stand by them through all moments of trial and triumph.

The organisers of the canteen

25 PER CENT WAGE RISE
FOR KERALA WORKERS

TRIVANDRUM: The demand of the workers for a 25 per cent wage increase has been held to be just by an official committee in Kerala.

The Minimum Wages Advisory Board in the state has recommended a 25 per cent rise in wages to work-

ers to meet the rising cost of living. Details of the recommendation are being worked out.

The raise will be granted in all cases of statutory minimum wage fixation not subjected to revision in the last five years and where there is no provision for adjusting wages to the cost of living index.

The board has noted that in the case of most industries, the revision which was due after five years from the date of fixation of the minimum wages has not been done by the government.

This has resulted in considerable fall in the real wages of the workers because of the steep rise in the cost of living.



The vehicles stop for a second, volunteers hand over the eatables, cigarettes...

IMPERIALIST
INTRIGUES

*FROM PAGE 3

Kashmir Constituent Assembly (1951) on the question of Kashmir's accession to India and the other alternatives posed before the Kashmiri people.

In that speech, Sheikh Abdullah himself has effectively demolished all the arguments now being advanced by Comrade Palme Dutt and justified Kashmir's accession to India as the most democratic expression of the right of the Kashmiri people to self-determination.

Ever since that time, all these 17 years, the Anglo-American imperialist powers as well as their SEATO-CENTO ally, the Pakistan rulers have been steadily working to subvert the freely-expressed will of the Kashmiri people, by raising the slogan of "plebiscite".

Mountbatten's Slogan

The originator of this slogan, "plebiscite under UN auspices", was none other than Mountbatten himself, who cooked it up in consultation with Jinnah towards the end of 1947 after his plan of an "independent Kashmir" collapsed. Alan Campbell Johnson, Mountbatten's Press Attache, reveals this in his now famous memoirs, "Mission with Mountbatten".

When the Indian government took the issue of the Pakistani aggression against Kashmir to the Security Council in 1948, it was the US representative Warren Austin and the British representative Noel Baker who sidetracked the whole issue of Pakistan's aggression and raised the slogan of "plebiscite assured through an impartial interim administration."

Throughout these 17 years, this has been the slogan of the Anglo-American powers and of the Pakistani rulers. And no wonder, for the import of this slogan is clear—

it is an instrument for furthering their designs of neo-colonialist penetration in this sub-continent, of progressive dismemberment and disintegration of India.

Nothing could be more welcome to the Anglo-American

imperialists than a caretaker government led by Sheikh Abdullah and the Kashmir Plebiscite Front to conduct the "plebiscite" in Kashmir—which is what Comrade Palme Dutt advocates.

An "independent Kashmir" in today's context would be nothing but an ideal instrument for furthering Anglo-American strategic-military objectives in the very heart of Asia.

Travesty Of Truth

It would equally be a travesty of the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people to talk of the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan. The regime of military dictatorship of Ayub Khan does not permit the slightest vestiges of parliamentary democracy or democratic rights in Pakistan. Not a single general election has been held in that state during the 17 years of its existence.

The Pakthoons never wanted to join Pakistan. No Pakthoon ruler or jirga sat in any Constituent Assembly or even signed any instrument of accession to Pakistan. The Pakthoons were just handed over to Pakistan by Mountbatten and have been subjected to ruthless repression ever since. The democratic movement of the Pakthoons for self-determination, the movement for Pakthoonistan, is led by that veteran anti-imperialist fighter, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan.

Similar is the case of the Baluchis.

The principle of self-determination today needs application not to the Kashmiri people; they have already exercised; but to the Pakthoons and the Baluchis. It is the freedom struggle of the Pakthoons and the Baluchis that needs to be supported today by all democrats in the name of "self-determination".

As Soviet representative Sobolev put it in the Security Council in 1957, "the question of Kashmir has been settled by the people of Kashmir themselves. They decided that Kashmir is an integral part of the Republic of India."

NONALIGNMENT AND GERMAN PROBLEM

NONALIGNMENT, WORLD PEACE AND THE TWO GERMAN STATES by H. D. Malaviya; Socialist Congressman Publications, New Delhi; pp. 230; Price Rs. Five.

Before 1914, the great powers of Europe were divided into two in almost evenly balanced alliances and they weathered half a dozen brink-of-war crises, until there was one too many and the peace collapsed suddenly into four years of wholesale death and desolation. . . . After the collapse of the League of Nations; three raging-tearing-aggressor governments arose, in Italy, Japan and Germany, each intent on forcibly subduing as much of the world as it could. Naturally, too, this trio got together and propelled even the United States into a much worse world war, one in which we learned to kill many cities with many bombs, and finally with one. The second world war growing out of German restlessness and ambitions, wrought at least three times as much havoc in the world as the first and opened wide the way for whole nations to die in any third world war. This is how the author of the famous book "The Cold War and Its Origins", D. F. Fleming narrated the past two world wars and expressed his apprehension about the third world war.

It is not merely German restlessness and ambitions but active collaboration of the US imperialism to militarise Germany and to plunge the world into another war that are causing concern today to the peace-loving people of the world.

The aggressive and revanchist policies pursued by the West German Federal Republic, the release of a number of war criminals sentenced in the Nuremberg trial and reinstatement of all of them in key governmental, military and diplomatic jobs, the rapid regrouping and consolidation of the west German monopoly capital and their hunting for markets in the former colonised countries, etc., are unmistakable signs of a long-term plan of restoring that damned image of Hitlerite Germany.

One has only to take into account the dangerous clamour of the West German rulers demanding readjustment of the West German territory as was drawn in 1937 which in fact will mean the complete swallowing up of the German Democratic Republic and part of the territories of Czechoslovakia and Poland.

This revanchist claim, coup-

led with the feverish efforts to acquire nuclear arms for GFR as an effective partner of the Multilateral Nuclear Force in the NATO, by which the former Nazi generals can lay their hands on the nuclear triggers, should help people to understand the danger in its proper perspective.



BOOK REVIEW

Harsh Deo Malaviya's book, "Nonalignment, World Peace and the two German States", is a timely publication with facts and authoritative statements collected from various relevant sources which will enable the Indian readers to have a clear picture about the growing danger of German militarism. Malaviya has marshalled massive facts about the reactionary and aggressive character of the West German government.

He points out the dangers inherent in the present policies of GFR, their support to the colonial

powers to crush the national liberation movement, their trade relations with the racist government of South Africa, their hatred for Communist countries, their hunt for raw materials in the developing countries etc.

"In West Germany today old-time Nazis and believers in the Hitlerite concept of superiority of the German race have again come to top", he sums up.

As against this, there has emerged another Germany where "the classes and social strata which could benefit from war or the enslavement of other people were deprived of power".

The emergence of the German Democratic Republic as a peace-loving state is a ray of hope. The part of Germany represented by GDR does not pose a threat to world peace.

Dealing elaborately with the question of solution of the German problem, the author extensively quotes documents to support the view that the German problem has to be solved peacefully according to the stipulations of international agreements on Germany like the Potsdam Treaty.

The first part of the book discusses the policy of non-alignment as the essential policy to be pursued by the vast group of newly independent and developing countries of Asia and Africa in the interest of their gigantic task of reconstruction, industrialisation and around development.

The architect of this policy, Jawaharlal Nehru, developed the concept of nonalignment because he was convinced that the developing countries cannot afford the luxury of being partners in cold war. The involvement in military pacts or blocs and the partnership in cold war will only help the colonial powers to enter the former colonies by the backdoor.

The author endeavours to trace the origin of the policy of nonalignment in the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist tradition of the Indian national movement.

Malaviya deserves congratulation for putting together some valuable statements of the Indian national movement and leaders in order to remind our people of the glorious records of our national movement, our support for liberation in other Afro-Asian countries, our hatred for fascism, our sincere desire for world peace.

In fact it is a very difficult task to combine and link up such wide range of subjects like nonalignment, world peace and the two German states—each of which can be the subject matter of a separate book.

Malaviya's attempt to combine all these in one book makes some portions a little less interesting though students of international affairs will find in this book enough material which can be made use of. The book will be a valuable guide for further studies on the subjects in greater details.

-C. B.

Will Indira Explain?

LETTERS

I DO not know what are the directions given by our government regarding the way in which our propaganda about the war now raging on our north-western borders is to be conducted.

I do not claim to have closely examined all that is put out through the AIR on this subject. But on September 8, evening I casually heard the feature called "Karshaka Rangam" in Malayalam, and it really gave me a shock because of the blatant pro-American propaganda that was put out without any respect for truth.

In that feature there was a small bit about Pakistan's aggression in the form of a conversation between three or four villagers. The whole point of the conversation was to establish that the US administration was appreciative of our position quite correctly, was sympathetic to India and hostile to Pakistan.

I need not say what great distortion this is. Apart from the fact that the cancellation of the visit took place several months ago and has really no connection with the present development, how can one hold it up as evidence for USA's displeasure against Ayub and pleasure at India considering the fact that Shastriji's visit was also postponed?

And to say that aid to Pakistan was discontinued also at that time is factually untrue. For what happened was that only consideration of economic aid was postponed whereas it did not affect military aid at all, which was pouring in steadily as abundantly as before.

Next morning I heard the AIR announce that the US administration had decided to discontinue military aid to both countries.

Any Indian worth his salt ought to know that it was the USA and Britain, more especially USA which armed and strengthened and encouraged the military dictatorship in Pakistan and enabled it to pose as a continuing threat to India for the last 18 years which today has finally ended in aggression upon our country.

And this is the kind of stuff put out by our radio. I have written to Information and Broadcasting Minister Indira Gandhi and requested her to look into this matter and clear our propaganda machinery of all pro-imperialist elements.

Trivandrum C. ACHUTHA MENON

Youth For Defence

A GRAVE situation of national emergency has arisen following the Pakistani aggression on Kashmir. It has taken a turn for the worse after China has openly threatened India in connection with the Sikkim and Tibet border.

The All-India Youth Federation and Students Federation have jointly called upon the youth and students of the country to rally behind all efforts of our national defence.

The AIYF and AISF units in various states have taken initiative to organise national defence work and cooperate with such committees already organised for this purpose.

But it is strange that in Delhi, where a citizens' committee for defence has already been formed and special efforts have been made to enlist students and youth support, the AIYF and AISF have not been invited to take part in any of the programmes chalked out by the committee.

This is surprising as a number of other youth and student bodies have been included in this committee and it cannot be deemed as a discrimination which does not help coordinate the efforts for a

defence. In Delhi, the AIYF unit has already held a poster exhibition on the Pakistani attack and exposing the imperialist hand behind this action. The exhibition has drawn a large number of spectators.

In Andhra Pradesh, a very large meeting of youth and students was held last week calling upon them to donate blood, money and generally to mobilise support for defence.

In Calcutta, a joint statement of the University Students Union, the AISF state unit, Democratic Students Organisation and several other youth and student bodies, was issued a few days back which called upon the youth and students to take part in defence work and donate blood.

The statement made a particular appeal to the youth and students to maintain communal harmony in Bengal and to wholeheartedly cooperate with the Communal Harmony Promotion Council.

In Bihar, the students are observing a defence day in the last week of this month; to organise collection of funds, blood etc. A series of meetings have already been held and more are being held in various parts of the state.

New Delhi HIRAN DASGUPTA
SUNIL CHOSRA

Sahay's Misrule

WHEN the Government of India has advised all the state governments to release the food agitators recently arrested and various state governments are responding to this appeal, the Bihar government far from declaring an amnesty to over four thousand people who were arrested in the recent food agitation, is engaged in making fresh arrests every day.

Many of those who were ordered by law courts to be released on bail are now being arrested under the DIR. Those who are being released from detention because their order of detention was bad, are being sent back to jail from the jail gate itself with fresh orders of detention.

For instance, Ramavater Singh MLA, who was arrested u/s 151 Cr. P.C. on August 14, was ordered to be released on bail on October 10. But he was immediately detained under the DIR.

Communist legislators like Sumit Mukherjee, Indradeep Sinha, Suraj Prasad, Basta Soren, Rajkumar Purbey and Tejnarain Jha, were released on September 11 (because the High Court would have ordered their release on the same ground on which Ram Manohar Lohia was freed by the Supreme Court), but all of them were served with fresh detention orders at the jail gate itself.

Similarly, NGO leaders Ram Ekhal Singh and R. K. Sinha were served with fresh detention orders under the DIR at the jail gate.

There could hardly be a greater misuse of the DIR. For the Chief Minister of Bihar, it appears, the Pakistani aggression does not matter; national unity is unnecessary and popular support for national defence is meaningless. Even during the present national crisis he has only one objective: crush the opposition. And yet he wants to pass as a patriot!

RAMANAND TEWARY MLA
President, Bihar SSP
JAGANNATH SANKAR
Acting Secretary,
Bihar CPI
CURUBACHAN SINGH
Revolutionary Socialist
Party

MORE PROOF NOW

W. GERMANS IN VIETNAM WAR

BONN: In spite of continued Bonn denials, irrefutable evidence has come to light of participation of West German mercenaries in the American aggression in Vietnam.

THE newspaper BAUERN RUF had an interview with the mother of a former Bundeswehr serviceman who was given a course of training in the USA and was then sent to South Vietnam with a group of other West German soldiers.

Bonn Cooks A Fairy Tale

Bonn authorities at first put a story that he had emigrated to the US but it was soon pointed out by the DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG that the man is a worker at the "BMW" Automobile Plant in Munich.

In fact, he has been

showing his workmates a photo depicting him and his friends in American uniforms taken in the jungles of South Vietnam.

Shortly afterwards, under the pressure of West German and American intelligence services, the man was forced to deny his engagement in the Vietnam war.

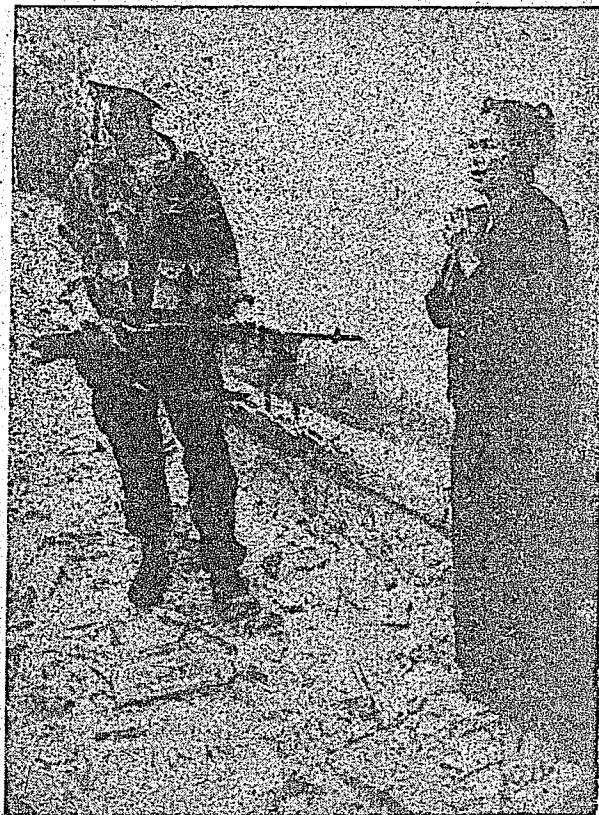
He even asserted that the wound on his right hand was not sustained as a result of a helicopter crash in South Vietnam where he was serving as a paratrooper, as he had earlier told his workmates, but was from a "military accident".

He emphatically said that he was a West German citizen

American Silence

In spite of these denials, and the general news barrier imposed by the government on the West German "Legion Vietnam", a reference to the question of Bonn's participation in the American dirty war slipped into a West German Radio comment. In effect it is not denied by the American command in FRG either.

The DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG reported that an official American source in Munich stated that "it is not excluded that German citizens participate in military operations in Vietnam in US army uniforms".



US Marine holds up a Vietnamese woman at gun point

ITALY: Growing Crisis In Socialist Party

ROME: The Italian Socialist Party which is to have its congress in November is faced with an internal crisis and the prospects of a split.

THE split is expected to come on the question of the future line of the party with regard to its participation in the so-called centre-left cabinet and on Nenni's efforts towards the party's reunification with the Italian Social Democratic Party.

United Struggle

He said that the united struggle of the working masses will lead to the defeat and overthrow of the social-democratic perspective of centre-left programme which in fact is the way to the moral and political liquidation of the Italian Socialist Party.

Unity With Communists

They stress that new perspectives are being created through political initiative and struggle and to reaffirm the validity of a policy of determining reforms of structure, which is indissolubly linked with a real and not fictitious democratic planning.

They also wish to revive the policy of unity with the Communists. These arguments are being put forward directly against Nenni and his right majority. Recently Emanuele Macaluso, member of the Secretariat and of the Political Bureau of the Italian Communist Party, made an ex-

A vigorous resumption of the struggle of the working masses for the reforms, democracy and peace will break through the conservative balance of the centre-left, unite the socialist forces engaged in these struggles and open a gap in the fictitious unity of the Christian Democratic Party.

This will establish a link with those Catholic forces which still desire to struggle for a new society and for a new international set-up based on peaceful co-existence.

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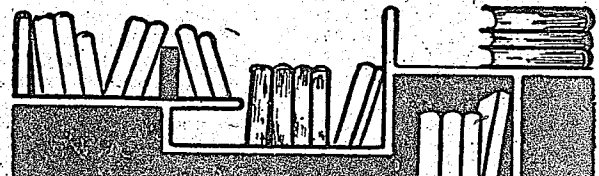
Togliatti Remembered

The first anniversary of the death of the former Secretary-General of the Italian Communist Party, Palmiro Togliatti, (August 21, 1964) was solemnly celebrated throughout Italy.

The personality and the work of the great Communist leader have been remembered in thousands of meetings and commemorations. Messages were received from all the leading figures of the international movement who joined the Italian Communists in this commemoration.

Italian Communist Party paper L'UNITA brought out a special issue on August 22, entirely consecrated to Togliatti, of which over one million copies were sold.

RINASCITA, the political and cultural weekly founded by Togliatti in 1944 and edited by him till his death, also brought out a special issue which contained some of his hitherto unpublished articles.



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AJOY GHOSH

ARTICLES and SPEECHES

This volume contains articles and speeches of Ajoy Ghosh, the former General Secretary of the Communist Party of India who died in January 1962. They concern the major social, economic and political problems of India and they show the way to solving them. The articles and speeches are chronologically arranged and they will be of immense help for an understanding and solution of present-day problems of India.

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CEYLON: UNP-Led Ministry's Anti-People Budget

COLOMBO: Following the narrow defeat of the progressive forces' alliance consisting of Srimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Lanka Sama Samaj Party and the Communist Party of Ceylon at the last general elections in Ceylon in March last, there was an effort to present the new U.N.P. led reactionary coalition government composed of the pro-imperialist United National Party, together with the split-away group of the Lanka Freedom Party, the Tamil Congress, the Jatika Vimukti Perumana and the Mahajan Eksath Perumana, as some kind of a so-called national government.

THE first budget of this "national" government has shown quite clearly the class character and the class aims of this government, that it is a government of the foreign vested interests and the pro-imperialists in Ceylon, that is ready to sell the interests of Ceylon to foreign imperialism and seeks to foster neo-colonialism in Ceylon.

Pieter Keuneman, general secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party and member of Parliament in his speech in Parliament quoted chapter and verse and showed what the budget seeks to do for the foreign and local capitalists on the one hand and for the mass of the Ceylonese people on the other.

Tax Relief For The Rich

The budget gives about 25,000 people tax reliefs to the extent of about Rs. 60 million money which the government earlier received in taxes, back into the pockets of the rich.

What about the government claims that the tax reliefs also benefit the poor as a result of abolition of customs duties? This is a fraud.

In fact, the abolition of customs duties will affect the retail prices so minutely that there being no coin smaller than one cent (naya Paisa) a person will have

to buy at least five lbs of onions, two lbs of parimppo and one lb of dried chillies before he can get one cent's relief on each time.

As this abolition of customs duties on certain food items cannot be passed on to the consumers, this will in fact mean that the food importers get a refund of about Rs. 10 million which they formerly paid as customs duties.

Does the Budget help the lower middle classes then? Those with monthly incomes between Rs. 350 and Rs. 400 will continue to pay the same income tax as before, the relief is only for those in the higher brackets.

In fact, those with incomes of over Rs. 3000 a month (about 500 people) each pay an average of Rs. 2000 less yearly in income tax than they did before.

The greatest beneficiaries, of course, are the foreign capitalists, the concessions given to them being both sweeping and scandalous: they get Rs. 9.7 million from the reduction of the Companies Tax; they no longer have to pay the Foreign Exchange Tax (Rs. 5 million) or the Visa Tax (Rs. three million); in addition they get all other benefits accruing to the Ceylonese capitalists. Altogether the foreign capitalists alone will be paying nearly Rs. 40 million less in taxes—thanks to the new budget.

Already before the budget

the government had agreed to pay the US and British oil companies Rs. 58.7 million (including interest) as compensation for the assets worth Rs. 30 million taken over by the nationalised Ceylon Petroleum Corporation.

This amounts to an additional gift of nearly Rs. 30 million—tax free and in foreign currency—to the three oil companies.

Profits For Foreign Firms

The amount of Rs. 58.7 million to be given to the foreign companies is more than the total amount voted in the budget for development works under the Ministry of Lands, Irrigation and Power (Rs. 55.5 million) as well as the maximum that the government will allow the banks to lend next year to the entire private sector in Ceylon, for industrial development, housing, farming new business and all other ventures.

Up to 1963 the foreign companies were sending out in the order of Rs. 53 mil-

lion out of Ceylon as profits per year.

In 1964 the coalition government under Srimavo Bandaranaike stopped the foreign companies from sending their profits, dividends and interests out of Ceylon. The new budget has now withdrawn this prohibition.

Similarly in 1961 the Sri Lanka Freedom Party government had prohibited Ceylonese from opening new accounts in foreign banks. This too has been withdrawn and the foreign banks can again use the money of Ceylonese depositors to give cheap loans to foreign companies and undermine Ceylonese economy.

The new budget has also announced that state land will be given to foreign and local companies in 1000-acre blocks on 25-year leases, which is one of the worst proposals in the budget as this will hit directly the landless peasantry who until now have been the only people entitled to receive state-owned land for purposes of growing food crops.

These are some of the highlights of this tell-tale budget.

WILSON AGAINST WORKERS

LONDON: The Wilson government has launched an active propaganda campaign to create favourable conditions for implementing the recently announced five-year plan of developing Britain's economy.

Since the main burden of fulfilling the programme falls on the shoulders of the working people, the Labour leadership realises very well the great danger posed to its aims by the strike movement of the working people and their demands for better wages.

Speaking at a party meeting in Liverpool on September 17, Prime Minister Harold Wilson strongly attacked the trade unions. He said that it is necessary to "outlaw" those responsible for unofficial strikes that slow down production and exports.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Edward Heath displayed amusing unanimity with Wilson. In a speech on September 18 he stated that the trade unions should be brought in line with the demands of the times by way of coercive legislation.

Cyrankiewicz—de Gaulle Meet in Paris

STEPS TOWARDS EUROPEAN SECURITY

The visit by Polish Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz to France and his meeting with French President de Gaulle were of considerable importance. The Polish Premier stayed in France from September 9 to 16.

THE visit was significant in many respects. First of all, this was the first official visit of the Polish Premier to France and second, on several issues there transpired close proximity of views between Cyrankiewicz and de Gaulle.

Despite the fact that France has not signed the test-ban treaty and that it desires to have atomic arsenal in Europe (under its own effective control, of course), it is opposed to the formation of the American-inspired multi-lateral nuclear force and to allow West German fingers on the nuclear trigger. This anti-American posture of France is in a way a positive feature.

During the meeting with Cyrankiewicz, President de Gaulle reflected the attitude

of the French government on the German problem also



Premier Cyrankiewicz

which is a standing threat to European security. The Polish

Premier has actually suggested an international conference, including the US, for a settlement of the German problem.

This is precisely the reason why the West German press has been so critical of this visit, and caustic comments were carried in all papers deprecating this meeting and its reported conclusions.

The consolidation of friendship and cooperation between Poland and France undoubtedly help the cause of peace and European security. And this fact has been re-asserted in the joint communique which states that agreement has been reached between the two governments on problems of mutual interest.

Erhard represents the Christian Democratic Party while Brandt represents the Social Democratic Party.

The election has not produced any deep-going changes in the balance of power between the coalition forces. Ever Strauss' Christian Social Union—the party which shares power with the Christian Democratic Party—has more or less maintained its position.

Only the other member of the coalition—the junior partner—the Free Democratic Party, has lost about 17 seats proving that the weak becomes weaker in a power-group politics.

At the same time, the elections showed that no major political party can win single majority in West Germany today, thus necessitating the continuance of a coalition government for quite some time to come. This perhaps is a welcome feature as the most reactionary party—the FDP, cannot have a dominating position in West German state power.

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WEST GERMAN ELECTIONS

THE West German elections are over and as expected Erhard has emerged victorious, defeating his rival, West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt.

In a way, the election was only a show down between two personalities; there were not much political difference, nor any great divergence of views on West Germany's internal problems.

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USSR FIRMLY WITH INDIA IN ITS ACTIONS

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: That the Soviet Union is India's best friend has once more been proved during the present crisis India is facing.

TOP Soviet leaders are understood to have conveyed to India the seriousness and concern with which they view the developing situation in the India-Pakistan conflict, the Chinese ultimatum and the grave consequences for world peace if the situation is allowed to drift.

Hence the Soviet Union voted for the resolution of the Security Council asking both India and Pakistan for a ceasefire. The Soviet Union was against the threat of sanctions by the Security Council.

The Soviet proposal for a summit meeting between India and Pakistan and the offer of its "good offices" are the topics of discussion among diplomats and observers here. Premier Kosygin has said that he could take part in the meeting if both sides so desire. The move is being interpreted as the Soviet reply to the Chinese ultimatum to India.

Political observers here feel that India has much to gain by the Soviet move which was not conditional in any way. Acceptance of Soviet offer has actually given India a tactical advantage.

The Soviet Union appreciated that:

- 1. India did not start the present conflict;
- 2. India accepted the U Thant proposal of unconditional simple ceasefire;
- 3. India faced the raiders and infiltrators and had therefore the full right to have a free hand to deal with them; and
- 4. The Soviet Union was fully aware of the serious complication created by the Chinese threat.

The present move of the Soviet Union is not divorced from its earlier stand on Kashmir; in fact, it actually stems from that stand. There is no reason to think that the Soviet influence

could in any way go against India's interests.

The Soviet Union bears in mind the secular nature of the Indian state and will not have this undermined. It also realises the importance of 60 million Muslims in India.

The Soviet Union is the only big power, which has not displayed any attention to the Pakistani demand for a so-called plebiscite in Kashmir and recognises the state of Jammu and Kashmir to be a part of India.

Hence it is obvious that India could not have a better mediator.

India's acceptance of unconditional ceasefire despite its militarily advantageous position has been very well appreciated here. This is interpreted as showing that India is genuinely interested not to escalate the war.

No Foreign Troops

Meanwhile, the Soviet circles have again pointed out the dangers of the stationing of foreign troops on Indian soil as it would turn out to be an instrument of colonialism. They have, therefore, welcomed statements by Indian representatives against such proposals.

Soviet circles have been somewhat intrigued at Ayub's sudden call to Johnson to intervene in spite of his recent anti-American postures and friendship with China.

China's latest barrage of attacks on the Soviet Union accusing it of encouraging "Indian aggression against Pakistan and instigating India even more than the United States has done" has come as "expected disappointment" here.

The Soviet press has taken note of the Chinese ultimatum against India and the new dimension of peril it added to India-Pakistan conflict. The Soviet Union had hoped that the two disputes—India-China and India-Pakistan—could be kept apart. But China is forcing them together.

IZVESTIA on September 19 regretted that some countries were groundlessly defaming one side (obviously China and its friends). This could not help in a settlement but on the contrary aggravate the problem, it was pointed out.

IZVESTIA objected to China's branding of India as the aggressor. It said: "Before judging, it is necessary to know the real reason which gave birth to the conflict."

It went on to say that "in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, life had taken a normal course" after it became part of India in 1949, on the Indian side of the ceasefire line. But this did not suit the forces of internal and external reaction and they started fanning the conflict in every way.

Attention Diverted

Forces of reaction and devotees of military adventures and military blocs like CENTO and SEATO find a deepening of the India-Pakistan conflict very useful for their ends and American imperialists want to use it to divert attention from their dirty war adventure in Vietnam.

The flames of the India-Pakistan conflict must be extinguished, IZVESTIA urged.

TANZANIA'S BOLD STAND

PRESIDENT Nyerere's bold declaration to quit the Commonwealth in the event of Rhodesia's independence under white minority rule deserves unstinted support.

This is the voice of emerging Africa which rightly refuses to kow-tow the British line of "least annoyance" with regard to Rhodesia.

The white settlers in Rhodesia cannot have the right to rule over the African majority. The government must be elected on the basis of free elections with one man one vote in which every African must have suffrage.

Tanzania had earlier also refused to associate itself with the position taken on Rhodesia by the last Commonwealth conference.

Tanzania's this bold move now should be backed by other Commonwealth countries.

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE (September 21)

HEART FULL OF JOY TODAY

When the health is good, one looks forward travelling, with a heart full of joy to enjoy the beauty of Nature. You too should take Sadhana's wonderful medicine, two teaspoonsful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four teaspoons of Mahadraksharista (six years old), twice a day after meals, to keep you in good health. They remove weariness, increase the appetite and digestive powers and help you get rid of cough and cold.

Ashyasha Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghose, M.A. Ayurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London) M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose, M.B.B.S. (Cal.) Ayurvedcharya.

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SADHANA AUSDHALAYA—DACCA

IOJ APPEAL

THE International Day of Solidarity with Journalists is observed every year on September 8.

This year, the International Organisation of Journalists issued an appeal in connection with the day, in the course of which it said:

"At the present time imperialist aggression is on the rampage mainly in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. In these countries, not only is the freedom of press threatened, but imperialist frenzy is directed against the whole population....

"It is the duty of all honest journalists in the world to show the public the background of these brutal aggressions through every possible journalistic means to mobilise world opinion to put an end to American aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

"The joint efforts of all journalists must help to bring about the withdrawal of the aggressors from South Vietnam, to halt the brutal attacks by US air pirates and their allies on the territory of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic; to force the interventionists to leave the Dominican Republic so that the people themselves can decide their own fate."

The International Organisation of Journalists has called on its members and on all journalists of the world "to continue through the written and the spoken word the struggle to liquidate imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism throughout the world."

It is necessary, says the appeal, "persistently to unmask and condemn brutalities of colonialism and racism in such countries as the Portuguese colonies in Africa and the South African Republic. Colonialism and racism have no place in human society today—that must be our slogan."

PEACE IS INDIA'S BANNER

This land of ours has been true to that spirit which has made the word India a synonym for peace in the minds of millions in all continents.

* To U Thant's call for a cease-fire, India answered YES.

* To the Security Council's call for a cease-fire, again India has answered YES.

WHY? Not because U Thant's assessment of the conflict or the Security Council's corresponded in any way to the reality.

Both failed to name the aggressor. Both failed to say anything about the removal of the Pakistani infiltrators from Kashmir.

Both failed to offer any satisfactory guarantees against the renewed aggression and infiltration by the Ayub dictatorship.

And yet, we accepted the call for a cease-fire, unconditionally.

Was it out of fear that we agreed? Was it because we were in a weak military position?

Nothing of the sort. Everyone knows that the Pakistan army has suffered serious reverses. Everyone knows that militarily the situation is totally favourable to India.

Then why did we accept the cease-fire appeals so readily?

The answer is a simple one, and must be stated clearly and unmistakably:

India has agreed to a cease-fire, because this country is dedicated to PEACE.

India has remained true to its spirit. Yes, we have fought and are ready to continue to fight in defence of our mother land against aggression from any quarter.

But to fight to defend one's country is not to abandon one's adherence to the cause of peace. On the contrary, peace cannot be preserved, if aggression is not beaten back. The pro-imperialist right reactionary forces in this

country have sought to whip up war-hysteria. They have openly urged the reversal of the policy of nonalignment and peace.

But they have failed utterly and miserably to carry the Indian people with them.

THE WEEK

By
Romesh Chandra

Again, our unwavering stand for peace and in support of a ceasefire has already won for India valuable support and solidarity.

A reflection of this is in the text of the Security Council resolution, which despite its serious omissions, has a number of positive features, which India can and shall be able to use in favour of a principled end to hostilities later.

The support and solidarity we have won already by the stand we have taken is worth a hundred times all the planes and tanks supplied by the imperialists to Pakistan.

Adherence to peace strengthens India; it does not weaken it. This is a major lesson which our people have learnt in the midst of this conflict. Like steel, the policy of peace has been tempered in the fire

which has raged on our borders these last few weeks.

Whom Does DIR Defend?

It is necessary to speak up against the continued use of the DIR in certain states against patriotic democrats, whose support to the defence efforts against the Pakistani aggression is known to the entire people of their districts or states.

Elsewhere in this issue is an editorial demanding the release of detenus of the Marxist Communist Party.

Apart from the Marxists, there are a very large number (far more than the entire number of Marxist detenus in the whole country) of political prisoners in Bihar.

Nearly four thousand were thrown into jail during the recent food movement, and despite the assurances given solemnly on the floor of Parliament by the Union Government, they are still not released.

On the other hand, more arrests have taken place, including that of Jagannath Sarkar, acting secretary of the Bihar state council of the CPI and of Chaturanan Misra, a member of the National Council of the CPI.

Whom do the Defence of India Rules defend? These arrests show clearly that at least as far as the Bihar Government is concerned, they are still being misused to arrest its political opponents, in a manner which does grave damage to the defence of this country.

Another scandalous misuse of the DIR has been reported from West Bengal. Certain Muslim Communist leaders have been rounded up on the charge that they are pro-Pakistan and therefore, a security risk. The local police has trumped up falsehoods to use the crisis for its own ends.

Men like Golam Mohiuddin, the trade union leader, and Abdul Halim, who belongs to the well known family of the Communist leader Abdul Razak Khan, known for its anti-Muslim League stand for decades, have been arrested, when everyone who knows them can vouch for their steadfast devotion to the Communist cause and their lifelong opposition to communalism and to the Pakistan dictatorship.

It is also learnt that a warrant has been issued for the arrest of Golam Yazdani, Communist MLA and well known doctor, who had written to the Bengal Chief Minister offering his services in the army Medical corps. These patriots must be released and warrants withdrawn.

Abdul Hamid Answers

THE Ayub dictatorship says it is fighting a jihad for Islam, against the enemy of Islam, India.

The Jan Sangh-RSS combine every day pours out filthy nonsense against the so-called "pro-Pakistan" feelings of Indian Muslims.

Both lies complement each other. They are two faces of one coin.

The answer to both has been given last week by a young man of 32, an Indian Muslim named Abdul Hamid, Company Quarter Master Havildar of the 4 Grenadiers.

Abdul Hamid destroyed two Pakistani Patton tanks (made in USA) and damaged a third. He is the winner of the first and thus far only Param Vir Chakra in this war—the highest decoration for valour in the battlefield.

Abdul Hamid gave the answer to the lies of Ayub and the Hindu communalists not in words or resolutions, not in speeches or pledges—but with his life.

How feeble sound the cacklings of the Pakistan dictator and the Jan Sangh leaders. They are drowned by the proud voice of Havildar Abdul Hamid, shouting his last word—ADVANCE—as he laid down his life for this Motherland of ours... (September 21).

SOVIET CONCERN OVER CHINESE ULTIMATUM

By MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: India can rely on Soviet support, sympathy and understanding, if the Chinese attack its territory, it has been revealed here by reliable Soviet sources.

The nature and character of Soviet response would naturally depend on the action taken by China.

Soviet circles are seriously concerned and perturbed over China's ultimatum to India. While the real intentions of the Chinese are not quite clear, the seriousness of the escalation—if the Chinese really jumped into the fray—is fully realised here.

Highly-placed Soviet sources presume that China's objectives in the given situation are more political and much less military. China's strategy seems to be to avoid a major war itself while attempting to involve others deeper into military conflict.

The extension of the deadline of the Chinese ultimatum, it is interpreted, may either be due to the international impact of India's reasonable reply to the Chinese allegations (which for the whole world now seem baseless), or it can also be the product of the Chinese desire to keep up the war of nerves and provocative tactics against India.

India's Ambassador Kaul met the Soviet government leaders, including Prime Minister Kosygin, several times during the last few days, India's views in connection with the Chinese threat have been conveyed to the Soviet government.

Kaul told correspondents that he informed the Soviet leaders that an attack on Indian territory would be resolutely met and India would fight to the last breath.

PATTON'S PHANTOM

Whispering Gallery

THE other day an AIR commentator gave a rhyming slogan: 'A Patton a day keeps the doctor away! But in the Roosevelt House in New Delhi it was the other way round.

A doctor had to be called in to take care of Chester Bowles who was haunted by the phantom of Patton exhibited a few miles away from his official residence.

One of the captured American monster-gifts was brought to Delhi—incidentally driven by the captured Pakistani tank men—as an exhibit in the Defence Ministry exhibition in the heart of New Delhi.

For seven hours that it was there the Patton was the star attraction of the show. Youngsters came with beer bottles and crates of coca-cola to entertain our jawans who were explaining how simple Indian soldiers captured General Patton of the mighty United States.

Tens of thousands of people jammed in to have a look at the sturdy American gift to our enemy. The whole exhibition was turning into an anti-American demonstration.

And correspondingly Chester Bowles was getting his bowels upset. He made a prompt representation to the Indian Government. And lo and behold! Patton was taken off the exhibition.

An amusing sidelight of the

Indo-Pakistan armed conflict is the embarrassment of the traditional Anglophiles in this country. The other day at a diplomatic party I heard an Indian protocol officer, an ICS chappie at that, telling a bunch of boozers that Lord Mountbatten was every inch a king! He even promised to bring out his recollections about the king in a book form. I am looking forward to reviewing the book.

The point is that it is some of these denationalised creatures that have brought us into this predicament. Who does not know the villainy that Mountbatten played especially in regard to Kashmir?

But these servile characters among the bureaucrats need not fear public exposure because their baffoonery is confined to the Capital's select cocktail circuit. But not so with regard to the public figures who deride what are called the dhobi-wallas.

Take for instance Frank Anthony who always pretends to be another Mark Anthony. He is proud of his correct admixture of blood and like the Pussycat he occasionally goes to London to look at the Queen.

The other day he found himself in the wrong company of some of the anti-British MP's. I am not discussing here what change is coming over among the MP's in their attitude towards the Commonwealth circus.

But that meeting was hilarious. Some of the MP's made it a point to needle Frank An-

thony and make him the Chairman. He hummed and hawed and sat uneasily on the chair.

And then came the business of drafting some kind of a protest memorandum to the British High Commissioner. Who should draft it? Of course, Frank Anthony! Who knows the real King's English more than Frank Anthony?

Imagine his predicament: to write out an anti-British testament. But he had no other go but to accept the assignment because everybody present argued that nobody was better for the job. I wish the Films Division had shot a film of it all and sent it for exhibition in Ewelland. ★

Talking about bureaucrats I am reminded of a handout I happened to pick up from the office of the External Publicity.

Its heading: 'India Best Ideological Friend of United States in East.'

Underneath was the text of a letter in the letter column of the NEW YORK TIMES of September 8. It was written by an American pleading for greater American support for India.

This is circulated to Indian pressmen by the Government of India with a caption of its own make: India Best Ideological Friend of the United States in East!

Messrs bureaucrats, when has India become an ideological friend of the United States?

—INSIDER