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More On Jain Affair!

QUEER DEAL OF TYCOONS AND "SADHUS"

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE SORDID STORY OF GOVERNMENT'S SLIDE-DOWN IN THE INFAMOUS BENNETT COLEMAN CASE HAS COME TO LIGHT.

For considerations unexplained both the Home and Law ministries favour withdrawal of the criminal case against Shanti Prasad Jain, the Bennett Coleman boss. NEW AGE on August 1 frontpaged these details.

After the NEW AGE exposure, though no official contradiction was issued, a section of the press carried a story (briefed?) that the Home Ministry has not decided to withdraw the case and that a reference has been made to the Attorney General for the study of the Special Police Establishment report against the Jains.

No Official Clarification

BUT NO OFFICIAL STATEMENT HAS BEEN MADE TILL TODAY REGARDING THIS REFERENCE. HAS IT BEEN MADE AT ALL? IF SO, ON WHAT DATE?

It is reported that last May, a senior official in the Ministry of Law first advised in favour of proceeding with the criminal case. But later, it is alleged, that he succumbed to the pressure brought to bear upon him and gave a written report suggesting that the evidence against S. P. Jain and others was not adequate to sustain a criminal prosecution.

Law Ministry is reported to have also advised the Finance Ministry against filing the civil case before the Companies Tribunal. But this advice was not accepted.

S. P. JAIN MEANWHILE WROTE TO THE GOVERNMENT OFFERING A "SETTLEMENT" IF

THE CASES AGAINST HIM WERE DROPPED.

Significant in this connection is also the report that S. P. Jain was "requested" in June this year to find accommodation in Delhi for some "sadhus and munis" who were coming to Delhi for some meeting.

Jain immediately offered to accommodate them in the old premises of the TIMES OF INDIA at Daryaganj. The premises were under requisition as the TIMES OF INDIA office had been shifted to its new premises.

Matter Hastily Dropped

ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO STAY THE REQUISITION PROCEEDINGS, BUT THE PRESENT DIRECTORS OF THE BENNETT COLEMAN COMPANY ASKED FOR A WRITTEN REQUEST FROM THE PATRON OF THE "SADHUS AND MUNIS" AND THE MATTER WAS HASTILY DROPPED!

The Jain story is thus becoming curiouser and curiouser.

● Will Home Minister Nanda disclose if he has received the offer of settlement from S. P. Jain and what are its terms?

● Will he also state whether a reference has been made to the Attorney General for opinion in regard to the SPE charge-sheet against S. P. Jain and others? If so, what are its terms? And if not, why?

● And lastly, will he give the reason why both the Home and Law ministries are so much interested and "concerned" about the Jains, the reason which warrants even a proposal for the withdrawal of the criminal case against one whose anti-social activities have been nailed down long ago in an official report.



P. K. Vasudevan Nair, MP handed over to Nguyen Hoa, Consul General of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in New Delhi, on August 31 medicines worth Rs. 10,000. This is the first consignment of the medical help which the All-India Youth Federation and the All-India Students Federation is extending to the youth and people of Vietnam who are heroically fighting the American imperialist aggressors. Included in this first consignment were collections from Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra, Assam and Rajasthan. Collections amounting to about Rs. 20,000 more have been made, including in Kerala, West Bengal and Tamilnad which are expected to reach New Delhi soon.

Reddy's Big Gift To The Tatas

NEW DELHI: Steel Minister Sanjiva Reddy has done it again. He has surrendered to the pressure of the Tatas behind the back of Parliament and the people, and in the process violated the guidelines of the Industrial Policy Resolution.

It was a confident J.R.D. Tata, glowing with pride, who announced to his shareholders in Bombay on August 26 that the Government of India had issued a letter of intent to the TISCO for setting up a special steels plant.

The Tatas had been given a licence to set up the special steels plant six years ago by the government. But they did not care to take any steps towards setting up the plant.

Under pressure of public opinion, the government asked the Tatas last year to return the licence. And the Tatas surrendered it. That was of course under the helmanship of C. Subramaniam at the Union Steel Ministry.

Thereafter the Ministry decided to set up the special steels plant in the public sector itself. Steps were taken accordingly to develop the Bhadravati

steel plant into a special steels project.

What Sanjiva Reddy has done now is to reverse his predecessor's line of action. And in doing it, he has also stabbed the public sector in the back and favoured a monopoly capitalist to expand his already vast empire.

Nor has he stopped with that. As disclosed by J.R.D. Tata, the Steel Ministry has given the green signal for the big expansion programme of the TISCO too, to double its capacity from two million tonnes to four million tonnes ingots.

Sanjiva Reddy has sought to brush off this serious deviation from the precepts of the Industrial Policy Resolution by saying that this is envisaged as a fifth plan programme. But facts prove otherwise.

In Fourth Plan Itself

The industrial programme for the fourth plan, as set out in the latest documents of the Planning Commission does include the TISCO expansion scheme. The 16 million tonne target for 1970-71 is inclusive of the expanded four million tonnes capacity of the Tatas.

There is no guarantee that the Tatas would keep to the schedule. Past ex-

perience certainly is against any such assumption.

Even from economic considerations, this expansion programme of the Tatas is utterly impermissible. As is known to the government, the cost of production of Tata steel is the highest in the country.

Again, the Tatas are planning to implement the expansion programme by raising internally about Rs. 100 crores out of the total Rs. 300 crores needed. Most of it is to come from existing resources of the company.

And yet, the selfsame Tatas have not paid the Rs. 10-crore loan which they have taken from the Government of India. Sanjiva Reddy says they are not even replying to the offers being made by the government, quite favourable to the Tatas as these are.

Such unashamed favouring of private sector monopolies has to be put an end to. All deviations from the Industrial Policy Resolution, however facile the explanations be, have to be fought tooth and nail.

The private sector should be curbed; not favoured with more projects in the key sectors of the economy such as steel. All expansion programmes in steel should be only in the public sector; this is the demand of the people.

REPRESSION UNBRIDLED

editorial

THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS at the centre and in the states have evidently taken a collective decision to wield the big stick with unprecedented ferocity, the moment the people in any part of the country dare to launch a peaceful movement on any issue.

The Naik Ministry in Maharashtra has thrown into prison almost the entire leadership of the major left parties participating in the Anti-Starvation Committee. Hundreds of leaders have been put behind bars, the majority under the hated Defence of India Rules. In every district in the state but one, arrest have taken place in a desperate attempt to behead the mass movement for food and against high prices.

FOLLOWING A PATTERN

The Maharashtra pattern follows closely that in Bihar and West Bengal. Meanwhile other places have leapt into the headlines: Imphal, Gorakhpur and now Dholpur.

Lathi-charges, firings and mass arrests are the rule. The violence of the police attacks has been described vividly by the SSP leader Karpuri Thakur on the floor of the Bihar Legislative Assembly. It is openly alleged in certain states that the police were instructed to 'teach a lesson' to the left leaders: the blood which soaked the clothes of their victims and the fractures caused by lathi-blows, apart from the dead, bear witness to the efficiency with which these instructions were carried out.

Before the present phase of the food movement, about a thousand political prisoners were detained without trial, the great majority of them having been arrested at the end of December 1964 and belonging to the Marxist Communist Party.

Today the number of imprisoned in Bihar alone is reported to be three thousand. While the total number for the whole country held under the DIR is not available, one can take it that it is at least double that of a month ago—and the detained belong to all the major left parties, which are participating in the food movement.

Repression on such a large and wide scale is unprecedented in the history of independent India. Never since 1947 have the leaders of so many political parties been in prison together under detention without trial. Never since the British quit India has there been such a repressive sweep, covering so many states.

HUNGER CAN'T BE GAGGED

The Congress rulers are living in a fool's paradise if they think that this repression can silence the tongues of the lakhs, who demand an end to the pro-hoarder, pro-landlord, pro-profiteer policies of the government. In Maharashtra, two lakhs demonstrated during the Protest Week called by the Anti-Starvation Committee, despite the most elaborate repressive machinery.

The hunger of the people cannot be ended by bullets, teargas and lathi-charges.

It is time for the Congress governments to reconsider seriously their policy in relation to the peaceful food movement, which is now raging through the entire country. This reconsideration is particularly necessary in the light of the urgency to secure the enthusiastic support of the entire people for the requirements of national defence against the Pakistani aggression in Kashmir.

The solution of the food crisis, along the lines suggested by the Communist Party, the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti and other democratic forces, can no longer be delayed.

Starvation, high prices, hoarding and profiteering are NOT the best builders of the morale, that national unity, which are so vital for national defence.

(August 31)

LEFT UNITED ACTION WINS KERALA DETENUS' DEMANDS

TRIVANDRUM:

The detenus' hunger-strike in Kerala ended on August 27. A major victory had been won. Government was forced to concede several of the demands for better conditions, as a result of the united campaign conducted in support of the detenus by the left parties.

ONE hundred and seventeen detenus in the three prisons of Kerala agreed to call off the hungerstrike, in response to an appeal by leaders of left parties C. Achutha Menon, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Mathai Manjooran, B. Wellington, G. Gopinathan Nair and B. Madhavan Nair.

These leaders had earlier met Governor A. P. Jain and secured from him a definite promise to meet a number of the detenus' demands. The Governor had repeated his inability to do anything in regard to the demand of release or trial, but he gave assurances of expeditious action on other demands regarding jail conditions and facilities for detenus.

The left leaders in their joint statement, urging the detenus to end their fast on August 27, stated that the struggle for the release of detenus would have to be continued and intensified, and assured that further steps for stepping up the campaign would be immediately discussed and taken.

Facilities In Jails

In the light of the assurances given by the Governor and also in view of the deterioration in health of leaders like A. K. Gopalan and other hunger strikers, the left leaders urged an end to the hungerstrike. The detenus responded, and within hours of the end of the hungerstrike, the government issued a press note detailing the facilities being granted to the detenus.

The detenus had launched their hungerstrike on August 21. From August 25 onwards, the Marxist Communist Party had organised picketing of government offices to focus attention on the detenus' demands. This picketing was also called off with the end of the hunger-strike.

The facilities won through the joint efforts of the left parties, include the following:

- Bus fares will be paid to the detenus who are in receipt of family allowances whenever they are allowed to go out on parole;

- Pending amendment of the rules regarding correspondence, the detenus will be permitted to write four letters and to receive eight letters per week instead of in a fortnight. In cases found suitable, the Jail Superintendents may also give permission for writing additional letters;

- One newspaper each will be supplied to every group of five detenus. If a detenus desires to have any additional book, periodical or newspaper which is in lawful circulation, he can obtain it at his expense;

- Electric fans will be provided in the cells of the detenus;

From
S. SHARMA

- Spectacles and dentures will be given to detenus as at present, on doctors' prescriptions;

- Hospital treatment will be provided strictly in accordance with the prescription of the doctor;

- Clothing for detenus will be prepared out of material approved by the detenus, subject to financial limits. The tailoring shall be done by professional tailors;

- Two pairs of chappals will be provided to every detenu every year;

- Subject to overall limits, interviews will be allowed for the purpose of business, in cases where the detenu was conducting a business himself;

- The collectors of the districts, where central jails are located, will pay fortnightly visits to the central jails, and ensure that the living conditions of the detenus are satisfactory;

In order to meet the complaint that accommodation for detenus in the central

jails of Trivandrum and Cannanore is unsatisfactory, the Chief Engineer, Buildings and Roads, will undertake the improvement and extension of accommodation of the central prison, Trivandrum and the Central Jail Cannanore. The work will be completed before the middle of September 1965. In case, it is found necessary to shift some ordinary prisoners out of the central jails, that will be done for providing better accommodation to detenus.

To meet the complaint that many people who were entitled to family allowance had been left out, an immediate enquiry will be made into such cases. Pending applications for family allowance will be disposed of expeditiously. Previous enquiries were made through the police. A further enquiry will be made through the district collectors concerned.

Family Allowance

All enquiries regarding application for family allowance of detenus will be conducted through the district collectors concerned. The enquiry will be made by an officer not below the rank of deputy collector and will be completed as soon as possible. Government have been given to understand on behalf of the detenus, that detenus will make fresh applications.

In granting parole, the definition of family will be extended to include dependants, grant parents and sisters. Parole will be given expeditiously in emergent cases.

RELEASE AILING ASSAM DETENUS

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: Three Marxist Communist leaders of Assam detained under the DIR have been admitted to hospital recently.

Achintya Bhattacharjee, Secretary of the Marxist CPI's state committee and member of the Party's Central Committee and Uma Sharma another prominent member of that Party have been admitted in the Gauhati Medical College.

Both of them were detained in Tezpur jail from where they were brought to Gauhati Medical College.

Jajneswar Das, another leader of the Marxist CP who was detained in Nowgong special jail, is seriously ill. He has since been admitted to Nowgong civil hospital.

When his condition worsened inside jail, the jail authorities sent an urgent wire to his wife asking her to come to Nowgong to see him. This itself indicates the seriousness of his illness.

It is recalled that about a couple of months back Benoy Lahiri, Secretary of the Shillong committee of the CPI and Prafulla Misra, editor of SHILLONG OBSERVER, who had been detained under DIR at the time of the "no work" movement of Assam secretariat employees, on their release narrated the deplorable sanitary condition inside Nowgong special jail.

They pointed out that the ailing detenus there were not given proper medical treatment. Conditions in Tezpur jail are hardly better than that in Nowgong special jail.

All the above-mentioned Marxist Communist detenus have been ailing for quite some time now.

Phani Bora, secretary of the Assam state council of the Communist Party of India, in a statement has demanded immediate release of the ailing detenus, particularly the three who have since been admitted to Gauhati Medical College and Nowgong civil hospital.

There is deep concern in all parts of the country; at the recent developments in Punjab. They are fraught with the most dangerous possibilities of communal conflict and disorder. Any such conflict at this time, when the country is facing the Pakistani aggression in Kashmir, would be a national disaster.

REACTIONS to the proposed fast by Sant Fateh Singh are twofold. Vast sections of the Sikh masses are in sympathy with the Sant's desperation and greatly resent the attitude of the Government in not conceding the demand for a "Punjab Suba" (Punjab state demarcated in accordance with the principle of linguistic redistribution of states). The Akalis resent the attitude of those Hindus who oppose the demand.

The peculiar position in the Punjab is that Hindus, including those who are Punjabi-speaking, are generally not in sympathy with the demand and the fast. Hindu communal leaders, taking advantage of this mood, are threatening counter-measures. Already two swamis have announced counter-fasts.

Background To The Fast

In order to understand the present developments, it is necessary to recall that Punjab is a bilingual state, and in that way, an exception after the demarcation of states on a linguistic basis has been carried out in the rest of the country.

The story of the so-called regional "formula", its virtual non-implementation, the failure to develop and promote the Punjabi language as it should have been, and the subsequent division, on what appear to be communal lines,

has been taking a progressive stand in direct contrast to Master Tara Singh, who is the champion of every reactionary, pro-imperialist cause.

After the Sant announced his decision to fast, Master Tara Singh began to talk of unity with and support to the Sant, lauding his sacrifice, while asserting at the same time that the Sant's demand of a Punjabi Suba was only the first step towards the goal of "self-determination" for Sikhs, which he (Master Tara Singh) had championed.

Contributing To Communal Tension

Sant Fateh Singh has again reiterated that he does not support the slogan raised by Master Tara Singh, and that he stands for a linguistic (NOT a communal) state. So far so good.

But at the same time the fact that the Sant is resorting to a fast unto death and self-immolation—and that too inside a Gurdwara—to realise his demand, and that he—and more so his supporters—have linked the demand with the plea of alleged discrimination against the Sikhs, is contributing towards creating a serious situation of communal

Not only this. On a number of important economic and political issues, such as non-alignment, bank nationalisation, State trading, attitude to Communism and the Communist Party, Sant Fateh Singh

AVTAR SINGH MALHOTRA WRITES ON SANT FATEH SINGH'S FAST 'SUBA' DEMAND: ISSUES AND SOLUTIONS

Suffice it to say that the Congress in the Punjab, instead of taking a consistent stand on democratic principles has pursued an opportunist policy of siding with one communalism or the other. Thus the ruling party has contributed to the deplorable development that the issue of state reorganisation in Punjab has been complicated and mixed up with communal politics.

It is necessary also to bear in mind the fact that Sant Fateh Singh has all along dissociated himself and opposed the separatist slogans of Master Tara Singh. The Sant has been campaigning that he stands for a Punjabi Suba on a linguistic basis, as in other states. Though his Akali Dal is also organised on communal lines as is Master Tara Singh's, yet Sant Fateh Singh has been laying emphasis on Hindu-Sikh unity, and his stand has considerably helped in improving the communal situation in the state.

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discord and tension. The elements led by Master Tara Singh, on the one hand, and the Jan Sangh, on the other, are becoming more and more active and finding a hearing in increasing degrees from the Sikh and Hindu masses respectively.

In this situation, the proposed fast cannot be viewed with equanimity or indifference by any patriot, particularly when the Kashmir situation requires the fullest communal peace and harmony inside the whole country.

Those who are combining their opposition to the proposed fast with an insistence on maintenance of the status quo (whether on the plea of Kashmir or something else), insisting on maintaining the present boundaries of the state and refusing even to consider the demand for linguistic reorganisation, are also contributing to the aggravation of an already critical situation.

An approach that equates Sant Fateh Singh with Master Tara Singh, that does not differentiate between the respective demands raised by

both, and an approach that sees only Sikh communalism and closes its eyes to Hindu communalism and its pressures on the ruling party itself, will not help to solve the problem but only complicate it further.

The long-standing problem of according a just status to Punjabi as the mother-tongue of all Punjab and the linguistic reorganisation of this area, leading to the formation of a Punjabi state and Hari-ana Prant, demand solution and cannot be evaded.

It was with this clear-cut appreciation of the situation, that the National Council of the Communist Party of India urged the Government to "accept the principle of linguistic reorganisation as applicable to Punjab". That step alone will help to cut the Gordian knot. At the same time, considering the possible grave consequences, the Council appealed to Sant Fateh Singh to desist from taking the extreme step of the fast unto death.

Just Solution Possible

After the Council meeting, a delegation of the Communist Party led by General Secretary Rajeswara Rao met the Prime Minister in Delhi, Sant Fateh Singh at Amritsar, and the Punjab Chief Minister and Home Minister at Chandigarh.

The delegation is convinced, after these talks, that possibilities are there for a solution on a just and principled basis on the lines proposed by the National Council of the Party.

The delegation has also obtained a fuller picture of the difficulties and obstacles in the way of such a solution. These obstacles arise first and foremost from the reactionary and disruptive machinations of leaders of Sikh communalism as well as Hindu communalism. They arise no less from the intransigent and opportunist attitude which the Congress Government is adopting, bringing grist to the mill of the communalists.

The difficulties are formidable, but the interests of the people in this border state and the urgent demands of national unity and security make it mandatory that a solution must be found.

Actually, conditions are far more favourable than ever before in the Punjab, for realising the solution we propose. Though at present the communal elements, both Hindu and Sikh, appear to dominate the scene, the possibility of mobilising the democratic elements in all communal and political parties, for a just and democratic

—BHIMA

VIETNAM AND THE LOBBY

WAY back in 1959 when Sant Fateh Singh undertook his first fast unto death on behalf of the then united Akali Dal, a group of American correspondents, with special briefs in their pockets, rushed—as only Americans can—to Amritsar's famous Golden Temple.

As they surrounded the Sant's cot, rattling off questions amidst the clangs and clicks of cameras and the stuyifying daze of arc lights, the straight-forward and earthy Sikh leader appeared a wee bit baffled.

The American "Specials" tackled the Punjabi Suba issue from all angles.

Then, while the Sant was still dwelling on the last sortie, one of the American Specials fired a quick one:

"Do you propose taking the Punjabi Suba issue to the United Nations?"

It was a loaded question, a suggestion for action. From the Sant came a rebuff. Said the Sikh leader: "I have been born here and here I shall die. I have nothing to do with the United Nations, this is an internal issue."

That ended the American mission to the Golden Temple, leaving behind a sneaky, insidious trail.

The Sant had no use for the American hint, but there are others who would react differently. Years earlier that eminent Kashmiri Abdullah, could not resist the American lure.

There is also the powerful American Lobby, which has its subscribers in positions of vantage in several of the country's political groupings, and which cannot resist the Washington pull.

What is the hallmark of the Lobby and how to distinguish its subscribers?

That should be easy enough, for the Americans have cut-and-dried formulae to tout. And there is always the special topic for the day.

For instance, VIETNAM. That is the American topic for today. Spot out the distinguished folks, the Lobby men, easily now—you have just to apply the Vietnam test.

The Lobby is a body of active personages and responds quickly to the exigencies of the day. There are for example the trials and tribulations, a sort of fire test, through which the American legions in Vietnam are currently passing.

Washington is tormented by its universal isolation. The Lobby must act to help relieve their worldwide stigmatisation. And the Lobby does act.

From among the "Washington Patriots", moreover, one notices a few who are special Johnson favourites, who vie among each other to catch Lyndon's eye.

H. V. Kamath, a leader of the opposition and a socialist, or Minoor Masani, outspoken free enterprise spokesman?

The sphere of each is different and it would be unfair to give them competitive marks for how and what they publicly declare.

The Cabinet Minister is an important man, one who is not supposed to say everything in public. But the force of his words is not to be under-rated.

A few simple phrases, spoken with vigour and conviction at "the highest level", can have far greater value for Lyndon than all the speeches that a leader out of office can dole out.

And so should Sadoba be appraised. This writer can straight away give a double tick for the Minister's widely known performance on the Vietnam issue in a deliberation at "the highest level".

The Cabinet Minister was unhappy about Prime Minister Shastri's first declaration in Parliament criticising America's bombings of North Vietnam. So the report goes...

Sadoba took the first occasion to tell his colleagues-in-cabinet: this was an unfortunate stand, and it would harm India since it helped China. Sadoba got no results.

But he had done an honest piece of work. Shastri's declarations have continued—and the Moscow Communiqué was specially too pointed—but S. K. Patil can only bemoan.

Said he to friendly journalists the other day: "I have been trying for the last three days



For Nation's Defence, Against Bellicosity

The nation rejoices at the effective steps being taken to prevent any more Pakistani infiltrators from crossing the ceasefire line in Kashmir. The Indian army has acted swiftly to occupy such posts and positions in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir as are necessary to halt further aggression and infiltration. This action is a legitimate action required by the exigencies of defence—and defence alone.

THE demands by reactionary forces to extend our military operations, beyond those dictated by defence needs, are irresponsible. They do our country grievous damage. Bellicosity is not the answer to aggression.

Our country commands respect in the world today. This is precisely because it has always stood for a peaceful settlement of all conflicts. Today again, while taking all measures for effective and resolute defence, we are anxious for a peaceful settlement.

In this context, it is unfortunate that even some progressive forces appear to be succumbing to what may be described as war-hysteria. The war cries of the reactionaries arise from their sinister aims. The calls by certain progressive sections to kill-on-sight the infiltrators and not take prisoners, only

have the support of all Indian patriots. And it is the duty of all who have the best interests of this country at heart, not to make such defence more diffi-

Comment

cult, by raising bellicose calls of the kind now being peddled by the worst reactionary forces in the country.

IMPERIALIST PRESSURES MOUNTING

HERE should be no complacency about the stand of the imperialist powers in regard to the Pakistani aggression. While the British stand in quite openly anti-Indian, Washington appears to be playing a more subtle game. Official circles in India are reported to be almost childishly jubilant that the US imperialists are, on this occasion, leaning away from Pakistan and towards India.

The nation's wrath at the treachery of the Pakistani aggression knows no bounds. In the heat of this wrath, a certain measure of war hysteria even by those who should know better, is excusable.

But it is necessary to realise that to surrender to such hysteria today is to strengthen pro-imperialist reaction in this country. It helps to tarnish India's image in the world. It loses India valuable international friendship and solidarity.

Every action taken for the defence of this country will

bases create a kinship which survives temporary estrangements.

More, it is clear enough that the US imperialists seek to use Indo-Pak tension as always to brow-beat India into weakening its foreign policy. On this occasion, the most important issue is Vietnam.

The recent slideback on Indian policy on Vietnam, as witnessed by evasive statements by the Prime Minister on key issues, gave the US

crats of the recent slide-back has had some effect.

Foreign Minister Swaran Singh made one such welcome statement at a meeting of the consultative committee on foreign affairs on August 31. He is reported to have categorically refused to accept the suggestion made by rightwing Congressmen like C. D. Pande and B. K. P. Sinha for a shift in our Vietnam policy in favour of the US imperialists.

Swaran Singh nailed down the dangerous propaganda, repeated by the two MPs, that the American action in Vietnam was similar to India's in Kashmir. He pointed out that the USA was operating on foreign territory, India was in its own territory of Kashmir.

The Foreign Minister refused to accept the rightist suggestion that India should desist from criticising the USA for bombing North Vietnam.

The Foreign Minister also reiterated the stand taken in the Tito-Shastri joint communiqué that no solution of the Vietnam problem is possible without an agreement with the South Vietnam Liberation Front.

In the Rajya Sabha, Deputy Minister Dinesh Singh explained that India's proposals for peace in Vietnam included the demand for withdrawal of US forces from South Vietnam.

These are important statements, and should be given as much publicity in India and abroad as the Prime Minister's unfortunate references to Vietnam in his Independence Day speech. The statements will do a great deal to help remove the serious damage done by the recent tendencies to backslide from the positive positions taken earlier.

—ROMESH CHANDRA
(September 1, 1965)

SANDESH : Sen's Folly

WILD SHEMES? Leave them to hatch in the fertile brains of the West Bengal Cabinet.

Was it not from the late Chief Minister that a scheme emanated for cultivation of tomatoes on the Hoogly bed diverting its waters?

Well, his successors are not lagging behind.

From August 24 the manufacture of "Sandesh"—an extremely popular Bengal speciality in sweets—has been banned under the Defence of India Rules. Argument? Well, to improve availability of milk! Result? About 8,000 shops likely to be closed down; 30,000 workers to become surplus; and to top them all, the milk produced in villages to rot.

Here are some facts: about 2.40 lakh litres of milk a day is used in the preparation of sweets in and around Calcutta. The total supply of milk available for consumption directly is about 2.12 lakh litres against an estimated requirement of 7.5 lakh litres.

The government expects a release of about 45 thousand litres of milk by banning manufacture of "sandesh". This could be added to milk supply under the Greater Calcutta

Milk Supply Scheme. This is all for the good of public health, claimed the ministers, particularly the Chief.

At present the milk produced in the villages and outskirts of Calcutta is normally made into cheese. This is collected by an army of collectors.

Government has no arrangement of collecting the milk in its fluid state through refrigerated vans etc. Hence the milk will continue to be transformed into cheese as otherwise it will go bad causing misery and monetary loss to the poor milkmen.

The Calcutta Milk Supply Scheme is an epitome of utter inefficiency of the government. It came into being in 1955 and by March 1963 Rs. 46.61 lakhs had been spent on it.

It has the unique distinction of losing every year and the size of the loss is 1961 stood at Rs. 29.93 lakhs. In recent years the loss has further increased.

Government sought to augment the milk supply through imported milk powder. But that too has failed. And now the people are being penalised to counterbalance the inefficiency of the government machinery.

The Prime Minister's announcement of partial cement decontrol is an ominous portent. It is obviously the result of extreme pressures from the cement monopolists within the country combined with the so-called "advice" of the World Bank that the Indian economy should be "freed" from "undue" regulation.

THE chief argument advanced in favour of this selective decontrol is that the administration is so corrupt and inefficient that controls have become a symbol of bribery and the avenue to the blackmarket.

This is a startling confession of bankruptcy, though it is not far off the mark as an accurate description of the jungle of our bureaucracy. The cure prescribed, however, is even worse than the disease.

The cement monopolists complain that the controlled price is such that it militates against expansion or even full utilisation of production capacity. The profits all go to the wholesaler, retailer and other blackmarketeers.

DECONTROL DISASTER

To meet this challenge, the government had taken the correct step of setting up cement factories in the public sector, through the setting up of the Cement Corporation.

It had also given the cement monopolists a higher development rebate and also a rebate on excise duty for additional production.

This was typical of government policies, steering a middle-of-the-road course. It was quite obvious that any radical democratic government would have nationalised the cement industry instead of trying to have new ventures in the public sector while simultaneously encouraging the private sector.

This was a classic case of the infamous "theory" of "competition" advanced by Humayun Kabir recently regarding the oil industry. Still, it was not fullscale retreat before the monopolists.

The latest decontrol decision is retrograde even when compared to the earlier, inadequate middle-of-the-road stance. Except for supplies to the government, it is the monopolists who will now completely determine the price and the distribution of

cement. There is every likelihood that if no agreement is signed in the next two weeks, the ship-a-day average required in November will not be reached.

The same despatch states: "India has been duly impressing on the US the immediate need for a six million ton agreement under PL 480. All she has obtained during the last few weeks is a measly one-million-ton agreement, which she is about to run through."

What some advocates of partial decontrol overlook is the crucial fact of shortage and of a ramified private sector which parasitically festers upon this shortage.

This is quite different from the stage now reached in the more developed socialist countries where the use of the socialist market mechanism is advocated.

There the problem is of a ramified complex socialist economic formation faced with the problem of efficiency, quality and consumers choice.

It can be safely predicted that we shall soon reach a situation where the cement monopolists will try further blackmail. They will insist on the price of cement supplied to the government being raised or the government quota being cut or the entire government demand being met by the Cement Corporation, while the private sector profiteers with the rest of the market.

Nor will the matter end there. Cement is such a strategic commodity that any rise in its price will inevitably affect the entire price structure and raise the cry of more and more decontrol. It is an altogether disastrous decision.

Economic notes

The rest, it is learnt, is in the hands of the Caesar in the White House, who is sitting pat on an order to slow down foreign aid commitments and disbursements, presumably including food."

The US President is said to have remarked, regarding US foreign aid, "What the hell do we get out of the business?"

The correspondent writes further that "observers here feel that having tried the carrot of aid and failed, he is about to unshackle the stick. The delay in India's food agreement, many observers suspect, needs to be seen against this strange, but not unexpected, development."

It should be clear to the Government of India that cringing before a bully does not help. Bold denunciation of this attitude of blackmail, rallying the support of other food-deficit Afro-Asian states and appeal to the conscience of the world is the only way to make the US bully retreat. Alternative sources of supply such as Burma, Canada and Argentina, should immediately be sought.

Above all, bold steps in bringing out the hoarded foodgrains are inescapable, now, that the PL 480 cushion is likely to be a lot thinner than expected.

The democratic movement has to make widely known this shameful approach of the US imperialists at a time of our difficulties. This would help to smash illusions and put the US lobby on the run.

—MOHIT SEN

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK RETRIBUTION COMES QUICK

WHEN he basked in the glory of the "unstinted" support which the syndicate bosses extended him at Bangalore, Congress President K. Kamaraj could hardly have foreseen that the day of retribution was so near.

But the bosses proved to be shylocks who wanted their pound of flesh, and that too quick. And we find the Congress President rushing from one city to the other celebrating birthdays of the syndicate chiefs.

First it was Sadoba Patil's 65th birthday celebrations in Bombay. Gushed the Congress President: "Blessed is Bombay for it possesses S. K. Patil."

He appreciated the "services of Patil to the nation" and hoped that these services would find a deserving place in the hearts of the people.

What are these services of Patil to the nation? Unashamed championing of the cause of the American imperialists? Kamaraj did not elaborate.

Perhaps he too might have felt shy about it. Only a few days earlier the PL 480 fame Patil had called for a pause in planning, faithfully echoing the Wall Street financiers; he is against even Shastri's feeble protests against US bombings in Vietnam.

Well, Kamaraj was in good company in felicitating Patil: Swatantra stalwarts K. M. Munshi and Homi Mody, Forum of Free Enterprise-wallah Naval H. Tata and a dozen other business tycoons.

In Calcutta last week, the Congress President repeated the performance for the benefit of the other tower of the syndicate: Atulya Ghosh, who celebrated his 62nd birthday.

Kamaraj was present in person to eulogise the strongman of West Bengal Congress, besides dashing off a lengthy message in praise of the "goda" PATRIKA frontpage.

A three-column picture showing a widely grinning Atulya Ghosh in a bearlike hug from the Congress President with Chief Minister P. C. Sen hovering in the background.



Kamaraj: The Debtor

Was this written by the same Congress President who only a few weeks back, had to intervene in the affairs of the WB-PCC because its President complained that Atulya's men were engaged in rowdy tactics?

In the same message, Kamaraj has also absolved Atulya Ghosh of having ever aspired to become Congress President next term. Nobody will "give credence" to such ugly propaganda, he has said.

What a fall for the "forthright and outspoken" man that he is credited to be!

Kamaraj has prayed that Atulya Ghosh may live long so as to have "the benefit of his guidance in the years to come." Well, there will be no dearth for guidance, if the present indications are any guidance.

The syndicate has certainly taken the interest for the investment it made at Bangalore, but not the capital. That is to be repaid in the coming days.

AMERICAN BULLYING

THE US imperialists have decided to take full advantage of the present most critical phase in India's food situation. The TIMES OF INDIA (August 28) Washington correspondent reports that "there is a deepening mystery about the delay in negotiating" a new PL 480 agreement. The September despatches of foodgrains from the US will be 200,000 tons short of the normal.

The second concerns Shantilal Kothari, Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha. The gentleman is currently enjoying a safari in the wonderland of dollar.

A USIS press release (August 19) says that addressing the Wisconsin State Legislature, Kothari said "India and the United States share a common political philosophy."

What philosophy? Of unbridled monopoly capitalism? Of bombing and killing the women and children of Vietnam? Of the napalm and phosphorus bombs?

Has the Congress President to say anything about these veterans of his party?

—VIVEK

TAXES GALORE IN BANGALORE

From G.S. Satyanarayana

BANGALORE: The citizens of Bangalore have earned the unique distinction of being levied the HIGHEST water-tax in the country. A few days back, the newly-constituted Bangalore Water and Sewage Board raised the water-tax rates without considering the strain on the citizens.

On top of it there is the proposal to raise the bus-fares on the plea of "rationalising" them. Cycle tax is also likely to increase. Recently, the Labour Minister advised the state electricity board to enhance electricity-supply charges if the present rates "were unprofitable".

No wonder, Bangalore has become now one of the costliest cities in the country. There is no dearth of swank places—good weather, no prohibition and "modern" amenities thrown in, make the city a big attraction to the monied ones.

But to the people of lesser means, the city-life is becoming a nightmare. Hardly anyone can meet both ends with high cost of living making inroads to the earnings.

The increase in water-tax was unexpected but not the result that is forthcoming. All major political parties, tax-payers associations and other organisations are planning concerted mass actions against the increase. On September 5 there will be a joint meeting to chalk out the programme of action.

Sandesh worker's look of despair
(Courtesy: AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA)

BONUS BILL: AN ANALYSIS

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30 CRORES INTO MILLERS' POCKETS GROUNDNUT OIL RACKET IN GUJARAT

From SUBODH MEHTA

AHMEDABAD: The stable has been locked after the horse has bolted: this is how the people describe the decision to ban export of groundnut oil from Gujarat.

EXPORT of groundnut oil had been banned last year when the people's movement against high prices and scarcity of groundnut oil reached its crest.

But the millers prodded the medium and big peasants into an agitation against the ban. Their grievance was that the ban depressed the prices of groundnut down to uneconomic levels.

However, it was soon proved that the oilmillers were interested only in their own profits and the government was in collusion with them.

The government lifted the ban on export of groundnut oil, but not on groundnut, giving the excuse of the peasants' agitation.

The result was that groundnut prices reigned supreme while oil prices soared. Price stood anywhere between Rs. 3.30 to Rs. 3.50 in place of the government fixed Rs. 2.10 a kilo.

The millers crushed all the groundnut with them and exported the oil in a hurry to Bombay, Delhi, Jaipur and other places at exorbitant prices.

On an average, this oil fetched the millers a profit of Rs. 12 a tin of 16 kilos. The normal margin of profit is from 75 paise to one rupee.

It has been calculated that as much as 250 lakh tons of groundnut oil were sent out of Gujarat between the lifting of the ban early this year and the present reimposition of the ban. This means the millers pocketed a profit of Rs. 30 crores.

While the millers were thus reaping rich harvest for the support they give to the Balwantray Mehta government, the ordinary people in the state were facing an acute shortage of cooking medium.

The government had said it would impose a levy of 22.5 per cent on the millers, but it did not implement it. And the millers never bothered anything about it.

CPI Plan for Action

Production of groundnut has gone up this year in the country as a whole and Gujarat in particular, from 30 lakh tons to 40 lakh tons. One-third of this is produced in the state.

And yet today, the Gujarat is forced to go without its groundnut oil.

The Gujarat unit of the Communist Party of India had planned a mass move-

ment, to bring down prices: The movement was to start with "ghera dalo" on August 29.

The main demands were:
● Imposition of ban, at least till Diwali, on export of groundnut oil from Gujarat;

● Resignation of Supplies Minister Vijaykumar Trivedi and Deputy Minister Maldevji Odedara, who are primarily responsible for the present crisis;

● Compulsory levy of 35 per cent to be imposed on all exporters of groundnut oil on the quantity they export; and
● All the groundnut oil thus taken compulsorily by the government to be sold at Rs. 1.95 a kilo from the fair price shops.

The government has already accepted the first and most important of the demands. And so, the CPI has postponed its agitation.

The Party has made it clear that it was not withdrawing the agitation since the other demands were still not accepted by the government.

Textile Millowners Plan Blackmail

NAGPUR: Seven thousand textile workers are threatened with unemployment as owners of eight mills have announced plans of closure.

The millowners are bent on blackmail. They want the workers to forego their bonus and wage benefits if the mills are to be run.

The ruse which the millowners has for this threat is that they have huge stocks with them.

Millowners claim that two months' stocks are lying with them because the traders are not lifting them.

This claim is not backed by facts. According to TU leaders, accumulation of stocks is of only a week's.

They say, the millowners are trotting out patently false arguments to deny the workers their rights under the state.

RAYALASEEMA CONGRESSMEN IN 'REVOLT'!

From C. RAGHAVACHARY

HYDERABAD: The banner of revolt has been raised in the Andhra Congress too. The musical chairs organised by Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy in expanding the cabinet has led to severe discontent among the groups in the Pradesh Congress.

The most outspoken among the dissatisfied are the 30 MLAs and MLCs of Rayalaseema. Included among those who "openly expressed their dissatisfaction" is the son-in-law of Union Steel Minister Sanjiva Reddy.

The Chief Minister has tried to coax them into the "straight path" and soothe their ruffled feelings by asking them to appreciate his "difficulties".

But they have not heeded this advice; rather they have decided to send a deputation to New Delhi.

Another man who is sore about being excluded from the cabinet is K. V. Narain Reddy, leader of the now-defunct United Democrats. He had staked claims to a ministership ever since he joined Congress. Brahmananda Reddy has let him down badly.

A reflection of this infight in the Congress is seen in the state unit of the INTUC set-up. The Ramagundam Electricity Workers Union under the leadership of M. M. Hashim and T. Anjalah, both MLAs, and G. Venkataswamy, former MLA, has defied the state INTUC president G. Sanjeeva Reddy.

The issue is that of the proposed strike of electricity workers on August 27. Though the strike has since been postponed, the incident brought into the open conflicts in the INTUC set-up.

Only three months back the FCC President and FCC secretary Laxman Das had

crossed swords with Food Minister Balarama Reddy.

Thimma Reddy has been busy these past few weeks convening meetings in several places at one pretext or the other. There was one feature common to all these meetings and it was the attack on individual ministers belonging to the rival group.

The cabinet reshuffle has also antagonised A. C. Subba Reddy. He has been given the food portfolio by the Chief Minister to put him in a tight corner, it is held by his followers.

Also, the appointment of Chenchu Rama Naidu, the traditional rival of Subba Reddy in district politics, as a Minister has provoked Subba Ruddy.

Another Dissident

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Only three months back the FCC President and FCC secretary Laxman Das had



For them the prospect is bleak

ONE LAKH FOR CONGRESS PRESIDENT MILLERS GO SCOTFREE

From SHARAD KOTHARI

RAJNANDGAON: Congress President K. Kamaraj received a purse of one lakh rupees from the rice millers and grain hoarders of Chattisgarh some months back.

SYNDICATE boss Atulya Ghosh, the main fundraiser for the Congress, was also present at the function. The grain hoarders and rice millers certainly expected to reap harvests. And their expectations have not been belied.

Chattisgarh, the rice bowl of Madhya Pradesh, is today in the grip of a famine—the making solely of these rice kings.

The state government fully helped them through its defective procurement policy, designed only to help the people who contribute liberally to the Congress funds.

★ The bulk of the rice left after procurement by the Centre were exported by the rice millers in the form of 'poha murra'.

★ The rice millers also managed to smuggle much of what remained to the neighbouring states, with the help of corrupt officials.

The result has been that rice is no more available. Even the fair price shops are empty of rice and wheat.

In the open market, food-grains sold at exorbitant prices: Rs. 15 more than the government-fixed price for rice and Rs. 25 for

wheat. Drought has also contributed its share to the famine conditions. Instead of the normal rainfall of 50 inches, this year only 15 to 18 inches of rainfall was there.

Government is yet to declare Chattisgarh a famine area. But the commissioners of Raipur and Bilaspur divisions have admitted that acute famine conditions prevail in the area.

The people's movement for food is gaining momentum day by day. On August 15 a joint morcha of the CPI, the SSP and the RPI was taken out at Raipur.

At Rajnandgaon a demonstration was held before the subdivisional office on August 17 jointly by the CPI, the trade unions and the Kisan Sabha. Thirty kisans marched 30 miles to the city to join this demonstration.

On August 10 and 17 the mine workers of Rajhara under the Bhilal Steel Project demonstrated under the banner of the Samyukta Khandan Mazdoor Sangh.

On August 24 the mine workers marched 18 miles to Balod to meet the subdivisional officer.

ADMISSION AT LAST! DEATH FROM STARVATION

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: Starvation deaths HAVE taken place in Assam—this is what a government enquiry commission has itself had to admit.

THIS is the first admission made by government this year (and indeed for many years) that human beings have died of hunger.

Where did these victims of class greed and of the callous policies of the Congress governments die? Remember the name of this area of death: the Lyngngam area of the South Khasi hills.

When reports first appeared of starvation deaths in this area last May and June (NEW AGE of August 1 carried the facts), the Deputy Commis-

sioner of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills officially denied the reports.

Popular pressure compelled the Chief Minister to institute an enquiry on the spot by the Additional Chief Secretary of the state government and the Additional District Magistrate, who is himself a Khasi.

Result of the enquiry: the Additional Chief Secretary has said that:

● "near-starvation conditions" prevail;
● though the figure given by the people of 30 starvation deaths may be exag-

gerated, the people had told him of two children who had died by taking wild roots for want of food;

● there was widespread damage of food crops in the area caused by wild elephants, which were themselves facing "starvation" condition.

The state government has taken some steps to rush food supplies to the area after the visit of the enquiry mission.

But it has done nothing so far to implement any of the suggestions made by the Additional Chief Secretary to meet the situation.

AND NO EXPLANATION HAS BEEN CALLED FOR FROM THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER WHO INSISTED THAT NO DEATHS HAD OCCURRED.

NEPOTISM UNLIMITED

M. P. MINISTER ARRAIGNED

BHOPAL: Serious allegations of misuse of official position have been made against Arjun Singh, Madhya Pradesh Minister for Agriculture, in a petition submitted to the Governor.

The petitioner is Jageshwar Prasad Pandey, editor of a Hindi weekly of Rewa. He has asked Governor K. C. Reddy to institute an enquiry under the Commission of Enquiry Act into the misdeeds of Arjun Singh.

One of the charges levelled in Pandey's petition is that Arjun Singh had used under his influence to get loans from the mortgage bank for two of his brothers and the wife of a third brother.

Another charge is that he managed to provide a government house to the wife of one

of his favourites. The Minister is alleged to have exerted undue influence in the promotions in the Agriculture department to help his favourites.

Pandey also charged the Agriculture Minister with having managed to get the agency of the Russian tractor, "Asher" for his own brother.

This is not the first time such charges have been brought forward against Arjun Singh. Namdeo of Rewa submitted a petition to Chief Minister D. P. Mishra levelling similar charges and requesting an enquiry.

However, Mishra turned down the request.

He also turned down the plea of PSP leader C. P. Tewari for instituting an enquiry into the charges against Arjun Singh by a high court judge.



LEFT OPPORTUNISTS

"LEFT WING" COMMUNISM—AN INFANTILE DISORDER. V. I. Lenin, pp 113, Rs. 0-30

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

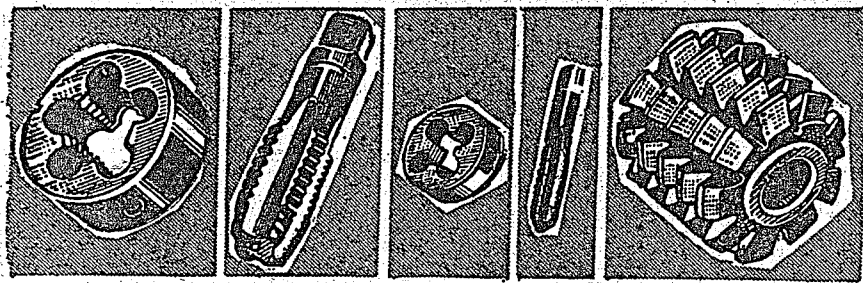
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FREE RUN FOR GUN-RUNNERS

CALCUTTA: Largescale gun-running from India to East Pakistan is taking place. This is the unmistakable inference from the latest catch of arms at Haldibari station.

Calcutta Bengali daily BASUMATI (August 29) reports that on August 28 almost a wagon-full of arms have been seized from a goods train. The crates were marked "Heavy Machinery" and consigned to East Pakistan.

The unusually big size of the consignment created some doubts among the customs men, and on opening the crates, instead of machinery only death-dealing arms were found.

It is reported that this particular wagon reached Haldibari station first on August 3, and on August 8 it was directed to New Jalpaiguri station. On August 27 it returned to Haldibari, and on the same day, it was attached

to 24 down goods train en route Farbatipur.

Samar Roy MLA during the last budget session of West Bengal Assembly had drawn attention of government to two similar instances. He disclosed that on October 12 and 26, 1964 consignments of arms were sent from India to East Pakistan.

Who are these "patriots" in India carrying on gun-running under the very nose of government? Who are those high railway bosses, without whose complicity such gun-running would have been impossible?

What has Home Minister Nanda to say about it? His minions are "very efficient" in tracking down "underground revolutionary activities" but obviously are none too smart in keeping watch on Pakistani infiltration or gun-running from India.

The public demand an answer. Will Home Minister locate the culprits and bring them to trial?

Two Lakhs Defy Naik's All-Out Repression

MASS ARRESTS FAIL TO CRUSH MAHARASHTRA PEOPLE'S FOOD MOVEMENT

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: Two lakhs of people in all the districts of Maharashtra demonstrated during the week from August 20 to 27, at the call of the Anti-Starvation Committee, the united action body of the main left parties—the Communist Party of India, the Peasants and Workers Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party and the Republican Party.

THESE two lakhs defied the worse ever repressive drive launched by the Naik Government, in which mass arrests of leaders and organisers took place in every single district of the state, with the exception of Ratnagiri.

Take a look at these facts and you may be able to catch a glimpse of the extent of this repression:

Nearly six hundred leaders of all the parties in the Anti-Starvation Committee have

been arrested... and most of them are detained without trial under the hated Defence of India Rules.

Here is a breakdown, party-wise, of these arrests: FWP 250; CPI 200; SSP 50; RPI 50; others 50.

Among these arrested are two members of the state secretariat, thirteen members of the state executive committee and 40 members of the state council of the Communist Party of India.

Among the arrested and detained are one MP, several MLAs, Municipal Councillors, Zila Parishad and Gram Panchayat members... besides doctors, advocates, teachers, women, journalists, and trade union and kisan leaders.

Chief Minister Naik had threatened the Left Parties that "the Government of Maharashtra will continue to function as the Government".

He has carried out this threat through mass arrests and wholesale use of Section 144 to ban meetings of all sorts, with the Kolhapur firing topping the entire record of repression.

The Anti-Starvation Committee replied to the Chief Minister's threat with the slogans:

* "NO FOOD—NO GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONING!"

* "DISTRIBUTE ADEQUATE RATION—WE WON'T DIE STARVING!"

The main forms of action were demonstrations and gheraos at government offices and foodgrains godowns.

Government circles are amazed that despite their repression, so reminiscent of the worst days of British rule, two lakhs demonstrated, defying the police zoolom.

There appear to be cracks in the Ministry itself, with no unanimity on food policy. Some of the Ministers, it is reported, are of the opinion that compulsory levy would bring out a great deal of foodgrains, and thus help to relieve the hardships of the people.

The new Food Minister P. K. Sawant (who took over the food portfolio given up in the face of the crisis by the former Food Minister Homi Talyarkhan) has been silent throughout this difficult period.

It appears that the Chief Minister has taken on his own shoulders the entire responsibility of handling the situation.

But he can only fill the jails; the stomachs of the masses remain empty.



Anti-Starvation Committee demonstration in Bombay

ASSAM PLANS FOR CAMPAIGN WEEK

SHILLONG: Preparations are afoot all over Assam for the statewide movement planned by the convention of left parties against rising prices and scarcity and for a people's food policy.

ON August 21 a united convention of leftist parties and progressive individuals was held at Dibrugarh. Fifty delegates attended the convention.

Participating in the convention were representatives of the Communist Party of India, the Marxist Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party and nine non-party individuals.

The convention endorsed the decisions of the state meet of left parties and demanded holding of price line, adequate supply of foodstuffs, scrapping DIR and release of detenus.

A united committee, under the name of Dibrugarh Zilla

Samyukta Andolan Samiti was set up by the convention to carry out the agitation. Tholak Gogoi is the convener of the committee.

District conventions were also held in Nowgong and Sibsagar districts on the same lines. United committees of left parties and progressive individuals have been set up.

The food agitation plan chalked out by the left parties convention envisages meetings and demonstrations all over the state in the last week of August. This will mark the first stage of the movement.

If the government does not concede the popular demands, then the movement will be taken to a higher level including statewide hartal and mass satyagraha.

Food Campaign Reaches New High STRIKES, HARTAL IN MURSHIDABAD

CALCUTTA: Barely three weeks have passed since the battle for food began in Murshidabad district. Already it has gained new dimensions covering a wide range of people.

THE last week of July saw a massive food rally held at Berhampore at the call of the united left front, mainly on the initiative of the CPI. A deputation waited on the District Magistrate at the end of the rally demanding modified rationing.

A couple of days earlier about 2,000 people came from Hariharpara in a hunger-march. So did another 3,000 from Suti thana a few days later. These were spontaneous marches.

But August 16 was really unique: several thousands, nearly 70 per cent of them Muslims, came marching from Lalgaon and Bhagwalgola thanas. Among them was a very large number of women with babes in their arms.

When the hungermarchers surrounded the collectorate, the District Magistrate agreed to receive a deputation but refused to come out to meet the marchers and hear the plea for food.

No amount of pleadings helped; finally the police was ordered to disperse the assembly by lathi-charge. Many, including women, sustained injuries. Nine persons, including Pranranjan Choudhury of the Krishak Samiti and Debabrata Mukhopadhyaya of the RSP, were arrested and denied bail.

Next morning the students of Berhampore schools and colleges came out in protest against the repression. A rally of over 2,000 students was lathi-charged in front of the collectorate.

Nimal Sahu, a college student was taken away unconscious to the hospital. Eight-year old Dilip Das, a student of class II in a primary school was hospitalised with head injury; Dilip Pal, a student of class X was beaten up and arrested by police while going to visit someone in the hospital.

Students Strike

On August 18 students again went on strike but this time the girl students also joined in. A rally of the students was held in which many professors and teachers took part. The Principal of Krishanath College addressed it condemning police repression.

Next day, at the call of the united front, Berhampore observed a complete hartal protesting against police repression and demanding food. The massive response to the call of hartal was a measure of popular discontent and authorities had second thoughts in resorting to further violence.

This was seen when in the course of the hartal some young men came across a motor truck carrying 75 quintals of rice. There was no owner nor the driver could produce any permit.

Several hundred people who had collected by then demanded that the rice be distributed on the spot at the controlled rate of 75 paise per kg.

Police appeared on the scene and demanded that the rice be taken to the thana. The people declined.

Finally Sanat Rana, local Communist MLA, prevailed upon the DSP to obtain telephonic permission from the District Magistrate for distribution of the rice.

People lined up peacefully; there was no disturbance at all and after the distribution was over the money realised was handed over to the Merchants' Association for transmission to the owner.

But peace there was not to be when police was bent upon creating disturbance. Next day, the police arrested 23 young men who had acted as volunteers to conduct the distribution of rice.

This too has been answered by the people: on August 23 they held a huge demonstration demanding release of the arrested young men. Tension is bound to rise in the coming days if police does not release them soon.

Police Atrocities on Bihar CPI-SSP MLAs

PATNA: Chandrashekhar Singh, Communist MLA is "hovering between life and death" at the Patna General Hospital with a four-inch long deep wound on his skull besides numerous other injuries. Yogenendra Thakur and Ram Charan Singh, S.S.P. MLAs have sustained bone fractures. Ramanand Tiwari MLA had vomited blood in the jail. Ramavtar Shastri, CPI leader, was hit brutally by a rifle butt while in police custody.

THIS is a description of the physical conditions of the arrested SSP and CPI leaders, who were badly beaten up by police while addressing a mass rally held in protest against police atrocities in Patna on August 9.

This was revealed by Karpuri Thakur, leader of the SSP group in Bihar Assembly, on August 30. Thakur, who was himself injured, held up his left hand, which was broken by police lathi-charge.

This gave the lie to Chief Minister Sahay's wild assertion that the injuries sustained by the legislators were "slight" and "minor" in nature.

Thakur charged that the Chief Minister's statement on August 11 on the lathi-charge was "full of mis-statements and contradictions".

The injury and X-ray reports all gave a lie to the Chief Minister's statement, Thakur said. He said the Chief Minister had stated that as police reached the meeting place the audience dispersed.

If it was so and only eight of us were left, what was the need to lathi-charge us, he asked. He added "the police first took

us into custody and then mercilessly beat us".

Thakur dismissed as "fantastic" the charge that they wanted to set fire to the wooden fencing set up around Gandhi Maidan in connection with an Independence Day function.

The lathi charge had "no other purpose except to humiliate and beat us up." The meeting had ended before the lathi charge.

Thakur said the injured legislators continued to take medicine till August 11. But when the Civil Surgeon declined to give them the promised reports on their injuries, the legislators stopped taking medicine.

They resumed it when the Speaker, Dr. Sudhanshu, met them in jail and assured them that copies of the medical reports would be given to them.

He charged that it had become a habit with the Chief Minister to defend "police atrocities come what may."

Meanwhile Ramanand Tiwari, MLA, chairman of the Bihar unit of the SSP, and Communist leader Ramavtar Shastri, have urged the state government to order a judicial probe into the recent disturbances.

In a joint statement, the two leaders said it would be more dignified course than the Chief Minister repeating his puerile slander that anti-national elements, including pro-Pakistanis and Communists, were behind the recent disturbances.

"Instead of repeating ridiculous slanders about conspiracy of anti-national elements why does he not implement his solemn promise to use the same force against black-marketers and hoarders as was used to quell the disturbances?"

The statement challenged Sahay to resign his seat in the Assembly and face the people in a byelection.

Speaker's Verdict

BHAR Assembly Speaker L. N. Sudhanshu visited the Hazaribagh central jail on August 28 and saw for himself the conditions of the CPI and the SSP members of the Assembly detained in the jail. He was accompanied by the Inspector-General of Prisons, Bihar.

Sudhanshu said later the condition of Sunil Mukherjee, leader of the CPI group, was causing anxiety. He was expected to be shifted to the Patna general hospital soon.

There are at present six Opposition MLAs in the Hazaribagh central jail who had been arrested following Patna Bandh on August 9.



The Face of Hunger is the same all over the world

TU OFFICE SEALED: WHY?

A SANSOL: The Bihar government aims at preventing the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Indian Mine Workers' Federation from taking part in the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry into the Dhori disaster.

This is the clear charge of Kalyan Roy, general secretary of the IMWF, levelled in an application filed before the Court of Enquiry.

Roy in his application says that the police has sealed the branch office of the IMWF at Dhanbad placing the papers, documents, maps therein, relating to the disaster, beyond the reach of the IMWF.

The police has also arrested Lalit Burman, secretary of the IMWF, under the DIR and issued warrant against Chinu Mukherjee, the AITUC representative.

Roy in his application demanded that the court issue orders to the Bihar government for allowing the IMWF to take away the concerned papers and to release Lalit Burman along with withdrawing the warrant against Chinu Mukherjee.

LEFT PARTIES CALL KERALA BANDH SEPT. 28

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Representatives of left political parties, leaders of trade unions and kisan organisations and prominent public men came together in a conference on August 29 to voice people's demand for food and civil liberties.

THE conference was called by a meeting of the left parties held on August 22 at Trivandrum.

THE AUGUST 29 CONFERENCE WAS CALLED ON THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEOPLE OF KERALA TO ORGANISE A ONE-DAY GENERAL STRIKE AND HARTAL ON SEPTEMBER 28.

The strike and hartal is part of the all-India campaign planned by the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti. The date has been changed because September 21 is a holiday in Kerala.

The main demands formulated by the conference are: adequate supply of food at cheap prices, a just share for the state in the Fourth Plan,

meeting the pressing needs of the working class and release of detenus.

The conference was attended by leaders of the Communist Party of India, the Marxist Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Karshaka Thozhilali Party, the Kerala Socialist Party, and the Kerala units of the AITUC, the HMS, the UTUC, the Kisan Sabha and the Kisan Panchayat.

An ad hoc committee of 18 with Mathai Manjooran and K. B. Panikkar as joint convenors has been set up to organise the statewide agitation and action.

The meeting appealed to all trade unions to observe

September 3 as Bonus Day. Mass meetings and demonstrations to popularise the bonus demand will be held on that day.

On September 4 and 5, workers will hold fifteen-minute demonstrations in front of factory gates before joining duty and after work to protest against the Bonus Ordinance and press for amending it in favour of the workers.

A conference of representatives of trade unions belonging to the three central bodies—the AITUC, the HMS and the UTUC—and independent unions has been called on September 23 to implement the decisions of the conference.

Meanwhile, according to the decisions of the earlier left parties meeting on August 22, a campaign for the release of detenus has been launched in the state.

Kerala detenus went on hungerstrike demanding more facilities in jail and family

allowance. Several demonstrations were held all over the state by the Marxist CP in support of the detenus demands.

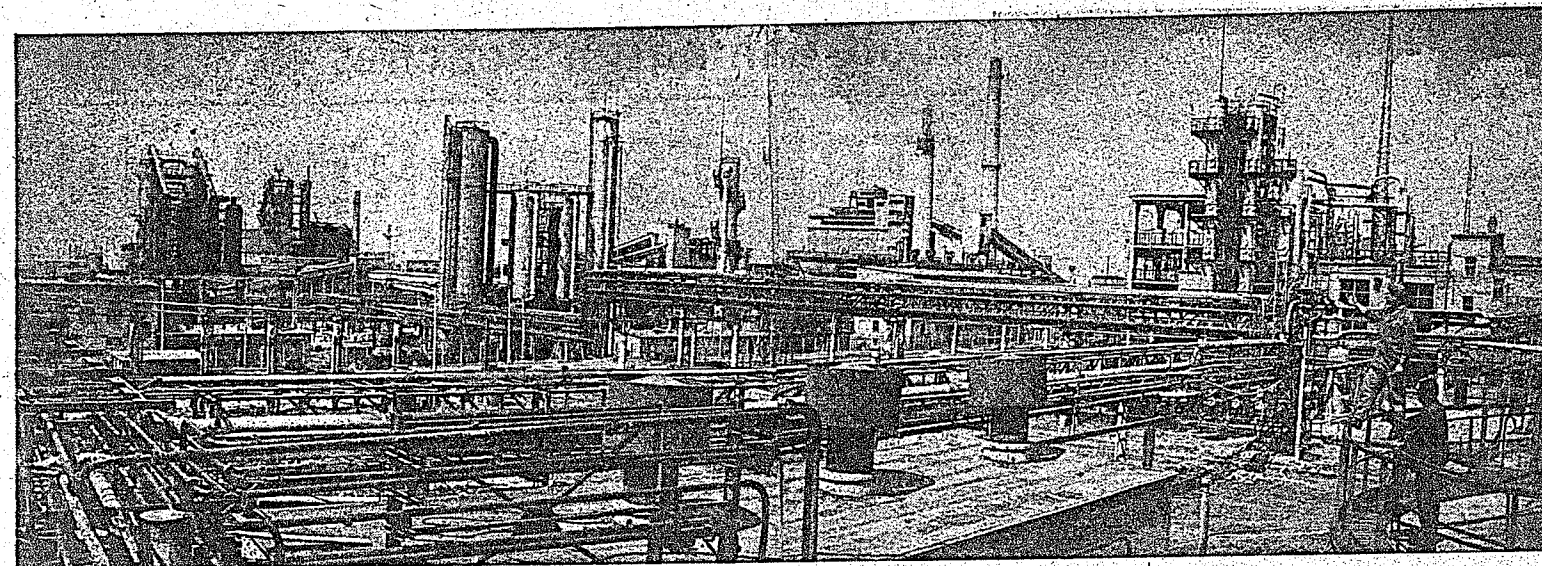
The CPI announced its plans to begin a hunger-strike by five of its leaders before the state secretariat in support of the demands of the detenus.

A deputation on behalf of the left parties met Kerala Governor A. P. Jain to press the demands for which the detenus had gone on hunger-strike and demand their release.

The Governor, however, expressed his inability to release the detenus, but promised to consider sympathetically other demands like parole family allowance, etc.

Following this, the detenus have ended their hunger-strike. (Details, page 2)

The campaign for their release is now being taken up along with other demands put forward by the left parties conference and as part of the all-India action.



The Kremikovtsi steel works in Bulgaria set up with Soviet aid

September 9 : National Day

GREAT SUCCESS OF BULGARIAN PEOPLE

By SAVA DULBOKOV

Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

The 21 years of free life of the Bulgarian nation were marked by enormous constructive work for the building of socialism.

The country successfully tackled the tasks outlined by Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of the Bulgarian people, which were approved by the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in December 1948 for building a powerful socialist industry, for the construction of farming on socialist principles and for achieving in 15 or 20 years progress of unprecedented dimensions.

It was reported at the Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party held in November 1962 that socialist relations have triumphed finally and completely in all fields of life of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and that during the period of implementation of the current long-term economic plan until 1980 it will be necessary to expand and strengthen the material and technical structure of socialism and to proceed gradually with the building of communism.

During the entire period of their free socialist development the Bulgarian people overcame many difficulties and much experience was accumulated in the solution of the new great and complex tasks.

Restoration Of Economy

The first few years following Bulgaria's liberation from fascism were dominated by the necessity to restore the country's economy. The Communists took over the most important positions and the executive organs of the armed forces, the militia, and the state security services were purged and renovated, just as other organs of state authority.

The militant alliance between Communists, agrarians, and other progressive groups grew stronger and the tasks related to the normalisation

Industrial and power plants which are very big for the scales that could be expected in a small country like ours today.

The result of fraternal aid by the Soviet Union are the Kremikovtsi Metallurgical Works near Sofia, the Lenin Metallurgical Works at the town of Pernik, the lead-and-zinc works at Kurdzhali and Plovdiv, the chemical works in Bourgas, Dimitrograd, and Stara Zagora, the machinebuilding plants in Kolarovgrad and Sofia, and many others.

A total of over 100 industrial establishments have been built in this country with Soviet aid and these establishments account for an appreciable share in the overall industrial output of Bulgaria.

Steady Progress

In the next stage the efforts of the Communist Party were directed towards building the socialist economy of the country. Four successive five-year plans were successfully implemented during the 1949-1965 period and this resulted in basic transformations of the country.

From a backward and exclusively agrarian country, one with primitive agriculture and small industry organised chiefly along the line of crafts, the People's Republic of Bulgaria became rapidly industrialised during this period, and its farming was modernised and organised on collective principles.

The gratifying successes obtained are due to the correct line followed by the Bulgarian Communist Party in developing the productive capacities of the country at accelerated rates and to the great aid rendered to us by the Soviet Union.

During the period referred to the Soviet Union gave credits to the People's Republic of Bulgaria amounting to a total of 1,665 million roubles. Thanks to these credits, given on a long-term basis and under very advantageous terms, it was possible to build

PROGRESS, PROGRESS

INDUSTRY

Total output in 1964 was 19 times more than pre-war level; growth in branches manufacturing means of production 45 times.

Power generation went up to 8700 million KVAh in 1964, about 33 times more compared with 1939.

Machine-building: value of output increased 165 times that of 1939.

Chemical and rubber industries: 1964 output exceeded 1939 figures by 67 times.

VILLAGE ECONOMY

Area under irrigation in 1964 was 9.4 million decares as against 0.363 million decares in 1939. Fertilizers: provision of an average of 7.5 kg per decares. During 1957-63, the overall output in rural economy increased by 79 per cent in crop-raising and by 40 per cent in stock-breeding as compared with 1932-38.

SOCIAL PRODUCT

In 1964 social product increased 5.6 times more than 1939.

NATIONAL INCOME

National income grew by 3.5 times.

AGGREGATE HOUSING FUND

increased by 50 per cent during 1945-64.

Real income increased 2.1 times on the whole during 1953-63.

Social consumption funds increased from 248 million leva to 965 million leva during this period.

MANPOWER

From 1956 to 1964 the number of workers and employees engaged in the country's economy increased from 820,000 to 2,081,000. About 39 per cent of them are women.

WAGES

Average annual earnings of a worker in 1964 was 1,076 leva as against 778 leva in 1956.

LIVING STANDARD

Total value of retail sales was 3,350 million leva in 1964, an increase by 3.5 times compared with 1950. TV sets, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines and other consumer goods are being increasingly bought.

HOUSING

In urban areas, about

23,000 flats are being built every year.

A total of 645,000 houses were built in the villages during the last 21 years. Rent has become cheaper.

PENSION

Average size of pension 476 leva in 1964. All working people are guaranteed pension.

HEALTH

Bulgaria holds one of the topmost places in funds allocated for public health. In 1952, allocation on this account was 52 million leva; in 1965, it is 341 million leva.

MORTALITY RATE

per 1,000 has dropped from 13.6 in 1939 to 7.9 in 1964 — one of the lowest in the world. Infant mortality: from 134 per thousand in 1939 to 32.9 per thousand in 1964.

POPULATION

Total population eight million, area 42,000 sq. miles.

VALUE OF EXCHANGE

One leva is equal to about four rupees.

September 9, 1965, marks the 21st anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian people, led by the Communist Party, waged heroic struggles against fascist dictatorship and the bourgeoisie for decades on end. During the last and most difficult period of the struggle, the period of the Second World War, the Party organised a large-scale resistance against the monarcho-fascist government which involved 200,000 partisans, assistants, etc. The Party roused the people to a mass revolt and, with the decisive aid of the glorious Soviet Army, freedom was won on September 9, 1944—a date which ushered in a new era in the development of the country, the era of socialism. NEW AGE sends its greetings to the Bulgarian people on this occasion.

The aid obtained in the field of farming is likewise great. Most of the farming machines now in use on the fields are of Soviet make. Our people are profoundly grateful that they were in a position to attain such great successes at such rapid rates as a result of the correct appraisal of the requirements of industrial construction in our country along socialist lines and of the steadily expanding relations with the Soviet Union.

Both the social product and the national income increased on the basis of the constantly expanding material and technical structure of socialism in the country.

The years of people's rule were accompanied by an uninterrupted rise in the living standards of the people, by providing a greater scope to the creative forces of the masses, and by the birth of many talents in the fields of industry, science, the arts, and in culture.

At the session of the National Assembly on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of people's rule in Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov said the following words:

"The achievements in our country in building the socialist system we regard

* On page 13

ORISSA'S TALE OF WOE

HIGH TAXES, LOW RATE OF GROWTH

This is the concluding part of the article on ORISSA'S TALE OF WOE. In the earlier part, published last week, the agricultural sector of the economy was discussed. In this part, Orissa's industrial development and other issues have been analysed.

THERE is some development no doubt in the industrial field of Orissa. But the growth, as in other fields, is extremely low in comparison with other states.

Almost all big Indian monopolies, along with British capital, have their interest entrenched in Orissa. In recent times, the Kalinga group of industries has developed a lot. The state sector also has expanded. Small industries also have come up along with big enterprises like Rourkela steel plant, which is in the central sphere.

The total productive capital employed in factories (registered under the Act) in 1961 was Rs. 35 crores, i.e., only Rs. 19.44 per capita. In this respect Orissa occupies the second place in India, of course, from bottom.

The employment of workers in factories, per one lakh population (in 1961) was only 163. It is also the lowest in India, with an all-India average of 805. As regards the value of industrial output (in 1958-60), Orissa stands at the last rung of the ladder.

In industry, like in agriculture the rate of progress is so slow that it will not be possible for Orissa to come to the same level as other states unless radical improvement takes place.

High Rate Of Illiteracy

After two plans, the percentage of literacy in Orissa is only 21.7 while the all-India average is 29 per cent. As matriculation is the gateway for all scientific and technical training higher studies, the percentage of students passing matriculation is only 0.51 (1961) while the all-India figure is 1.30. In this respect Orissa occupies the 14th position among all the states.

At the end of the second plan percentage of students in secondary stage was 3.7 per cent (of population of age 14-17). The third plan target is to increase that to 5.7 per cent. If the plan is fulfilled, the increase would be one per cent per year. At this rate it will take a century to complete the secondary education.

The per capita volume of spending on education in Orissa (1961) is only Rs. 3.71, about half of the all-India average of Rs. 6.83. In this respect Orissa's position is 14th, the lowest after other states. Orissa also spends less per scholar, in comparison with other states. It is Rs. 48.71 per year, less than fifty rupees, while the all-India average is Rs. 67.31.

The education policy in Orissa is most reactionary. In most cases people on their own open schools and build colleges but they do not get necessary help and encouragement from the state, rather it restricts and discourages them.

In the sphere of health, the development is quite insufficient, and does not meet the requirement at all; rather compared to the growth of population it is gradually worsening. In absolute terms, though the number of hospitals and dispensaries has increased, it is inadequate which can be seen from the following facts:

Hospitals and dispensaries per 1000 population.
1951 — 0.030
1956 — 0.025
1959 — 0.023

Taking into account the higher rate of growth of population, as revealed in the census report, the position is going to be still worse; which is already lowest in the country.

In the case of indoor patients, per 100 population the number of beds is 0.209,

power is growing by 30 per cent per year. At this rate, the demand at the end of the third plan would be 400 to 450 MW, but the expected supply would be 398 if all the projects are completed.

During last midterm election, Biju Patnaik's group swept the poll, with three slogans: electrification of villages, supply of pipe water to villages and changing thatched houses into tiled ones.

If the plan succeeds, by the end of the third plan only 340 villages out of 46,466 villages in Orissa, will get this benefit that means only 0.73% of villages, will be provided with electricity. At this rate of progress it will require more than a century to electrify all the villages of Orissa.

Same is the case with supplying pipe water. Uptil now one-fourth of villages have no

By Gurucharan Patnaik

arrangement for any sort of drinking water.

Till 1963-64, plan has been made and necessary money has been sanctioned to supply pipe water to sixty villages only. It means only 20 villages per year will get the benefit if plan succeeds. At this rate of progress it would require more than a thousand years to give pipe water to the villages of Orissa.

The problem of housing is most acute. During the last census period, between 1951-1960, the number of houses has increased by 10 per cent (of course without government's initiative). But the population has grown by 20 per cent.

Hence demand for accommodation has grown and problem has intensified. About 83.7 per cent or more than 29 lakhs of houses, are made of grass, leaves, hay and bamboos etc. No specific plan has yet been made to change them into tiles. Only few tile manufacturing units are being built.

Poor in Power

In the third plan there is a programme to build 4500 houses in rural areas, and during two years of the plan only 514 houses have been completed.

Let us examine the problem of employment. There is no plan to provide jobs for all unemployed persons. Even the moderate target set in the plan is not fulfilled.

Per capita consumption of electricity in different fields is also quite revealing. In 1962-63 per capita domestic consumption was 1.86 kwh in commercial lights; in small powers 0.88; in industries including water works 33.39; in public lighting 0.16; irrigation 0.16; in all total it comes to 31.43, 0.59 2.41, and 40.86. In irrigation and public lighting Orissa occupies the second from below. In total per capita consumption it is behind the all-India average.

These consumption figures give a general idea of industry and irrigation in the state. The demand for electric

arrangement for any sort of drinking water.

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Let us examine the problem of employment. There is no plan to provide jobs for all unemployed persons. Even the moderate target set in the plan is not fulfilled.

Year	INDIA		ORISSA	
	Direct Taxes (Rs. in crores)	National Income (Rs. in crores)	Direct Taxes (Rs. in lakhs)	State Income (Rs. in lakhs)
1956-57	146.58	11,310	484.39	34,360
1957-58	157.01	11,390	620.92	31,915
1958-59	166.09	12,600	673.25	37,282
1959-60	198.90	12,500	709.57	40,171
1960-61	205.46	14,140	733.29	43,412
Per centage of increase from 1956-57 to 1960-61	40 per cent	25 per cent	51 per cent	25 per cent

If this rural unemployment is taken into consideration, the total unemployed, in 1961 were 24.21 lakhs.

By the end of third plan in 1966 when population of Orissa will reach 193 lakhs, according to the present estimate the number of unemployed persons would be 34 lakhs.

In terms of implementation of the plan, and in the development programme Orissa's position, is lowest in India. But it has topped the list in three things: taxation, price and corruption.

If any target has been over-filled, that is taxation. Orissa taxation enquiry committee's recommendations to enhance land rent, land cess, sales tax, electric tax, entertainment tax, housing tax, etc. have been implemented.

In the third plan at first the estimation was to increase taxes by Rs. 23.01 crores. Now the expectation is that it would yield Rs. 33.30 crores, that is Rs. 10.29 crores more than the estimated amount.

Previous to this, by the year 1960-61, taking 1957-58 as 100, taxation was already increased from Rs. 646 lakhs to Rs. 856 lakhs. The burden of taxation in Orissa can be well understood if it is compared with the state income.

These above figures indicate whereas national income during the second plan has increased by 25 per cent, direct taxes have increased by 40 per cent.

For the state of Orissa, state income has increased by 26 per cent during the above period with 51 per cent increase in direct taxes. Thus direct taxes both in the centre and the state have increased at a faster rate as compared to national and state incomes.

As regards prices, Orissa figures are higher compared to all-India price level. The cost of working-class living index with 1949=100 were:

Year	Cuttack	Calcutta	India
1951	123	104	105
1960	127	113	124

Though this index prepared by the government does not reflect the real position, still it shows the trend in contrast to all-India average.

In brief this is the net result of planning in Orissa. This is no detailed analysis of planning, it is only general attempt to get an idea about the trend and rate of development on some aspects of the planning.

These facts reveal only one thing that the whole process is very much slow and painful and it will take some generations to transform this underdeveloped state into a developed one.

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.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PHASE, pp. 169, Rs. 0.45

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.

The speeches and writings included in these books are of immense contemporary interest.

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APPEAL TO AFRO-ASIA

THE Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity strongly condemns the recent aggression by Pakistani forces against our territory of Kashmir...

The wide campaign launched by the Western press in support of Pakistan and the surprising attitude of the UN observers towards the infiltration of the raiders from Pakistan, lends support to the conclusion that imperialist powers are interested in continuing confrontation between the two countries, and thus making the valley a centre of cold war intrigue.

We appeal to all the Afro-Asian and other peace-loving countries to condemn this aggression. This is against the fundamental principles of Afro-Asian solidarity and the Bandung Declaration...

We congratulate the people and government of Kashmir for their determination and unity, without which the aggressors could not have been thrown back. We appeal to all the people of our country to give them their full support and maintain and consolidate this unity.

New Delhi
TARA CHAND, M.P.
President, Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

Foil The Imperialists

THE All-India Peace Council shares the indignation of the entire nation and renews its pledge to join our countrymen in their determined efforts to defend the sovereignty of India... The sinister imperialist game to continue tension between India and Pakistan by provoking armed conflict must be foiled. The British and American imperialists must not be allowed to interfere in the affairs of India and Pakistan...

The All-India Peace Council calls upon all state peace committees and organisations to hold meetings and demonstrations, to organise special conferences and conventions to mobilise our people to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our nation.

The All-India Peace Council urges upon the democratic forces of Pakistan to take every possible measure to see that the suicidal aggressive policy pursued by the ruling circles of Pakistan against India is abandoned in the interests of both the countries...

New Delhi
DIWAN CHAMAN LALL, M.P.
Chairman, Presidential Committee, All-India Peace Council.

Injustice To Railmen

IT is twelve years now since the Ex-B.L. Railway staff was merged with the Sholapur Division staff of the Central Railway. Yet

LETTERS

the question of adjustment of their seniority on integration, categoriwise, is not finalised or effected, despite assurances by the Railway and Labour Ministers in the Lok Sabha as long ago as 1959.

Some of the Ex-B.L. Railway staff, during this period, have reached retirement age and have retired. Some others are due to retire. All of them have been suffering hardships and injustice, apart from the monthly loss involved. Deserving members in the categories of drivers, firemen, guards, station masters, ticket collectors and the like are denied their due promotion and confirmation even when vacancies exist.

The situation has become all the more serious in view of the impending proposal to slice off and merge the southern part of the Sholapur Division, Central Railway, with the proposed New Railway Zone. In the event of this proposal materialising, the Ex-B.L. Railway staff will be placed at a double disadvantage.

Necessary steps must be taken to see that the assurances given by the government at the time of merger and, later, on the floor of Parliament, are duly honoured and implemented without any further delay.

Bombay
K. N. JOGLEKAR,
President, National Railway Mazdoor Union, Kurduwadi Branch

'Normalisation' Of Doctors

A NUMBER of MBBS doctors in Assam were appointed by the office of the Development Commissioner, after due consultation with the Director of Health Services, and they were asked to work in different Community Centres. They were debarred from private practice (an amount of Rs. 75 was paid as remuneration in lieu of such practice), but they were assured of all other facilities given to other doctors.

Now, along with normalisation of Community Development blocks, the doctors attached to these blocks have been informed of 'normalisation' of their services.

But what does this mean? There is no explanation from government. The doctors concerned have demanded an authoritative explanation from government and have represented that their period of service must be counted from the day they were first employed.

This is a fair and just demand. The doctors were serving the same government continuously since the time of their appointment, and it would be totally wrong, if the Department of Health Services now refuses to count this period when considering questions of seniority and promotion.

Nalbari
TARUNSEN DEKA

INDIA, LITTLE UNDERSTOOD ; PARTLY MISUNDERSTOOD

The 'crisis' of India is an admitted fact. But "what are the roots of this crisis and what is its dimension?"—is a question too difficult to answer. That is precisely the reason why Ronald Segal's *THE CRISIS OF INDIA* has really nothing new to offer.

By
SADHAN MUKHERJEE

INDIA is too big a country—a sub-continent in fact, hidden in whose remote corners are things which are stranger than fiction: where there are numerous varieties of life, culture, habits, practices, customs and so on.

To attempt to analyse such a country—for long which has been considered a land of paradox, whose motto in political vocabulary is unity in diversity, is almost an impossibility. More so, when it is sought to be done in three months covering 7,000 miles (out of a total area of 12,61,597 sq. miles) as Segal has done. Hence, Segal's over-simplification of Indian problems and shallow conclusions. His is a story of India little understood and partly misunderstood.

He has tried to summarise thousands of years of Indian history in one chapter, and that too depending mostly on the Oxford history of India. Naturally, lots of facts have been misrepresented; some

missed altogether and important developments not judged in their true context.

India is Hinduism and Hinduism is India is the "ubiquitous" theme of Segal's book but he fails to take note of the fact that Hinduism is not "religion" as such. To quote K. M. Panikkar, it is a way of life.

Everything in India does not stem from Hindu religion as Segal makes it out to be.



BOOK REVIEW

Thus, he understands the Sepoy Mutiny only as an outburst of high-caste Hindus who felt their religion was in danger. The participation of people in the revolt, the question of land and so on, do not find mention in his analysis. Similarly he fails to take note of the essential features of the 19th century renaissance. Its a pity Segal finds

* *THE CRISIS OF INDIA* by Ronald Segal, A Penguin Special, Price 5 sh.

HAPPY FAMILY

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

SADHANA DASAN



NEW AGE

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACC
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road,
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48

Adhyaksha Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghose, M.A. Ayurved
Sastri, F.C.S. (London) M.C.S. (America) Formerly
Professor of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.
Calcutta Centre: Dr. Naray Chandra Ghose, M.B.
B.S. (Cal) Ayurvedacharya.

* On facing page

* From Page 3

solution and defeating the game of rabid communalism, is greater than ever.

Firstly, even the limited spread of the Punjabi language in the field of education and administration that took place in the last ten years, is having its effect. The down-trodden Punjabi-speaking Hindu masses are beginning to realise that the best way to education and culture for them and further participation in administration can only be through their mother tongue, Punjabi. This is enabling them to free themselves from the influence of Hindu communal propaganda.

That the Republican Party, having considerable influence over Harijans in Punjab, now supports the demand for a Punjabi speaking state is a proof of this change.

Thus today, besides the Communist Party and the Marxist Communists, who have always campaigned for the democratic solution, the Punjab State Committee of the PSP and the Republican Party have come out with

"PUNJABI SUBA" DEMAND: ISSUES & SOLUTIONS

statements supporting the principle of a linguistic state, while opposing the fast as a means of achieving it.

Secondly, in Harijans, voices have begun to be raised (as evidenced, for example, in the statement by High Court lawyers from that region) in support of the real aspirations of the people of Harijans, and challenging the communalists who claim to represent the region.

Growing Awareness

Thirdly, there is a growing awareness inside the ruling party itself—despite the loud boasts of some State Ministers—that the situation has to be met by political initiatives and not merely administrative and police measures.

Fourthly, even among the so-called Hindu leaders, there is a trend of opinion, that is for avoiding a showdown and pleading for differentiating be-

tween Sant Fateh Singh and Master Tara Singh, and wants efforts to be made for an understanding with the former.

As for the common people, they are fed up with the communal tensions and squabbles that have beset the state all along. They are faced with the serious problems of soaring prices, ever-increasing taxes, growing corruption and maladministration and attacks on democratic rights and liberties; they are faced with the still unsolved problems of land and living, of jobs and wages.

They want the government to fulfill its pledges and commitments to them. They want unity to defend their interests and to make the government change its anti-people policies. Above all they want communal peace and harmony.

It must be clearly recognised that the proposed fast, if it is not withdrawn or averted, will turn the wheel backwards. It will annul whatever progress the democratic forces have made and only strengthen the forces of communal reaction. It will give a setback to that Hindu opinion, which has begun to move in the direction of a democratic solution.

The next few weeks are crucial. The democratic forces and parties have to take up the challenge.

The Communist Party has appealed to all democratic elements, to the Marxist Communist Party, to the Republican Party, to the PSP and the SSE, and to all Congressmen who want to fight communalism, to come together for a joint effort and a campaign to demand

that the Central Government immediately accept in principle the necessity for redemarcating the present Punjabi state on a linguistic basis.

The Communist Party in Punjab, conscious of its responsibility in this critical situation, is doing its utmost in cooperation with all other progressive forces in the state.

But the fight for a just and principled way out, and for communal peace and harmony in the frontier state of Punjab in this critical hour has national significance.

Democratic elements all over the country must lend support to the campaign by sending resolutions and telegrams to the Central and Punjab Governments, demanding the formation of a Punjabi speaking state.

'CRISIS' OF INDIA

* From facing page

imagination; neither is the squalor or the filth. But mere description of poverty or to hunt its genesis in the religious base (!) of the country is irrational; in this he has no new facts or causes to offer. His analysis of the five-year plan results are nothing out of the ordinary nor does he bring in any new factors to explain their failures.

His observation about the distance between the masses and the political leadership also is correct but not a new one.

His general observations about the leaderships of various parties are true in a general sense but he badly blunders when it comes to describing the Communist Party. Not that he has any axe to grind but because he attempts to find out a non-ideological reason for the split. ("The split, it became clear, was far more than a doctrinal one, the taking of sides between Moscow and Peking; it reflected a shift—gradual but drastic—in the whole character of power within the party" (page 258) and "...the clash between the traditional leadership and a new set of leaders, coming from the peasantry itself, constituted the real division within the party.")

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Wrong Information

He does not know, among those who have broken away from the CPI, there is none among the leaders coming from the peasantry. Some one must have pulled a really fast one on unsuspecting Segal.

Segal says "It is astonishing, for instance, how many of India's senior Communists, the proclaimed leaders in the struggles of the proletariat and peasant masses, speak and indeed think in English rather than the vernacular."

This is not only untrue but preposterous. He forgets that

the CPI's strength emanates from the close understanding of the people of India and the "proclaimed leaders" are well-known for their profound knowledge of the masses and whom the masses in turn easily understand.

This cannot be so if the leaders "speak and think" in English.

How mistaken he is can be seen when he says the Communist mass campaign (in 1964) "promises a new period of internal disturbance and possibly violence." (page 260).

Jumps To Conclusion

Segal rightly points out the drawbacks and failure of India's foreign policy; India's vacillations on the Algerian question, its failure to take firm anti-imperialist stand on a number of occasions etc. But he suddenly jumps to the conclusion that the liberation of Goa was "only the implementation of a narrow partisan policy seeking to justify an election-eve stunt. This he says not because the imperialists also say so but because he fails to understand the Goa issue.

On corruption in India, Segal's is at best a partial study but he caught the crux of the issue: "It is the close association of government and business in India that is more than any other factor, responsible for the corruption of the new raj." (P. 301)

His appraisal of Nehru is to say the least, very hasty and one-sided: "The personal weaknesses of Nehru, no doubt, were there, but even on the worst measure Nehru could not justifiably be compared with Chiang Kai-shek, as Segal has done. No body condones Nehru for his fallings or glosses over his mistakes but such a flippant comparison only establishes the political immaturity of the writer."

Despite all his weaknesses, one cannot miss the fact that in time of crisis, and on-

laught from all sides, Nehru remained firm on the basic policies and steadfast in his broad outlook.

True, he "never realized that his worst enemies were his own party, undermining his policies, debasing the coinage of his thought. He was not resolute, only obstinate." (page 308) but that is not the whole of Nehru, who really was basically a democrat.

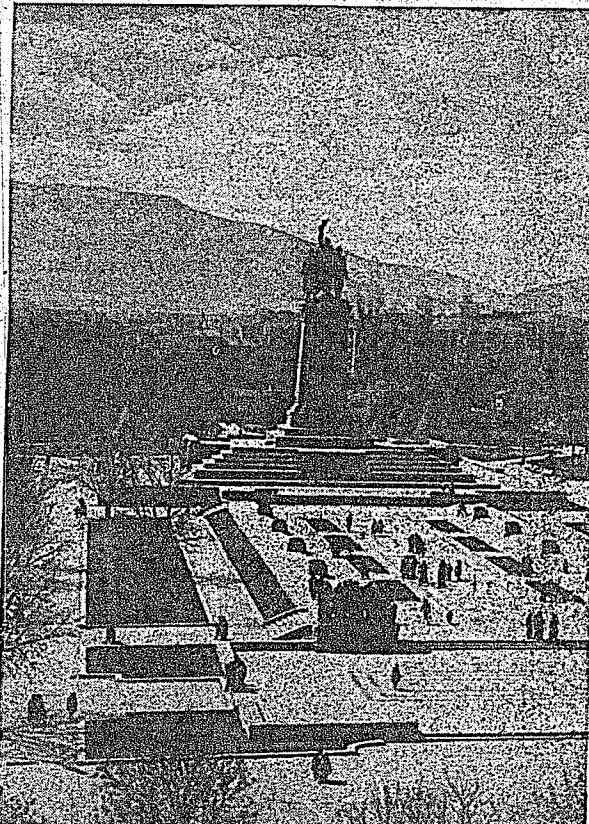
But with all these shortcomings and dark pictures of India, it cannot be said that Segal's book is anti-Indian. In a number of places in his book he so very correctly locates the root-cause of the malady he describes. But he is neither essentially pro-Indian.

His friend whom he talked to before leaving for India described the Indians as "a dirty and submissive lot, with no flame or fight in them, swaddled in superstition and apathy and a meaningless arrogance." Segal does not say so himself in so many words but his book tends to justify this observation.

He declares in reply to a self-chosen, question—"do you like Indians?"—that "I like people—people are all I really believe in." But ultimately he asks at the end of his book: "Will India have an Indian government ruthless enough to rule in the interests of the still-silent masses? And if it will not, how much will the masses stay silent?"

He himself has no inkling of any change nor does he visualise any perceptible transformation in the near future. Thus by implication he says, he really does not repose confidence in the Indian people.

Notwithstanding all this, Segal's is an eminently readable book, written lucidly and in a picturesque style. But like all books written by foreigners, "biased or unbiased," Segal's has missed the soul of India and fell a victim to oversimplification and generalisation.



Memorial to the fallen heroes

STEADY PROGRESS OF SOCIALIST BULGARIA

* From Page 10

as part of the successes of the world's socialist system, of the international Communist movement, as a result of the cooperation and mutual assistance among the fraternal socialist countries, and in the first place as a result of the fraternal aid of the great Soviet Union.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is successfully implementing the economic plan for 1965, the last year of the fourth five-year plan. Paralleled with that, the preparations are under way for the country's fifth five-year plan

which provides for the attainment of further successes in expanding the material and technical structure of socialism and in further raising the material and cultural standards of the people.

Experiments are now in progress with a new system of planning and management of the country's economy which provides for better coordination between private and public interests. Increased material incentives for the initiative by the working people, as well as improved utilisation of science and technology and of the reserves and capacities of socialist economy.



City of Angels: City of death

Los Angeles : was it Negro Violence?

By Sadhan Mukherjee

HERE never were any angels in the city of Los Angeles. But whatever remained of the myth was blown into smithereens during the violent days of mid-August. The grim statistics of those days are: 36 dead (of them 32 Negroes), 900 reported injured (almost all Negroes) and more than 4,000 jailed (all Negroes).

The dead, the wounded, the imprisoned bear testimony to "American justice". The Negroes of the Black Ghetto had no share in the "American dream" in the past, nor have they today despite all the "equality" guaranteed on paper.

Not Isolated Event

Los Angeles was not an isolated event; eruptions had taken place in Chicago, Philadelphia, San Diego, Hartford and elsewhere. The brutality of white police created a new record in American savagery at home; abroad, it was already well-known.

And the President of US seeks to place the blame on the Negroes! The victims of brutality in this onslaught were the "Blacks" but Johnson described it as an "unparalleled act of violence in this nation" by the "Negro men and women".

Was it Negro violence, when "divided" white police shot cold-bloodedly a four-year old Negro boy describing him as a "looter and rioter"?

Was it Negro violence when a three-year old Negro boy was wounded by the spray of bullets?

Was it Negro violence when a Negro woman driving a car was literally cut to pieces by machine-gun fire of the National Guardsmen, all of whom were white?

White Tyranny

There are such examples in plenty and yet the White Americans describe it as a "race war", "an insurrection", and so on. The fact is the Negroes demanded justice, fair play and equality. They received in reply only savage firings and assault.

"This was an elemental scream of outrage from a violated people entombed in a prison house of social deprivation and economic impoverishment" said THE WORKER.

Yes, the Negroes did hit back: that was the hit back for survival against the ruthless and wanton white brutality. Yes, the Negroes were angry; they could not help it. To quote James Baldwin: "To be a

Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time."

In the blood-soaked streets of the Black Ghetto, the remnants of Lincoln's American dream were shattered.

A commentator has said: "Tensions as deep as man's undying urge for freedom and quest for human dignity have exploded in Los Angeles. Both



Study in Black and White: Tortured and Torturers

have been mercilessly violated..."

Despite the vituperations of the President against the Negroes; despite the slanders carried in most American newspapers about so-called Negro rioters, the facts of Negro misery are undeniable, they cannot be hidden.

Devastating Indictment

What better commentary can there be of Negro impoverishment than the cruel fact that most of the Negroes arrested still remain incarcerated be-

cause they cannot raise the amount for bail?

A committee on civil rights has recently submitted a confidential study on the Negro problem to President Johnson, which at the moment is the most talked about document in Washington though unpublished and still officially "confidential".

In the words of NEW YORK TIMES, "the 78-page report consti-

* On facing page

'OPERATION COCOA'

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

THE London and New York brokers have once again launched their "Operation Cocoa" and have brought down the prices of this produce of several West African countries on the world market.

Knowing that Cocoa is the major item of export for countries like Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon, they are once again trying to turn it into an instrument of hindering the adoption of new, patriotic positions by these countries in their national and international fields.

Cocoa brings 60 per cent of Ghana's export revenue. Millions of families depend upon the cultivation of the chocolate-producing beans, which have replaced other food-crops in the fertile forest zones.

But this time too, the imperialists have once again forgotten to reckon with one important fact: the existence of the socialist world. Ghana has sold large quantities of Cocoa to the Soviet Union and socialist countries of Europe on mutually advantageous terms.

Unmindful of what the imperialist brokers may try to do this year or next year, she is going ahead with effecting major social changes in her life. A re-organisation of agriculture is apace. Large mechanised farms for producing various crops are being set up. Steps to build other sectors of national economy are being taken.

Ghana is increasingly getting less vulnerable to the predatory policy of the monopolies.

Frelimo : Glorious Three Years

FRELIMO—the Mozambique Liberation Front, has completed three years of its fighting existence.

It unites within itself all the progressive parties and elements in the country with the paramount task of complete and final liquidation of Portuguese colonialism and the establishment of a democratic order.

The Front at first approached Lisbon with an offer to negotiate for the granting of independence. In reply, hordes of armed-to-the-teeth Salazarites descended upon Mozambique.

The Front declared an all-out armed general struggle in September last year and resolved to fight on 'till the last Portuguese soldier is driven out.

The Front enjoys wide mass support and is an organisation of national character. The patriots fighting under its banner have many a time destroyed Portuguese defence lines, seized large stocks of weapons, and done to death hundreds of Portuguese marauders.

Worried by the mounting successes of the rebels, the Portuguese colonialists have started terrible repression against the peaceful African population.

Recently Portuguese planes and paratroopers carried out air-attacks on the region near the Nyasa lake and started a massacre of people in the country, side. Three-and-a-half thousand horror-stricken people took refuge in the Likoma Island, which is a part of the independent Malawi.

Nuclear Sub "Kicked-Away"

THE American nuclear sub "Permit" could not hold out for more than 5 days in the Japanese port of Sasebo. It was literally chased out.

The people of the port, known for their abundant hospitality and kind feelings, could not put up with this dangerous, uninvited "visitor". They did everything to make its stay uncomfortable by daily mass appearances at the gates of the US naval base.

Every day there were angry demonstrations demanding end of the sub's Japanese sojourn and voicing determination of not getting dragged into the US dirty war in Vietnam. The Saseboites got enthusiastic support from the people demonstrating and holding protest marches and rallies all over Japan.

When the "Permit" was quitting Sasebo, it found the whole population of the port at the shore waving it a hearty good riddance.

—DARSHAK

GREECE : BID FOR A COALITION GOVT

King Constantine's manoeuvres have failed. The Greek Parliament (300 members) in a vote of no-confidence rejected Tsirimoko, King's second nominee to premiership, on August 29. The new government like the earlier one of Novas, has fallen.

SINCE the ouster of Papandreou from Premiership on July 15, the political crisis in Greece continues unabated. Tsirimoko defected from the Centre Union Party of Papandreou along with a number of others, at the instance of the King. But that did not bolster Tsirimoko's position.

After the fall of the Tsirimoko government, the King is trying other means to prevent Papandreou from coming back to power. He is probing the possibility of a coalition government. This appears to him as the only way left as otherwise there will have to be a general election within 45 days as provided by the Constitution. He has already planned to hold a meeting of all political parties excluding the United Democratic Front.

The demand for a general election has been repeatedly voiced by Papandreou, who leads the Union of the Centre Party and enjoys mass support. The United Democratic Front (EDA) also supports this demand.

But the general election is opposed by the King himself as well as the reactionary National Radical Union. They fear that it might bring about a greater consolidation of progressive forces and the creation of a popular front between Papandreou's Party and the EDA.

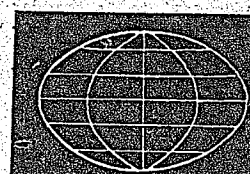
And behind them are the US imperialists who want to keep Greece in an unstable position precluding any possibility of a popular government. They are vitally interested in that as Greece is a key factor in the NATO war strategy. Greece is also a CIA base.

It may be recalled that in November last year the CIA organised a mine explosion in

army of the rightwing elements was one of the objectives of Papandreou, which was not to the liking of the US.

No one knows for certain till now what is "Operation Arrow-1" referred to in Marshall's report. It is likely that the present situation in Greece has come about from this operation.

Meanwhile, the people of Greece continue to agitate for a constitutional government. Meetings and demonstrations are being held everywhere to voice protest against the King's actions.



The World

RESURRECTING THIRD REICH

WHILE discussion on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as a step towards disarmament, is on at the 18-nation committee in Geneva, the clamour of West Germans for a hold on nuclear trigger is increasing.

The leaders of West German political parties are using the nuclear weapons issue in their election campaigns too.

The chairman of the Christian Social Union, Strauss (who is notorious for his misdeeds) has openly advocated a revision of the "treaty provisions envisaging renunciation of the atomic weapons by the FRG."

Along with this campaign, other steps are also being

very carefully worked out by the West German government to create further tension. It appears that in accordance with the plans of the NATO command, arrangements have been made by the FRG government to blow up bridges and roads in the area bordering the German Democratic Republic "in case of necessity".

West German defence Minister Von Hassel said at Kiel on August 25 that for many years now the bridges and roads in the FRG are being mined.

No wonder, even teenagers in the FRG are now being systematically subjected to revanchist and militarist propaganda. Recently a number of school children (ages 14-16) were taken from West Berlin to watch a military exercise. At the end of the exercise, they were taught to handle rifles and allowed to shoot for testing their skill.

These exercises, redundant to say, are aimed at creating a war mania. It appears that the Potsdam agreement for the FRG has since long ceased to exist. The Americans and the British—who were parties to the Potsdam agreement have willfully allowed West Germany to resurrect the spirit of Third Reich.

NASSER'S VISIT TO USSR

UAR President Nasser's current visit to the Soviet Union is a matter of great significance.

The visit coincides with the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the first contacts with the Soviet Union, after the long period of isolation imposed on Egypt by reaction and imperialism.

The turning point came when the Soviet Union agreed to supply arms to Egypt in its anti-imperialist struggle.

Since then relations have developed in all fields between two countries "along the lines of positive, effective and creative cooperation" as Nasser himself declared at a Kremlin dinner.

It was significant that Breznev, the first secretary of the CPSU, spoke greeting Nasser at the Soviet dinner given in the visiting President's honour. Usually such a gesture is reserved for socialist countries.

The visit of President Nasser will not only lead to a further strengthening of economic and political ties between the two countries but would also contribute to further cementing of the world democratic front of anti-imperialism and peace.

There is also a strong possibility that Nasser's talks with the Soviet leaders may even help find out a basis for a new peace initiative in Vietnam. (August 31)

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE



Demonstration in Athens



APALLING ATROCITY

* From Facing Page

It is a devastating indictment of what white Americans have done to Negro Americans in 300 years of slavery, injustice and estrangement—the result of which is a "tangle of pathology..."

It pinpoints the causes of discontent in the Negro Ghettos. It says the new crisis in race relations is much more severe than is generally believed.

The essence of the report, says NEW YORK TIMES, is that deterioration of the Negro family has resulted in a deterioration in the fabric of Negro society. As a result, Negroes as a group are not able to compete on even terms in the United States.

The report adds that probably no single fact of Negro American life is so little understood by whites as the breakdown of the Negro family.

It is this group of underdogs who demanded justice in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

At the time when President Johnson was denouncing the Negroes, two civil rights workers were shot dead in Hayneville, Alabama. Both the victims were whites and so was the murderer who belonged to Ku Klux Klan. And he was no less a person than deputy Sheriff Tom Coleman.

Is this the reflection of the "Great Society"?

The violence on the Negroes and their agonised resistance is today the biggest contradiction of American society. The Negroes can no more tolerate American injustice and meekly submit to whites lording over their all. For them it is a crisis of confidence. They do not expect justice in any foreseeable future.

Time is thus running out for setting right the wrongs done to the Negroes.

The slums, the degradations, the filth, the squalor to which the Negroes are submitted have to go; the conditions which create such indignities have to go; and then only can this contradiction of American society end.

Otherwise this contradiction itself will continue to grow bigger and bigger spelling doom to present-day America.

FAMINE-STRICKEN MANIPUR FIGHTS FOR FOOD

From M. BHATTACHARYA

IMPHAL: Manipur observed complete hartal on August 30 to protest against the police firing on August 27 on peaceful demonstrators who were demanding food, and a judicial enquiry into the police atrocities.

Seven persons including a girl were killed in the police firing. No fewer than 33 persons were injured, according to first estimates.

NEWS of the firing and the government's incapacity to provide food for the people has spread revulsion among the people in the whole state. The tempo of the food movement is going up.

On August 27, a large number of people had been proceeding to the residence of the Chief Commissioner to demand adequate food supply. The police prevented them from reaching the residence.

The authorities claim that the demonstrators then "turned violent"—an excuse trotted out every time the police turns violent against the peaceful demonstrators. Demonstrators were first lathi-charged and then fired at.

Following the police firing dusk to dawn curfew has been clamped on the city. Several persons have been arrested and detained.

The demonstrators who were fired upon had been parading the streets of Imphal throughout the fateful day, August 27, demanding food.

Virtual Famine

Manipur, particularly its capital Imphal, has been in the grip of a virtual famine for the last few days. The Supply Minister himself admitted on August 25 that the food situation in the state was serious.

The Minister said: 'there was no stock of rice with the government; most of the fair price shops were without any stock of rice. And the little rice that was available in the open market sold at Rs. 45 to Rs. 50 a maund.

The Minister disclosed that an SOS had been sent to New Delhi to rush at least 38 thousand quintals of rice to Manipur to save the state from starvation.

But was that all that the government could do to save the situation?

Manipur has long been known as a surplus state. Last year, however, there was untimely rainfall in the hill areas which resulted in a crop failure.

The state government procured only 50 thousand maunds of rice. To supplement the rice supply it tried to get wheat, but it could only very little wheat.

The stocks with the government could meet only a fraction of the demand of even the 120-thousand inhabitants of Imphal and its surroundings. No wonder that the bulk of the people had to go without any food!

Not that there were no rice socks in the state. They were all cornered by the hoarders but the government did not do anything to dehoard these stocks.

Nor did the government seek assistance from New Delhi to tide over the impending crisis when all the indications of such a crisis in food was obvious.

Even the Congress members had earlier demanded in the Assembly prompt measures to meet the demand of the people for food. They had warned against any complacency.

It was in this background that a stream of deputations began to wait on the Chief Minister and the Supply Minister demanding food.

Innumerable number of deputations of housewives also met the officials and ministers demanding adequate supply of food at reasonable prices. On August 27 itself several deputations met the Chief Commissioner.

Only Assurances

The government spokesmen had only one reply to the deputations they assured them that "all that was possible" was being done to improve the situation. But people could not eat "assurances".

On August 27 a large number of women squatted on the lawns of the Chief Commissioner's residence. They are alleged to have dragged the

official out of his house to address them.

Whatever that be, this worthy addressed the "seeing mass of men and women" in front of his residence. He said that arrangements made by the government had proved a failure. "Undeserving people" were getting rice while the needy did not.

The Chief Commissioner also admitted that large quantities of rice were lying with the hoarders. He appealed to the hoarders to surrender their "surplus stocks" voluntarily—as if the hoarders were amenable to such appeals!

On August 27 when it was found that the situation was going out of control, the government decided to introduce rationing in Imphal and surrounding areas.

It was also decided by the government, to supply rice to the villages through gram

panchayats and village committees.

These are yet promises; as is the despatch of rice stock from the centre. People have not got any rice as yet. And unless the supply position is improved, no amount of repression is going to pacify the people.

This is the unmistakable lesson of the August 30 hartal when life in the state capital came to a standstill. It was a complete success, showing the mood of the people for all those who care to read the writing on the wall.

The present food battle has reminded people of the food struggle launched by the Manipur women in 1939, popularly known as "NUPILAN". They had then surrounded the president of the state durbar demanding food. He had to be rescued by the Assam Rifles men.

The present demonstrations are spontaneous expression of the people's resentment against the inefficient handling of the food issue by the authorities. Even the government has not so far been able to put the blame on any political party.

SCORE IN PARLIAMENT

KASHMIR-PLUS, FOOD-MINUS

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Kashmir for the third week in succession.

PARLIAMENT's eyes and ears have been glued to the happenings in that north-western corner of India's frontiers where the conflict stirred up by a well-prepared Pakistani plot have taken yet another turn.

As Defence Minister Chavan gave his report to the Lok Sabha on the Kashmir situation, the entire House cheered the Indian jawans for their bravery.

The latest news showed that the events in Kashmir were fast moving towards a new climax. Following the initial thrust of the Indian army in Tithwal, breaking across the Pakistani outposts on the other side of the cease-fire line, the Uri sector developments added a new dimension.

Chavan's statement in Parliament showed that one of the most strategic areas has been hit by the Army.

The capture of the Haji Pir Pass together with a string of other important outposts—all of which meant that the Uri-Poonch bulge in the cease-fire line had more or less been straightened out—indicated a new landmark in the situation.

Parliament's response was one of full backing for the Army's action.

But in the glow of the moment, and the resounding applause which Chavan obtained many a time from the House, one could discern the political high mark that had been reached.

What next? That seemed to be an under-current question. Does this presage a new turn for the better—a return to the methods of negotiations and

peaceful settlement of disputes, or accentuation of the cleavage?

It is still an open question. Amidst the thick rumours which rent the lobbies—rumours and conjectures—one could realise that for India and Pakistan a vital moment had arrived.

The choice apparently is to settle their disputes through bilateral negotiations, excluding all third parties. Or, to let intruders turn the sub-continent into a shambles of the aspirations of the multi-million peoples of India and Pakistan.

IMPHAL FIRING

The Lok Sabha this week has had one of the hottest and keenest discussion on the firings in Imphal by the police, resulting in several deaths.

The government claimed three lost their lives as a result of the firing, while opposition members said the number was seven.

The discussion took place after a host of adjournment moves as well notices of "Calling Attention" had been tabled by Communist, SSP and PSP members. It was almost the entire opposition versus the treasury benches.

Manipur being an area for which the Centre bears special responsibility, the demand for discussion could not be ignored, though the Speaker did allow the government a full day to come to the House with prepared statements.

The treasury benches put in two of their stalwarts, Home

Minister Nanda and Food Minister Subramaniam for tackling the frayed tempers of the opposition. But it is doubtful if they came through unscathed.

Subramaniam's defence appeared self-contradictory. Manipur was a surplus area, he declared, and unlimited food could not be thrown into a "surplus area" even if food had vanished.

Where had the food gone, why had prices risen sharply then? To this repeated question of the CPI spokesmen Hoini Daji, Renu Chakravarty and K. K. Warrior there was no positive reply.

All that Subramaniam could say was this was something which had to be looked into.

What had the government done all these past months when rising prices became obvious? Nothing, practically nothing.

But he solved this riddle by placing the blame on opposition parties, who probably had "worked up" popular passions to make "political capital".

Subramaniam's other plea was that they had been responding to Manipur Chief Commissioner's demand for more rice—some 1,070 tons had already been sent. And more would be sent, that was his promise.

The entire opposition strongly protested against Subramaniam's remarks that the demonstrators did not consist of persons with hungry stomachs. Then came Nanda to the rescue.

He announced a "high-level" administrative enquiry, rejecting strong demands for a judicial probe. He justified police

firing by saying the tear-gas failed to disperse the crowds (was it also adulterated, one was tempted to ask!). And the crowds became violent.

The opposition remained unconvinced and unsubdued.

EDITORS CLASSIFIED

Debate in the Rajya Sabha on the Press Council Bill was highlighted by a widely-acclaimed performance by Bhupesh Gupta.

The Communist leader was able to bring to the gaze of Parliament many of the unrevealed pages of the press world.

Drawing liberally on the former Attorney General M. C. Setalwad's recent speeches in Madras, Bhupesh Gupta brought home forcefully the misuse of the DIR by the government to restrict the freedom of the press.

The most interesting of his revelations, however, was in relation to the role of the present-day editors under the overlordship of the press barons.

He threw light on three categories: editors who exercise their discretion, even in a limited way, and like T. J. S. George of the Searchlight, find themselves in prison; editors who are in fact proprietors but enjoy the benefits of glorified intellectualism, and foreign tours also; and those who go abroad, get money in trust but do not deliver it when they return to India.