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To Havana Where History Is Made

IN all the countries of the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is 'Havana Zindabad' that the democratic movements have made their central slogan today. For in Havana, from January 3 to 10, meets the first conference of the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents. And to Havana the planes roar, carrying delegates and observers from every corner of the world.

With the Cuban revolution, Havana made history. With the rapid advance of the Cuban people led by their beloved Communist Party, fresh history was made. Havana has become already the history-making hub of the entire Latin American continent.

Let the imperialists have their pipe dreams of splits, at Havana. The delegates to Havana go with the determination to prevent and frustrate all efforts at disruption, from whatever quarter they may come.

January 1966 will see history made again in Havana.

The history of the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will record a new and glorious chapter. The mighty battles for national independence and peace will find fresh inspiration in the Havana solidarity meet.

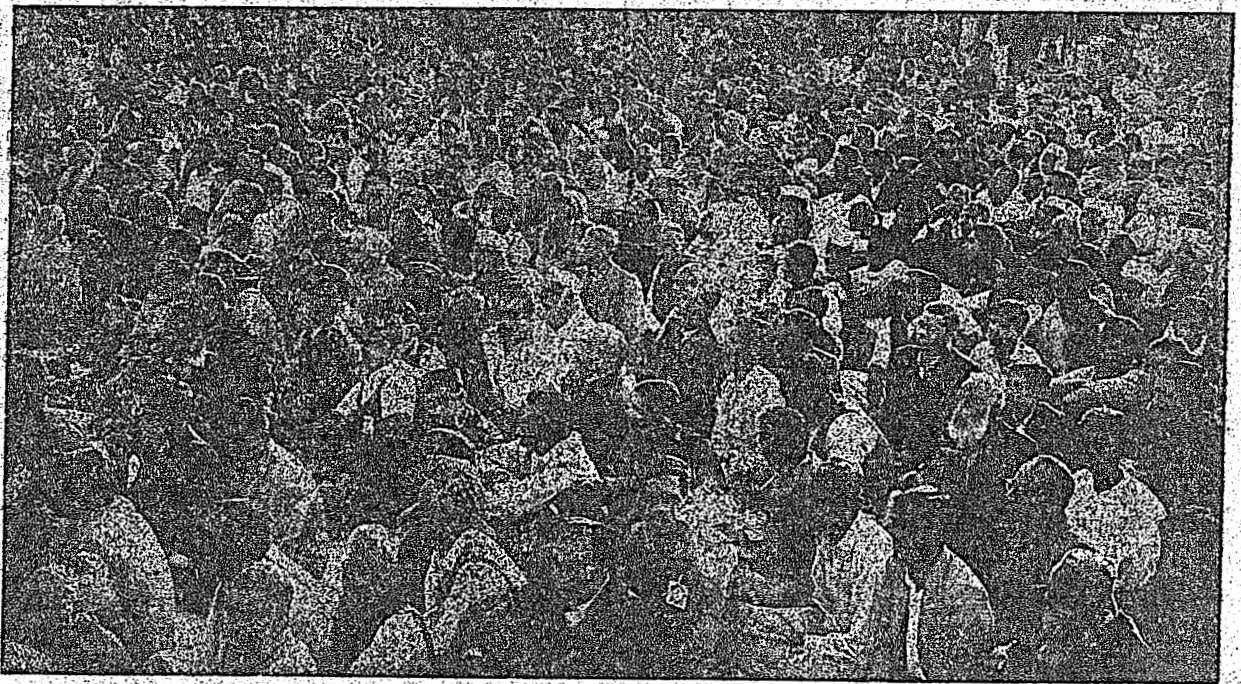
HAVANA ZINDABAD !

Havana Week In India

AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ZINDABAD !

JANUARY 3 to 10 is Havana Week all over India. The Fifth National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity, meeting in Kanpur from December 17 to 19, decided to observe this week on a grand scale, with the holding of meetings and demonstrations in support of all peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for national independence and world peace.

A view of the huge mass rally which rounded off the Afro-Asian Solidarity meet at Kanpur (Photo: Virendra Kumar)



Special solidarity actions will be organised for the people of Vietnam, Zimbabwe, the Dominican Republic, Angola and Mozambique, South Africa, Aden and Palestine.

Trade unions, kisan sabhas, women's organisations, youth and students' bodies will take a leading part in the meetings organised during Havana Week.

The Indian delegation to the Havana Conference, led by Aruna Asaf Ali, will be carrying with it the greetings and good wishes of the entire patriotic and democratic forces in the country.

NEW AGE WISHES ALL ITS READERS A VERY HAPPY NEW YEAR

SALUTE TO SOLIDARITY

editorial

THE EYES OF ALL
ANTI-IMPERIALIST
AND PEACE LOVING
PEOPLES TURN TODAY
TOWARDS HAVANA,
CAPITAL OF CUBA, STORM-CENTRE OF THE
STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

From January 3 to 10, 1966, in this city of revolution, will meet the first Conference of the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The solidarity movement of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has grown from a stream into a mighty ocean, leaping from one continent to another, embracing in its fold the vast majority of mankind.

The Indian people hail the growing power and vitality of the solidarity movement.

All the efforts of the enemies of the solidarity movement have failed to crush it, to prevent it from marching forward from strength to strength.

The Havana Conference marks a historic step in the advance of the anti-imperialist struggle of mankind. It is a vital new milestone in humanity's march to peace and progress. It symbolises the merging together of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity movement with the resurgent Latin American peoples struggle for liberation from the stranglehold of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Indian people are confident that the Havana Conference will lay the basis for the creation of a common movement of solidarity of the peoples of the three continents.

The Indian delegation to the Havana Conference has been mandated by the Fifth National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity, held at Kanpur to throw its entire weight behind this aim and to work tirelessly for the unity and the success of the deliberations.

The Havana Conference must emphasise all the vital issues on which the anti-imperialist and peace loving peoples are united. It must work out concrete plans for intensifying solidarity actions with the peoples of Vietnam, Zimbabwe and the Dominican Republic, Cuba, the Congo, Aden, Angola and Mozambique. South Africa, Palestine, British Guiana, Puerto Rico and all other peoples engaged in day to day battle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Havana Assembly must go on record in support of the world wide efforts for peace and general and complete disarmament. The struggle for national independence and the struggle for peace are indissolubly linked together.

The Kanpur Conference has mandated the Indian delegation to raise sharply at the Conference the dangerous role being played by imperialist military pacts and imperialist bases in the three continents. International action against these pacts and bases, against imperialist interference must be organised on the biggest possible scale.

The Indian delegation at Havana will throw its entire weight behind the efforts to ensure that the attention of the Conference is focussed on the issues which unite the peoples of the three continents, and that all efforts from any quarter, to create divisions and disruption of solidarity are defeated.

The Indian people salute all delegates to the great Havana meet.

THE THREE CONTINENTS CONFERENCE WILL ASSUREDLY GIVE THE TRIUMPHANT CALL FOR THE LAST AND FINAL ASSAULT ON IMPERIALISM AND WAR.

The peoples of the Three Continents shall be victorious. Side by side with them stand the Socialist countries and the democratic peoples of the rest of the world. This great alliance is invincible.

Long live the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America!

Long live the cause of National Independence and Peace!

Glory to the Havana Conference!

Back From US, Ayub's
Basket Not So Empty

FOR days during President Ayub Khan's tour of the USA, reports in Indian big business press lulled Indian public opinion into the belief that Ayub was not making the grade with Washington.

There were headlines to suggest that Ayub had returned empty-handed till Pakistan President himself set the records right by stating in his press conference on returning to Pakistan that he had been assured of military aid-of course in the event of India attacking Pakistan.

It is a measure of the gullibility of Indian big business press or worse that slick American press relations could so easily pull the wool over its eyes.

It is reported that the American press relations agencies prepared three sets of briefs including Kashmir maps and had them distributed to different sets of newsmen—one to Indians, the other to Pakistan and third for US allies. The trick worked.

Indian public opinion has now to be on guard about the reports that will pour in about the generosity of President Johnson in giving food during the current visit of Food Minister Subramaniam and later when Prime Minister Shastri himself goes to Washington.

These press reports will hide a lot more than they will disclose. It is clear from present indications.

Capitalists
Against
Planning

QUICK on the heels of the cement decontrol has come the decontrol of fertilizers. The latter obviously has much wider implications in terms of the general direction of economic policies of the government.

In halting this decision, representatives of big business do not refrain from stressing that investments in particular branches will not be forthcoming unless similar ap-

proach is adopted in their cases.

The rationale behind this has been explicitly spelt out by the spokesmen of the Fertilizer Association which organised this week a national seminar on the industry.

The improvement in technology might cut down the costs of production and the manufacturers under the compulsions of market forces and competition among themselves might pass on some of the advantages thus gained to the consumer.

But this presupposes larger profits for the manufacturers and they will retain control of the product and the market.

It is by no means accidental therefore that immediately after Subramaniam's performance in Lok Sabha during the food debate, President Johnson ordered the shipment of 1.5 million tons of food as well as offered a loan of 50 million dollars for buying US fertilizers provided India would spend an equal amount. Washington was waiting for a public commitment by the Indian Government that the latter would stick to the US prescriptions, whatever people in high positions like Congress President Kamaraj might say. The Americans after all are hard-bolled businessmen and little do they bother about words so long as the actual deal is what they have bargained for.

They hold that the decision on cement decontrol and specially on fertilizer decontrol represent a "big departure" in government thinking and policy about the control of costs, profits, prices in the economy.

It is presumed that it would make for a new policy direction in economic planning itself.

Indian big business is not averse to planning. What it wants is an end to what has any semblance of physical planning.

It has been urging modifications in plan to provide for what it calls "indicative planning" which merely fixes certain priorities and shows direction of profitable investments, without any kind of physical control over investments, profits and prices.

The kind of planning the capitalists want has at last been achieved in the case of fertilizers. It may well be the beginning of the end of planning as we have known so far.

-B. M.

SUBRAMANIAM'S 'NEW' FOOD PLAN
IS FOR MORE DEPENDENCE

UNION Food Minister C. Subramaniam has left for the USA and he will no doubt be welcomed there. After his exposition of the so-called "new strategy" on the food front the Indian Food Minister has already been yoked on the back by THE NEW YORK TIMES for his 'remarkable' leadership.

The Americans who were palpably upset by the national demand for freedom from foreign food and in particular for an end to the dependence on PL 480 are now naturally jubilant because the Shastri government has waved the white flag even without a pretence to fight. Subramaniam has eaten all his past words about self-sufficiency and overcoming dependence on US food. He has swallowed hook, line, and sinker what the self-styled Indian father of PL 480, S. K. Patil has been preaching all these years. Subramaniam in his Lok Sabha speech made fun of ideology and publicly announced his government's readiness to barter away self-respect.

It is by no means accidental therefore that immediately after Subramaniam's performance in Lok Sabha during the food debate, President Johnson ordered the shipment of 1.5 million tons of food as well as offered a loan of 50 million dollars for buying US fertilizers provided India would spend an equal amount. Washington was waiting for a public commitment by the Indian Government that the latter would stick to the US prescriptions, whatever people in high positions like Congress President Kamaraj might say. The Americans after all are hard-bolled businessmen and little do they bother about words so long as the actual deal is what they have bargained for.

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Not that the widespread drought is not a major contributory factor in giving rise to the present critical food situation. But this should not blind

one to the fact that the food problem is the creation of the government's bankrupt policies which, among other things, are thoroughly incapable of meeting natural calamities. In these policies, the PL 480 disastrously occupies a key-place. It is legitimate to ask why after a net increase of nearly nine million tonnes of foodgrains in 1964-65 over the previous year, the crisis should have assumed such alarming proportions. Where did the bumper crops go?

No Wheat
Procured

Up to November 30, the central government bought only rice and wheat and that, too, only in Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Punjab—the total procurement on the central government account being 1,357,000 tonnes. Another 1,178,000 tonnes of rice and 367,000 tonnes of paddy were bought on state government accounts. So, out of the marketable surplus of 15-18 million tonnes of rice and wheat, the procurement by the Centre and the state governments together amounted to only 2,502,000 tonnes. The rest went as usual to hoarders and the profiteers. Subramaniam and his government have yet to explain why they did not at least stop this.

With the nation's food thus allowed to be again grabbed by the food thieves, the failure of rains has had its serious impact on the entire food situation. But Subramaniam has purposely chosen to exaggerate its gravity and the charge on this score against him by eminent economists in the country is certainly not without substance. On May 24, the Food Minister declared in Madras: "I consider the situation on the food front satisfactory and there will not be such crisis as that of the last year." On November 2, he spoke of a shortfall of one million tonnes and at the Congress Working Committee meeting five days later he raised the figure to two million tonnes. Before his final volte face, he put the short fall at 8-9 million tonnes.

The Food Minister apparently needs alarmist picture for two reasons. First, he thinks that by doing so he can cover up his gross failure especially in procurement as also his patronage of the profiteer. Secondly, he needs to justify his miserable PL 480 line by cashing in on people's apprehensions.

Now let us have a look at Subramaniam's 'new strategy' and 'new approach'. The first major aspect of this policy is of course heavier PL 480 imports and greater dependence on foreign food. For the next five years the country is officially booked for this. The second salient feature is made up by his programmes of intensive agricultural development, styled as "package deal". On the procurement side, one does not know where exactly the Food Minister and his government stand.

But one thing however is clear. There is not going to be nationalisation of the wholesale trade in food. Monopoly procurement is rejected. The procurement target is said to be fixed at seven million tonnes but without any convincing proof that the government means even to realise this diminutive target. Moreover, the procurement plans are conceived with utterly bureaucratic outlook and without taking into account the interests of the poorer sections of the peasantry.

About rationing again there is no dependable commitment, even in regard to the urban areas. As for the non-agricultural population in the

rural areas, the plan is silent. As far as the government is concerned, it all depends on pressures and pulls of the vested interests at home and on the pleasure of President Johnson abroad. Rightly did a recent cartoon in a daily paper depict the US President handing out Indian ration cards.

And in this context, one cannot overlook the fact that the general election is barely a year ahead. The monopolists, landlords, hoarders and profiteers constitute the real donors to the ruling party's election fund. Judged by past experience, it is difficult to believe that the Congress government is not going to these patrons. Decontrol of cement and fertilizers would show how the mind of the Congress rulers is working.

No one will complain if it is necessary for a country to go in for food imports when there is a real deficit after a truly national effort to remove

by
BHUPESH GUPTA

the gap between production and need. But Subramaniam's rush for larger PL 480 food deliveries is certainly not a case of this kind. Given the correct approach and policy, India with her vast land and labour resources could have by now achieved self-sufficiency in food. It is PL 480 imports which have proved to be a serious stumbling block to national effort in the direction of food self-sufficiency. In fact, these imports are meant to ensure the continued sluggishness and semi-stagnation in our agriculture.

It goes without saying that the PL 480 has so far made it possible for the Congress party to carry on without effecting radical agrarian reforms and eliminating hoarding and profiteering. Otherwise, the Congress regime would have been confronted with the inescapable alternative of either carrying out radical reforms or facing a far greater loss of its political hold in the country because of a far worse food crisis and the resultant mass discontent. PL 480 provides a sort of safety valve and herein is discernible the class content of the Congress government's dishonourable attachment for the US food deliveries.

Americans
Are Frank

The Americans are quite frank about what they have up their sleeves. Washington Post of October 11 quoted an American official saying: "we are using food to bargain all right... to change Indian priorities and economic development plans". And the Americans have also made it known that India must take a suitable stand on Kashmir and Vietnam to be eligible for the so-called US aid. One of the reasons why the Indian Government hesitates to come out against the US imperialists is the fear of losing American food supplies. Dependence on US food keeps India particularly vulnerable to such pressures and interference.

Even under the PL 480 agreements already gone into, the funds arising out of the rupee payments in the US hands in India would roughly amount to over 1,200 crores, more than about one-third of the Indian currency at the present level of circulation. This in itself should have made the government sit up and do some rethinking. About Rs. 170 crores out of these PL 480 funds will be with US government agencies in India for their own

spending. That the bulk of it is spent on espionage and subversive activities and for building up the US political influence is no longer any secret. Asked about the use of these funds, Morarji Desai, then Union Finance Minister, once pleaded his helplessness.

Moreover a part of the PL 480 funds—Rs. 80 crores—is set apart, under the Cooley Amendment, for loans to private Indian big business whom the Americans want to bolster. It is some times suggested that PL 480 does not involve any foreign exchange. But this is not true. Freight charges which must be paid in dollars come to 20 per cent of the total value of the wheat imports. If 11 million tonnes of wheat, for example come in 1966, the freight charges in foreign exchange will be of the order of Rs. 66 crores. In the recent years the foreign exchange spending for these PL 480 imports under the above and other heads has averaged annually Rs. 110 crores. Under Subramaniam's latest sell-out strategy the amount is going to much higher (because of large quantities of imports) in the most difficult ever foreign exchange situation for our country.

Having found it somewhat easy to procure wheat in the United States, the Congress government has criminally neglected internal procurement. During the eight years between 1957 and 1964 (the PL 480 years) the state government procured 770,000 tonnes or about 90,000 tonnes per year. The Central Government bought just 5000 tonnes.

Imports Equal
To Production !

US wheat imports to India in 1965 (six million tonnes) is easily equal to 50 per cent of the total indigenous output of this crop and twice the amount of total marketable surplus. At 11-12 million tonnes, which Subramaniam is now begging for, the imports will be almost on a par with the country's wheat production at the current level. Is it to be believed that with the US wheat flooding the market (provided wheatling is not displeased), this present regime, with such links as it has with landlords and profiteers, is going to set about internal procurement seriously and in a proper way? PL 480 will thus continue as ever a major drag on domestic procurement. The present leadership of the Government is certainly not made of the stuff that would on its own dare to amon the hoarder and profiteer with the elections knocking at the door. It would rather make a few more concessions to the Americans and get larger food shipments somehow to tide over the difficulty. This is, however, not to say that the government cannot be forced to behave better by the pressure of a powerful, united peoples' movement.

Now let us turn to certain other facts which would show how the imports of the subsidised US foodgrains have worked as a damper on internal production. In 1958-59, the wheat output was 12.6 million tonnes and this figure has not been reached in any of the following years. In 1962-63 and 1963-64 the yield came down to 10.8 million tonnes and 9.9 million tonnes respectively. It will be interesting to note that with every Plan India's dependence on foreign food has gone on increasing.

During the First Five Year Plan the food imports on an average came yearly to 2.42 million tonnes a year; under the Second Plan the figure shot

* ON PAGE 16

PM's PLEA FOR ASIAN UNITY

Addressing the Convocation of the Allahabad University on Saturday, the Prime Minister has made a plea for Asian unity, for Asians to come together for developing their economy and to resolve disputes among themselves.

THE Prime Minister is further reported to have suggested that there could be an organisation for Asian nations on the pattern of the Organisation of African Unity. The press report on Shastri's speech says:

"African countries had their own problems; mainly colonialism. Colonialism, however, he emphasised, could not continue. The African countries had their own organisation for African unity. The Asian countries, he said, should also come together and achieve their real objective of developing their economy, he said.

"Mr. Shastri suggested formation of an organisation on the pattern of African Union to resolve outstanding disputes among Asian countries". (THE HINDU, December 19).

Coming on the eve of his visit to Burma and Tashkent, the latter for talks with President Ayub Khan on Indo-Pak differences, the stress by the Prime Minister on Asian unity and his suggestion for an organisation of Asian nations were both timely and welcome.

In the context of the conflicts between countries that beset the Asian scene today, the implementation of the Prime Minister's proposal is, however, a difficult problem and may itself give rise to new controversies. But that

should not detract from the importance of the proposal.

On the other hand, these many conflicts are themselves an adequate reason, and a challenge for those who want to pursue the path of Asian unity.

The idea of Asian unity is not new; neither is the move for an organisational pattern. New Delhi had played host to an Asian conference a decade ago. The spirit of Asian unity was also uppermost in the Bandung Conference of 1955. But the direction of subsequent events in the region has been to lessen this will for unity, with consequent ill will and strife between neighbours.

The imperialists, who had begun to retreat in the face of powerful national liberation movements and the resurgence of Asian solidarity, sought to take full advantage of this disunity and even tried to create new causes for dispute. Our own experience with Pakistan on Kashmir had shown how the imperialist plot worked.

Then there was the formation of Malaysia. There is also Vietnam, where an Asian people striving for independence have been subjected to brutal aggression by the United States. There are other aspects of imperialist interference like the existence of

military blocks, stationing of foreign troops and bases on Asian soil. The GOI's equivocation in relation to many of these issues has not exactly helped to promote Asian solidarity.

The promotion of Asian unity will therefore have to take into account the strategy of the imperialists to divide Asian opinion and should show determination to defeat it. It is also, however, not the case with those who mouth revolutionary slogans only for disrupting Asian peoples' unity.

The Prime Minister's suggestion for an organisation of Asian nations to develop their economy and resolve disputes presupposes that it will consist of those who act jointly to promote Asian solidarity and will not include puppets who act at the bidding of the imperialists. It cannot be another racket where the western countries can start pulling their strings.

As for differences among the nations which form such a union, there is much to learn from the working of the OAU itself. In any case, Shastri's suggestion for an organisation is "to resolve outstanding disputes among Asian countries".

India's desire to resolve disputes with her neighbours through peaceful negotiations and even by referring such disputes to international arbitration has been made clear on various occasions in the past. Such a desire flows from the policy of peaceful co-

Comment

existence which this country has pursued and advocated in international forums.

It is necessary to strengthen this policy and to promote Asian solidarity so that even our present difficulties with such neighbours as Pakistan and China are ultimately overcome by the influence of this Asian unity and the good offices of other friendly Asian countries.

INDO-BURMESE RELATIONS

CORDIAL relations have existed between India and Burma over a long period and even though this relationship did not produce a very close attachment on all issues, it did not however deteriorate under outside pressures. In short it has been a stable, though not ardent friendship.

The visit of Prime Minister Shastri this week to Rangoon on the invitation of Gen. Ne Win should help to strengthen these friendly ties between two non-aligned Asian neighbours and make their cooperation more fruitful to each other and to the region as a whole. It should also help to end the paradox of public ignorance in this country about the many interesting developments in a neighbouring country like Burma.

The paradox is to be seen in the fact that India and Burma have been so close and yet so remote in the exchange of ideas and information about each other. The Indian press is largely to be blamed for this ignorance.

It is strange how even the biggest newspapers in this country have tended to ignore the developments in Burma. While paying lot of attention to Malaysia or Singapore, they have not bothered to post their correspondents in Rangoon.

At the official level, the classic lethargy of our foreign office and the ICS mentality which operates in the assessment of India's interests outside, had helped to produce a detachment from our neighbours with consequent neglect of relations, unless of course some of these neighbours tended to become difficult and troublesome.

Even so, there have been problems which demanded Indo-Burmese cooperation. Apart from the problem of Indian settlers in Burma, there has been the problem of Naga hostilities who escape into East Pakistan through Burmese territory.

On both these there now exists better understanding and cooperation between the governments in New Delhi and Rangoon. The Burmese Government has helped to check the progress of Naga hostilities through Burmese territory. Again, Burmese interest in a peaceful solution of Sino-Indian dispute had been manifest in the Burmese participation in the Colombo Conference which initiated proposals in 1962 for resolving the dispute. Jawaharlal Nehru's government had then accepted those proposals without any reservation.

On all these, as well as on the possibility of economic cooperation between the two countries—a possibility which is substantial according to current thinking in the two capitals—the talks between Shastri and Ne Win should prove very useful and make valuable contribution to further closer relations and understanding.

In the sphere of trade particularly, the availability of Burmese rice for imports poses an alternative for India to the obnoxious PL 480 supplies from America. The GOI should make the fullest use of this alternative.

But above all, the current visit of Lal Bahadur Shastri to Rangoon would become an even greater success if it is made a prelude to the establishment of closer communications between the two countries.

SENSE AFTER SADACHAR

THE way to hell is paved with good intentions, they say. The Union Home Minister's intentions, one must concede, must have been good or even better when he started on his drive to uproot corruption.

That was a couple of years back and his promise then to resign from office if he failed was hailed as a bold statement. Altogether Nandaji had the show all to himself when he started the big hunt.

Now if somebody wants to give him hell because he has failed, the Home Minister has a ready answer for all such fastidious minds who look for flawless performance.

At a Congress workers' meeting in Ahmedabad on December 18 he was reminded about his pledge, says a report of the Express News Service.

"Replying to this, Mr. Nanda said his assurance related to the badly needed reform in the administration. He could not have conceivably taken upon himself to reform all and sundry within two years".

How true! The mistake, you see, was in the understanding of the people about what Nandaji had meant when he started his sadachar. How could any minister in the Congress Government take upon himself the task of eradicating corruption which, as any child in this country knows, has wide ramifications?

When Madame Pandit returned from her conquest of French hearts and later of West German hearts, most of her admirers did agree that now she should settle down seriously to the business of living in the hut which she had promised the humble peasants of her constituency.

So, it was no surprise when one day newspaper headlines flashed the story of Congress President Kamaraj having laid the foundation stone of the five-roomed hut of Madame Pandit. Did the report say "five-roomed hut"? Yes, and that raised my idle curiosity as to what kind of a hut it was.

Discreet enquiries around 7, Jantar Mantar Road brought forth some revealing information about the hut in which Madame Pandit is going to live hereafter and render her services to humanity.

Asipur is the name of the village chosen by the Madame. There is a two-mile trek from

DECONTROL DEMENTIA

IN typical cowardly fashion the government waited till Parliament had prorogued to announce yet another measure of dismantling of the public sector. After cement comes the turn of fertilisers to be decontrolled.

As the cement decontrol controversy inside the Congress Parliamentary Party revealed, these decontrol measures are decided upon by a small coterie who do not even bother to consult their own colleagues.

It is essential to realise that these decontrol measures are not just some ordinary changes in administrative procedures. They are nothing less than the abandoning of one of the major elements of planning that still exists in India as well as the implementation of the anti-public sector philosophy of a good section of the Congress leadership.

The ECONOMIC TIMES (December 18) has rightly noted that the fertiliser decontrol measure is a "significant departure" and "also in accordance with the World Bank's repeated suggestions".

Less planning, curtailment of the public sector and more

private capital, both foreign and Indian—this is what the US imperialists demand, and the Government of India is giving way before this pressure.

According to the decision, all fertiliser plants licensed up to March 31, 1967 will have a seven-year holiday from "controls on prices, distribution and allied matters". Government will, however, have an option to buy 30 per cent of the production at "negotiated price".

Petroleum and Chemicals Minister Humayun Kabir claims that by these incentives the March 1966 indigenous nitrogenous fertiliser production of close on 5.9 lakh tons will rise to 24 lakh tons by the end of Fourth Plan, with a production capacity of 30 lakh tons.

He states that eight lakh tons of the capacity will be in the private sector. As at present, production and imports together give the government control over 75 per cent of supplies.

But he goes on to add that while the same concession would be extended to the existing private sector production unit (Coormandel Fertilisers), the existing units in the public sector would have to be prepared to run on loss.

Of course, all help will be given by the government to

very keen on accepting these terms earlier too.

With public sector units being forced to run at a loss, in a short time the private sector will gain an edge over it and the clamour will arise for their being handed over to big business for "efficient management".

Nor will it stop with fertilisers. T. N. Singh announced in Bangalore (FINANCIAL EXPRESS, December 14) that "government would consider decontrolling of cotton textiles if the industry came forward to adopt a system of voluntary control".

On December 17, Lalchand Hirachand of Premier Automobiles "expressed the hope that government will take an early decision on measures to decontrol automobile prices now that decontrol of cement is being introduced" (ECONOMIC TIMES, December 18).

And the list gets longer with each passing day. Once the government begins the process of surrender, the imperialists want to pounce in for the kill. Haldia port is a case in point.

This Rs. 43-crores project needs Rs. 15 crores of foreign exchange as a loan from the World Bank. A lot of time has already been wasted. And now the World Bank has put forward its terms.

Haldia is to be separated from Calcutta (the whole scheme had been prepared on the basis that it would form a subsidiary of Calcutta). The execution of the project should be under the direct supervision of World Bank personnel. Rating policy, appointment of

consultants and accounting procedure are all to be determined by them.

We seem to be back in the days when the imperialists wanted several "extra-territorial foreign concessions" on the then nominally sovereign territory of China. If this is not neo-colonialism, then what is?

Raj Bahadur has termed these conditions "extraordinary" and "unacceptable" but hastened to add that the government "have not said that we would not consider the suggestions". Even a sense of shame seems to be lacking, or is it a prelude to acceptance?

The Koyall petrochemical complex agreement with the US monopolists is another example. This Rs. 68-crores project has a foreign exchange component of Rs. 30 crores which will be met entirely by the collaborators in the shape of both equity and loan capital.

The complex will consist of a parent company and three other companies. In the naphtha plant and aromatic plant, the government will have 51 per cent participation. But in the chlorinated hydrocarbon plant, the government will have only 30 per cent participation while the polythene plant will be entirely owned by Union Carbide, USA.

Finally, until the loans have been repaid the US companies will have complete managerial control over all units, even those in which the public sector will have a majority share!

—Mohit Sen

Economic notes

assist new units to achieve their rated capacity as soon as possible. And so he exhorts foreign collaborators to take full advantage of the new situation.

It is evident that on all significant points the government has now surrendered to the very demands of Bechtels which it was resisting previously. Some sections of the government like Kabir were

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

FIVE-ROOM HUT

EVER since the Congress Parliamentary Board put her up to contest the elections to the Lok Sabha from the parliamentary constituency represented by her late brother, Madame Vijayalakshmi Pandit has been talking about living in a hut.

When she first talked about it, those in the know felt that it would be a change from the globe-trotting and conquering which she has been doing for years now. Had not Vera Brittain certified to the capacity of the lady for conquering continents?

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So, it was no surprise when one day newspaper headlines flashed the story of Congress President Kamaraj having laid the foundation stone of the five-roomed hut of Madame Pandit. Did the report say "five-roomed hut"? Yes, and that raised my idle curiosity as to what kind of a hut it was.

Discreet enquiries around 7, Jantar Mantar Road brought forth some revealing information about the hut in which Madame Pandit is going to live hereafter and render her services to humanity.

Asipur is the name of the village chosen by the Madame. There is a two-mile trek from

the Allahabad-Banaras Road to reach Asipur. A 'kutchra' road is there, but it is too bumpy. So, plans have been taken in hand to build a proper road.

The "hut" itself is situated in a three-acre plot of land. Mango and guava trees dot the land. The plot is reported to have been gifted to the Madame by one Jagadamma Prasad.

The fact that Kamaraj laid the foundation stone only last week does not mean that work on the hut had not been taken up earlier. Actually, the construction of the hut is half finished. The walls, done in kila bricks, have risen shoulder-high. The foundation stone was laid now because only now somebody with stature could be had to perform the ceremony.

As the construction of the "hut" is nearing completion, plans have also been made to get water supply, electric power and a telephone connection. How can service to the people be undertaken without a phone, and how to live without supply of pure water and electricity even if it is in a village?

One more fact my informant slipped in: Madame Pandit's "hut" is the biggest house in a five hundred square mile area around Asipur village; more, it is the only pucca building in the whole area.

I asked: how much would this five-roomed hut in Asipur village of Uttar Pradesh cost? If it is in Delhi, it would cost around one and a half lakh rupees or so just for the building.

Came the reply: the modest estimate is Rs. 50 thousand but it might go up to Rs. 60 thousand considering that it has to be furnished in the latest style. This figure is exclusive of the land price and such other

appurtenances as the improvement of the road, bringing water, electricity and phone to the village.

I felt that there was no need for more information on the "hut" which the Madame has chosen. It was as good a hut as "socialism" which Lal Bahadur Shastri is preaching. While one builds capitalism in the name of socialism, the other builds a mansion in the name of a hut.

Both are so far away from the people, in the midst of the luxuries of the rich, the landlords, the capitalists. Neither have even a distant notion on how the masses in the country live or the abject poverty they face.

Nobody, least of all myself, would grudge Madame Pandit having a five-room house; my hope is that all should have enough rooms to live in. But the Madame, one hopes, would at least not talk about living in "huts" or going to common people, because then it becomes pure hypocrisy.

As a tailpiece, I would like to quote a news item which appeared in the papers on the same day when the news about Kamaraj laying the foundation stone of Madame Vijayalakshmi Pandit's "hut":

"Vir Bahadur, an employee of the Indian Airlines Corporation, died on Wednesday soon after his hut in a shanty township near INA Colony was demolished by a squad of the Delhi Corporation.

"Vir Bahadur's wife said that he had died of shock." (THE TIMES OF INDIA, December 16)

—P. V. Parakal

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Mangalore Cashew Workers' Strike Enters Tenth Week

Women Fall Victims Of Police Lathicharge

MANGALORE: Three thousand workers of three cashew factories in Mangalore are on strike for more than ten weeks. The strike which commenced on October 9 is for payment of DA of 50 paise awarded by a tribunal and minimum bonus of Rs. 40 for the year 1964 as per section 10 of Bonus Act.

The workers had served a strike notice earlier, but the strike scheduled to take place on September 13 was postponed due to Pak aggression against India. The postponement was utilised by the employers to deny the demands of the workers. The Mysore government's labour department has miserably failed to solve the dispute because of its inaction.

On the other hand, the "custodians of law and order" are very active in their recognised role of strike-breakers. Section 144 has been promulgated around factory area since six weeks before and police have so far arrested more than 450 workers. The workers on strike were lathicharged by police several times. A worker by name K. Padmavathi sustained serious injuries from lathicharge (see picture). Despite the virtual reign of terror let loose by the police to help the managements, the workers have stood their ground and the strike has continued unitedly and successfully. The Cashewnut

Workers' Union (AITUC) which is leading the strike sought the cooperation of all other unions.

Since December 1 women workers have been on hungerstrike before the houses of the employers in batches of five for five continuous days, demanding withdrawal of Section 144, withdrawal of police cases against workers and an early settlement of their demands.

The strike has evoked much public sympathy and wide support for the workers' demands. People have been contributing cash and grains to help run the cruel centres being maintained for the relief of the striking workers.

The INTUC, as usual, tried to disrupt the strike. But their own followers in one factory refused to heed their advice, which was not to go on strike. INTUC attempts to attract blacklegs also were foiled.

Attempt was then made to use the Church and Catholic priests to break the strike. Blacklegs were collected in the church compound and mar-



Injured Padmavathi

ched to the factory under strong police protection.

But a greater shame is on the so-called "left Communists". They have a few members in one of the factories. Though in the beginning they mouthed revolutionary slogans, they have now betrayed the strike and sent these few workers to break the strike along with the priests and the INTUC. The majority of workers and the public have viewed with contempt and ridicule these "Marxist" aberrations. Meanwhile, the employers are getting desperate, sending their failure to break the morale of the workers. The son of a proprietor drove his car against the strikers and injured two of them. He was arrested and his car seized by the police. Later he was released on bail and a case registered.

Workers' leaders have made representations to the government and also to the Speaker of the Mysore Legislature to intervene and end the strike. They have appealed to the trade unions and the public for support and financial help to the striking workers.



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ADMARK

W. BENGAL GOVT ENCROACHES ON UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

From AJAY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: It is now the turn of West Bengal government to encroach on the autonomy of universities. And for that purpose it has introduced a Calcutta University Bill.

The bill seeks to replace the 1951 Calcutta University Act, which was itself a retrograde legislation because it denied academic independence and provided balancing provisions which made university administration cumbersome and bureaucratic.

Its replacement was being demanded to remove those difficulties, but the new bill further strengthens those undemocratic features.

This bill not only retains the Governor as the Chancellor against the recommendations of the Kothari Commission, but introduces posts of pro-vice chancellors, including one for academic affairs, over and above existing Vice Chancellor and host of other top ranking officials.

The government will further, in the name of Chancellor nominate 20 members to the senate and two to the syndicate. The Government has retained right to nominate further persons as representatives of the Director of Public Instructions and President of Board of Secondary Education.

In this way the government wants to tighten its control over the university administration including academic affairs.

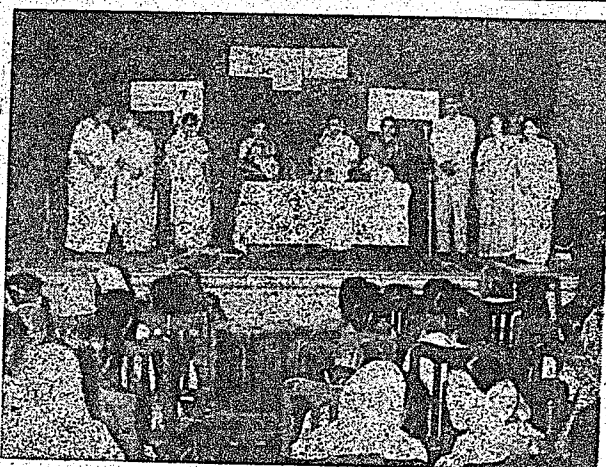
The representation of college and university teachers has been kept very low, even less than those suggested by B. Malik, the present Vice-Chancellor.

The College and University Teachers' Association, students organisations and the entire opposition in the legislature have opposed bill, but the government is persisting in passing this bill as it is.

Constructive suggestions have been totally ignored. The genesis of the present bill is the 'recommendations' made by Ford Foundation experts, who were called in 1959 by Subodh Mitra, the then Vice-Chancellor, at the behest of late Bidhan Chandra Roy, the then Chief Minister.

The Ford Foundation experts produced a draft bill and dangled the carrot of 'substantial aid' if the university is run more or less on the managerial basis suggested in their bill.

The present bill is the West Bengal government's version of the Ford Foundation bill, and they are mulishly pursuing the passage of the bill to please the mighty lords of the dollar land.



Poona Mayor congratulates the working women

Working Women To Observe Demands Day In Maharashtra

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: Working women in Maharashtra will observe a Demands Day on January 4. The main demand is enforcement of statutory rationing throughout the state.

This is the decision taken at the Maharashtra Working Women's Convention held in Poona on December 11 and 12. About 150 representatives from rural and urban areas of the state attended the convention.

Vimalabai Bagal presided over the convention, which discussed the major problems confronting working women employed in industries, engaged in the fields and those who belong to families of working people. Issues discussed were employment facilities, conditions of work, discrimination aga-

inst women workers, rising prices, health and educational problems, housing facilities, high prices.

About 40 delegates participated in the discussion. The main conclusion of the convention was that the fight for better living and working conditions has to be fought unitedly by all the women workers, whether in factories or in the fields.

The convention demanded: ★ Immediate enforcement of statutory rationing throughout the state.

★ Twenty per cent reservation in employment for women in the textile industry.

★ Maternity benefits and creche facilities for women working in the bidi industry.

★ Family quarters for women engaged in the nursing profession.

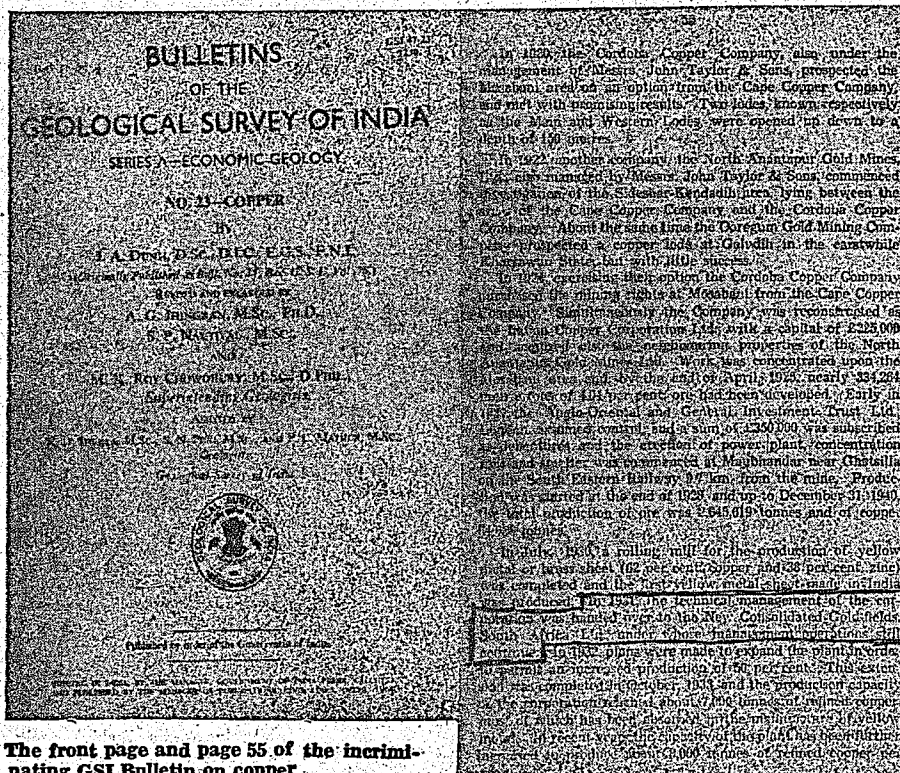
★ Increased employment and training facilities for women, especially young girls.

The convention heard with great enthusiasm the great fight waged by the Bombay pharmaceutical women workers against the "anti-marriage clause" and the final victory through the Supreme Court verdict against the clause.

The Mayor of Poona congratulated the working girls for their big victory.

The fight was led by the Working Women's Committee, formed in 1963. The committee had organised and led a 25 thousand strong working women's march to the Maharashtra Assembly earlier this year.

The convention has elected a 35-member Maharashtra State Council for Working Women. Vimalabai Bagal is its president and Roza Deshpande and Malini Tulpule secretaries.



The front page and page 55 of the incriminating GSI Bulletin on copper

ASSAM: PRICES REMAIN HIGH DESPITE HARVEST

From SUREN BHATTA

GAUHATI: The harvest has not brought down prices of foodgrains in the state. In parts of Assam scarcity has reached alarming proportions so that prices have been pushed up abnormally.

The price of paddy has risen to Rs. 40 to 45 per maund in Illashipara area of Goalpara district. Reports from Manicchar area of Goalpara and from Baghmara Bazar of Garo hills show that rice was selling at Rs. 50 to 60 per maund in the last week of November.

Simultaneously with the rise in price of grains, the prices of almost all other essential articles have also gone up. Disturbing reports of scarcity and high prices have been pouring in from different parts. The worst affected

time when they are already deeply in distress due to high prices, scarcity etc., and are crying for relief.

It accused the government of taking advantage of the people's genuine concern for defence and development of self-reliance to put more and more burdens on them.

The Party at the same time drew attention to alternate sources to augment the state's revenue. These include securing greater share for the state from the central taxes and customs duties for Assam's export produces, increased rate of crude oil royalties, more central allocations with due consideration for Assam's special position, unearthing of black money, more land revenue for tea plantations, nationalisation of British-owned tea, oil, coal, timber and other industries.

While consumers have to pay more and more for rice even in this harvest season, the peasants are not the ones who benefit from the situation. They are cheated outright because the price fixed for procurement is far below even the price of rice fixed by government.

The government has on principle and as a rule given the sole authority of paddy procurement to the Apex Marketing Society. But its organisation being inadequate for the job, private traders have taken advantage to make purchases as agents of the Society or otherwise.

Besides, the procurement price fixed for the peasant-producer is less than even Rs. 12 per maund for better quality paddy, whereas the selling price of rice in the fair price shops is 90 to 95 paise a kilogram.

Meanwhile the mid-term tax proposals of the state government have come, dealing another hard blow to the common people. The proposals placed by the state Finance Minister before the Assembly on December 9 envisage an additional revenue of Rs. 140 crores, by enhancing existing levies and imposing new ones on the people.

Wide protest is voiced against this move and the press has been critical of the government's tax proposals. The Assam state council of the Communist Party of India has vehemently protested against this imposition of additional burdens on the people at a

HERE ARE PAGES FROM THE MISSING COPPER BULLETIN!

GEOLOGICAL Survey of India Bulletins are normally so little sought after that they lie rotting on the shelves. But to get the notorious "South Africa copper issue" was terribly tough.

NEW AGE has however defeated Sanjiva Reddy's game to destroy the incriminating evidence and has photostated the relevant pages (see **NEW AGE** of December 19) of the GSI Bulletin.

Now the Union Minister for Steel and Heavy Industries must apologise to Parliament and the public for having made misleading statements about the real state of affairs regarding the Indian Copper Corporation.

Investigations reveal that some of the topnotchers in this key organisation are quite incompetent for their jobs. Whenever the director general's post is about to fall vacant, the various claimants rush to produce "research papers".

Very often these are simple

plagiarisations of earlier works.

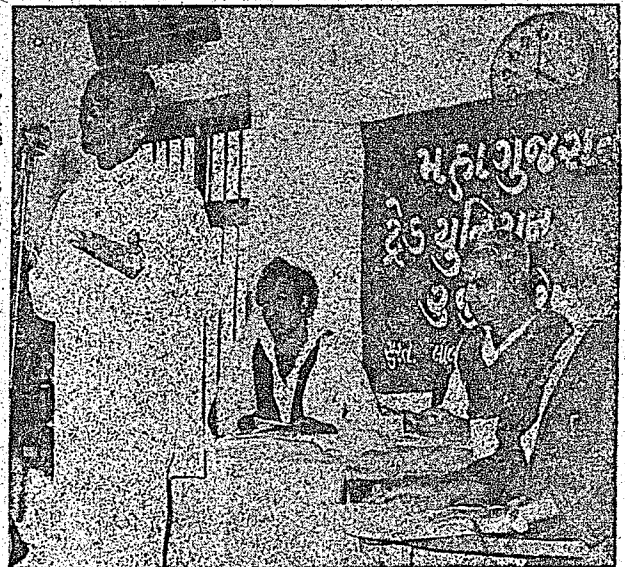
There is the notorious case of the Nellore Mica Belt Survey. The report was published in the Gazette Extraordinary of the Madras Government. It was however reprinted in 1957 without even the statistics updated.

The motive was to enable one worthy "geologist" to present it as his own contribution and reach the top of the ladder in the Geological Survey of India outfit.

Is the present Bulletin another case of this type? Let Sanjiva Reddy come out with the fact and an explanation for his thoroughly misleading statement in Parliament.

If the Geological Survey of India bigwigs have made such a horrible "mistake" in one of their prestige publications, they have to be taken to task and the public told about it.

Parliament and the public have certainly the right to know the real facts.



G. M. Khan inaugurates the Gujarat TUC session. Seated, from left to right: Subodh Mehta, Balchandra Trivedi and Namdev Shanmare

Gujarat TUC To Observe Fast Before Secretariat

From SUBODH MEHTA

AHMEDABAD: December 29 will be observed as 'solidarity day' by workers in Gujarat to express solidarity with the strike of textile workers in Maharashtra called for that day.

This decision was taken at the third conference of the Maha-Gujarat Trade Union Congress (AITUC) held in Surat on December 12.

The conference also decided to observe a collective fast on January 3 before Gujarat Government Secretariat in defence of working class right. Eleven leaders were chosen to go on fast.

The Ahmedabad Sangram Samiti is also to hold a rally

on December 29 in support of the action of Maharashtra workers.

The TU conference was a success beyond expectations. It was attended by 175 delegates from 16 centres in Gujarat representing 55 trade unions with a membership of more than 20,400.

The conference was inaugurated by G. M. Khan and presided over by Shantilal Vasa. The main report before the conference was placed by Balchandra Trivedi.

Among the resolutions adopted were nationalisation of oil and oil distribution, state trading in food and release of trade union

and political leaders detained under DIR. Resolutions were also adopted on the demands of workers in different industries.

The conference welcomed the Tashkent talks between Prime Minister Shastri and Ayub Khan and condemned the splitting role of the Chinese at WFTU.

It expressed solidarity with the people of Vietnam and called upon all units to observe December 20 as Vietnam Day in response to the call of the WFTU.

The conference elected a new executive of 19 with Shantilal Vasa president, Hanumansingh, Tulsidas Poriya, Amrit Desai, G. M. Khan, vice-presidents and Balchandra Trivedi general secretary.

Marxist CP's Journal Calls Tashkent Talks An Imperialist Plot!

The Marxist Communist Party appears to be on the same side as M. S. Golwalkar and the Jan Sangh-RSS gangs in its opposition to the Tashkent talks. The Party's Acting General Secretary had just put the whole question rather mildly. He had accused the Government of India of an anti-Communist bias for agreeing to negotiate with Pakistan, a non-socialist country, while not at the same time sitting down to negotiate with socialist China.

But Namboodiripad says the Marxists are "neutral" in regard to the differences in the international Communist movement. How "neutral" that they trot out all the anti-Soviet calumnies of the Chinese leadership!

THIS fantastic reasoning was obviously intended to start the ball rolling in an anti-Tashkent direction.

Had this not been his purpose, Namboodiripad could have welcomed Tashkent, and at the same time called for similar peaceful negotiations with China; but this he did only much later, when he called for the acceptance of JAR good offices for India-China negotiations.

Desh Hitaishi talks of "this atmosphere of a secret plot". It even says that the Government of India by agreeing to talk with Pakistan and not with China, is "putting a smile on the face of the United States, Asia's Enemy No. 1".

The same issue of Desh Hitaishi carries a birthday editorial on the front page dedicated to Stalin, which begins with a thundering denunciation of the "revisionist agents of imperialism".

The Communist Party of India and all those genuinely interested in peace would welcome the good offices of friendly countries for an India-China settlement and have repeatedly said so.

But the Marxist Communists seek to pose the question about negotiations with China at this time in order to attack the Tashkent meeting and cast doubts on the sincerity of the Soviet hosts, who took the initiative to call the summit.

The latest issue of the Marxist Party's organ in Bengal Desh Hitaishi (dated December 17) puts the anti-Tashkent line across without any of the sugar coating used by EMS, and even by People's Democracy, the English organ.

Desh Hitaishi accuses the Government of India of going to Tashkent "in order to implement the old plot of US imperialism of setting up an Indo-Pak alliance against socialist China".

The paper accuses Chagla and K. P. S. Menon of having "openly and enthusiastically spoken about this conspiracy". It adds suggestively that they "have expressed the hope of receiving Soviet cooperation in this matter".

Black Bill Is Back

From AJAY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: The Black Bill has come back in Bengal. It is called the Meetings and Processions Control Bill. It seeks to give the police power to grant licences to hold processions and meetings.

Already the police control the holding of meetings by virtue of the power to issue permits for use of loudspeakers. If this bill is passed, their power will become absolute, in that they can grant or deny to grant licences at their sweet will and pleasure.

The bill gives the police the right to seek information not only on the time and place of meetings and processions but also the names of speakers, slogans, purpose and such other details.

This Black Bill had been introduced by B. C. Roy in 1960 but had to be withdrawn in the face of a storm of protests. Now, P. C. Sen is bringing it forward, taking advantage of the emergency.

Protest is already taking shape against this undemocratic legislation. A mammoth demonstration was held to demand its withdrawal, at the call of the West Bengal branch of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti.

Who Inspired So-called Karan Singh Formula?

THE so-called Karan Singh formula is NOT dead. There are still plenty of peddlars for variants of

this formula, and there are lobbies hard at work suggesting that these variants be tried at Tashkent.

What is the Karan Singh formula? The core of this proposal is that the present state of Jammu and Kashmir be divided, with the Jammu part joining up with Himachal Pradesh and the Kashmiri-speaking valley becoming a separate "autonomous" state.

FAVOURITE ARGUMENT

Arguments in favour include that of principle: linguistic states are accepted, and why should there not be one for the Kashmiris? It is further argued by the champions of the formula that it would result in "solving" the entire Kashmir problem.

Our Moscow correspondent has cabled that political circles in the Soviet capital attribute the formula to British imperialist inspiration. Here in New Delhi, there are several who

CHELLAPALLI RAJA OWES CANE FARMERS 22 LAKHS

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: It is seldom that one bears of Rajas being debtors to poor, ordinary people. But a Raja in Andhra, and a Congress Minister for that matter, has created history even in this.

The gentleman concerned is the Raja of Chellapalli. He has become indebted to sugarcane cultivators in the state to the tune of Rs. 22 lakhs.

Chellapalli Sugars is one of the biggest sugar factories in Andhra. It is owned by the Chellapalli Raja.

The new cane season began in October and yet the management has not cared to clear off last year's arrears to the cane cultivators.

The cultivators have been put to immense difficulties as a result of the delay in payment. They have to meet their expenses of cultivation like buying fertilisers.

ASSEMBLY DEBATE

Communist members raised the issue of nonpayment of cane price arrears by the Chellapalli Sugars in the Andhra Assembly.

Intriguingly, Chief Minister Brahma Reddy rushed to the rescue of his colleague. He told the Assembly, without a trace of shame, that the arrears were not being paid because of the expansion programme of the factory.

As if the cane cultivators are to pay for the factory's expansion programme! If the Raja borrows from normal sources, he would have to pay handsome interest on the

amount. The idea seems to be to have it done solely at the expense of the cultivators.

The Chief Minister, however, did not have an easy time in the Assembly. The Communist members asked: Is it not a fact that the government issued stay orders on normal process of law to save the Raja?

Was not the collector restrained from proceeding against the management of the Chellapalli Sugars under the Recovery of Land Revenue Act as ordered by the Commissioner for Cane?

REDDY'S REPLY

Brahmananda Reddy's reply was that all that the government had done was to extend the time limit for payment of arrears.

The Communist members persisted: why don't the government take over this factory?

This time it was Agriculture Minister Subba Reddy's turn to come to the rescue of his zamindar colleague. He said that nobody would demand such a step if the functioning of government concerns was known.

Subba Reddy was correct, though it was impudent on his part to have bragged about the inefficient and autocratic manner in which government concerns are being run.

However, it was no answer to the question why the government should favour the zamindar-capitalist against the poor sugarcane cultivators of Andhra.

The first Solidarity Conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is scheduled to be held in Havana, the capital of revolutionary Cuba from January 3 to 10, 1966.

1955 New Delhi—1966 Havana

INDIA AND AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

HAVANA is the most suitable place for such a conference. It is in the forefront of the struggle against the USA, the biggest imperialist power today. It is the first country in that region which not only overthrew the yoke of colonialism, it is building a socialist society and has become a symbol of freedom and justice to the people of Latin America.

This conference of solidarity will be a new landmark in the struggle of the people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This will give a new hope and new perspective to the people all over the world who cherish freedom, peace and justice.

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement was born on the eve of the historic Bandung Conference and since it has grown and spread to almost all the countries of Asia and Africa and established very close contacts with the progressive movements and organisations all over the world.

Born In Delhi

The movement began in Delhi when a Conference of Asian Countries was held in April 1955. It was a conference of the countries which had just emerged from age-old slavery and backwardness and were determined to build a new solidarity. (see box item below)

This small tree which was planted in New Delhi grew rapidly and by 1957 spread over to Africa, when a Conference of Afro-Asian Countries was held in Cairo. Representatives of forty-five countries from Asia and Africa and many representatives of people's organisations from Europe and America attended this conference. A flood of friendship and brotherhood was let loose.

People long-oppressed, people who had just achieved their freedom and peo-

ple still fighting against vicious colonialism met together, exchanged their experiences and resolved to make a determined and united effort to end the system of colonialism and forge a lasting world peace. To carry out these objectives an organisation was set up with a Permanent Secretariat in Cairo.

This movement organised a number of conferences and

meetings in various Afro-Asian countries and in this way brought together political leaders, fighting for freedom, writers, artists, women youth and people from all walks of life, from every corner of Asia and Africa, where they could meet the discuss together their common problems and promote and develop Afro-Asian solidarity.

Not only this, the movement organised and channelised on

By M. KALIMULLAH
General Secretary, Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity

a big scale political and material help for countries fighting against colonialism. People from Algeria, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique, Vietnam and the Congo, South-

the Algerian leaders. It collected and donated large sums for this cause. Similarly, a tour of South African leaders was organised and about forty thousand rupees were collected.

During these years, the Association organised a number of seminars and lectures to educate our people on Afro-Asian and world problems. A number of exhibitions of films, arts and crafts and handicrafts were organised to promote understanding and solidarity with the Afro-Asian countries.

Our Association in cooperation with its sister organisation, the Institute of Afro-Asian and World Affairs, brings out regularly a quarterly journal AFRO-ASIAN and WORLD AFFAIRS and has published a number of books and pamphlets to promote the same objectives.

Growing Movement

Our movement is continuously growing. During the last few years, it has organised large conferences in Hyderabad, Calcutta, Bombay and Jaipur and received wide cooperation and participation.

Leaders of all the leading political parties, members of Parliament, trade unionists, peasant, youth and women's organisations, writers, professors and other leading citizens have participated on a large scale.

Last year our Association, in cooperation with other organisations organised an International Conference in support of the people struggling for independence and world peace. Delegates from more than fifty countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe participated.

This year, our Association organised in cooperation with a number of other organisations special campaign in support of the South Vietnamese people struggling against the US aggression. A number of meetings were organised all over the country. Similar meetings were organised by our Association in support of the struggle of the people in Aden, Southern Rhodesia, Palestine etc.

Recently at the time of the imperialist inspired aggression on our country, our Association joined the country-wide "Quit British Commonwealth" campaign. The Indian Association has made large-scale preparations for the Afro-Asian Latin American Conference and held a number of meetings and demonstrations in support of the objectives of this Conference, culminating in the All-India Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity at Kanpur from December 17 to 19.



Delhi people's protest against American aggression in Vietnam

Asian People's Conference, 1955

THE heroes and heroines of Korea and Vietnam, the leaders of China and the Soviet Union, the representatives of the peoples of India and Pakistan, Japan and Ceylon and of the Arab countries sat together to begin the deliberations of a great conference testifying to the solidarity of the peoples of Asia.

It was the leader of the Japanese delegation, Matsumoto, who said "Japan should be a Japan for the Asian peoples", but this one sentence perhaps expressed what everybody who has assembled from various parts of Asia and the Middle East felt about their own countries.

Walking into the Constitution Club lawns one could not but sense the importance of the event that was to take place.

In the press gallery overcrowded with foreign and Indian correspondents, in the people who were coming in and were being regulated by the uniformed volunteers of the Congress Seva Dal, in the familiar faces of respected leaders of the national movement, of well-known writers and artists, in everybody and everything one could see the awareness that something momentous was happening—momentous not only for our own country but for the whole of Asia, perhaps for the whole of the world.

Eight years ago, in this same Delhi, another Asian conference had been held. But as Smt.

Rameshwari Nehru, who was elected chairman of the conference at the inaugural session, pointed out, "we were not completely free then and it was different in content and composition."

"Ours is a conference which has come into being from the common desires of the common man and the efforts of all the participating countries."

"Our conference is a non-party conference. Prominent men and women from all parts of Asia, representing cross sections of society, are here to give, unhampered by previous commitments, their independent and personal views on the problems before us."

"Our commitments, if any, are to peace, the idea of social justice individual and national freedom and non-exploitation."

The tremendous significance attached to the present conference is seen not only in the large number of countries represented but also in the broad representative character of the delegations from these countries.

There are 42 delegates from Japan, 40 from China, 14 from Soviet Union, nine from Vietnam, six from Korea, five from Mongolia, five from Ceylon, three from Pakistan, ten from Syria, seven from Lebanon, three from Jordan and one from Egypt apart from fifty delegates from India itself.

(From the NEW AGE, April 10, 1955)

LENIN AGAINST

LEFT OPPORTUNISTS

"LEFT WING" COMMUNISM—AN INFANTILE DISORDER, V. I. Lenin, 113 pp, Rs. 0.30

This is the new edition of Lenin's well known book, published recently.

This classical work of the great leader and teacher of the international Communist movement and the founder of the Soviet State is an outspoken denunciation of the left-sectarian, adventurist trend affecting a number of Communist Parties at that time.

It is also a brilliant exposition of correct Marxist strategy and tactics and remains today a work of contemporary and living interest.

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THE convocation of the First Solidarity Conference of Asia, Africa and Latin America in Havana from January 3 to 10, 1966 will be an event of great historic significance. This tri-continental conference will seek to unite more than two-thirds of humanity under a common banner and will set this formidable force into action on a pre-determined course.

The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are passing through a profound social, political, economic and ideological transformation. This transformation is a painful one and is beset with manifold difficulties, both external as well as internal.

Externally, they have to encounter the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism which are endeavoring to thwart their independence and sovereignty. Internally they are faced with difficult problems arising out of their social backwardness, economic underdevelopment and political inexperience—all legacies of foreign rule and colonial exploitation of the past decade.

WORLD'S MAJORITY

Afro-Asian and Latin American countries together constitute the largest geographical area in the world comprising 37 million square miles out of the earth's surface of 57 million square miles or about 64 per cent of the land area of the globe. Demographically, they form a formidable unit with a population of 2200 million out of the world's total population of 3068 million in 1961 or about 70 per cent of it.



Vietnamese fighters have a class

eighty by the end of the century. With a few exceptions here and there such as Venezuela, Chile and Argentina in Latin America, Republic of South Africa in Africa and Japan in Asia and together with Oceania, except Australia and New Zealand, they constitute what is called the "underdeveloped world" or the "Third World" of the "poor, hungry and dispossessed".

Poverty—the result of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation—is the common legacy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. And this exploitation continues in a large part of this world, in open or veiled manner, even to this day. The revealing data published by the UN commissions (ECLA, ECA, ECAFE) and such other UN agencies as FAO and WHO bears testimony to this tragic fact.

LOWEST INCOMES

In 1962, while 70 per cent of the peoples of the world who lived in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries earned only 13 per cent of the world's incomes, 22 per cent in the top two income brackets (North Americans and West Europeans) earned nearly 73 per cent of the world's incomes.

Not only that, the gap between the "have" and "have-not" countries is increasing. In 1938, the per-capita incomes of India and USA were in the proportion of 1 to 15. In 1964 the proportion was 1 to 40. Similarly the proportion of per-capita incomes between Britain and Uganda was one to 22 in 1939 and 1 to 30 in 1964.

These low incomes of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are reflected in their daily living conditions—food, health, education, etc.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are today faced with a serious threat from the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism, especially the latter.

At the present time when old colonialism is passing through its death throes, a new technique has been evolved, elaborated and widely used—the technique of neo-colonialism.

The Third All African Peoples Conference in March 1961 adopted an important resolution on "neocolonialism" and described it as "the greatest threat to African countries that have won independence or those approaching this status."

Neocolonialism as a whole

MILITARY TANGLE

The Imperial Staff Colleges at Camberley and Hemford in England still operate and give training to general staff officers of the Commonwealth countries and supply of arms have continued from Britain to many countries including our own.

Similarly the United States trains military staff officers of many Latin American and Asian countries and supplies large quantities of arms to them.

The sinister significance of

represents a new phase in the general strategy of imperialism and corresponds to the present period of increasing disintegration of the colonial order when the majority of the former colonial peoples have established politically independent states.

The technique which neo-colonialism is employing to hold down the emerging nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America are many and varied, and it is not possible within the scope of this short article to discuss each of them.

It would however be useful to enumerate some of the well-known methods adopted by the major imperialist powers, more notably the USA and Britain to counter the rising national liberation movements in the three continents. These methods are:

● **Partitioning of former colonies** to weaken and main the newly formed states at their very birth so that they remain dependent on the colonial power.

● **Military treaties and bases:** The most conspicuous examples of these have been the formation of SEATO and CENTO drawing in such countries as Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Malaya, Thailand, Philippines and other countries and the bilateral military treaties such as the British-Nigerian defence agreement, British-Seira Leone defence

agreement, and Britain's treaty agreement with Malaysia.

In Latin America the well-known examples are military treaties between USA and Venezuela, the Colombian-US military agreement, military agreements with Panama, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua and the latest with Brazil.

Efforts are now being made to set up a North-East-Asian Treaty Organization on the pattern of SEATO, as well as the establishment of a paramount "Task Force" of the organization of the American States to police the Latin American countries.

Along with these military treaties, and in many cases as a result of them, US and British governments keep their military bases in most of the newly independent states in Asia and Africa as well as in many states of Latin America.

Even in relation to those states which have kept themselves out of these enslaving military alliances and have refused to grant bases to imperialist powers on their territories, close military and strategic links have been maintained through the training of military officers and the supply of arms.

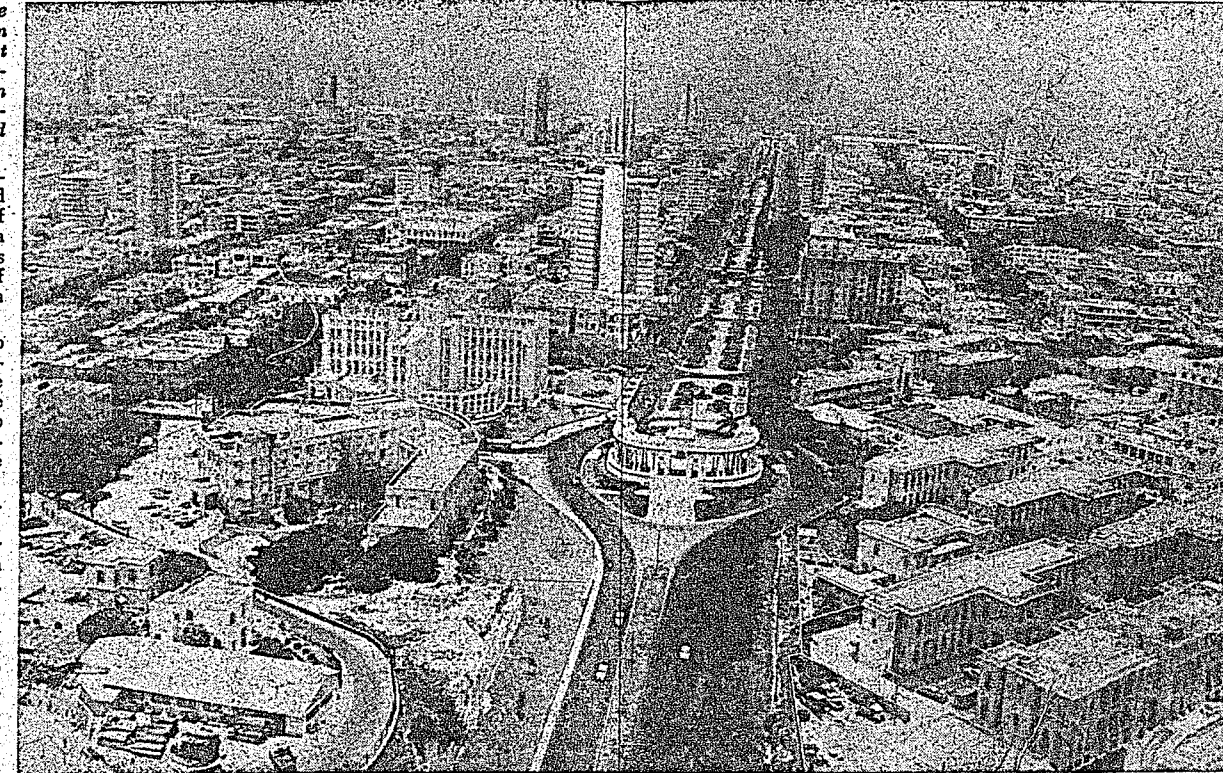
Thus, the continuation and even attempted extension of economic and financial exploitation of the underdeveloped countries is the heart of neo-colonialism.

In every colonial country, the natural resources, (mineral or oil resources) have been appropriated by the foreign monopolies; means of communication and transport, railways, ports, power, shipping and even trading and banking have commonly been in imperialist hands.

In the agrarian field, the best lands in territories convenient for the settlement of white planters have been appropriated by the colonial settlers, while in the remaining territories the cultivators have been compelled to resort to the producing of cash crops often on the basis of monoculture.

All these assets have normally been continued even after any

Thanks to the legacy left



Havana, capital of Cuba, is the venue of the tricontinental meet.

AGAINST NEOCOLONIALISM IN THREE CONTINENTS

imperialist arm supplies to other countries was brought home to us during the recent conflict with Pakistan. The essence of colonialism is the economic exploitation of weak and less developed countries for the high profits of the monopolies of the colonial powers. All political and strategic forms of colonialism are therefore directed towards this basic aim.

Hence imperialism is ready in cast of necessity to accept even far-reaching changes in the political structure of the underdeveloped countries, including the surrender of political sovereignty, so long as its economic stranglehold is maintained.

But it invariably fights with utmost ferocity if this is threatened, as was shown in the case of Mosaddeq and the oil nationalization in Iran, the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal, and the Cuban government's nationalization of American assets on the island.

Thus, the continuation and even attempted extension of economic and financial exploitation of the underdeveloped countries is the heart of neo-colonialism.

The export of capital remains the essential feature of colonialism in the penetration and domination of the dependent countries as well as of those which are politically independent. The working of this technique is best illustrated with regard to the enormous US capital exports to Latin America, reducing the status of this region to the status of semi-colonies.

The fight against all these manifestations of neo-colonialism, thus becomes the most urgent need of the liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Thanks to the legacy left

political transfer of power. Political rule has not meant economic emancipation from colonial exploitation.

It has now been increasingly realized by the peoples of the emerging Afro-Asian and Latin American nations that economic freedom must accompany political freedom if the fruits of the latter are to be enjoyed by them, that economic domination leads to indirect political control of the former colonial powers, that political freedom without a real control over the natural resources becomes meaningless so far as the vast majority of the peoples are concerned.

This realization which is fast becoming a part of the thinking of the peoples of the emerging

By **LAJPAT RAI**

countries has led to the growth of a powerful movement in all countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against these manifestations of neo-colonialism.

The problem has been further accentuated by a rapid rise in the population of these countries accompanied by severe food shortages.

Of the three continents, Latin America suffers from this problem in its most acute form. The dead hand of Latifundia lies heavily on almost every Latin American country.

behind by colonialism, the peoples of these emerging continents are faced with many common internal problems, which are thwarting their economic and social development. One such problem is the problem of agrarian relations.

The existence of an agrarian problem—one that is to say, having to do with the structure of ownership and exploitation of land, is characteristic of practically all countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Land monopoly, that is, the ownership of large tracts of land by a few absentee owners has not only militated against the development of agriculture in these countries but has also created a host of difficult social and political problems.

Exports are by far the largest source of the developing countries' foreign exchange. In 1962 the total foreign exchange earnings of the developing countries were 57,895 million dollars.

Moreover, as things are today, over three-quarters of the trade of these countries are with the countries of the Common Market and the United States.

Between a fifth and a quarter of all world exports are from the countries of Asia, Africa Latin America and Oceania, which are mostly primary products. Hence, the prices of these products are of paramount interest to the peoples of these countries.

Besides, thanks to monoculture

practised in most of them, they are dependent on the export of one or two products.

Venezuela exports hardly anything but oil; Mauritius hardly anything but sugar; two-thirds of Ceylon's exports are tea; two-thirds of Ghana's cocoa; Brazil's coffee alone forms 51 per cent of its total exports, while rubber constitutes 58 per cent of Malaya's total export earnings.

This situation makes the economies of most developing countries vulnerable to the vagaries of international prices controlled by the monopolies operating in the Western capitals and the United States.

According to the UNCTAD Study Group, in the period between 1950 and 1960, the prices of a unit of goods exported from industrialized countries rose by 5 per cent, while the prices of a unit of goods exported by the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania fell by more than 15 per cent. This trend is a continuous one.

Under the twin-curses of monoculture and falling prices the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America lose millions each year—and that too in precious foreign exchange, so badly need-

ed for their economic development.

Non-equivalent exchange has thus become one of the ways of exploiting the emergent countries by colonial monopolies. This is a problem of the highest importance for the raw material-exporting countries of these continents as it affects their urgently needed foreign exchange earnings.

The movement for land reform has been strongest in Asia and weakest in Latin America. In Latin American countries which have tackled this problem though not very effectively are Mexico, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela.

Cuba is the only example in this region where a genuine land reform has broken the back of latifundia, both native and foreign, and has lifted its agriculture from its previous decadent state.

It is also seen that the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism will oppose all efforts at genuine land reform by the emerging countries.

FEUDALIST GRIP

Cuba is a case in point. The other example is Brazil where over twenty land reform bills were frustrated by the combined strength of the latifundists and US neo-colonialists.

LAND REFORM, THUS, STILL REMAINS AS ONE OF THE IMPORTANT TASKS BEFORE THE PEOPLES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA.

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War and especially after 1950 when "aid" programmes from the Western countries and the USA began to operate, it has been claimed that such "aid" had no other motive except the welfare of the recipient countries; that there were no political strings attached to it and that it was not meant to influence the external or internal policies of the aid receiving countries.

But contrary to these proclamations, the experience of the past one decade of foreign aid from the West shows that it has been used as an important vehicle of neo-colonialism—as an instrument of political pressure and black-mail and as a means to influence and even change the foreign and internal policies of many aid-receiving countries, to buttress the paramount interests of the Western powers and the United States.

THE 'AID' PROGRAMME

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However, in these days of Johnson Doctrine and the ascendancy of Goldwaterism in the US foreign policy, the thin mantle of hypocrisy covering "aid" programmes of the United States has been cast aside.

According to the doctrine enunciated by President Johnson a new chapter has begun in the US aid policy. Wrote the influential US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT:

"The economic aid will not be doled out to all and sundry on the basis of hoped for friendship but on the basis of conditions met... You cannot condemn the US policies in Vietnam and Dominican Republic and in the same breath ask for \$200 million or \$500 million in aid. A chapter has been closed."

It was under this new Johnson line that the "aid" to the UAR and Indonesia was stopped.

The experience of India during her recent conflict with Pakistan with regard to "aid" from Britain and USA is a great eye-opener for all emergent nations.

Secondly, the Latin American peoples have also seen through the so-called Alliance for Progress, which seeks to exploit them and pressurise their governments to fall in line with the US policy of isolating Cuba and committing aggression in Dominican Republic and elsewhere.

While the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have one experience of the Western "aid", they have quite a different experience of economic assistance from the USSR and other socialist countries.

The example of the UAR and India are most instructive. Soviet economic cooperation has played and is playing an outstanding role in the building up of India's industrial strength, particularly in the fields of heavy and basic industries. Similarly, the Aswan Dam will always be remembered by the Egyptian people as the greatest manifestation of Soviet economic co-operation.

The time has come when the peoples of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries must decide whether they are going to accept Western "aid"—an instrument of neo-colonialism, or to reject it and devise other ways to meet their internal economic needs.

The trend in many of the new Asian and African states as well as in Latin America towards a greater measure of economic independence and freedom from the shackles of colonialism and neo-colonialism is manifest against the background of a fundamental problem confronting these countries: the choice of the road of socio-economic development.

Two paths open up before the peoples of the emerging nations of this vast area, namely, the capitalist path and the non-capitalist path of economic and social development.

The most important factor counter-acting neo-colonialist influence is the establishment and the consolidation of the public or state sector, which already plays the decisive role in their national economy.

The state sector can be used in the interest of economic and social emancipation; as well as a base for the transition to the non-capitalist road of economic and social development.

UNITED STRUGGLE

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America having different social and economic systems, but united in a common solidarity movement against colonialism and neo-colonialism—they will have ample opportunities of discussing common experiences in their struggle for building their economies and raising the levels of well-being of their people at the coming conference.

This friendly exchange of experiences will help them to overcome many difficulties that they face in their socio-economic

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ON PAGE 12



A demonstration in Montevideo, capital of Uruguay

AFRICA'S BATTLE AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

We the naked children of bush sanzalas
 unschooled urchins who play with balls of rags
 on the noonday plains...
 ourselves
 hired to burn out our lives in coffee fields
 ignorant black men
 who must respect the whites
 and fear the rich
 we are your children of the native
 quarters
 which the electricity never reaches.....

(Agostinho Neto)

MOST people know where Portugal is on the map but few would get full marks from a schoolteacher in Salazar's Portugal. Here is our motherland, the children are taught, and are proudly shown on the map of the world that Portugal is in Europe; in West Africa (Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, Cape Verde Isles); in East Africa (Mozambique); and in Asia (Macao on the Chinese mainland, Timor in the Indonesian archipelago). A few years ago, of course, Goa would have been included too.

This incredible insistence in the era of self-determination on the fiction that her colonial possessions are provinces of Portugal and that therefore the question of giving them independence just does not arise might be comic if not for the harsh realities of a most antiquated and brutal colonial rule.

At the Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament held in Helsinki last July, I sought out delegates from these parts of the world.

I found the encounter rewarding, not merely for information gained on matters of which we are often ignorant but also for the enriching experience of meeting some very likeable people.

I met and spoke with a Christian Padre from Angola, a representative of FRELIMO (the liberation movement of Mozambique), a student from "Portuguese" Guinea, and others—softspoken men who talked never in the empty bluster of clichés and slogans, but with the quiet authority of patriots actively engaged in an all too real fight for their peoples' freedom.

I talked to a young Mozambican of the lack of adequate publicity for his movement.

Our newspapers carry reports on South Africa and

Vietnam, I said, but our public is scarcely aware that fighting is going on in Angola, Mozambique, "Portuguese" Guinea. Didn't they have something similar to the excellent news and publicity services conducted by the freedom fighters of South Africa? My listener replied patiently, concealing the exasperation he must have felt: "Everyone tells us the same thing but you in turn must understand our problems. We have so few, so very few, educated people in our countries."

I recalled then some statistics stored at the back of my memory, of the result of Portugal's five-century long "civilising mission" in Africa—a literacy rate of less than one per cent. The gifted writers, products

and ensuring essential supplies, of maintaining and consolidating victory whilst continuing military operations on other fronts.

Little wonder that there is no time to scribble off news items to the LONDON OBSERVER!

In "Portuguese" Guinea, where fighting has been going on much longer, nearly half the country was in the control of PAIGC (the independence movement of "Portuguese" Guinea and the Cape Verde Isles).

I learnt that in the month of May this year PAIGC gained control of the major part of the district of Boe which, rich in deposits of bauxite, will play an important role in the economic development of a free land.

PAIGC's casualties in this well planned and carefully executed operation were only two dead and seven wounded, whereas Portuguese forces lost 47 lives and had to evacuate many wounded by helicopter.

The war in Angola dates from the attack on the Luanda Jail in February 1961.

The revolt, the commencement of which happily coincided with the presence in Angola of a large number of foreign newspaper correspondents, destroyed once and for all Portugal's assi-



world opinion on 'Portuguese' Africa, especially after the outbreak of the Angola revolt, followed by the report of the United Nations special committee on Angola and investigations conducted by the ILO's ad hoc committee on forced labour.

However, the freedom fighters I met stressed that moral and material aid to Portugal by her NATO allies does continue, and this enables her to wage war on several fronts simultaneously. What is necessary is not just a condemnatory vote at the United Nations, but that the Western powers should stop all material, military and moral aid to Portugal. The Afro-Asian countries of the Commonwealth must press British—traditionally Portugal's "oldest" ally—to take a firm stand, I was told meaningfully.

FIGHT AGAINST NEOCOLONIALISM

FROM CENTRE PAGES
 economic development, it will be easy to subordinate the internal political strifes, dissensions and even conflicts to the interests of unity and common action.

Therefore, one must view the unifying factors within the Afro-Asian and Latin American world in their proper perspective, and not attach too much importance to the divisive factors operating in this vast area. Even the differences and conflicts existing at present in the family of the underdeveloped nations will be smoothed out as their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism develops to higher planes.

It is so because behind many a conflict raging in this area at present is the hand of colonialism, setting one people against another, implementing its old policy of divide and rule. It is to be hoped that the Havana tri-continental conference will be a great milestone in the struggle of the vast masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America for freedom, democracy, social and economic development, for peace.

A meeting in Pemba to condemn imperialist intervention in Africa



Dhori Enquiry Court's Report

TU Leader Demands Take Over of Mines

The report of the court of inquiry into the Dhori colliery disaster of May 28 has indicted the mines management for "negligence" and for violation of various mines regulations.

THE Court in its findings has held that the explosion was set off by a "fire-damp" explosion initiating a coal-dust explosion.

It found that there was accumulation of fire-damp (gas) within explosive limits in 15 level south of BI-10 incline prior to the accident. This was ignited by the flame of naked light carried by a person who entered the gallery on the night of the accident.

The court observed that the reason why the person entered gallery, which was not being worked, could not be definitely fixed.

The findings of the court has substantiated the argument of the trade unions that the management had not taken sufficient precautions to control coal dust.

The report castigated the management for violating Regulation 123 (precautions against coal dust) and Regulation 103 (standard of ventilation of the Mines Regulations).

The gallery No. 15 (south level) of the BI-10 incline was driven to a distance of 288 feet without any cross connections for ventilation. It was in this gallery that there was outburst of gas, although the mine was officially declared earlier as "non-gassy".

With reference to the safety works organised by the Chief Inspector of Mines, the court has commented that the "works" should not be utilised only to win prizes by making special efforts during a few weeks before the commencement of the week.

This observation is considered significant since the Dhori mine itself was a recipient of one such prize.

"The report on the Dhori mines disaster has clearly shown that the management alone was responsible for this accident; in other words, for this mass killing"—Kalyan Shankar Roy, General Secretary, Indian Mine Workers Federation and Vice-chair-

man of the Miners Trade Union International (WFIU), said in an interview.

Boy added that the findings proved that the management was not aware of the danger of coal dust in the mines. The report showed that the management knowingly violated the mining regulations.

He expressed the opinion that in such cases of violations the mines should be taken over by the government after giving two or three warnings.

"What we find in the mines is that the coal dust remains untreated. In all the three accidents in Amliabad, Chinkari and Dhori, coal dust was mainly responsible for the disasters. The government should take over such mines where the managements systematically violated Mines Regulations. The Dhori management ignored the letters of the Mines Department to treat coal dust properly as per regulations", he said.

Kalyan Roy demanded that every mine worker must be provided with cap lamp and naked lamps must be banned immediately. If the management raises the question of availability of foreign exchange to import cap lamps, then the foreign exchange should be made available.

Moreover, Durgapur Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation may be utilised to manufacture cap lamps, he said.



Some foreign and Indian delegates before José Martí Gato

"What we think to be the most vital fact is that this should be a final warning to the government of the danger of keeping the mines in the hands of the private sector." Not only 268 workers lost lives in the Dhori disaster, but the mine has also been closed resulting in the loss of production to the tune of one lakh tons per year until now. Therefore we feel that the coal mining industry particularly must immediately be nationalised.

"Lastly we would like to know what punishment will be given to the directors and top officers of the Company who alone were responsible for this crime", Roy said. (IPA)

National Platform Against Imperialism and Reaction

★ From Back Page

an obstacle in the way of a peaceful settlement." Regarding the Tashkent Summit, the Conference extended its full support to the call for a No War Pact, and said:

"Prime Minister Shastri must act resolutely to demonstrate to all mankind that India will do all in its power to bring about a peaceful solution, despite the provocations and aggressive activities of the Ayub dictatorship, despite its repeated violations of the ceasefire.

"It is such a stand of undeviating search for peace, coupled with a firm and clear position that on no account will this country countenance aggression and violation of its integrity and sovereignty, that will enhance the prestige of India in the world.

"This Conference is confident that it will be in this spirit, which will guide

any quarter". An important programme of solidarity actions has been planned by the Conference.

At the head of the list of such activities naturally stand the urgent issues of Vietnam and Zimbabwe.

The Conference has called on the Government of India to take a new initiative for Afro-Asian action to end the US aggression in Vietnam, on the basis of the recognition of the South Vietnam Liberation Front as the only representative of the South Vietnamese people, and the immediate withdrawal of all troops of the US imperialists and their allies from Vietnam.

A special Solidarity Committee for Zambabwe has been established, both to collect funds and to plan meetings and demonstrations, where the demand will be raised that India should take similar protest actions as the African states, which have broken off diplomatic relations with Britain.

The resolutions on the Portuguese colonies, on South Africa, on Latin America, on Aden and Palestine extended full-throated support to the peoples fighting against repression, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

A special resolution called for the diplomatic recognition by India of the German Democratic Republic.

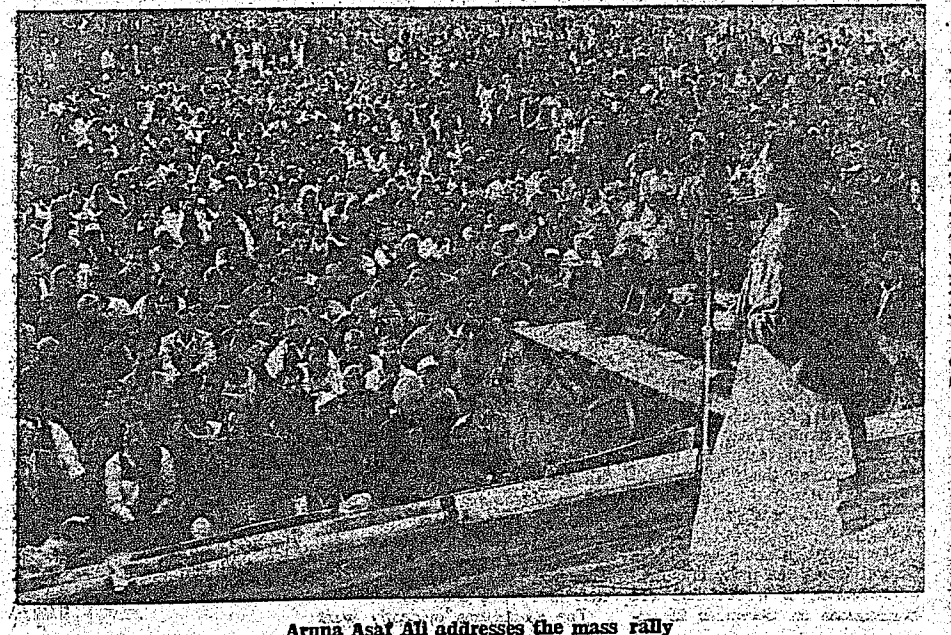
The need for putting an end to imperialist military pacts and foreign military bases was emphasised in a separate resolution. Disarmament was specially discussed in a resolution, whose operative part welcomed the decision to call a World Disarmament Conference, and called for popular action against proliferation of nuclear weapons.

"Quit Commonwealth" became a major slogan of the Conference.

The resolutions on the Portuguese colonies, on South Africa, on Latin America, on Aden and Palestine extended full-throated support to the peoples fighting against repression, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The conference also emphasised the need for self-reliance and strongly opposed the pressures and blackmail exerted by the American imperialists.

A new Council and Executive Committee have been elected. Dr. Tara Chand MP retired from the presidency for health reasons. Warm tributes were paid to his devotion to the movement, and he was elected Patron of the Association along with Rameshwari Nehru. The new President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity is K. D. Malaviya MP. Vice-Presidents elected are: Aruna Asaf Ali, Mathura Das Mathur, Abdul Qayyum Ansari, Gurmukh Singh Musafir MP, Govind Sahai MLA, K. Subramaniam, Romesh Chandra and Akbar Ali Khan MP. General Secretaries are Anup Singh MP and M. Kalimullah, and Secretaries Baren Ray, O. P. Pallwal and Gopal Shastri.



Aruna Asaf Ali addresses the mass rally

Struggle For Improvement Of Jail Conditions Of Detenus

Jail conditions in general and detention conditions of political prisoners detained under the DIR in particular cry aloud for democratic reforms and all-India standardisation.

THE latest hungerstrike of about 150 Bihar detenus and innumerable hungerstrikes and struggles in almost all the jails of India by detenus and other prisoners in the recent past have served to focus people's attention to this problem.

Before national independence Congressmen, Communists, Socialists, terrorists, trade unionists, kisan sabhates—all who were put behind the prison bars by the British rulers at various stages of our freedom fight had fought together for jail reforms and improvement in jail conditions.

The tragedy today is that the Congress rulers of today who had then fought together with others for the jail reforms and improvement in some respects even worse than the British had done to all of us.

Some jail reforms have been brought about by Congress governments in various states which are neither uniform nor anywhere near those demands for which we had fought in pre-independence days. They are still basically the same British colonial jails.

When I was in jail this time in connection with the August food movement the jail authorities both in Bankpur jail and Buxar Central jail showed me the same 'Bihar and Orissa jail manual' which was there when I was in jail in 1940. The copy of the manual has almost become a carefully preserved bundle of *Bhojpatras*.

Worst is the case of those trade union and kisan workers who are jailed in large numbers under various sections of IPC and Cr.PC whenever TU and Kisan struggles take place. They are treated as ordinary criminals and worse. Worse because they are very often made to live in one-fourth of the space meant for ordinary prisoners.

On August 16 in Bankpur jail what I saw still haunts me as a nightmare. The government, out of sheer panic, arrested over 500 persons in Patna on August 15 and sent them to Bankpur jail.

They had no place to live and ease. The way they were made to live and do nature calls could be compared with Nazi concentration camps.

Prisoners' diet as prescribed is inadequate. Even this inadequate diet is not available to the

detenus in most cases due to rampant corruptions among the jail authorities. Instead of taking steps to remove corruption and improve the diet, one fine morning Bihar Government issued order to reduce the prescribed diet by almost one-third in the name of national economy.

About 80,000 prisoners lodged in various jails of Bihar put up a

determined fight against this cut. For one whole week all the jails of Bihar resounded with slogans, strikes, hungerstrikes, lathi charges, etc. Repression failed to make the prisoners submit to the cut. After a week the government had to withdraw the cut order.

Conditions vary from states to states and jails to jails. But these are certain obnoxious common features. The conditions of the political prisoners detained under the DIR are worse than those of upper division prisoners in several respects.

Diet, clothing and sundry allowances are in terms of prices of 1950 and before.

Living arrangements are mostly medieval and primitive in nature.

This may be exemplified by giving one typical example, that of Maharashtra state. There are 70 Communist detenus there under the orders of the state government, out of whom only 20 are classified as Class I. The remaining 50 are Class II and as such they are treated on par with ordinary Class C convicts.

The diet they are given to Kanji (thin gruel) rot from the cheapest coarse grain, jowar, with the worst type of mixture of leafy vegetables. They are given no furniture, no cot, cotton mattress or mosquito nets. They are locked up at 5 p.m. like ordinary convicts and are given no more facilities of interview with and letters to their relatives than an ordinary convict gets.

Struggles of the political prisoners detained under the DIR for the improvement of detention con-

ditions have already resulted in the formulation of common all-India demands which are as follows:

- 1 Uniform rules in all States: There should be a uniform set of rules throughout India, called political detenus conditions rules.
- 2 One class: All political detenus should be placed in the same class called political detenus special class as is the case in Andhra at present.
- 3 Family maintenance allowance: Rules should provide for the payment of a family main-

- 4 tenance allowance to each detenu, the amount being Rs. 100 minimum and Rs. 30 for each dependent.
- 5 Food: There should be a diet allowance of Rs. 5/- per day, the supply being made at jail rates.
- 6 Personal pocket allowance: A personal allowance of Re. 1/- per day should be paid to each detenu to provide needs and essential amenities such as toilet articles, smoking, stationery etc. as is being paid in Maharashtra at present.

- 7 Clothing: Each detenu should be paid a clothing allowance of Rs. 100 per six months plus a special winter clothing allowance of Rs. 150.
- 8 Parole: Parole rules should be framed for prompt grant of parole in cases of illness, domestic crisis, marriages of near relatives, property affairs and other contingencies.
- 9 Books and Periodicals: Detenus should be permitted to receive or purchase at their own cost any books, and periodicals which are not banned or proscribed, besides those given at government cost.
- 10 Interviews: Rules should provide for at least an ordinary interview per week beside legal and business interviews. All relatives and friends should be permitted as visitors and it should be within the powers of prison Superintendent to grant interviews forthwith.
- 11 Correspondence: Each detenu should be permitted to send out four letters a week at government cost and there should be no restriction on letters sent out at the detenus' cost and on incoming letters.
- 12 No Lock Up: There should be no lock up.
- 13 Furniture: Each detenu should be provided with a cot, a chair, a writing table, an

- 14 almira, an easy-chair and an electric fan.
- 15 Place of detention: Place of detention should be near the detenu's home preferably within his district.
- 16 Medical Treatment: Detenus must be sent to a civil hospital outside for a check up or treatment directly on the recommendations of the jail medical officer. Spectacles, dentures etc. should be provided at government cost when recommended by the doctor.
- 17 Recreation: Cells, barracks and yards in which the detenus are kept should have sufficient space, ventilation, and light. Games such as badminton, volleyball etc. and indoor games should be arranged for detenus at government cost.
- 18 Discipline and Punishment: Separate rules should be framed and the detenus must not be treated on the same footing as convicts.
- 19 Tasks: Rules regarding imposition of tasks on detenus must be abolished.
- 20 A detenu may be permitted to keep his own radio within the jail premises.

The demands of the security prisoners are being voiced inside and outside the jails. They are being supported from the platforms of public meetings as well as inside the legislatures and law courts.

Fulfillment of these demands will be a big step in the direction of democratic jail reforms.

Progressive and democratic forces will see to it that these demands are immediately conceded pending the release of the political prisoners detained under the DIR in violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed in our Constitution.

By
YOGINDRA SHARMA

SWATANTRA SEEKS JAN SANGH'S HAND

THE Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh are both feverishly in for election preparations. Seats are being worked out and allotted and nursing of constituencies has begun.

Both have begun reckoning the prospects in what they consider to be their respective strongholds. And they find that in most of them, both these right-wing parties confront each other. This is so in states like Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, which both Jan Sangh and Swatantra consider to be their "strongholds".

And so, despite all the talk of differences on "fundamentals", behind-the-scenes confabulations for unity between the two reactionary parties have begun in right earnest. Electoral arrangements are in progress secretly notwithstanding all the talk of antagonism in regard to Kashmir.

In fact, even in regard to Kashmir and Indo-Pak relations they have found a common point. Both parties are agreed in their common dislike for the Tashkent talks. One sees red because Tashkent's success does not suit Washington, while the other is hostile to the very concept of Indo-Pak reconciliation which goes against its credo of communal revivalism.

The Swatantra Party has started its electoral moves in a big way by wooing those who constitute its mainstay—the big business, the landlords and maharajas.

The campaign commenced from Gujarat where the party organised a convention of industrialists and businessmen on December 25 un-

der the presidency of the industrialist-cum-Swatantra leader N. Dandekar MP. Swatantra general secretary M. R. Masani also addressed the convention.

The convention is being called to help create an "atmosphere" for the election campaign. The convention will discuss matters like taxation policies of the government, industrial policies, legislation affecting the business community etc.

The Swatantra Party has chosen a special moment for staging this businessmen's jamboree. They have already been sounding out big business magnates, who are credited with the intention of entering the electoral arena "independently" with a view to threatening the Congress Party and forcing it to further modify its policies in favour of the capitalists.

One of the prominent businessmen has already come out with the cry of sending "our own representatives" to the legislatures. The Swatantra Party means to cash in on this situation.

The Swatantras evidently want

to encourage the idea of businessmen entering "politics" and sending their own ilk to the legislatures. And who could organise this job better than the Swatantra Party?

Currently, however, two trends prevail among the businessmen, who are agreed that they must challenge the Congress at the coming elections. One trend is that businessmen must be "free" from all parties, while the other trend sees the prospect of taking the Swatantra ticket quite favourably. Evidently, the forthcoming convention will help the latter trend.

—BHIMA

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SCIENCE NOTES

RENDEZVOUS IN SPACE

the mountain towards the moon, but for which we will have to descend only 24,000 miles.

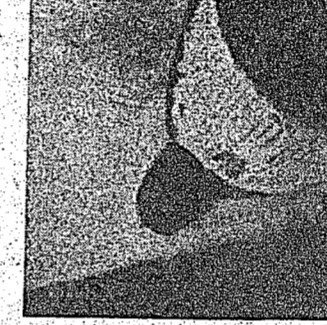
As we start with 25,000 MPH we just manage to crawl past the summit. (We could theoretically do with 24,900 MPH for this, but every dangerous as we may just miss the summit then and fall back on earth).

Now as we fall towards the moon, our velocity increases till it reaches around 5,250 MPH, this being the measure

MPH to make a safe landing back on earth possible.

In the latter case, of course, the atmosphere of the earth is both a help and a hindrance—the velocity requirement is somewhat less, but on the contrary a correct angle of reentry to the earth's atmospheric mantle has to be made and this requires several complicated manoeuvres.

But this latter point has been solved, because upto now all our cosmonauts have successfully returned to earth.



View of Gemini VII from Gemini VI

A journey to the moon involves several problems of a very complicated nature. The total velocity required for a successful manned journey to the moon and back is very high, around 70,000 miles per hour (MPH) though not at one burst.

We have to climb out of earth's gravitational pull with a minimum velocity of 25,000 MPH approximately. The moon's mass being 1/81 that of the earth, by inverse square law only 1/10 of the distance between the earth and the moon is under the dominance of the moon's gravitational pull.

The average distance between the earth and the moon is 240,000 miles; therefore, the somewhat hypothetical neutral point (in so far as it is constantly shifting) between the earth's and the moon's gravitational pulls is at 216,000 miles from the earth.

Consequently as we shoot past the neutral point in our future moon journey, for the remaining 24,000 miles to the moon, we will be falling towards its surface with ever-increasing speed as the moon starts exerting its gravitational pull on our lunar spaceship.

The journey to the moon from the earth can, therefore, be compared almost exactly to climbing to the summit of a mountain which is say, 216,000 miles high and then falling on the other side of

of moon's gravitational pull. This latter can be checked only by imparting a retarding velocity of the same amount.

It is evident that our lunar space ship will have to be somersaulted 180 degrees in space after we shoot past the neutral point. It is this retarding velocity by means of retrorockets which has failed so far to be adequate to make a soft landing (of moon-probe unmanned rockets so far) possible.

For a manned journey to the moon, we require another minimum 5,250 MPH to take-off from the moon and approximately another 25,000

The total velocity requirement is, therefore, around 70,000 MPH, making provision for a little extra reserve of around 10,000 MPH. It will be noted that nowhere during our journey we require more than 25,000 MPH at one burst, though we have to provide enough fuel which will be able to produce altogether in sum total a velocity of 70,000 MPH.

We have to provide therefore for a refuelling station somewhat between the earth and the moon.

A stable and permanent space station outside the earth's atmospheric friction will have to be set up. This

can be done by projecting parts of the space station in the same orbit, which are rotating the earth with the same velocity and then assembling them in space.

The second and immediate alternative is to send two or three space ships in the same orbit and then assembling a lunar space ship out of these.

In both cases it is clear that a successful rendezvous in space is the deciding factor and it is this rendezvous which has been achieved by the American Gemini VI and VII.

The Soviets attempted it twice before in the dual flights of Nikolayev-Popovich and Tereshkova-Byokovsky. They were able to achieve the same orbit but their space relays were quite a distance apart. The Geminis have been brought only 100 feet apart from each other.

It is evident that the scientific advances of the USSR and the USA is bringing the day nearer, surely by the end of this decade, when man will reach the moon in person.

There are still some more unsolved problems as far as we can see and which need to be stated.

In reaching the moon, we have to go through the magnetosphere of the earth where belts of intense radiation exist. How are we to protect our space ship and its crews from subjection to a lethal dose of radioactivity while passing through these?

A one-inch thick lead covering should be adequate but that makes the space ship enormously heavy.

There are also problems of complicated manoeuvres, as both the moon and the earth are flying objects. But this has been already solved because moon has been hit several times by automatic rockets.

Why should we like to reach the moon, apart from the sheer thrill of it? We shall discuss this in our next instalment.

—DILIP BOSE

YOUTH AND STUDENT MEET HELD IN BOMBAY

BOMBAY: Thirtysix youth and students organisations spread all over Bombay city came together at a conference at Vanmali Hall at Dadar on December 11 and 12.

The meeting was convened with a view to discuss common problems and formulate a common approach in seeking solution of these problems.

Three hundred delegates, each paying a fee of two rupees, and 600 observers, each paying fifty paise, expressed readiness to come together. Most of them attended the meeting.

Among the delegates and observers were school and college students; students of night schools, young men and women working in factories and mills, in banks and commercial establishments.

The conference was inaugurated by Kapla Khandwala, president of the National Federation of Indian Women. It was presided by Vinayak Bhave.

The open session of the conference was addressed by Nana Patil and Akshay Desai. They called upon the youth to unite to strive for the prosperity of the common people.

The conference has elected an ad-hoc committee to prepare for the formation of Bombay Youth and Students Federation, with Vinayak Karade as its convener.

LENIN AGAINST

LEFT OPPORTUNISTS

AGAINST DOGMATISM AND SECTARIANISM IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, pp. 235, Rs. 1.30

This collection consists of articles and speeches and chapters from books in which Lenin criticises left opportunists who have a dogmatic conception of Marxism. They are of living interest in the present day situation.

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Lenin's speeches and writings mostly concerning the errors of the "Left Communists" on the question of the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest. He also exposes the stand of "Left Communists" on many other issues during the period of consolidation of Soviet power, and of building socialism in one country in the condition of capitalist encirclement. These speeches and writings are of immense contemporary interest.

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A view of the youth meeting

Socialist World And National Liberation Movement: Some Doubts

IT is with great interest that I read the book review by 'UK' of the collection of articles entitled NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT: VITAL PROBLEMS in NEW AGE dated December 19.

As said in the review, the volume deals with problems facing the national liberation movement. Some doubts have been aroused by the formulations in the volume. For example, the reviewer says: "The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are rendering to the underdeveloped countries not only massive economic and political aid and support but are shielding them from direct external intervention."

This obviously is one of the conclusions of the authors. Indeed, this is one of the basic formulations contained in the characterisation of the "new epoch" accepted by the 81 Parties Moscow Statement.

How far has practical experience borne out this formulation in the statement?

For example, how do we accept this formulation as correct in view

of the direct intervention which the US imperialists made in Dominica against the expression of political independence made by that country, however meagre that be?

Again, we find that the US imperialists have not only stepped up their aggression against the national liberation movement in South Vietnam but have also extended it against a socialist country like North Vietnam.

How far have the socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular been able to counteract the US onslaughts against the national liberation movements in Dominica and South Vietnam, even against a socialist country as North Vietnam is a subject which is to be discussed at greater length.

I hope an elucidation on this aspect of the national liberation movement and the role of socialist countries in assisting the developing countries against the onslaught of the imperialists is worth more detailed treatment in NEW AGE weekly.

New Delhi G.S. SINGH

READERS' FORUM

Somersaulting Namboodiripad!

IT has been a shock to many admirers of E.M.S. Namboodiripad like myself to see how often he contradicts himself. I am particularly concerned at the fact that even after NEW AGE asked him to speak up against the Chinese leaders' anti-Soviet slanders, he did not do so.

His silence is proof of the fact that he is not able to take a stand against Chinese splitism. All his previous declarations of opposition to the Chinese international line appear, therefore, to be mere diplomatic forays.

It is also necessary to express concern at the amazing somersaulting on the issue of the collection of Defence Funds.

The Communist Party of India and other democratic forces in the country have strongly opposed forcible collections by ministers and bureaucrats.

But EMS came out with the nonsensical call that no funds should be collected for taking over the Aksai Chin area or the "Azad Kashmir" territory from China or Pakistan.

Who is talking about such questions? And who is collecting defence funds with this aim?

When cornered, EMS has now denied that he ever called for not contributing to the defence fund, and has calmly dithered the position taken by the Communist Party that there should be no forcible collections by officials.

There is a limit to acrobatics, and a limit to the patience of those who had hoped for a lead from the leader of the Marxists.

Calcutta CHITTARANJAN GUPTA

Nationalise Dhori Colliery

IN view of the unanimous finding of the court of enquiry on the Dhori explosion of May 28 that it was clearly due to the negligence on the part of the management in taking adequate precautions against coal dust and the failure to maintain the standard of ventilation as required by the Mines Regulations, it is necessary that the government start immediate prosecution against the management of the Dhori colliery.

The least that the people expect from the government is that the criminal employers who are responsible for the death of 268 miners should be given exemplary punishment.

The Dhori explosion, one of the biggest disasters in the mining history of the country, also sharply poses the necessity of immediate nationalisation of coal mines in the interest of protection of human lives and national resources.

Patna RATAN ROY
General Secretary, Bihar Committee of the AITUC

* FROM PAGE 3

POLICY OF DEPENDENCE

up to 3.4 million tonnes. In the current Third Plan it is going still higher—over four million tonnes. These figures alone would give lie to the contention that PL 480 is only meant to tide over difficulties and create conditions for attaining self-sufficiency. Many prominent economists have pointed out that the government's reliance on PL 480 imports has been greatly responsible for the sabotage of the Third Plan in respect of food and agriculture.

What is the meaning then in Prime Minister Shastri's sermonising on self-sufficiency, while rushing off his Food Minister to Washington for entering into a long-term agreement for larger PL 480 supplies? That surely is not how one can fight for freedom from foreign food. The growing dependence on PL 480 deliveries and the drive for self-reliance in food cannot possibly go together.

With so much of talk about self-sufficiency, Subramaniam could not of course altogether evade the issue of production. So, he spoke about the target of 125 million tonnes of food-grains for the Fourth Plan. It means that in the next five years the food production is to be raised by at least 40 million tonnes. If we leave aside 1964-65 when the food yield rose to 88.4 million tonnes, the food production under the Third Plan has remained more or less at the level of the last year of the Second Plan, against an increase of 20 million tonnes envisaged in the current Plan. If the Third Plan could not bring about a stable increase of even five million tonnes, how can one take it that the Fourth Plan will boost it by 40 million tonnes? Something more than mere assertions and paper plans are needed to carry conviction.

Food Minister Subramaniam wants to accomplish the task through his intensive agricultural development programmes. He has laid down an essentially technical approach to a problem which cries for profound socio-economic solutions. By the use of fertilizers, pesticides and improved methods of agriculture in selected areas (roughly covering 33.5 million acres), he proposes to have an increase of 25 million tonnes. For this he has

worked out an elaborate package deal on US advice and asked for Rs. 772 crores in foreign exchange during the Fourth Plan period to import fertilizers, pesticides etc.

"United States officials," THE NEW YORK TIMES of December 10 says, have been urging India to make greater investments in fertilizers, pesticides and irrigation." It however remains to be seen how much foreign exchange will be placed at his disposal for finance his "new strategy". Let it not be overlooked that there is a very serious foreign exchange shortage and the Americans are holding up even the committed economic aid.

Need For Land Reforms

However, there is little new in all this. After the "silent revolution" under the Community Project and NES proved an expensive fiasco, the ideas of intensive agricultural development programmes came to fascinate our rulers. With the help of the Ford Foundation, for example, some programmes were launched. In fact, the Third Five Year Plan contains elaboration of this line of approach at some length. But the outcome of all this "strategy", which evades reorganisation of our agriculture and institutional changes on the basis of radical land reforms, is by now well known. Like his prayer for larger PL 480 imports the Food Minister has mainly enlarged and elaborated these programmes, whose implementation depends on the US pleasure.

No one will dispute the need for intensive and improved cultivation, based primarily on the mobilisation of our peasant masses and the utilisation of our land and other resources in full measure. But that would naturally call for radical agrarian reforms that will make the tillers the masters of the soil. The Subramaniam "strategy" is entirely different. It is a stra-

tegy for bypassing the urgently needed land reforms on the one hand and for further pampering the landlords and the capitalists on the other. It is no surprise that in his entire scheme the question of land reforms has no place at all. The government has gone back on the declared policies of the Third Plan.

This is how agriculture is proposed to be given the topmost priority in the Fourth Plan so that capitalist exploitation in our agriculture, linked up with Indian and US monopolies, can be intensified further with the full backing of the state. It is not for nothing that the bosses of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry have lately cast their hungry look on agriculture and are advocating farming by joint stock companies.

The scheme is such that only the rich with resources to buy enough fertilizers, tractors, etc., can avail of it. There is not even a proposal to give cultivable waste land free to agricultural labourers. But such land is now offered to the Birlas at concessional rates. The government knows very well that if only it would bring the waste land under plough by distributing it among the agricultural labourers, the production could at once be stepped up substantially without spending.

For all the brave sloganising about Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan, the Indian peasant, whether in uniform or not, is still treated as a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water in the Shastri government's new "strategy" on the food front. What else could be more scandalous, especially in the present critical economic and political situation?

If our people were looking forward to a national food policy, Subramaniam and his government have worked out a policy which is anti-national in some very vital respects. It is a plan of conciliation with imperialism and semi-feudal servility. The publicly expressed urges and demands

of even Congressmen have been brushed aside by the Shastri government.

This "new food strategy" of surrender and shame is fraught with dangerous consequences for our economy as a whole. The PL 480 business has already, as we have noted, placed the US imperialists in a privileged position in our economy and in the coming years, if the drift is permitted, the US hold is going to be enormously strengthened.

Dangerous Consequences

Reliance on the Americans for fertilizers will give them new opportunities for securing a foothold in our agriculture in addition to further penetrating our fertiliser industry through "collaboration" agreements. The first shot has already been fired with the offer of foreign participation in fertiliser industry and by decontrolling fertilizer. All this manifestly goes against independent economic development which is being a casualty under the Subramaniam plan.

But Subramaniam and his government must not have the last word. It is now left to the people to defeat the anti-national and retrograde features of the government's food plan, while at the same time ensuring that such measures as procurement, rationing and extension of credit, irrigation and other facilities to the peasants, which Subramaniam has promised, are carried out in the interests of the masses and in a democratic way. Without popular intervention even these halting measures are not going to be justly implemented.

The recent meetings of the Left Parties, held in New Delhi in November and December, have correctly assessed in food situations and the new food plan. Its conclusions and proposals provide the basis for a broad popular united movement.

ZAPU'S STEPHEN NKOMO GREET'S KANPUR A-A MEET

Zimbabwe: Heroic Fight Against Smith Regime

In the name of the people of Zimbabwe, in the name of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) all its leaders, Mr. Joshua Nkomo and his colleagues in the Central Committee of the ZAPU, who are today languishing in settler Ian Smith's prisons and concentration camps, I greet the people of India and extend to them the deepest appreciation of the people of Zimbabwe.

THIS Solidarity Conference, which has been organised by the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, to which my organisation has been invited to participate, marks yet another victory for the Afro-Asians, and all progressive and peace-loving peoples of the world, over the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist forces who have plundered and are still plundering—committing cold-blooded murders and enforcing brutal and oppressive laws—to deprive the indigenous people all over the world not only of their land but of liberty and human dignity.

I happen to be coming from one of those countries where rights of man have been trampled underfoot, where dignity of a human being even after death, is disregarded. It is the hell that is called Rhodesia.

Before I relate the sad episode of Rhodesia, I would like to say this:

The people of Zimbabwe salute the people and the Government of India for the principled stand they took against the Rhodesian fascist regime, even before many other people the world over had detected the conspiracy that was before the British Government and her kith and kin—the settlers.

The Indian Government, took steps and broke-off all diplomatic ties with a regime that had proved to be nothing but fascist. We owe the people and the Government of India a pyramid of thanks.

You are aware, dear Friends, that on November 11, a dehard fascist, Ian Smith and his settler followers declared our country, Zimbabwe, "independent" without the consent of the indigenous people—the four million Africans, the rightful owners of the country. This came at a time when Smith had made the preparations for such a seizure of our country.

In preparation for this illegal and immoral act, he had locked in all the leaders of the African nationalist liberation movement, including our national leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, whose health is reported to have seriously deteriorated.

The unilateral declaration of independence came at a time when torture, murder and terrorism against the Africans was the order of the day in Zimbabwe. This is a situation that was witnessed by the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, when he flew to Salisbury for talks, which have now led our country to the present crisis.

Wilson actually saw hundreds of Africans being torn to pieces by police dogs and heard the sounds of the showering of bullets where tens of our people died in cold blood. But unfortunately for him—a man who travelled to Rhodesia with pre-conceived ideas—the situation was "normal".

And after successive meetings where conspiracies were hatched between the two, Harold Wilson joyfully led his men and departed for London—he had handed over to

Ian Smith the tools of "independence".

Therefore, to the people of Zimbabwe, it was clear that Harold Wilson had sold them to the settlers, and hence the UDI that followed came as no surprise to those oppressed millions.

Till today, a little over a month since UDI was declared in our country, quite a number of things which have not been revealed to the outside world have occurred. The reasons why the outside world has been kept ignorant of what is really happening in Zimbabwe is that the settler regime has imposed very stringent laws which make it practically impossible for foreign correspondents to transmit news to world capitals without such news being censored by the Government.

The actual state of affairs is that the Ian Smith regime has now embarked upon the inhuman practices of the era of Hitler Germany.

There are secret common graves for Africans in the



vicinities of all urban areas and it has been established that about four people shot dead in Bulawayo, our second capital, during the uprising, were not taken to the mortuary but were disposed of at a big hole near the army barracks on the eastern side of the city. No

African soldier or policeman lives on our side, our activities were allowed to witness this grim ceremony.

Information reaching our HQ and the Republic of Zambia that borders our country, is that a week after UDI, six more bodies were brought to this place for burial from the southern part of our country where people had risen to challenge the regime.

This ties very well with the fact that Ian Smith personally flew to this area, under police guard, to tell the so-called African Chiefs that if the people did not cooperate with them, the police and soldiers would shoot without warning.

Some African soldiers, most of whom were disarmed and quarantined after refusing to serve under the illegal dictatorship, maintain that the grave is an old quarry mine. Other graves of a similar nature are dotted all over the country.

As it is known, the country is under a state of emergency which in fact was declared even before UDI, the Rhodesian army and police had been given orders to shoot at any African they might suspect to be working against the regime.

Hence, in all the eight provinces of the country there have been these unrecorded deaths. In the eastern districts alone, bordering fascist Mozambique more than fifty families have lost their houses as a result of refusing to co-operate with the regime. During these operations many have lost their beloved ones—men, women and children.

But despite all this, the people of Zimbabwe have refused to be intimidated. Even with thousands of Portuguese troops that have been deployed along the Mozambique—Rhodesia border, the courageous villagers in these areas continue to defy a regime that was imposed without their will.

It is for this reason that the Rhodesian fascists in conjunction with the Portuguese and South African fascist armies have stepped up their activities against the unbreakable will of our militants.

In the cities of Zimbabwe, our militants have also stepped up their activities in the form of sabotage. Many factories are at stand-still as a result of these activities and quite a number of buildings in the city centres remain guarded, because there have been numerous bomb explosions that have kept the settlers in a state of panic.

We may also bravely say that in spite of the loss of

heavy blows in defence of the rights of their people, by killing members of the police forces, the army and the security men. This has happened in various parts of the country.

It must be noted that the situation in Southern Rhodesia became more serious in the year 1964 when 47,000 political cases were heard in the courts of law. Of these 90% were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, ranging from five to twenty years, and some sentenced to death. Up-to-date the number of Africans condemned to death is 27.

With the additional arrests which were made during the state of emergency a week before UDI, the concentration camps today carry over 13,000 of people detained without trial.

The people of Zimbabwe, fail to understand how the economic sanctions can bring down to its knees the Ian Smith regime which has the full backing of the British Government. Because British investments in Rhodesia today, are estimated at over 170 million pounds sterling, can Britain really set sanctions against herself? We believe not.

In conclusion, in dealing with the Zimbabwe situation I would like to assure you and all our friends assembled here, in the name of our patriots who have sacrificed their lives for our country and those that are languishing in prisons, detention and concentration camps, that the people of Zimbabwe have vowed never to rest until Zimbabwe is free.

We of ZAPU would like to reiterate our stand that our people, our militants and their leaders shall recognise no price too high nor sacrifice too great for the sake of that which is ours—our country, Zimbabwe.

In conclusion we greet and thank the people and the great leaders of this country. We pay homage to the late Premier Jawaharlal Nehru whose spirit still leads and guides the people of this Republic. We greet our great leader and friend, whom we had the opportunity of seeing during his visit to our continent, Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Long live the solidarity between the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Long live solidarity between the people of India and the people of Zimbabwe.

Long live world peace.

(From Stephen Nkomo's speech at Kanpur)

SOVIET PEOPLE AFFIRM SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

MOSCOW: Meetings in solidarity with the Vietnamese people, against US aggressive war in Vietnam, are order of the day in the USSR. Such a meeting took place last week in Moscow.

PENING the meeting, Pyotr Reshetov, Chairman of the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR, said: "Progressive people the world over are watching with concern the events developing on Vietnamese soil.

"Grossly flouting the norms of international law and the will of peoples for peace and progress, the US imperialists are extending the dirty aggression against the freedom-loving Vietnamese people, continuing air-raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, burning towns and villages, killing women, old men and children."

"On behalf of the Young Communist League members, the youth and students of the Soviet country," Pyotr Reshetov said, "we emphatically assure our Vietnamese brothers that they can always count on the assistance and support of millions of Soviet youths and girls, that they have reliable and loyal friends in the Soviet youth."

Pyotr Reshetov was followed by Kamran Guseinov, Secretary of the Soviet Trade Unions and a member of the Presidium of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

The Soviet people, he said, have invariably rendered and continue to render an all-

round effective assistance to the fraternal Vietnamese people. Our solidarity is displayed in deeds, not in words. The aggressors have already felt its strength and will more than once experience it on their own back.

Mikhail Kotov, Executive Secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee said that the campaign of solidarity with Vietnam has assumed a country-wide character in the USSR.

On the appeal of the Peace Committee the collection of money to the Vietnam assistance fund has been started on a wide scale in the Soviet Union. The considerable sums raised in the country went for purchase of medical instruments for Vietnamese hospitals, clothes, and different materials, he said.

On behalf of the young workers of the capital the feelings of fraternal solidarity with the people of heroic Vietnam were conveyed by Evgeny Konriz, a leader at the Moscow Electrical Engineering Plant.

Dang Quang Minh, chief permanent representative of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front in Moscow, warmly thanked those gathered at the meeting for the active support by the Soviet people of the

just struggle waged by the Vietnamese people against the American interventionists.

"Receiving an increasing aid from the USSR and other socialist countries," he said, "the people of South Vietnam will not rest content with the success achieved. They will strike ever more staggering blows at the aggressors."

"An end must be put to the dirty war of American imperialism in Vietnam!"

"Hands off Vietnam!" declared the participants in the meeting in the resolution unanimously passed by them.



Moscow demonstration condemning American aggression against Vietnam

LIBERATION FRONT DELEGATION IN GDR

From SADHAN MUKHERJEE

BERLIN: "The most important international duty at present for all forces of peace and progress" is "coordinated solidarity for the heroic Vietnamese people" the report of the Politbureau to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party currently in session in Berlin said.

THE report regretted that the Chinese Communist Party leaders were "following the obvious goal of splitting the world Communist movement. It appealed to the Chinese leaders to take part in joint actions "instead of just talking of struggle against US imperialism."

A delegation from the Vietnam National Liberation Front is currently in Berlin on the invitation of the GDR National Front (five-party united front which rules GDR). The delegation is holding a number of meetings and

attending solidarity celebrations.

The delegation has expressed its deep gratitude and satisfaction at the solidarity shown by the GDR towards the Vietnamese people's struggle.

The GDR Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee's Vietnam Commission, has collected two million marks as aid to the fighting Vietnam, besides other help. The Liberation Front's fifth anniversary was observed here on a grand scale.

Max Seifrin, GDR Deputy

Premier, has assured the VNLF delegation that the best help from the GDR will continue for the struggling Vietnamese people.

While dealing with the help which GDR and its people are extending to the Vietnamese people, one cannot but compare what is happening in West Berlin and West Germany.

The West German government is extending all possible help to the US authorities in their war of revenge in Vietnam. Recently, West Berlin papers started a campaign to collect money for the families of Americans killed in Vietnam.

Money came to the fund from big firms and monopoly enterprises, but the people did not give any contributions to it. The total came to less than five pennies per head of population.

In contrast to this, large-scale student, teachers' and workers' protest actions are taking place in West Berlin and West Germany against the American aggression and atrocities in Vietnam.

Working Hours Cut in GDR

BERLIN: German people received a Christmas present from the party of the working class, the Socialist Unity Party, in the form of two five-day working weeks in the month.

The announcement was made by Walter Ulbricht at the concluding session of the SED Central Committee. The new holidays will become effective from April 9 next.

Ulbricht also announced that further improvements in working conditions are under way, including a general cut in working hours from 48 to 45 a week.

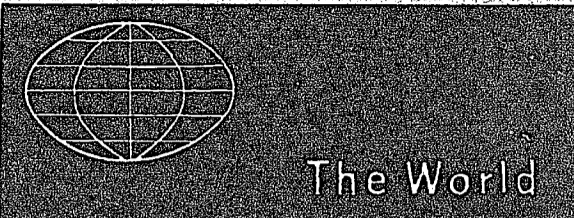
The SED central committee heard a report on results of economic planning in 1965. The year showed an increase of seven per cent in production, 4.7 per cent in national income.

Plans for 1966 include increase in national income by 5.2 per cent, 6.1 per cent in industrial production, 3.3 per cent in agriculture.



West Germany: People sign petition stoking the wall demanding end to Vietnam war. Posters showing calamities of the war are also stuck near the petition

African States Break Relations with Britain



The situation in Rhodesia continues to be grim and grows worse with each passing day. Together with scores of persons shot or sentenced to death and hundreds others killed in massacres, the number of persons held in detention centres and concentration camps now total more than 13,000.

ALL Indians will be proud to know that Rhodesians of Indian origin are fully supporting the freedom struggle launched by the Zimbabwe. At least four such Rhodesians of Indian origin are in concentration camps along with their brothers of African origin.

Although Britain has at last imposed an oil embargo this was after a big tanker of the more-than-half-government-owned British Petroleum Company had already reached the Mozambique port of Beira with 12,000 tons of oil for Rhodesia.

In any case Rhodesia already had more than six months' supply of oil and its needs can easily be met by Mozambique and South Africa unless an effective oil embargo was imposed simultaneously

against all the white racist regimes in southern Africa.

In fact instead of the British embargo biting the Rhodesian economy in any effective way it is Rhodesia which cut off Zambia's normal supply of oil necessitating airlifting by Britain. Although France and Italy have also joined in the oil embargo the economic sanctions alone will not bring about any visible change in the situation. Rhodesia has also imposed new duties on coal and coke going to Zambia as a reprisal against the oil embargo.

As for OAU action in support of Zimbabwe the first round has already seen eight African States snap their diplomatic relations with Britain. Then there was a new move for a OAU summit meeting proposed by Senegal, Sierra

Leone, Ivory Coast and some others which has now been endorsed and agreed upon by Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda to review the situation and decide on the next step. A summit meeting is necessary because the Ministerial Council which decides by a simple majority has already met and given a call which met with partial success.

A summit meeting which requires a two-thirds majority of Heads of State for any decision to be mandatory alone will have the necessary prestige and decisive power to impose a continent-wide united common action. Meanwhile it is no small measure of the success of the African move that Britain which resolutely declared against imposing an oil embargo in defiance of the UN resolution has now yielded to this African demand.

NARROWEST MARGIN FOR DE GAULLE

In the second ballot of the French Presidential elections de Gaulle just

scraped in with a bare 55 per cent majority in a straight fight against the candidate of the United Left Francois Mitterand. Although polling was unusually high at 84 per cent, the 16 per cent abstention meant that the backing for de Gaulle fell short of half the total number of voters of France.

Compared to the first ballot this meant that de Gaulle's lead over Mitterand was further reduced from the previous 13 per cent to 10 per cent in the straight fight.

This was the first time that Presidential elections were held in France on the basis of direct universal suffrage on the American pattern and de Gaulle has been returned to a second seven-year term as President of the Fifth Republic. Compared to the 80 per cent vote for his assumption of power in 1958 and 62 per cent in 1962 in the referendum

for his constitutional amendment providing for direct Presidential elections, this is the narrowest margin yet with which de Gaulle has won. After claiming that the choice before the electorate was one between himself and catastrophe and that he represented a part of French history and was a national necessity, this was indeed a big come down.

The general elections fixed for early in 1967 will now become the decisive encounter which will restore the full role of parliament in national life and meanwhile the struggle inside the present parliament will receive a new impetus from the results of last Sunday's polling.

—BAREN RAY

JOHNSON DOCTRINE: MORE FOR WAR, LESS FOR PEOPLE

NEW YORK: The Johnson administration plans a further sharp increase in military expenditures to prosecute the aggressive war in Vietnam.

This has become clear from American press statements following a series of talks President Johnson had with his leading advisers.

Jack Raymond, the NEW YORK TIMES writer on military affairs, reports from Washington that according to well-informed sources at the Pentagon, President Johnson will ask Congress to appropriate between 60,000 and 61,000 million dollars for the Defence Department for the fiscal year beginning July, 1966.

This would represent an increase of thirteen per cent over estimated Pentagon expenditures for the current year, and an increase of 27 per cent over its expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.

This is by far the largest United States military budget in peace time.

Furthermore, the 60,000 million dollar figure does not include appropriations for the space and nuclear weapons programme or for military aid to United States allies.

If these programmes are taken into account, United States military expenditures next year will come nearer to 70,000 million dollars.

It is already clear that expenditures for the partial alleviation of poverty in the "distressed areas", for housing programmes and other much-needed reforms will be cut back to feed the Pentagon's insatiable appetite.

Tashkent Talks : Cautious Optimism in Moscow

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: With the date of Tashkent Conference approaching nearer, the world interest in it is mounting. Newspaper and news agency correspondents are in a hurry to get facilities, book their accommodation and make arrangements for quick transmission of news. Wherever one goes these days the inevitable topic is Tashkent and the prospects of the India-Pakistan summit conference.

THE very fact that the meeting is taking place and matters are moving to the conference table is considered by journalists and observers here to be a big contribution by the Soviet Union to the prospects of peace and understanding.

The Soviet approach to the Tashkent meeting, and problems involved is positive and optimistic. Soviet circles are realistic; they are not only aware of the dangers and pitfalls ahead but also of the possibilities of the impasse being broken and the ball set rolling in the right direction.

Soviet observers say that the very acceptance by both sides of the conference proposal shows that both are sincerely willing to improve the totality of relations and tackle the concrete problems arising out of the past and present conflicts. A spirit of cordiality and an atmosphere of peace and reasonableness has to be created for the talks to succeed.

Soviet circles are aware of India's stand that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir state

encourage and instigate the belligerent circles there with a view to jeopardising the prospects of the Tashkent conference.

Soviet circles hope that Pakistan would not fall into this Chinese trap.

As far as the talk of an autonomous state of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, Soviet circles seem to think that the inspiration behind this is coming from Britain for her own imperialist aims.

It is felt here that besides the burning question of ceasefire other steps could be taken to improve relations such as normalisation of diplomatic relations, transport and communications.

Mutual release of prisoners of war and other internees is an important step and the fact that such releases have been agreed upon is considered to be a good beginning here.

Other steps in this direction would be the return of property confiscated by each side, stopping of hostile propaganda, fair treatment of minorities, better economic and cultural relations etc.

The Soviet Union hopes that both sides would agree to withdrawal and disengagement of forces so that the danger of further flare-ups and incidents are eliminated.

Much of course depends on

India's insistence on some guarantees against future violations and aggression is sympathetically appreciated here. India insists that withdrawal should be considered in this context and within the sphere of India's legal and territorial rights.

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No-War Pact

With a no war pact and guarantees against future aggression the linking of withdrawal of forces with eventual delimitation of the international boundary could be possible.

Indian Ambassador T. N. Kaul, who returned to Moscow on Friday after consultations in New Delhi, had meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Deputy Foreign Minister Firyubin the next day.

Each meeting lasted an hour and it is understood that the arrangements and prospects of the Tashkent meeting were discussed and India's views and hopes were conveyed to the Soviet government.

Soviet reaction to the Tashkent conference can be summed up as follows: Soviet people and the general public are happy and relieved; "the Soviet Government is happy, hopeful and cautious."



Foreign delegates: Martin Mora (Cuba), Gulshavilli (Soviet Union), Mrs. Fischer (GDR), O. Khosbayer (Mongolia) and Salim Ahmed Salim (Tanzania)

KANPUR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY MEET

National Platform Against Imperialism and Reaction

No participant of the Fifth National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity (Kanpur, December 17 to 19) could fail to note one dominant reality—the Indian peace and solidarity movement has grown rapidly into an ever-growing national platform against imperialism and reaction—a platform which has begun to influence and mould public opinion and policies in a sharp and decisive manner.

THE mammoth concluding rally in Kanpur's famous Phool Bagh was in a way symbolic of the emergence of this national platform. Presided over by Aruna Asaf Ali, the rally was addressed, among others, by V. K. Krishna Menon MP, S. M. Joshi, Romesh Chandra, Diwan Chaman Lal MP and Govind Sahai MLA.

Throughout the Conference this national character of the movement, crossing party boundaries was emphasised. On each of the crucial resolutions, speeches came from representatives of different parties and political opinions. The Uttar Pradesh delegation included several MLAs, representing the Congress, Communist and Samyukta Socialist parties as much as the Independent Group.

All resolutions were adopted unanimously. They were not "tame" resolutions watered down to secure the consent of the most backward. On the contrary, each resolution represented the

highest level of anti-imperialist opinion, each sentence having a razor-like sharpness in its content.

A remarkable feature of the conference was the



Tara Chand MP

manner in which, throughout the various sessions the unity was demonstrated and emphasised of the Indian peoples' struggle for defence and well-being, with the struggles of all peoples against imperialism and for national independence and peace.

The conference pandal had six doors, and the martyrs and heroes after whom they were named were, in a way, symbols of this unity.

The Patrice Lumumba Gate stood near the gate named after Havildar Abdul Hamid Khan.

The gate named after the South Vietnamese patriot executed by the US imperialists in Saigon (Tran Van Dong) was close to that named after a heroic son of Kanpur, who gave his life for his Motherland last September, Inderjit Singh.

The Jose Marti Gate, named after Cuba's great national hero, was opposite the Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi Gate, named after that immortal son of Kanpur, who laid down his life for the sacred cause of Hindu-Muslim unity.

And in the speeches, there were always references to this essential unity of India's struggle with that of all other peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against reaction, and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The very first speech—that by Govind Sahai MLA, General Secretary of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee, who chaired the Reception Committee—pointed out how the bombs which kill Vietnamese men, women and children are the same as those that killed Indians last September on our border towns and at the front—all "Made in USA". And that was the tenor and spirit of the entire Conference.

The Conference Declaration—the key document—emphasised the fact that the principles of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement were in complete conformity with the basic principles of this country. The declaration was a fervent call for the unity of the nation in support of the principles of peaceful co-existence, non-alignment and anti-imperialism, of secularism, democracy and socialism.

A special resolution on Indo-Pak relations and the Tashkent Summit was a

powerful indictment of US and British imperialist conspiracies, which it described as "the root cause" of Indo-Pakistan differences.



V. K. Krishna Menon

In regard to Kashmir, the resolution pointed out:

"The imperialists cannot establish bases in Kashmir as long as it is a part of non-aligned India. That is why they back the Ayub dictatorship in its repeated aggressions against India." Pointedly, the resolution stated:

"The Indian people fully realise that the imperialists

seek to keep alive Indo-Pakistan tension for their own selfish reasons. They use this tension to blackmail India to abandon its policy of non-alignment and peace.

"As long as the US and British imperialists are not prevented from interfering in the internal affairs of India and Pakistan, so long is any hope of a lasting peaceful solution remote.

"Pakistan's membership of SEATO and CENTO is

*ON PAGE 13

From Two To Three Continents

AT every session of the Kanpur Conference, speakers referred to the fact that from now onwards, the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement had become the Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity movement.

A huge map of Latin America was placed on the dias and it was pointed out that the symbol of the solidarity movement (a torch held by two hands with an outline of Afro-Asia in the background) would soon be replaced by THREE hands and THREE continents.

"HAVANA" was on the lips of all delegates. HAVANA—the venue of the three continents' conference, the stormcentre of the revolutionary forces of Latin America; HAVANA—the birth place of the Solidarity movement of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

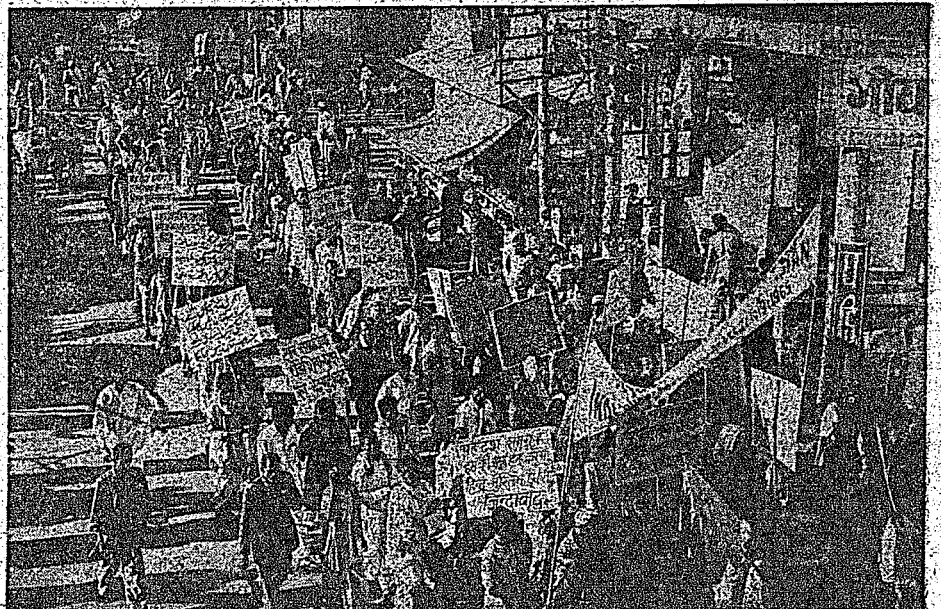
FOREIGN DELEGATES

TO Kanpur came a galaxy of outstanding men and women from other lands. In their presence they symbolised the unity of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the socialist countries of Europe.

Zimbabwe, Tanzania, the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic—they were all there—standing shoulder to shoulder with the thousands of Indians who participated in the Conference.

They spoke with one voice. And in that voice was power and strength, determination and courage.

Onward to the final assault on imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism!



A procession marching to the concluding rally