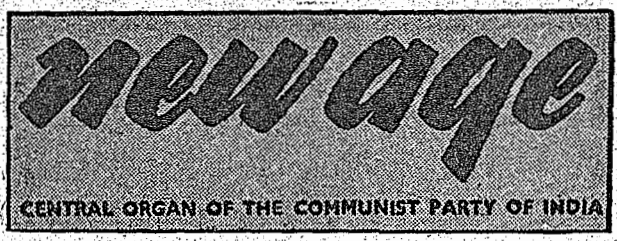


SCANDALOUS SUPPORT TO US AGGRESSION ON VIETNAM



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Yanks Dictate AICC Organ's Editorial

By
ROMESH CHANDRA

The All-India Congress Committee publishes a fortnightly journal called the AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW. It is the only regular public all-India organ of the Congress Party. It claims in print to be published "on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee", from its national headquarters in 7 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

If any honest political person in any part of the world were to read this official Congress Party or-

from South Vietnam, it drew his attention to this scandalous editorial. I am now drawing the at-

will ask themselves: Have these policies been changed? Does the editorial represent this change?

This is what the editorial says: **Manam**—I am quoting it in full:

"There is a war going on between North and South Vietnam, which is a war waged by democratic forces against the Communist lust of conquest. USA which is backing democracy in South Vietnam and helping the South Vietnam government to resist Communist infiltrants from North Vietnam, is determined to contain Communist subversion of democracy.

"Should democracy be left to fight its own battle against the spread of Communists in that part of the world, or should democracy be strengthened even if it meant escalation of war in that region, which has become most vulnerable to Communist strategy of subversion.

"Those who go on shouting that USA is interfering in a region which is not their concern, whatever the fate of democracy, are pursuing a suicidal policy.

"Of course no country, except a Communist country which follows the brand of Communist philosophy of which the Chinese are the high priests, which has no faith in peaceful coexistence, would like war to spread. But what is happening in South East Asia



is the pursuit of a Communist strategy of helping Communist parties in this region to subvert democracy.

"And if democracy is not protected, wherever and whenever it is in danger, by the most powerful democratic country of the world, then the weaker democratic countries in Asia and Africa will become the victims of Communism.

"In its own interests as well as in the interests of world democracy it becomes the duty of the USA to contain communism. This is what President Johnson is doing. He assured, rightly, all democracies that their resistance to the spread of communism would be reinforced by all the strength at USA's command.

"Nobody is interested in war, except the Chinese with their brand of communism. All democratic countries in the world have a duty to put their weight on the side of democratic forces and strengthen them. And dilly-dallying on the part of any democratic country is an invitation to

the subversion of democracy all over the world.

"No doubt the attitude to the Vietnam struggle should be in accordance with the sacred object of securing peace and avoiding the spread of war. But this object should not be achieved by permitting the subversion of democracy.

"If democracy has to be preserved, even if it means war, no one should have any hesitation over the comparatively subordinate consideration of preserving peace.

"A political solution to the Vietnam war is in consonance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. But those who are egging Communist forces in Vietnam to carry on subversive war should not be allowed any quarter". (Emphasis mine -R.C.)

There can be no doubt about it. The line of thinking in the above-quoted words is entirely and completely that of the most bellicose sections of the United States government. Here is the Congress organ openly defending and

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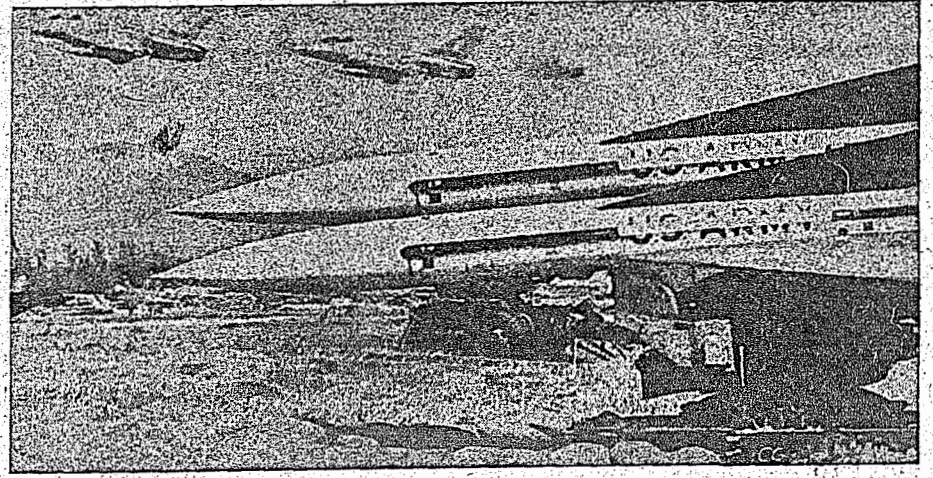
gan's latest editorial (in its issue of March 25), he would conclude without a shadow of doubt in his mind, that this paper, and consequently the party whose voice it claims to be, are agencies of the American imperialists and nothing else.

I make this charge with a full sense of responsibility. When the Communist Party deputation met Prime Minister Shastri to urge governmental action in condemnation of the US aggression in Vietnam and to demand the withdrawal of the US military forces

attention not only of the Prime Minister, but of all Congressmen, to this editorial, I may mention here that the Editorial Board of the AICC Economic Review is supposed to include Gulzarilal Nanda, T. T. Krishnamachari, Khundubhai Desai, Manubhai Shah and Arun Chandra Guha. And I would draw their attention specially to the facts given by me below.

What the AICC Economic Review has written about the Vietnam issue in its editorial is completely out of tune with the declared policies of the Congress and the government. Those who read this editorial

American Missiles at Dang Hol



CONGRESS AND ITS PAYMASTERS

Editorial

The mighty Birla—THE Birla—G. D. himself—has spoken. And the White Caps and the heads under them are expected to tremble, as the ring-master cracks his whip.

The latest utterance of the monopolist-in-chief is a matter of urgent national significance, and must be carefully examined by all who have at heart the best interests of the country.

Speaking at the golden jubilee celebrations of the Marwari Relief Society in Calcutta on April 5, Birla told the world that he had warned no less a person than the late Jawaharlal Nehru that "the government's policy of humiliating the industrialists will recoil on them sometime and make many a leader's head roll." (PATRIOT, April 6)

That Birla thought it necessary to repeat the "warning" he claims to have given to Pandit Nehru, is proof, if proof were needed, that the monopolists are not content with the huge concessions they are already receiving from the government, and are telling the men in power, far smaller men than the late Prime Minister, that if further concessions are not given, "heads will roll".

Birla added, so that there should be no mistake about it, that certain "Congress leaders were humiliating the industrialists, in spite of the fact that they had been continuing to financially assist the Congress".

The paymaster was asking for more returns on capital invested: the hundreds of crores amassed as a result of Congress policies by the monopolists and big businessmen were not enough, the voracious appetite of the monster of monopoly can never be satisfied.

If Birla alone had spoken in this vein at the Marwari Relief Society, even then there would have been reason for the nation to sound the alarm. But the monopolist was singing a duet: and in tune with him sang Sadoba Patil himself.

Patil echoed Birla and called for relaxation of the "tax burden" on private sector industry. And he added why he thought the Congress must back the monopolists:

"The Congress probably spent Rs. 10 crores in 50 years in the struggle for independence, and he thought 90 per cent of this money must have come from the industrialists."

This was not the first time Patil championed the demands of the monopolists for "tax-relief". This was not the first time Patil was praised by the monopolists and contrasted with "other Congress leaders".

But in the context of Birla's warning about the "rolling of the heads" of those Congress leaders, who are allegedly "humiliating" the monopolists, it is clear enough that the Birla paymasters are vitally interested—and indeed are behind—the Congress Right's full-scale conspiracy for grabbing more complete control of the administration at all levels.

Birla's warning regarding the rolling of heads is an affront to the nation. No one is particularly enamoured of the "heads" responsible for the anti-people policies of the Congress. And not a soul is likely to be stirred in defence of these white-capped heads.

But when the monopolists come out in the open and declare that it is they who will decide which "heads" will roll and which

will be pushed into their places—it is time for all democrats, including those inside the ruling party itself, to sit up, think and ACT as they have never done before.

It has never been a secret that the Birlas and their tribe have financed the Congress in the past and in much greater sums today. It is no secret also that they finance the right reactionary parties as well.

It has never been a secret that "investment" in the Congress funds particularly yields profits on a scale unsurpassed by any other "investment".

But now the monopolists are up in arms—and openly—to force a decisive shift to the right in Congress policies. And they do this with the aid of Patil and his syndicate on the one hand, and the other rightwing Congress groups on the other. And every vacillation and weakness displayed by the Congress government encourages the monopolists in their nefarious game.

The fight against this new right offensive, this new offensive of the monopolists can be waged effectively by the democratic forces, only if they unite.

It is their disunity, which gives the reactionary forces inside and outside the government the strength and the bravado to launch their offensive.

This is a time when in several anti-imperialist newly-liberated countries, it is not the monopolists and the protagonists of the capitalist path, who determine which "heads" will "roll". On the contrary, as the non-capitalist path is hewed out by the united forces of progress, it is the "heads" of the monopolists and vested interests which "roll".

(April 7)

TRIVANDRUM: The left parties in Kerala jointly observed April 6 as protest day against the unconstitutional imposition of President's Rule over the state and to demand ending of emergency and release of all detenus detained under the Defence of India Rules.

THE day was observed by hoisting black flags in towns and villages all over the state and by holding demonstrations and joint rallies.

The parties that came together in this action were the Communist Party of India, the Marxist Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party and the Karshaka Thozhilali Party together with progressive individuals.

The decision to observe the protest day on the basis of agreed slogans, speeches and resolutions was taken by the ad hoc committee set up by the Ernakulam convention of left parties last month.

In Trivandrum, EMS Namboodiripad, P. R. Nambiar and B. Madhavan Nair addressed the largely attended public meeting which was preceded by a militant

procession which carried black flags and banners.

The threat of counter agitation and demonstration raised by the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee against the left parties' agitation proved a damp squib, for the unity of left parties round agreed slogans drew greater response and support from all sections of people.

Meanwhile, political observers have not failed to notice that the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress who were vociferous in protesting against presidential rule and who talk about democracy refused to come out in support of the demand for release of detenus, a simple test of democracy.

On the other hand, Kerala Congress leaders have come out in clear and unequivocal terms against the release of the Marxist Communist detenus.

Protest Against President's Rule

UNITED ACTION BY KERALA LEFT PARTIES

As for the Muslim League, though they have also called on their own following to observe April 16 as protest day against President's Rule, they are meaningfully silent on the issue of release of detenus.

Meanwhile A. P. Jain's Presidential Rule in Kerala got its first jolt when eight thousand employees of the State Transport Corporation struck work, paralysing the entire nationalised transport on Monday, forcing bureaucracy and police to lay off their hands from the workers.

Transport Strike

The strike started on the afternoon of April 3 when workers downed their tools protesting against the action of a district police official who charged the drivers and conductors to two buses for carrying overload of pilgrims to a festival at Cranganore in Trichur district.

The lightning strike action which began at the trouble spot spread throughout the state when the bureaucratic officials of the State Transport Corporation failed to act quickly and settle the dispute locally.

All the six unions belonging to AITUC, INTUC, Mechanical and Ministerial staff and Drivers Union came together in an unprecedented joint action. The workers who had become victims to police highhandedness had a just case, because during such festival occasions overloads had been permitted in the past and secondly private bus operators were taking overload in their vehicles on the same route with impunity.

The action by police against the transport employees of the Corporation was thus a clear case of provocation and quite possibly instigated by private vested interests.

The negotiations which began on the fifth between union leaders and the authorities ended the next day when on the basis of a letter from the Chairman of the Corporation, meeting the main demands of the workers, the unions decided to call off the strike and resume work immediately.

The Corporation Chairman in his letter has assured that the proposed enquiry into allegations

against the concerned police officer and connected incidents will be completed by April 30. The demand for the transfer of the police officer pending enquiry has been placed before the government.

Thirdly, the rights and privileges of the employees and protection for them from similar police harassment which they enjoyed when the service was being run by the State Transport Department will be kept intact under the new Corporation for a period of six months by which time the Corporation will draw up its own rules and regulations and set up its own vigilance squad.

The union leaders have been further assured that there will be no victimisation whatsoever and the three days' strike period will be treated as leave.

The success of the strike and the unity displayed by the workers in action has enabled them to counter the attacks on their rights by police and bureaucracy.

The Kerala State Transport Corporation runs as many as 700 buses on 552 routes covering over 17,000 kilometres.

CALCUTTA: In the first ever election to the Calcutta Corporation on the basis of adult franchise, the Congress Party has been reduced to minority both in respect of votes and seats.

BUT of one hundred seats the Congress has secured 49 seats including two unopposed returns. It has secured 44.6 per cent of the 7.77 lakh votes polled.

The United Citizens' Committee (UCC) composed of seven left parties secured 35 seats with 68 per cent of popular votes.

Jan Sangh Gets One Seat

The Progressive Citizens' Bloc (PCB) composed of Forward Bloc, SSP and some individuals has won seven seats with seven per cent votes.

For the first time, Jan Sangh has won in any election in Calcutta by winning one seat from a predominantly Marwari-populated area.

There are eight independents, five of whom are Muslims. Seven detenus—six belonging to UCC and one PCB contested the elections and out of them six including the PCB candidate have won. One UCC candidate who is still underground has also won his seat.

Among the 35 UCC councillors

14 belong to the rival Communist Party, six to Communist Party of India, four to RSP. Others are independents among whom are three more who were either sponsored by the Communist Party or main responsibility of conducting their election campaign was borne by the Party.

The total number of candidates for whom the Party bore main responsibility, including of course the Party members, were 18.

It is now quite clear that if the Parties of the UCC and the PCB could come together before the electorate and formed a united front, then they could have secured absolute majority in the Corporation.

Even adjustment of seats could have secured five more seats and reduce the Congress to further minority. Now with six elected councillors in detention, the Congress is planning to get five of their men elected as Aldermen, thereby salvaging their position and securing a majority.

To ensure democracy and the norms of parliamentary forms it is imperative that the detenus are allowed to participate in the election of Aldermen.

CALCUTTA CORPORATION ELECTIONS

Congress Reduced To Minority

From AJOY DASGUPTA

A deputation of legislators belonging to the parties of opposition met the Chief Minister with the demand of immediate release of the detained councillors, at least on parole so that they can take oath of allegiance and participate in the Aldermen's election.

The Chief Minister tried to evade the question by saying that the detention order has been issued by the Centre and he had nothing to do with the matter. When pressed, he said that he would contact the Centre and get an answer to the demand.

But this demand of release of the elected councillors is getting wide support. It became the focal point in a meeting held at the Raja Subodh Mullick Square on April 3 at the call of the UCC.

Appeal was made to the PCB

and other progressive elements to unite to serve the citizens and to fight the corrupt regime of Congress in the Corporation.

Peasant Movement

THE Executive committee of the West Bengal state council of the Communist Party of India met on March 31 and April 1 and decided to launch a movement throughout the state on several urgent demands of the peasant masses.

One such demand is the withdrawal of the levy order on

the husking machines, and the other is the withdrawal of excessive taxation by the panchayats.

The West Bengal government while ordering 50 per cent levy on the rice mills also ordered a levy of 25 per cent on the husking machines. These husking machines are small units, mostly single machine units, where the peasants bring boiled paddy for husking. This rice is generally for their own consumption.

The owners of the husking machines generally do not buy paddy, they perform the husking job at a fee. The levy on these husking machines has meant snatching away of the rice meant for the consumption of peasantry and the village middle-class.

Because of the big difference in prices fixed for paddy and rice, many middle-class people buy paddy and get it husked. Peasants with small surplus also get the paddy husked so that they could also get a better return. This levy order has hit all of them.

The government was urged by all opposition parties to nationalise trading in foodgrains, which it did not do. It promised to get sufficient quantity of rice through its levy system on the mills. This method of procurement has already flopped but it has spread its tentacles to the poor-man's food in the villages, when it cannot guarantee food to the city poor.

Hence the CPI has decided to launch a movement for the withdrawal of the levy order on the husking machines.

Rural Levies

In the panchayats the bureaucrats are trying to force the boards to impose various taxes like cart tax, profession tax, boat tax and the like, which hit the poorer sections of the people.

Moreover, other taxes are also levied in such a way as to make it lighter on the village rich and burden the poor. These taxes are being heaped in the name of local development.

The Communist Party has opposed increase in taxation on the poorer sections of the people and demanded that a part of the land revenue and other central and provincial taxes be earmarked for the local bodies beginning with panchayats and that the panchayats should not be allowed to levy additional taxes.

Now that the bureaucrats are forcing more and more taxes through the panchayats, the Party has decided to oppose them.

The PEC has also adopted a resolution on food which demanded increase in the quantum of ration, particularly to the manual labour, increase in the number of modified ration shops in the villages, reduction of prices of rice and wheat etc. A statement on land reforms has also been adopted.

Appeal was made to the PCB

INTRODUCE STATUTORY RATIONING IN KERALA

CPI Memo To Governor A. P. Jain

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: A memorandum outlining some of the urgent problems facing Kerala was submitted on April 4 to the new Governor A. P. Jain by C. Achutha Menon on behalf of the Kerala State Council of the CPI. The memorandum called upon the government to introduce statutory rationing in the state.

THE food situation in the state is already pretty serious. The memorandum points out that it is bound to become worse, with the setting in of monsoon, during June-July which are usually the lean months when prices go up, unemployment increases and epidemics break out. The government should therefore take early and effective steps to tackle the situation on the food front. The memorandum said:

"We are firmly of the opinion that nothing short of statutory rationing will meet the needs of the state. The state Food Advisory Committee set up by your predecessor in office had unanimously recommended the introduction of statutory rationing in Kerala. Nobody is satisfied with the present informal rationing, whereby 160 gm of rice and 160 gm of wheat per adult per day are distributed.

"More than the inadequacy of the quantity of ration, people are impatient with the meagre rice content of the ration. It is imperative that the propor-

tion of rice in the ration is doubled. We therefore request you to take steps to introduce statutory rationing as well as increase the proportion of rice in the ration.

"It will be advisable to convene a meeting of the Food Advisory Committee at an early date, so that you may get acquainted with the situation and the views of the various interests and parties represented on the Committee."

Plan Needs

Apart from the food situation, the memorandum drew the Governor's urgent attention to the Plan needs of Kerala. It is unfortunate that every time a new Plan is under preparation, Kerala does not have a government of elected representatives. But that apart, what is of immediate concern are the consequences of this state of affairs.

The memorandum refers to

the "deep-rooted feeling" among the people of the state that Kerala is not getting just treatment in the matter of Plan allocations, particularly relating to big public sector and central projects.

The case of Kerala for just treatment at the hands of the Finance Commission has also to be presented with competence. The memorandum suggested that besides the Plan Advisory Board which had been constituted by the previous Governor, a small permanent Planning Board of experts and technical men should be constituted, which will continuously function and formulate the Plan for the state and evaluate its implementation.

A conference of representatives of all political parties, trade unions and other mass organisations as also of professional and trade interests and MPs should be called to discuss the draft Plan. The draft Plan should be widely publicised to invite public opinion on it and the views of local bodies obtained.

Another demand raised in the memorandum was for the release of all the prisoners detained under the Defence of India Rules in Kerala. If the government are convinced through irrefutable evidence that the activity of these persons constitutes a

security risk, it is up to the government to try them in a court of law.

Without that there is no justification for continuing their detention even after the recent elections in which a large section of people voted for the Marxist Communist Party and 29 of them were elected, despite an appeal by Union Home Minister to reject them.

Release Detenus

"The policy of the government in keeping such a large number of leaders of a political party under detention without trial for indefinite period has created an atmosphere which stifles democratic and free functioning of political parties, particularly of the opposition parties. This is not conducive to the solution of the problems confronting the state and flowering of democracy. We, therefore, again request you that you should use your good offices to ensure their release."

The memorandum also requested the Governor to intervene immediately to avert the threatened general strike of municipal employees—whose main demand is appointment of a wage board—and settle the dispute to the satisfaction of the workers.

NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

APPAL NARSAIYA

Appal Narsaiya, a vice-president of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union (AITUC) passed away on March 28.

One of the oldest workers of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur, Appal Narsaiya, used to be always in the forefront of the trade union movement of the steel workers.

In 1958, after the famous strike in the TISCO, Appal Narsaiya was victimised by the management.

Since then, he had devoted himself fully to the trade union movement as a wholetime functionary and soon was elected as a vice-president of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union.

Kashmir: India Must Stand Firm & United

The activities of Sheikh Abdullah while abroad have earned well deserved condemnation from all patriotic quarters. The Government of India's action in asking him to return after performing the Haj is the least that could be done in the circumstances.

ONE wishes that the government had been clearer in its mind about what was to be done and at what stage. Had it been so Mr. Bhutto would not have indulged in the gibe of Indian leadership being in disarray.

There is point in the criticism that too much importance had been attached to Sheikh Abdullah's activities and pronouncements, which

went to the extent of unnecessarily giving an impression that not only the government jitters. This obviously is something very far from the reality.

The nationally accepted stand on Kashmir—that Kashmir is integral part of India and its accession is final and irrevocable—needs only to be reiterated and enforced by strengthening progressive democratic, national and secular forces all along the line.

Reversing Zemindari Abolition

A disturbing report about a UP plan to put Zemindari abolition in the reverse gear has appeared in the press. It is reported that the Government of Uttar Pradesh is considering two proposals, one of



BOMBAY DEMONSTRATION AGAINST US AGGRESSION

A huge protest demonstration against US aggression on Vietnam was organised before the United States consulate in Bombay by the MRTUC on April 3. Above is a view of the demonstration when it was stopped by the police in front of the consulate and below the workers are seen coming to the demonstration.



Comment

which seeks to reintroduce the system of letting out land to tenants.

It was only as a concession to active servicemen as well as to minors, widows and the physically or mentally handicapped that the Zamindari Abolition Act gave the right of letting out land so far.

Now the Revenue Department of the state is reported to have proposed to the government that this concession should be made universal.

It is obvious that once this proposal is accepted it will mean the beginning of the end of all that has been achieved by the abolition of Zemindari. That such a proposal can be advanced and brought into active consideration is itself a sad commentary on the state of affairs in the country and its most populous and once most progressive state.

As it is, the government has failed to implement the Land Ceilings Act in its true spirit, reports the special representative of the Statesman.

"The limit of 40 acres for each landholder was circumvented by most of the big landholders in the state by transferring their surplus land to their relatives...."

"As a result of the latest proposal, the big landholders who have managed to keep their original landholdings will be in a position to bring back the hated tenancy system...."

The second proposal—only slightly less obnoxious than the first—seeks to remove the 12½ acres limit for acquiring land for orchards. As it is the

existing orchards are not under the purview of the Ceiling Act. Many large landholders have converted their cultivable holdings into mango orchards.

If the limit on the acquisition of new land for orchards is removed the land under cultivation will pass into the hands of orchard owners who can afford to pay a high price for such land.

The report says that the UP government is scrutinizing these proposals.

It is remarkable that such proposals seeking to set the clock back could be mooted at all in the 19th year of Indian independence.

Sucha Singh Affair

GETTING curiouser and curiouser certainly is the situation in regard to the Sucha Singh affair. It was extraordinary that senior police officials had all the while been patting themselves on the back and getting photographed with the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and other high-ups—the latter going along with them without much thought about what might be behind all this.

A very serious affair has thus been reduced to a mere publicity stunt based on half-truths and untruths.

In the bargain they have created complications in our relations with Nepal, resulting in delay in the extradition of the alleged main culprit in the Kairon murder case.

—ZIAUL HAQ

Sheikh Furore In Parliament

By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

ALTHOUGH shielded by Swatantra stalwarts from an unwelcome debate in the Lok Sabha on its policy in relation to Sheikh Abdullah, the Shastri government was under the heaviest barrage it has faced on this question.

The treasury benches presented the spectacle of a government which has been drifting along, improvising policies from day to day, suddenly confronted with a dead end.

Sheikh Abdullah's talks with Premier Chou En-lai in Algiers, which seemed to have come like a bolt from the blue for Foreign Minister Swaran Singh and his outfit, brought about this situation.

The sophisticated diplomats of the Foreign Office, for all their thoroughness in matters of protocol, dress and mannerisms, had not even the faintest gleaming about the prospect of a Chou-Abdullah get-together which would reinforce Chinese support for an American-inspired project of the Sheikh's sheikhdom.

Swaran Singh explained: Foreign Secretary C. S. Jha

knew nothing of the Sheikh's meeting with Chou En-lai on March 31 even a day before the event.

There was therefore no reference to this matter when this senior Foreign Ministry official and the Sheikh met on March 30.

As for the Indian diplomatic mission in Algiers, they were completely innocent of any such information and learnt about it only when it appeared in the daily papers.

These were good apologies, and good enough revelations of the workings of the Foreign Ministry but no substitutes for a diplomacy which moves with the events. And Lok Sabha was in no mood to take things lying down.

Caught between a pincer of the Sheikh's semantics abroad and the Opposition's onslaughts at home, the Shastri government manoeuvred for time.

Said Swaran Singh in reply to pressing Opposition demands for an explanation of government's policy in relation to the Sheikh: the government needed more time to gather full information.

When the time sought for was given, the Foreign Minister needed some more.

He wanted to get "first hand" information from the Foreign Secretary who was

shortly returning to India after getting to know the Sheikh's own mind and his plans.

The quest for time and yet more time may have been hard to realise but for Prime Minister Shastri's interventions.

Quick to sense the mood of the House, and still remembering his own party colleague's "prisoners-of-indecision" label, Shastri came out with categorical statements.

The Sheikh's passport was to be restricted to the performance of Haj and he was to be asked to return immediately thereafter.

It took rather long to arrive at this decision, but when it was announced it was received by almost all sections in Parliament with relief.

It roused hopes that the decision marked the end of fluidness and a diffused policy in regard to the Sheikh.

The only section who may be excluded from this general sentiment in the Lok Sabha were perhaps the Swatantra partymen.

Their spokesman N. G. Ranga was the most lucid exponent for giving the government more time to think.

And the three votes needed for an Opposition adjournment motion on this question to be introduced were of course not forthcoming from this quarter.

With the assumption of charge by A. P. Jain as governor the sordid drama of Kerala has reached a new high level of stink.

PRESIDENT'S RULE IN KERALA

CONGRESS TAKES OVER THROUGH THE BACKDOOR

by ZIAUL HAQ

IT is the final act which fully lends credence to the belief that the rulers at the Centre had set their minds right from the very beginning by hook or crook to deny once again to Kerala its right to have popular rule there. The midterm election was thus a futile exercise deliberately gone through to hoodwink the people.

The Central Government and those who take decisions for it seem to have decided long before that permanent "cure" for Kerala. That is why A. P. Jain's appointment as governor was mooted long before the elections were held. It was even said that Jain had made it a condition for acceptance of his appointment that President's rule over Kerala would be continued.

It is clear now that the appointment has been made in the full knowledge of its implications and the meaning that the people will read in it. The decision to make it and to insist on it in the existing background, beats the record of cynicism even of Congress rulers.

The Hindustan Times story put out on the eve of the appointment hinted at the fact that the Govern-

ment of India was fully aware that "the appointment of a Congress leader as Kerala Governor after the party's poor showing in the election may appear politically improper."

"The centre's critics, it was feared, might accuse the Government of trying to 'impose' the Congress party's rule through the backdoor," said the Hindustan Times.

After all that has happened in recent weeks in the matter of Kerala, does this indicate the least desire on Government's part to show respect for people's feelings, (let alone "people's verdict", which they decided to trample upon long ago)? Does it not show utter indifference on their part as to what impression this announcement makes on people's minds? Will it not be another in the whole series of

events that is leading to the destruction of people's faith in the democratic process in this country?

Government spokesmen have held out the threat that the government would "deal with" the agitation that any section of people might launch against the reimposition and continuance of President's rule in Kerala. One would like to know from the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and the Congress High Command what they expect the people of Kerala and rest of India to do after perpetrating the grave injustices that they have done to them?

Do they expect them to shower bouquets on them and hug them in an embrace of endearment? Are they serious when they suggest that they expect people to remain silent spectators and helpless watchers of this sordid drama

which has disturbed them to the depth of their soul?

The reimposition of President's rule in Kerala without giving the newly-elected assembly even a chance to meet, without the leader of any party—not to speak of the leader of the single biggest party—being given a chance to try to somehow give the state a popular administration, has been described by many leading congressmen themselves as something "unprecedented", as a dangerous portent for the future of India's democracy and of our parliamentary system.

And yet a spokesman of

the government has the temerity to stand up in Parliament and tell the people of this land that they will be "dealt with" if they dared to protest! There is a Poozhaba saying which describes this sort of attitude as typical of a bully.

It is pertinent here to take note of the parallel that E. M. S. Namboodiripad has been drawing between this trend in our country and what has come to pass in Pakistan. Warning people against the danger that faces Indian democracy, he has very justifiably and correctly told audiences in Delhi, Calcutta and elsewhere that what is happening in our country today is only a pointer in the direction of a full-fledged flowering of Ayubism.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

WASHINGTON PATRIOTS IN TRUE COLOURS

AMONG the rightwing critics of Government of India's foreign policy, the Swatantra party has always held the most unashamed brief for US imperialism; its "foreign" policy is so foreign inspired that its perorations are as though they were composed in the Pentagon.

Psychopathic anti-communism and slavery for the US form the hallmark of Swatantra stand on any topic of External Affairs. Currently, this Voice of America is clamouring for support by the Government of India to the US aggressors in Vietnam who have resorted to the most inhuman and bestial means of warfare like using gas against the forces of liberation in that country.

This is what Rajaji is now advocating. Writing in this week's SWARAJYA, Rajaji supports US actions in Vietnam and urges: "In her own interest, if not in the wider interest, India ought to give full moral support to America, who is fighting not for pleasure or for some secret advantage for herself but to save non-communist Asia from the consequences of a communist triumph in Vietnam."

Rajaji reveals himself when he argues against negotiations in Vietnam and for continued US aggression against the North. For him only the blind alley of war.

This at a time when even in the United States there is

sympathy with the US aggressors in Vietnam.

Talk of "collective security", meeting communist "threat" in South East Asia, etc., has become the daily chant of these critics.

There was the "Sudhir Chokh sensation" in the Rajya Sabha. That story having been contradicted by the Prime Minister, the tactics now is to strike a pose and ask, why all this fuss; what if Nehru did ask for a US carrier; it would be the right thing if he did so at that time in November '62.

Masani's speech in the Lok Sabha during the debate on the demands for grants of the External Affairs Ministry precisely put across such an argument. There were some others of similar thinking who echoed this idea.

Masani however had a more blunt approach to the question of Vietnam and he does not mind advocating the American claw in free India's parliament. He was for full support to the US imperialists.

"All these years, the governments of South Vietnam and of the United States made the mistake of allowing this war to be waged on only one side of the frontier," said the Swatantra leader and went on to state how glad he was that President Johnson has now discarded that policy and launched into a policy of

"planned escalation".

To him the US aggressors in Vietnam are "defenders of freedom" and every Indian who loves this country should welcome this development in US policy. From there he went on to declare that now our eastern frontiers lie on the Mekong river!

While this rhetoric can be dismissed for what it is worth—which is only a repetition of the resolution passed by the February general council meeting of the Swatantra that "the freedom of Laos, South Vietnam and Malaysia is essential for the defence of India against communism"—what was more noticeable was Masani's silence about our western borders.

Not a word about Pakistan in the speech of the Swatantra leader. His knowledge of geography and politics suddenly seems to fail him when it is a question of India's troubles with Pakistan.

Equally instructive was the sudden support of N. G. Ranga in an agitated House on Friday to a government battered by the Opposition on the issue of Sheikh Abdullah's anti-Indian activities abroad.

And so when Masani pleads in Parliament to invite the western powers to "underwrite" our security, when he demands that the Indian Government support US imperialists in Vietnam, when he welcomes the victory of right reaction in Ceylon elections, when he demands that we send at least "a battalion or two of our troops" to Malaysia and keeps himself silent on Pakistan while advocating "collective security", the meaning is very clear. This policy was written up in Washington.

—K. U. WARIER

What happened in Pakistan is known to all: The only government in the history of Pakistan that was ever returned on the basis of adult suffrage, namely the Awami League government of East Pakistan, was illegally and unconstitutionally dismissed by the Muslim League-controlled Central government. This led to such corrosion of democratic norms that the League's central government itself was unceremoniously dismissed by the President of the country.

Pakistan Parallel

Matters did not rest there. The final act of the drama unfolded itself when this dismissing President himself was only three weeks later dismissed by the Commander-in-Chief of Army. This latter gentleman not only installed himself in the former's gaddi but finally scrapped the Constitution that was based on adult suffrage and direct elections, instituting in its place another that ensured the return through indirect elections of his own group's nominees, more or less in perpetuity and in overwhelming numbers.

It is down this inclined plane that India has taken a big step through the Presidential proclamation of March 24, 1965. To ask the people not to protest against this and to threaten them with dire consequences if they do, is the worst treason to Indian democracy that anyone can commit.

The Home Minister followed up the Presidential Proclamation of March 24 with another long-winded reiteration of charges against "left"

ASSAM SECRETARIAT STAFF STRUGGLE

LEADERS ARRESTED, SEC. 144 IN SHILLONG

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: Repression has been let loose by the Government of Assam against its employees who have been observing "no work" since March 3. Five leaders of the Assam Secretariat Services Association including its vice-president and general secretary were arrested at midnight of March 31-April 1 under the DIR.

TWO opposition MLAs who had gone on an indefinite hungerstrike within the Assembly premises in support of the demands of the government employees have also been arrested under the DIR.

Benoy Lahiri, secretary of the Shillong committee of the Communist Party of India, and Prafulla Misra, editor of the journal SHILLONG OBSERVER, have also been arrested. Lahiri is also office-bearer of a number of local trade unions.

All the arrested persons have been removed to different jails in the state. One of the arrested MLAs is lodged in Silchar jail, and the other in Nowgong. Lahiri and Misra are lodged in the Sib-sagar sub-jail.

The arrest of Benoy Lahiri and Prafulla Misra have been made, according to observers, with political motives. The government is planning to brand the secretariat employees' agitation as "communist-inspired".

Reports, obviously inspired, had already appeared terming these two leaders as "left Communists" though they have nothing to do with the rival CP.

Police Terror

Since April 1 morning the whole city has assumed the look of a battleground with steelhelmeted police roaming around the city. Police wireless vans are running up and down and armed police have been posted in all important centres. Even the Assembly building has been surrounded by armed police. Prohibitory orders under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code have been promulgated in the city from April 1.

The obvious purpose of this demonstration of armed might is to terrorise the government employees whose movement was gaining momentum with every passing day. All sections of the public had come forward to support them.

On March 30, family members of the secretariat employees demonstrated in front of the Assembly. They sought an interview with the Chief Minister and squatted for two hours.

When the Chief Minister met them they requested that the demands of the ASSA be met. But the Chief Minister wanted the employees to withdraw their agitation before any of their demands could be considered.

By the evening, there were reports that the family members of the secretariat employees were planning for a mass hungerstrike.

Streams of people were visiting the two opposition MLAs, Dulal Barua and Tarapada Bhattacharya, who had gone on hungerstrike within the Assembly premises from March 30 expressing support

NGOS PLAN UNITED ACTION

THE Bihar State Non-gazetted Officers Federation has decided to hold an all-India conference of state governments' ministerial staff employees to plan coordinated action for better pay and amenities.

The Federation is already engaged in an agitation for the purpose, the next stage of which is mass resignations by employees on April 20.

The Federation has expressed solidarity with the Assam secretariat staff who are engaged in a similar struggle. A token contribution of Rs. 501 has been sent by the Bihar Federation to the Assam Secretariat Staff Association.

The organisation of the West Bengal secretariat employees has sent a message of solidarity with the fighting employees of Assam secretariat. Similar messages have been received from other states as well.

to the demands of the employees.

Support to the secretariat staff has been forthcoming from other sections of the toiling masses too. The Coordination Committee of the Central Government Employees in Shillong held a mass rally in support of the ASSA struggle; railway workers sent messages of solidarity. In Gauhati, 20 trade unions held a mass rally.

This growing mass support seems to have made the government nervous and jittery. They sought to meet the situation by arresting the leaders of the movement.

Earlier on March 29 the government started issuing special "entry passes" to employees who undertook in writing that they would perform their duties. Only by showing these passes could employees enter the secretariat buildings.

Since none of the Class III employees who were members of the ASSA gave such undertaking, no entry pass was given to any of them. From March 30, these employees were refused permission to enter the offices, thereby the government declaring a lock-out!

The government's attitude towards the employees was not straightforward either. It tried to disrupt the employees' movement by taking a conciliatory stance towards the demands made by the joint action committee of nine associations of state government employees.

More, it even resorted to underhand methods to end the agitation begun by the All Assam Ministerial Officers' Association which represents the employees in the district offices.

These employees had also been observing "no work" on March 26, a statement allegedly issued by the secretary of the AAMOA was circulated throughout the state calling off the movement.

Thereafter the government announced that the recognition of the AAMOA which had been withdrawn would be restored and no action taken against the employees.

The government also announced the appointment of a one-man commission to

look into the grievances of these employees.

However, it was later discovered that the secretary had issued the statement calling off the agitation without the knowledge of other members of its committee, including the president.

It was stated that the Education Minister and a Congress MLA had "persuaded" the secretary to issue the statement.

Dubious Role of Govt.

An Opposition MLA stated later that the secretary has become "untraceable" after issuing the statement calling off the agitation. This has naturally given cause for suspicion about the methods used to "persuade" the secretary to issue such a statement.

Even then, the police action against the leaders of the secretariat staff has caused considerable surprise because there were reports about the possibility of a settlement of the dispute following the initiative taken by some opposition MLAs.

It was reported that differences between the government and the employees had narrowed down to one or two points. The government was re-

ported to have agreed to extend the one-man commission, already announced to look into the grievances of other sections of government employees, to cover the secretariat staff also.

The ASSA had already passed a resolution stating that it would direct its members to resume work if the one-man commission's terms of reference are extended to cover the secretariat staff, if all disciplinary actions taken are withdrawn and the period of "no work" was treated as normal duty and if the recognition of their organisation was restored.

The government was, however, insisting that the employees should express regret before the disciplinary measures were withdrawn. It was believed that this difference could be ironed out.

However, the police action has dashed all hopes of an "mediate settlement of the dispute, though some opposition MLAs are still trying to bring about a settlement.

These MLAs are reported to have made some proposals to the newly-elected action committee of the ASSA (formed after the arrest of the leaders), possibly with the tacit support of the government. But the ASSA leaders have stated that they could not make any commitment without consultations with their arrested colleagues.

They have further demanded a written assurance from the government that there would be no victimisation of any employee in the future in connection with the current movement.

As yet, no signs of the government agreeing to the demands of the employees are in sight. The deadlock in the secretariat is continuing at the time of writing (April 3).

Bihar Miners Gain Assurance on Bonus

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: Fortyfive thousand coal workers under the National Coal Development Corporation have won assurance from the NCDC authorities and the Union government that profit-sharing bonus would be paid to the coalminers on the basis of the government's resolution on the recommendations of the Bonus Commission.

IN view of the assurances given by the Union Minister for Mines and the authorities of the NCDC, the strike notice served by the Coal Workers' Union for one-day token strike on March 22 was put off.

The Coal Workers' Union, representing 45,000 workers employed in the NCDC mines in Bihar had served the strike notice to press their demand for profit-sharing bonus and to protest against the policy of the NCDC of reducing and restricting production of coal and retrenching workers.

The NCDC, which had been refusing to pay bonus ultimately agreed to pay bonus when they realised that the threatened strike would paralyse all the NCDC mines.

This is the first time when profit-sharing bonus has been secured by the coal workers. It is a landmark in the struggle of the coal workers for securing the right for profit-sharing bonus and has paved the way for the coal workers in the private sector to secure profit-sharing bonus.

Another gain secured by the NCDC workers is a categorical assurance from the Minister of Mines that no worker would be retrenched as a result of cut in production or closure of mines. He assured that surplus workers would be absorbed in other NCDC mines.

When the Coal Workers' Union first raised the question of bonus payment on the basis of the recommendations of the Bonus Commission, the NCDC authorities flatly refused to pay. They pleaded ignorance of the decision of the government on bonus issue.

Strike Notice

But as soon as the strike notice was served, the authorities stated that they were prepared to pay bonus to the workers as soon as legislation was enacted by Parliament and asked the workers to wait for the legislation.

The Coal Workers' Union frankly told the NCDC that

the government had already adopted a resolution on the payment of bonus and it was obligatory on the part of the NCDC to implement it.

The NCDC's refusal to pay bonus left no alternative before the Coal Workers' Union but to prepare for the one-day token strike.

The INTUC and HMS came to the rescue of the NCDC. The INTUC pressed its all resources to oppose the proposed strike. They justified the stand of the NCDC and asked the workers to wait for the legislation on bonus.

But the coal workers gave a sharp rebuttal to the INTUC leadership by solidly rallying round the call of the Coal Workers' Union. Even the supporters of the INTUC came over to support the strike call.

Though the HMS was not a force in NCDC collieries, it also tried to sabotage the strike.

Despite these, the unity and determination displayed by the workers forced the NCDC to come down and negotiate with the union. Chaturanan Misra, general secretary, Coal Workers' Union, was invited for negotiation on March 20.

The authorities, while agreeing to pay bonus, said that the matter had been referred to the government. They asked for one month's time for the decision of the government.

The union agreed to defer the strike and the strike notice was withdrawn accordingly.

Defence Employees Launch Agitation

BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: Several thousands of civilian defence employees held a demonstration before the Prime Minister's house in New Delhi on April 3, to protest against the impending retrenchment of about 2,500 EME employees.

THE demonstration was the beginning of an agitation programme which the defence employees chalked out at their conference in Delhi on April 1 and 2.

The next phase of the agitation is an ANTI-RETRENCHMENT DAY to be observed all over the country on April 16. It will also mark the beginning of a Demands Week to conclude on April 23.

On April 23, the president of the All-India Defence Employees' Federation, S. M. Banerjee MP, will begin a three-day fast inside the Parliament House. Simultaneously, seven members of the Federation executive will fast outside.

On April 24 and 25 the defence employees all over the country will observe 24-hour mass hungerstrikes in support of their demands.

The main issue which is agitating the civilian defence employees is retrenchment.

The Defence Minister has announced in the Lok Sabha on March 4 that 2,400 civilian workers are surplus to requirements in Electrical and Mechanical Workshops consequent on the introduction of new policy regarding use of transport vehicles.

In ordinance factories also workers are being declared surplus. In Avadi, Shajehapur and Kanpur so-called "casual workers" who have served for more than one year continuously have been served with notices of discharge.

As a result of local agitation some of these workers have been given alternative jobs while others are still waiting. Latest report is that in the Gun and Shell Factory at Cossipore about 500 workers are being considered as surplus.

If this process goes on the number of surplus workers will run into thousands. Even

skilled workers are facing retrenchment.

And this is happening when new ordinance factories are being built up. The existing ordinance factories are still working overtime. For maintenance and repairs of transport vehicles, overtime work is being done in Vehicle Depot, Delhi Cantt. where 108 workmen have been declared surplus to the requirement and 30 have been served with discharge notices.

Part of this retrenchment is due to the fact that the works are being got done by diverting them to private sector.

The Labour Ministry of Government of India is bringing forward a bill to abolish-regulate contract labour. But the Defence Ministry is resorting to more and more contract work.

The employees' demand is that the workers who came forward to work in the defence department during the emergency should not be thrown out on the streets like this.

The Federation pointed this out in August 1964 but no serious discussions have taken place and "drift" remains the policy.

Another grievance of the civilian defence employees is regarding the negotiating machinery over which the Federation and the Ministry of Defence entered into an agreement in 1955.

This was withdrawn in 1960 after the central government employees' strike along with those in Railways and Post and Telegraphs Federation. The same has been revived in September 1961 in other departments but not in Defence.

It is being denied on various excuses. In September 1964 it was agreed to revive it to suit present conditions. But till today it has not been done. The civilian defence employees are also demanding a wage board.

VICTORY FOR ORISSA MINERS, STRIKE CALLED OFF BY UNION

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

CUTTACK: The Keonjhar Mines and Forest Workers Union (AITUC) has called off the strike of the iron ore and manganese mine workers in the Barbil area.

The strike was called off when the owners agreed to implement fully the interim recommendations of the Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry.

The board had recommended that the workers should be given a minimum wage of Rs. 65 a month. The government had accepted this recommendation but failed to enforce it.

The workers, who had gone on strike on March 11 to secure the implementation of this recommendation, have won a resounding victory when all owners of iron ore mines agreed to implement the recommendations.

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TEXTILE WORKERS ON STRIKE IN PUNJAB

From SATPAL DANG

AMRITSAR: About four thousand textile workers in Ludhiana are on strike since March 27 protesting against the appointment of a new minimum wages committee for the textile industry. Similar action by workers in Amritsar is imminent and the struggle is likely to spread to other textile centres in the state like Kharar.

THE textile strike follows the government's acquiescence to the blackmail of the textile magnates and effective sabotage of the recommendations of the wage board which it had earlier accepted. Some of the textile mill-owners of Ludhiana had declared a lockout in their factories from March 22 throwing out about three thousand workers on the streets. About 250 smaller units in Amritsar followed suit.

These employers were protesting against the notification of the state government giving effect to the recommendations of a minimum wages committee for textile industry.

Following the government's announcement of appointment of a new committee to revise wages of as many as 40 classes of workers and also to fix minimum piece rates, the employers had lifted the lockout.

Against Workers

That this action of the government was wholly against the interests of the workers is clear from past experience.

It was in 1962 that the government appointed a minimum wages committee for textile industry in the state after prolonged agitation by the workers. The committee was appointed for three months, but before it could finish its work, emergency was declared and the committee lapsed.

Another committee was appointed in 1964 which submitted its report to the government within three months. The report was unanimous, but the government decision on it came only after the AITUC threatened a strike and the INTUC a hunger-strike.

DA Linked To Index

The biggest gain of the workers, besides categorisation of workers and graded salary scales, was that dearness allowance was linked to the cost of living index with January 1964 as base and for every two-point rise in the index they were to get a raise of one rupee in DA. The minimum wages were to come into force from August 4, 1964.

The recommendations of the minimum wages committee were unanimous except on minor points like proper category for oilmen. It was expected therefore that the employers would implement the minimum wages promptly.

However, only in Panipat and four or five factories in Chhheharta the minimum wages were implemented. Workers looked upto the government to enforce them, but the government did not move in the matter. Rather, it tried to persuade the workers to downgrade a number of grades of workmen.

Some employers filed writ petitions in the High Court challenging the legality of the government notification. One

reason given was that the "neutral" persons on the minimum wages committee were not actually neutral, because one happened to be an EMPLOYER!

However, the High Court gave a stay order only in relation to the classification and the linking formula. The court desired that the government should find a way to get round any possible technical and legal flaws. It refused to stay the implementation of the minimum wages as such.

To overcome the technical flaw, the state government appointed a new committee. But when it came to reality, the employers' representatives in the committee demanded drastic changes in their own interests.

The so-called "neutral" persons on this committee sided with the employers. The result was that a majority report signed by the "neutral" members and the INTUC representatives was submitted to the government, which issued a new notification on the basis of that.

Funny, it might look, but it was to protest against this new notification of the government fixing revised minimum wages with effect from March 4, 1965 that the employers in Ludhiana and Amritsar declared lockouts in their factories.

The employers have been spreading the false propaganda that the minimum wages fixed are beyond their paying capacity, that piece rates have been abolished and that minimum wages fixed would have to be paid whether one worked or not.

Fall Back Wages

The truth is that the minimum time wages fixed for piece-rated workers are fall back wages and do not abolish piece rates. Only, the employers have to fix rates at such levels that for a full month's work at eight hours, a shift, the piece-rated worker earns at least the minimum wages fixed.

The real reason behind the employers' agitation was to make the government to withdraw or to make ineffective the whole notification. Having won big concessions, they felt encouraged to press more. And it is clear that they have won.

The government has, instead of firmly telling the employers to implement the notification, appointed a third committee to revise even the March 4 notification.

It is against this pro-employer stand of the government that the workers have gone on strike. They are determined to realise their just gains.

ASPECTS OF CPI PROGRAMME—VIII

PEACEFUL TRANSITION AS A FORM OF REVOLUTION

Having outlined the strategy and targets of the national democratic stage of the revolution, the CPI Programme takes up for discussion the problem of the possible form of the revolution i.e., the concrete new opportunities that have opened up for the national democratic forces in their bid for revolutionary seizure of power. This is the problem of peaceful transition.

THE working class and its allies have always favoured the possibility of peaceful transition.

Contrary to the slanders of the enemy, the revolutionary class is always the most humane class, the standard bearer of humanism and the rightful inheritor of all that humanity has created in its millennia of endeavour.

Marx, Engels and Lenin always insisted that peaceful transition best suited the interests of the working class, entailing the least possible sacrifice and loss of life of the revolutionaries.

Marxist-Leninists have never made a cult of violence, unlike some anarchists and terrorists.

The classical teachings of scientific socialism never contain a hidebound formula that violence and bloodshed alone are the hallmarks of "true" revolution.

Not Only By The Gun

History does not provide just one single and simple lesson, i.e., that "political power always comes from the barrel of a gun".

At the same time Marxism-Leninism has always insisted that the reactionary ruling class would never "surrender" its power, that it would not shrink from the most vile of stratagems to attempt to remain the masters of social wealth.

Lenin's Teaching

Hitherto, the reactionary ruling class has been able to frustrate the desire of the working class and its allies to make the peaceful transition to socialism. The best examples of this are the October 1917 Revolution and the Chinese revolution.

If the Bolsheviks and the Chinese Communists had been able to effect a peaceful transition, they would have done so gladly.

We know how Lenin envisaged the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism after the February 1917 Revolution and till about July when it was counter-revolution that put the bayonet on the agenda.

Mao Tse-tung also in his report on coalition government to the seventh congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945 stressed the

need to strive to the utmost for negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang in order to effect a peaceful transition to people's democracy.

Thus, contrary to the prejudiced view of some inveterate slanderers of the CPI, peaceful transition is as revolutionary a path as armed struggle. To strive for peaceful transition is as revolutionary as to take up arms when counter-revolution forces civil war on the people.

At the same time, it has to be underlined that in the new epoch new opportunities have opened up for peaceful transition. Hence, the CPI has given a central place in its Programme to the task of creating conditions for peaceful transition.

—by—
MOHIT SEN

The change in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism and anti-imperialism makes the export of counter-revolution increasingly difficult.

This was not the case previously. Civil war in Russia and in China could be forced on the people because the internal reactionaries were able to secure the intervention of foreign imperialism on their side.

The ensuring of peaceful coexistence entails non-intervention in the internal affairs of any state by any other state. It is now becoming increasingly possible to enforce such non-intervention thanks to the might of the socialist camp and other anti-imperialist forces.

Civil War Not Inevitable

Hence, one big factor making for the inevitability of civil war is increasingly losing its force.

Another new factor is the broadening of the social base of the revolutionary forces.

Lenin had stated that the socialist revolution would be effected by the working class and the poorest peasantry. The middle strata in the town and countryside would vacillate till after revolution had triumphed.

Socialism was an unknown phenomenon and the middle strata would be extremely nervous as to how they would fare in a socialist system.

Today, the middle strata can be won as allies for the socialist revolution and can constitute one of its main driving forces. Even more so is it the case with regard to the national democratic revolution.

Isolating Reaction

Simultaneously, the differentiation in the bourgeoisie itself, the increasing antagonism between the monopoly and non-monopoly strata, enables the extreme isolation of its most reactionary sections.

This means that the attractive force of socialism spreads to more diverse social strata today and naturally exerts an important

influence on different echelons in the coercive apparatus of the state power.

Finally, the new possibilities for peaceful transition are strengthened in many countries by the existence of civil liberties and democratic institutions which neither Russia nor China possessed.

It is as a result of a composite analysis of all these factors that the CPI came to the conclusion that it will strive to ensure that the national democratic revolution is won by way of peaceful transition.

This way is not to be equated with the reformist path of exclusive reliance on elections and visualising a gradual coming to power without the sharpest class struggle, widest mass movements and political crisis.

The advocacy of the path of peaceful transition precisely enables the CPI to organise better the mass revolutionary movement, combine it with parliamentary work, more effectively intervene when political crises erupt and win more allies for the revolution.

Class Struggle

At the same time, without class struggle, mass movements, the building of powerful mass organisations and the use of parliament and elections to bring about a crisis of national bourgeois political

power, peaceful transition is not possible.

Peaceful transition, it cannot be repeated enough, is a form of revolution.

These may be called permanently operating revolutionary factors without which no revolution can hope to succeed, whether peaceful or armed. Peaceful transition cannot be effected by people with reformist illusions.

But, it is not enough merely to talk about the desirability of peaceful transition. It has to be fought for concretely and ceaselessly.

Apart from the permanently operating revolutionary factors mentioned above, an important place is assigned to the defence and extension of democracy, to the vigorous rebuffing of all authoritarian trends and forces.

Defence of Democracy

Without a vigorous and sustained struggle for democracy, no peaceful transition is possible.

Such a struggle can be conducted effectively only if the working class and its allies have the confidence that democracy can be defended and extended.

A cynical attitude to democratic rights and institutions, a belief that fascism is inevitable and even better since it will destroy the "illusions" of the masses, is incompatible with genuine striving for peaceful transition.

Such revolutionary struggle and mass movement, so essential for peaceful transition is itself the best guarantee that the working class and its allies will be ready for all contingencies, for the non-peaceful way, should right reaction impose civil war at a critical juncture.

A New Epoch

It is sometimes asked if there has been any example of a peaceful transition. One can remind the questioners that before 1917 similar questions used to be put about the possibility of socialism itself. One could also remind them of Lenin's appreciation of the Hungarian revolution of 1919.

The question itself, however, is unscientific. One should rather ask whether or not the conditions that made civil war inevitable have basically changed, i.e., whether we live in a new epoch or not.

Previously, it used to be said that no colony can become free without armed struggle. This turned out to be a dogma. Both armed and non-armed struggles won freedom for different peoples.

There is no reason to doubt that a similar fate awaits the dogma of the inevitability of the armed struggle to effect the national democratic or socialist revolution.

HYDERABAD: Addressing a press conference on April 1 to review the budget session of the Assembly, Pillalamarri Venkateswaralu, Leader of the Opposition, called for the dismissal of the Minister for Food and the Housing as the immediate need of the hour.

ALARAMI REDDY, the Food Minister, has become a big obstacle in the way of making even some small improvement in the government's food policy. The entire Ministry, and especially the Food Minister, were actually abetting the anti-social activities of big millers, wholesalers and other hoarders, Pillalamarri stated.

His resignation was demanded not only by the entire Opposition but by some Congress MLAs as well. Factional considerations and total disregard of the people's welfare prevented such an outcome. He is known to be backed by Sanjeeva Reddy, for whom he had once given up his seat in the Assembly.

Food Situation

The food situation is so bad that even on *Ugadi*, the Telugu New Year, rice was not available in Secunderabad. In West Godavari even now a difficult food situation obtains. It is not difficult to visualise the grave danger that lies ahead in the lean months.

The Food Minister works hand-in-glove with the hoarders. Even honest officials, therefore, find it difficult to work under him. The collector of Hyderabad is a case in point. He had to threaten to

Andhra Pradesh

From MOHIT SEN

CPI Leader Demands Dismissal Of Housing And Food Ministers

charge on the floor of the Assembly.

The people of Andhra have grave apprehensions that TTK will do his best to see that the fifth steel plant is not located at Vishakhapatnam, thus adding to the long list of the state's charges against the Centre.

A significant feature of the CPI's work in the Assembly was its outlining of concrete alternative sources of revenue. Apart from advocating the nationalisation of banks, stress was laid on a graded agricultural income tax and the lifting of prohibition.

Issue Of Steel Plant

He had also deliberately attached the Lower Sileru Power Project to Soviet aid, only after that aid had been exhausted. Andhra's Power Minister, A. C. Subba Reddy had made this

The Budget debates revealed, however, that the government was both unable and unwilling to adopt such policies as would hasten Andhra's pace of development, provide a modicum of relief to its toiling people and adopt a proper pattern for industrial growth.

Among the other grave failures of the government, Pillalamarri cited the unpardonable delay in making Telugu the language of administration and the medium of instruction upto and including the University level.

Mass Movement

Then there was the refusal to appoint any representatives of the NGOs, teachers, etc., on the Pay Commission, the delay regarding interim relief and the failure to implement the central DA scales as was done in the case of Madras.

He mentioned the support extended by the state government to the Centre on the detention without trial of the leaders of the rival Communist Party as a black day for civil liberties. He appealed for a vast movement for their release and for the lifting of President's rule in Kerala.

In conclusion he stated, "In the coming period we shall have to strive still more strenuously to organise the anger of the people against Congress misrule in the form of the widest, most united sweeping mass movements and struggles.

"We shall have to work still harder to reflect this anger and struggle in the Assembly. Only there will the present Congress powers that-be, dressed in robes of authority, either mend their ways or quit."

The mass movements are not a question of some distant future. Here and now preparations are being made to organise huge statewide campaigns. On April 5 a meeting has been called to set up the Andhra branch of the trade unions' Rashtriya Sangram Samiti.

The representatives of the APTUC, HMS, bank employees, insurance employees, State Road Transport Corporation Union etc., are meeting to chalk out organisational forms and a plan of action.

A statewide campaign is proposed to be launched by the Andhra Pradesh Ryotu Sangham on the basis of a charter of demands to be formulated shortly. District and taluk conferences will be held all over the state by May 10 and a state conference between May 10 and 15 when the charter would be finalised.

The Pradesh Executive Committee of the CPI, in its recent meeting, reviewed the position of the fund drive campaign. So far about one lakh rupees has been collected. It was decided to step up this campaign in April and for Party leaders to take direct charge of it.

Party Education

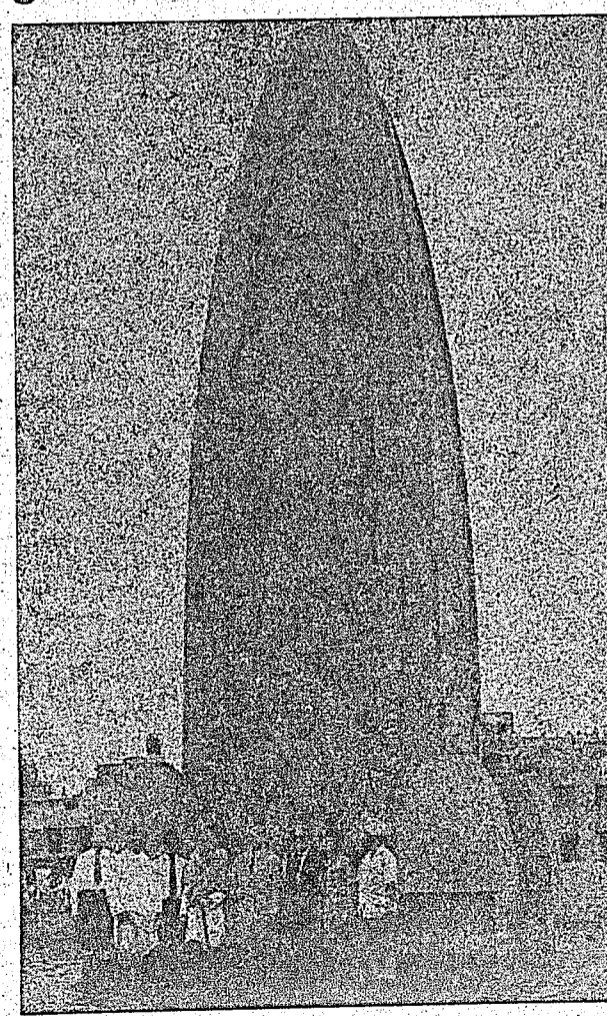
The Executive in consultation with its Party education sub-committee, decided to run mass Party schools from May 1 to 15.

It is planned to cover some 10,000 Party members throughout the state for four classes—CPI Programme, Political Resolution, Organisational Report and Ideological Resolution. Detailed lecture notes have been prepared and list of teachers drawn up.

The Executive also decided to contest the Vemur (Guntur district) by-election to the Assembly.

It took this decision after proposing to the rival Communist Party that there should be no contest between the CPI and it in this by-election as well as for the Lok Sabha seat in Warangal. It is likely that the rival CP will put up a detenu for this seat, whom the CPI will support.

46TH ANNIVERSARY OF JALLIANWALLA BAGH



Martyrs Memorial at Jallianwalla Bagh

APRIL 13, Jallianwalla Bagh Day, is a sacred anniversary in the annals of the Indian freedom struggle.

Fortysix years ago, in 1919, on this day British imperialist barbarity against unarmed Indian people rose to unprecedented height since 1857.

Caught in the death trap of the walled Jallianwalla Bagh of Amritsar 20,000 Indians—Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims—who had gathered there to protest against the arrest of Saifuddin Kitchlew and Satyapal had 1650 rounds of bullets poured into them at a range of forty to fifty yards.

Four hundred were killed on the spot and 2,000 injured were left to die in agony dumped into a well.

No isolated instance in those days, the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh was but one of a series of barbarous crimes perpetuated by the British imperialists in their vain efforts to stem the tide of Indian independence.

Peaceful towns were bombed from the air. Firings, wholesale arrests and public flogging, taking of hostages and confiscation and destruction of properties of "rebels" were the order of the day.

Novel means of humiliation like the "open cage" and the "crawling lane" were invented and boys and girls ten years old were sentenced to lifelong imprisonment for the crime of "waging war against the King Emperor".

Children of five to seven years were forced to salute the British flag and for refusal to do so, the entire body of students and teachers of several schools and colleges were "put under arrest".

Any demonstration of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity was particularly severely punished.

Today, the same scenes multiplied several-fold are being perpetuated by imperialists in Vietnam and the Congo and elsewhere in Africa.

Paying tribute to our martyrs on this anniversary, we shall pledge to organise maximum solidarity with our Asian-African brothers being subjected to worse Jallianwalla Baghs today.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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YANKEES GET OUT OF SOUTH VIETNAM, ASIA!

CPI Memorandum To Prime Minister Shastri

A delegation of the CPI consisting of C. Rajeswara Rao, General Secretary, Z. A. Ahmad, Romesh Chandra, and M. N. Govindan Nair, members of the Central Secretariat met Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister of India on April 3 to discuss the Vietnam situation, and urge him to take initiative for bringing about a solution of the problem. A letter on behalf of the CPI was handed over to him which said:

ALL sections of the Indian people are deeply concerned at the continuous escalation of the war in Vietnam, with all its perils for the peace of the whole world and for the cause of the national independence of the people.

In its last meeting with you on February 9, 1965 the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India had drawn your urgent attention to the necessity for your government to come out in strong condemnation of the aggressive attacks by the U.S. military forces on North Vietnam.

For Bold Initiative

We had urged you "to take the initiative boldly to assert that the US forces must quit South Vietnam". The presence of US troops in South Vietnam is not only a complete violation of the Geneva agreements (which the US government had agreed to respect) but it is a gross interference in the internal affairs of the people of South Vietnam and creates an explosive powder keg, constantly imperilling peace and the independence of all peoples in the region.

Since February, the US government and military authorities have thrown off all their earlier pretences of acting in "retaliation" for "attacks" allegedly planned from North Vietnam.

They are now openly and

nonaligned country with a proud tradition in the fight for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity and against imperialism and colonialism.

The Communist Party shares the grave disappointment of our people at the failure of the Government of India to take the initiatives expected from it. This failure has seriously tarnished the reputation and name of our

brazenly attacking towns and villages in North Vietnam "at will". The US Ambassador in South Vietnam has stated that there will be "no limits" to the extension of the war in Vietnam. He has threatened that US troops may even enter the ground fighting.

The number of American troops in South Vietnam is now nearly 30,000, according to US sources themselves.

On top of all this has come the news of resort by the US forces in Vietnam to gas warfare in violation of the Geneva Convention of 1925. This use of gas, as well as the horrible napalm and phosphorous bombs has roused the conscience of the world as never before and the demand is being raised in all countries for a halt to the US aggression and the withdrawal of all US armed forces from South Vietnam.

In this critical situation, the Indian people naturally expect the Government of India to act with initiative and boldness.

GOI Stand Disappointing

India has a special responsibility not only as Chairman of the International Supervisory Commission, not only as a nation which because of its geographical position is naturally concerned with developments in South East Asia, but also because of its position as the largest

circles, whose friendship is vital for our country.

Again, we must express our concern at the lukewarm manner in which government has reacted to the use of gas warfare. While formal regret has been expressed officially, the impression given as a result of the delay in making any official statement and because of the weak and apologetic manner in which official spokesmen have reacted is one of vacillation and of totally unnecessary hesitation.

The anti-imperialist image of this country has been badly damaged as a result of the acts of omission and commission of the Government of India on the question of Vietnam. The position of India as an initiator of positive actions for peace has also been seriously undermined.

Reaction Emboldened

The right reactionary forces in the country are coming out openly in Parliament and elsewhere demanding that the government gives up its policy of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence, and anti-imperialism. They have been encouraged in making these demands by the vacillations in government policy, particularly on the question of Vietnam.

The Communist Party strongly urges you and your government to pronounce yourselves clearly against the escalation of the war in Vietnam by the US authorities and demand that the US government:

1. Immediately stop its aggressive war, its use of gas and napalm in South Vietnam and its bombing attacks on North Vietnam; and

2. Withdraws all its troops and armaments from South Vietnam.

US Must Get Out

The proposal for the convening of a Geneva-type conference to ensure a lasting peace can be implemented only following the vacation of South Vietnam by the US forces.

The people of South Vietnam have a right to determine their own destiny, without US intervention and military rule. India must ensure that they are allowed the exercise of their right.

We hope that you will give our views your immediate attention.



Hillierworth—London Daily Mail

country among peace-loving and anti-imperialist peoples all over the world.

Reports have appeared in the press, and they are evidently true, that India's representative, on instructions from your government, took the most reprehensible position in the ambassadorial talks in Belgrade for the drafting of the nonaligned nations' appeal on Vietnam.

Reports indicate that India wished to lay the blame for the dirty war in Vietnam, not on the US government, where it rightly belongs—but on "both sides".

Vacillating Policy

This stand has earned for the Government of India criticism and adverse comment from countries and

WRITERS EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM PEOPLE

WE, Indian writers, wish to express our solidarity and sympathy for the brave people of Vietnam, who, in South Vietnam are fighting so bravely for the liberation of their land from the aggressive activities of American imperialists.

We are glad to know that through immense sacrifice and effort the people of South Vietnam have liberated a large part of their country.

In desperation the American warmongers are perpetuating the most shameless and provocative acts of incineration in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and aerially bombing some of its territory.

We condemn these acts of open banditry and war and express our deep sympathy for the innocent victims of these acts of open imperialist aggression.

We express our abhorrence of the use of poison gas and napalm bomb by American armed forces in South Vietnam. This act of inhuman barbarism against an Asian people has shocked our conscience deeply. We demand an immediate stoppage of this callous brutality.

We demand that the American imperialists stop such actions immediately and that all American military forces be withdrawn from the territory of Vietnam.

We believe, that a peaceful solution of the whole political question of Vietnam can be found if a Geneva-type conference is held.

We support the call of the Government of India for cessation of fighting in South Vietnam, for the withdrawal of American forces from the territory of South Vietnam, and for a just and peaceful solution of the Vietnam question based on the principle of self-determination and complete independence of the Vietnamese people.

1. Mulk Raj Anand (Novelist and Essayist)
2. Krishan Chander (Novelist, Urdu short story writer)
3. K. A. Abbas -do-
4. Ismat Chughtai -do-
5. Mohan Rakesh (Novelist, dramatist in Hindi)
6. Rajendra Yadav (Novelist, Hindi short story writer)
7. Kamleshwar (Short story writer in Hindi)
8. Shivdhan Singh Chauhan (Hindi critic)
9. Ramesh Gaur (Hindi poet)
10. Srikanth Verma (Hindi poet)
11. Mahendra Nath (Novelist, Urdu short story writer)
12. Makhdoom Mohiuddin (Urdu poet)
13. Majrooh Sultanpuri (Urdu poet)
14. Sahir Ludhianvi (Urdu poet)
15. Kaifi Azmi (Urdu poet)
16. Srinivas Lahoti (Urdu writer)
17. Zafar Gorakhpuri (Urdu poet)
18. Sajjad Zaheer (Novelist, critic and poet in Urdu)
19. Ali Sardar Jafri (Poet and critic in Urdu)
20. Ghulam Rabbani Taban (Urdu poet)
21. Hari Shankar Parsai (Hindi poet)
22. Sharif Rudaulvi (Critic and poet in Urdu)
23. Zubair Razaavi (Urdu poet)
24. Aslam Pervez (Poet and critic in Urdu)
25. Ajmal Ajmali (Poet and critic in Urdu)
26. Ghulam Ali (Urdu writer)
27. Mohd. Mehdi (Urdu writer)
28. Sardar Darsan Singh (Punjabi writer, novelist)
29. Peyare Singh Sehrai (Punjabi poet)
30. Girja Kumar Sinha (Hindi writer)
31. Surinder Kumar (Hindi writer)
32. Karam Jeet Singh (Poet and critic in Punjabi)
33. Gurbakhsh Singh (Short story writer in Punjabi)
34. Chandreshwar Prasad (Poet, Hindi writer)
35. Rahi, Masoom Raza (Urdu poet and critic)
36. Najmul Hasan (Urdu poet)
37. Masihul Hasan (Short story writer in Urdu)
38. Razia Sajjad Zaheer (Novelist, Urdu writer)
39. Abid Subhan (Critic and short story writer in Urdu)
40. Jaikantan (Tamil short story writer)
41. Thoppil Bhasi (Malayalam dramatist)
42. Anrit Bai (Hindi writer)
43. Anrit Rai (Hindi writer)
44. M. Rajamanikkam (Tamil writer)

National Convention For Peace In Vietnam In Delhi

NEW DELHI: The National Convention for Peace in Vietnam, called by the All India Peace Council in New Delhi on March 31, has decided to observe April 18 as VIETNAM DAY and organise protest meetings and demonstrations all over the country, against the US atrocities in Vietnam.

DEMONSTRATIONS will be held all over the country to demand a halt to the aggressive war of United States in Vietnam and the withdrawal of US forces from South Vietnam.

The Convention was attended by a number of Members of Parliament and was presided over by Diwan Chaman Lal MP. Among MPs who spoke were K. D. Malaviya, Hiren Mukerjee, Anup Singh, Arjun Arora and Santokh Singh. Aruna Asaf Ali, S. S. Sokhey and A. S. R. Chari also addressed the Convention.

Representatives of 18 organisations and many more individuals participated in the convention.

Those who spoke on behalf of organisations included Triska Sundra of the Bertrand Russel Peace

Foundation in India, Sajjad Zaheer of the Progressive Writers Association, Satish Loomba of the All India Trade Union Congress, Vimala Farooqi of the National Federation of Indian Women, Romesh Chandra of the All India Peace Council and Subir Ghosh of the All India Youth Federation.

A statement adopted by the convention said: The National Convention for Peace in Vietnam, convened by the All India Peace Council in New Delhi on March 31, 1965, condemns the use of gas, napalm, phosphorous bombs and other inhuman weapons by the US military forces in South Vietnam. The conscience of mankind has been shocked by this resort to weapons of torture and barbarism, in violation of

all canons of international law and practice, of all codes of civilised conduct.

The convention is alarmed at the refusal of the US government to pay any heed to the worldwide protests against the use of gas and other brutal methods of warfare.

Several governments, including India's, have informed the US government of the deep revulsion of their people against the inhumanity employed by US forces in Vietnam.

Far from heeding these protests, the US government is desperately seeking to justify the use of gas and other brutal and cruel weapons. The convention firmly rejects these attempts to "justify" US actions in Vietnam.

The convention appeals to all Indian men and women, who stand for peace and humanity, to raise their voices against the use of gas, napalm, phosphorous bombs and other inhuman weapons by US forces in Vietnam.

This barbaric war must be stopped and the US armed

personnel, bases and war materials withdrawn from South Vietnam without delay: their presence is not only a violation of the Geneva agreements, but is a constant factor in escalating the war.

The hostilities must be stopped and the US forces withdrawn before the present continuous and deliberate escalation reaches the point of no return, when a world nuclear conflagration may be sparked, with all the resultant devastation and destruction.

The convention welcomes and supports the initiative of the nonaligned countries to appeal for a halt to the aggressive war in Vietnam, on the basis of the implementation of the Geneva agreements.

The convention also extends its support to the efforts to convene another Geneva-type conference to ensure a lasting peaceful solution, which will allow the people of South Vietnam to exercise their independence and sovereignty without any foreign interference in their internal affairs.

The convention urges the Government of India to make known to the US government the strong feelings of the Indian people on the Vietnam question and their urgent demand that the US forces stop their inhuman war and withdraw from South Vietnam.

The need for public opinion to act for peace in Vietnam is greater than ever before.

The convention calls on all who stand for peace to join hands to conduct a ceaseless campaign for ending the war in Vietnam, through the holding of meetings and demonstrations, conducting signature campaigns and all other methods which are effective and possible.

The convention endorses the call for the observance of Sunday April 18, 1965, as VIETNAM DAY.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN HYDERABAD, LUCKNOW

From MOHIT SEN and RAMESH SINHA

HYDERABAD: On March 31 a big demonstration was organised by the Hyderabad city council of the CPI against the US aggression in Vietnam.

This was the second such demonstration, the first having been organised by the industrial area committee of the Party.

The March 31 demonstration was led by F. Venkateswaru and Makhdoom Mohiuddin and a large number of workers, middle-class people and students participated in it.

CPI MLAs in the city and Yellamanda Reddy MP also joined the demonstration.

The procession began from the Himayatnagar office of the Party and ended up before the US cultural centre where the demonstration was held.

A notable feature of the demonstration was the participation of a large number of workers.

The demonstrators roundly condemned the piratical bombings and dastardly use of poison gas by the US in Vietnam, and demanded that the US must quit Vietnam. The demonstrators expressed firm solidarity with the freedom fighters in South Vietnam.

★

LUCKNOW: Four hundred workers and citizens of Lucknow took out a militant procession on April

3 to protest against American aggression in Vietnam.

For nearly two hours slogans like: Americans, Hands off Vietnam!, Americans, Stop bombing the children and women of Vietnam!, Americans, Stop using gas in Vietnam!, and American imperialists, get out of Asia! rang on the streets of Lucknow. Thousands of people came out everywhere to watch the procession and to express their support to its demands.

The procession, organised by the district council of the Communist Party, was led by Jharkhande Rai, deputy leader of the Communist group in the State Assembly and Babu Khan, secretary of the Lucknow district council of the Party.

About half a dozen MLAs of the Communist Party marched in the procession along with representatives of nearly a dozen mass organisations of all sections.

After the procession a protest demonstration was staged in front of the American Cultural Centre. A meeting of about a thousand people was held at the same place at which the atrocities committed by the Americans in Vietnam were narrated amidst continued cries of "shame, shame!"

The Government of India was also criticised for not taking a firm stand and for letting down a friendly Asian neighbour. Regret was expressed at the reported obs-



Citizen of Opladen in West Germany demonstrated against US aggression in Vietnam on March 20



Demonstration of young people in Paris against US atrocities in Vietnam

TWO FACES OF AYUB

COP Decides to Boycott Elections to Provincial Assemblies

KARACHI: After his "successful and memorable" visit to Peking President Ayub arrived in Moscow to receive a correct and rather formal welcome.

THIS somewhat cold reception might have shocked Ayub who, for several months, was planning and preparing carefully for this visit.

All these months Pakistan has been presented as a nonaligned, peace-loving and anti-imperialist nation, far from being an ally of imperialism and a member of aggressive military pacts.

Although the basis of growing friendship between Pakistan and China to a great extent is their common hatred towards India, this friendship is being presented as a sure sign of a fundamental change in Pakistan's foreign policy.

Following his Peking odyssey, Ayub Khan was boosted as "prominent neutralist leader of Asia" and "successor to Nehru", and the Western press went along this line of propaganda wholeheartedly. For its part Pakistan was showing much active interest in Afro-Asian affairs of late and tried to project herself as an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist force.

Despite all these developments it is not very difficult to understand that these changes are more superficial than fundamental, and the reason for even these changes is not any sincere desire on the part of the Pakistani ruling circles to bring about any basic reorientation in their foreign policy.

Popular Pressure

These changes are due to the growing pressure of the masses and the ever increasing strength of the revolutionary spirit of Afro-Asia which is affecting Pakistan as well.

But the real question is: how far are the ruling circles ready to go on this path of change? In the words of AFAQ, a Lahore journal, "The feeling is gaining strength in Pakistan that we have lost too much by allying ourselves with imperialists, but the government, instead of taking steps towards nonalignment is trying to establish three-cornered alliance with Western powers, Soviet Union and China."

It shows that Pakistani rulers are not very serious about making changes in their policy. Whatever they are doing is more a result of political expediency.

On the one hand they want to provide a sop for the growing anti-imperialist urges of their masses and thereby presenting Pakistan as an anti-imperialist force to win support of Afro-Asian countries for their own particular causes.

The whole game of Pakistani rulers is to strengthen their position and to beat the drum of

their achievements in the field of foreign policy in order to divert the attention of the masses from the internal problems.

According to AFAQ, "Pakistan is trying to get out of the imperialist fold, but here organisations of workers and peasants are almost non-existent, and compared to the feudalists, the national bourgeoisie is still very weak. On the other hand the big capitalists in collaboration with the bureaucracy are trying to capture all the means of production of the country. As a result of this and due to the weakness of the democratic movement, the anti-imperialist sentiment and the link with Afro-Asian revolution is not very strong."

Ayub's visit to the Soviet Union has brought to the fore all these contradictions of Pakistan's foreign policy and the motives behind them. It is a fact that in the recent period trade between Pakistan and Soviet Union, exchange of delegations between the two countries and the Soviet Union's aid to Pakistan for oil and gas exploration have increased manifold.

Still the basic question for Pakistan remains: how long will this dichotomy in foreign policy and the double game of ruling circles go on?

AYUB might have been very much pleased with his party's sweeping victory in the National Assembly elections, but the task of ministry-making after the elections was not so easy or pleasing. He has included only three members of his former cabinet in the new ministry. These members are Bhutto, Shoab and Sabur Khan.

Political circles are very much surprised that Abdul Waheed Khan, who was Information Minister in the former cabinet is not included in the new ministry. The reason for this is the growing differences within the ruling party and due to these differences he has even resigned the post of the general secretary of the party.

Waheed Khan is a refugee migrant from India, and as in the recent Presidential elections, a majority of refugee migrants from India voted against Ayub, he is not ready to include any of their representatives in the Cabinet except for ultra-loyalists like Shoab.

Moreover, on the question of distribution of the tickets of the ruling party, there had been serious differences between Waheed Khan and Sabur Khan. Sabur Khan is more or less the batchet man of Ayub in East Pakistan, the man who did most

Cabinet Composition

to fan the communal riots of last year—and profited from them in terms of acquisition of property of the departing Hindu refugees.

The composition of the new presidential cabinet shows very clearly on which sections Ayub is banking to maintain his power.

One of the new ministers is Ghulam Farooq; he represents the nascent industrial bourgeoisie of Pakistan. Another newcomer is Qazi Anwar-ul-Haq who held many important posts before joining the Cabinet. He has considerable influence among the Ulama and religious leaders.

New Ministers

A third member is Altaf Husain who has since before partition been the editor of the daily DAWN. His inclusion in the Cabinet is being hailed as "recognition of his selfless services" and there can be no doubt, that the DAWN under Altaf's 20-year long stewardship has played a big role in building first the separatist, anti-secular and later anti-Indian hysteria on which Pakistan was founded and continues to rest.

It is interesting to note that just a few days before the inclusion of DAWN's editor in the central Cabinet the International Press Institute published its report saying that Pakistan had placed so many restrictions on the press that the free press had become almost non-existent in that country. The report said that people of Pakistan had no faith in their country's newspapers and they tried to get authentic news from other sources.

In addition to these restrictions, the report pointed out, the small newspapers were asked to deposit huge sums of money as security every now and then. They are constantly threatened with the forfeiture of this secu-

IX WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL ALGIERS, JULY 28—AUGUST 7

THE Ninth World Festival of Youth and Students for Solidarity, Peace and Friendship is going to be held at Algiers, capital of Algeria from July 28 to August 7 this year. The last festival was held in Helsinki, Finland in 1962.

The international preparatory committee for the festival has this time added the word solidarity to the title of the festival as per the request of the Algerian prepara-

tority. For instance, NAWAI WAQT, a daily of considerable standing supported Miss Jinnah in the presidential election and after that so much pressure was brought on this paper that it became very difficult for it to continue publication.

AFTER the defeat in the national Assembly elections COP has now decided to boycott elections to the Provincial Assemblies which are to be held on May 18. It is not very difficult to understand the reasons for this decision. From the beginning many of the opposition leaders were of the opinion that under the present system of elections COP candidates could not win.

Another important factor to be noted is that two constituents of COP—Jamat-e-Islami and Nizam-e-Islam party—were not able to win a single seat in either wing. After taking lessons from the National Assembly elections, the other three parties, constituents of COP—National Awami Party, Awami League and Council Muslim League—are trying to strengthen their unity and give it a concrete shape. Among the many proposals which are being discussed at present, one suggests merger of all three parties into a single opposition party.

Now after the elections to the National Assembly are over, they have been able to convince others also. The COP leaders are currently in favour of "working outside the Assemblies for the restoration of democracy".

Although the ruling party got 114 out of the 150 seats, this result does not reflect the voting trend correctly. In East Pakistan the ruling party got nearly 18,500 votes out of the 38,500 total polled. Rest of the 18,000 votes were divided between COP, NDF and independent candidates.

Emblem of the Ninth Youth Festival

occupations of all sections of young people. National festival committees have been constituted in a number of countries like France, Nigeria, Chile, Australia, Guinea and Cuba and in others including India discussions are on between various organisations for forming united committees. In Algeria the festival committee is under the chairmanship of President Ben Bella and a number of ministers of the Algerian government are members besides youth and student representatives.

It is the considered opinion of the political circles that, if the opposition had not been divided and there had been straight contests for all the seats, the Opposition would have got many more seats.

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WORKERS' RIGHT TO SOCIAL SECURITY

SOCIAL SECURITY IN INDIA by Dr. P. C. Srivastava—Lokharti Publications Allahabad, pp. 376. Price Rs. 20.00.

THE right to social security is inalienable from the right to work and in our country both these rights are yet to be realised.

In 1924, when N. M. Joshi tabled a bill on maternity benefit, the then British government held that "it was too much in advance of public opinion in India" and that the "necessity for such a measure had not yet been established" and even that the principle of the bill was "questionable".

No doubt, since independence such active hostility to any social security scheme is not exhibited and in some ways, certain limited social security schemes as provident fund, sickness insurance, maternity benefits, etc., have been initiated.

These experiments in social security have not been subjected to any comprehensive study and hence Dr. Srivastava's effort in evaluating them to the extent possible is quite opportune.

In this volume, Dr. Srivastava has taken pains to delve into the background in some detail and to present to the reader the magnitude of the problems connected with social security in India.

Even to launch on the limited schemes of social security for the industrial workers, as he points out, there was a good deal of resistance from the government and other interests. The tardy progress of the schemes bears witness to the half-hearted interest shown by the authorities.

The author has pointed out many shortcomings of the



BOOK REVIEW

ESI scheme although the trade unions may have to point out many more.

In his foreword, Sri Man Narayan, former member of the Planning Commission, states that "in a socialist democracy that is sought to be established in India, schemes of social security for the industrial workers must be given a high priority."

Whatever the conception of the Planning Commission might be about "socialist democracy", it is a living fact that social security in the real sense of the term exists only in the socialist countries and in those countries, social security is not something to

be given a "high priority" but is part of the social system.

The limited vision about extending social security on a contributory basis or as an insurance on commercial terms is what afflicts the thinking among the planners on this vital issue.

Dr. Srivastava has also not gone beyond this narrow framework.

While he has dealt at length with ILO standards on social security and on concepts of social action against economic insecurity as they arose in America and other countries, the author has somehow missed the vast experience of the socialist countries in this field.

Or this is not perhaps accidental. Between various "patterns" of socialism which are sought to be "planned" in this country, the intellectual world is not wholly in a position to discern chaff from wheat.

M. ATCHUTHAN



Congress Rule Thru Backdoor

*FROM PAGE 5

Communists to lend credibility, colour, and justification to the rape of democracy that had been committed in Kerala.

Holding no brief for the "left" Communists and firmly adhering to the view that, irrespective of any successes they might gain temporarily and howsoever spectacular these might appear for the moment, their entire politics is wrong and utterly harmful to the Communist and democratic movement in the country, it is our firm view that the Home Minister's approach to the question is even more destructive and devastating so far as the interests of the people and the nation and the country are concerned.

Congress MP Khadilkar who was among those who sharply criticised the detention of "left" Communists called upon his party to fight them politically rather than

by administrative and police methods which, he correctly pointed out, are nothing but self-defeating.

We are not in the least sanguine about the Right-wing Congress leadership's capacity to give the political fight which Khadilkar asks them to do, for it is the anti-people policies of this very leadership that have given rise to and keep constantly feeding nihilist extremism on the Left, just as they keep feeding extreme reaction and disruption of every variety on the Right.

Still, if the Kerala events hold any lesson, it is for all democratic-oriented elements to come together to give a determined fight to the policies of the ruling Congress Right which stoke the fires of disruption all-round and bring a bad name to the country all over the world.

The protest against continuance of Presidential rule in Kerala can become a beginning in that direction.

APRIL 11, 1965

MORE ON CEYLON AND INDIA'S RIGHT

Dr. R. Ratanam has drawn attention in his letter in NEW AGE (April 4) to the lessons of Ceylon's elections for India. It is interesting to note also that the Indian rightwing parties (Swatantra etc.) are now more and more attacking our foreign policy in much the same way as the UNP in Ceylon attacked the Bandaranaike government's foreign policy.

Minoo Masani, for instance, in his speech in the Lok Sabha this week, seemed to me to be suggesting that he was not against non-alignment, but only against the government's "deviations" from nonalignment in favour of the socialist countries!

This is exactly the kind of double-talk in which Dudley Senanayake and his friends indulged during the election campaign. Today, too, after taking over the government, the Ceylon rightists have declared that they will pursue the policy of non-alignment—but every one knows that this "nonalignment" is very much aligned with the imperialist powers.

It seems to me that the British and American masters are learning more "flexible" tactics, and are no longer asking their agents in Afro-Asian countries to come out in frontal opposition to the nonalignment. Instead, the American parties will concentrate on attacking the present anti-imperialist content of nonalignment, pretending to support nonalignment, but actually using this as a fig leaf to hide their collaboration with the imperialists.

The fight now has to be waged for nonalignment in its true sense. Democratic forces should not be taken in by the rightists' lip service to a nonalignment of their own conception.

Guntur A. N. REDDY

She made an all out attack on Shastri government. But it was from a totally different position to that from which progressive forces are attacking government's criminal policies. Rumour has it that she is the rightwing's nominee for the External Affairs portfolio, and is particularly backed by Morarji Desai in the power struggle.

However that may be, it is interesting to see what a big boost the pro-imperialist CURRENT has given to Vijayalakshmi Pandit's speech in Parliament in its issue dated April 3.

In a special column, which is known to be written by the Editor himself, this is what is said, after quoting from the speech:

Congress Rule By Backdoor

SO the Congress is back in power in Kerala. An active Congressman has taken over as Governor and Governor's raj is fully installed.

One may have nothing against the person of A. P. Jain. But it is

no secret that he agreed to take over as Governor only if there was President's rule. And V. V. Giri stayed on till the final burial of the democratic verdict of the Kerala masses had been completed.

The general feeling in this state is that the whole business is part of the effort to rehabilitate the Congress by hook or by crook.

Friends of Governor Jain should advise him that by taking on this new assignment, he is only working *finis* to his political career. Congress has been beaten soundly in the elections and all his efforts cannot succeed in rehabilitating it in the eyes of the people of Kerala. Qullon C. J. N. NAIR

Syndicate & All That

YOUR Political Correspondent's story about the Congress rightwing's efforts to reshuffle the cabinet in accordance with their interests is borne out by the latest performance of Vijayalakshmi Pandit in Parliament.

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"CURRENT's criticism in the past, as in the case of our criticisms of Krishna Menon, Malaviya, and even the late Mr. Nehru, has paved the way to public thinking on the lines of our criticism. It may be a coincidence, but there seems a remarkable similarity between the criticism—and even the phrases—which Mrs. Pandit made of the Shastri Government and the criticism which had appeared earlier in CURRENT."

That should be enough to show at least which way the wind blows. Calcutta P. C. BANERJEE



Twenty Years Of Steady Progress

A period of twenty years is really not a very long time in the life of a country but it is long enough to pinpoint the direction of development of a country, both economic and otherwise.

Let us take the case of the socialist countries in Europe where the new order of life and activity does not extend beyond twenty years. Most of these countries were backward compared to other capitalist countries of Europe.

But today the progress made by these socialist countries is by far proportionately higher and faster than the countries which are still under capitalism.

The revolutionary transformations carried out by these socialist countries in this comparatively brief historical period enable us to recognise socialism's indisputable advantages over capitalism.

It Was Not Easy

Obviously the path traversed by these socialist countries was not at all easy. They had to surmount lots of difficulties and contradictions. Some of these problems have been successfully solved; some yet remain unsolved and others crop up again in varied forms.

When setting foot on the socialist path these states substantially differed economically, from each other, not to say of other capitalist countries.

Apart from the differing economic levels of develop-

ment, these countries had to carry on the task of national reconstruction to eliminate the devastation of the second world war simultaneously fighting the sabotage of the reactionary forces.

The national economy was in a state of dislocation, production and supply were disorganised, national capital was flowing abroad; the enemies of revolution tried to incite the masses against democratic transformations by encouraging profiteering, inflation and illicit foreign exchange operations.

Obstacles Overcome

The class struggle and the resistance of forces hostile to socialism, shortage or complete lack of personnel and experience required for mastering the new mode of production, the objective impossibility of effective economic planning in conditions of a multi-system economy—all this naturally hampered the development of productive forces.

The radical reorganisation of social relations also required fundamental changes in the system of national productive forces.

Besides, these countries were fettered by the lack of a full complex of natural resources required for an integrated industrialised economy. Every one of them was dependent on import of raw material and other means of production.

These countries also lacked what is called national accumulation sources requir-

ed for economic development; they had to depend on aid from other countries.

Notwithstanding the difficulties and obstacles the rate of economic development of these socialist countries as a whole over the 20-year period considerably exceeded that of the capitalist countries.

In 1963 industrial production exceeded the pre-war level, by 30.4 times in Albania, 17 in Bulgaria, 5.35 in Hungary, 3.8 in the GDR, 8.9 in Poland, 7.4 in Rumania, 4.6 in Czechoslovakia and nearly 6 times in Yugoslavia.

The aggregate increase in all the socialist countries during this period was eight times the pre-war level.

In the capitalist world, the rate of growth was low, only 2.9 times.

The rise in individual countries was: 1.6 times in Britain, 2.6 in France, 2.8 in FRG, 3.8 in Italy.

In 1963, the socialist countries' share in world industrial production amounted to approximately 38 per cent, compared with only 9-10 per cent before the war.

Important progressive changes also took place in the

170 in the GDR, 124 in Poland, 230 in Rumania, 116 in Czechoslovakia, 114 in Yugoslavia and 182 in Albania—the last two being 1962 figures.

The growth in production and in the national income made it possible substantially to increase capital investments in the national economy and the volume of national consumption.

Socialist World

European socialist countries in the field of agriculture though in the total output of national income, income from industrial sector became predominant.

Another noteworthy qualitative change in the economic development of the European socialist countries is the growth of national accumulation sources and the systematic rise in the material and cultural standards of the working masses.

In 1963 the national income rose above the 1950 level by 223 per cent in Bulgaria, 118 in Hungary,

The remarkable economic achievements made by the European socialist countries proved possible because of the objective laws of social development. Working in most complex conditions, the Communist and Workers' Parties in these countries succeeded in strengthening worker-peasant alliance, in directing the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative of the masses towards the creation of a new society and rapidly multiplying the national wealth.

This is really the secret of success of these countries vis-a-vis the capitalist countries in Europe.

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

GHANA TO ASSIST NEIGHBOURS

ADDRESSING the Ghana National Assembly, President Nkrumah said on March 23:

"As I speak to you now, we have reports that Portugal has aggressive plans against our sister state of Guinea. I would, however, like to inform the House that I have already given firm assurances to my brother, President Sekou Toure of Guinea, that any Portuguese attacks on Guinea will be considered as an attack on Ghana."

Dr. Nkrumah's address dealt in the main with the imperialist, colonialist, and neo-colonialist economic plundering of the Congo through the NATO countries' stooge Tshombe.

He said that the Government of Ghana has unmistakable evidence that plans are in an advanced state of preparation for the overthrow of the progressive government of the Congo (Brazzaville) and other states by certain powers.

"Ghana will go to the assistance of the governments and the people of the Congo (Brazzaville), Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan, Kenya and others in the event of aggression. This is a solemn undertaking, and the government will, in consequence, accept help from any quarter in support of her sister states in the event of aggression."

He traced the history of the imperialist exploitation of the Congo from the days of King Leopold II, quoting Mark Twain's description of his rule as follows:

"If the blood of innocent victims shed by King Leopold in the state of the Congo were to be poured into buckets, and if these buckets were placed in a row, they would stretch for 2,000 miles.

"If the skeletons of the ten million who were killed or who died of starvation could rise and walk in single file, it would take seven months and four days for all of them to pass through one point."

Dr. Nkrumah gave a detailed account of the Congo's finances, referring to the exploitation by interlocking European, South African and Anglo-American combines and financial interests, and declared: "This is the record. How much misery is endured to enrich these men. This is an insult to our dignity. This is a blot on all Africa and Tshombe is responsible for all this."

The Supreme Council of the Sudan, after today's consultations with leaders of the political parties, has decided that the present government should remain in power until a new government is formed.

SUDAN: UNITY IN SIGHT

SUDAN's problem of the dissident South moved significantly to-

wards a solution as a result of the round table political conference that took place from March 16 to 30.

The problem was one of the rift between Arab and Black Africa and between Islamic and non-Islamic Africa which runs nearly parallel through so many states of the Southern Sahara and is by no means a problem peculiar to Sudan alone.

Serr Al-Khatim Khalifa, the Sudan Prime Minister, successfully brought the northern and the southern leaders to talks in Khartoum although they have not been able to agree on a Constitution yet. Meanwhile the conference has adjourned and appointed a mixed commission to work out a compromise solution.

Agreement has been achieved on many interim measures—more local posts for southerners, a joint economic council with a southern agency, provision for southern higher education and guarantees to southern exiles in Uganda and the Congo if they return. The southern leaders have been assured full security.

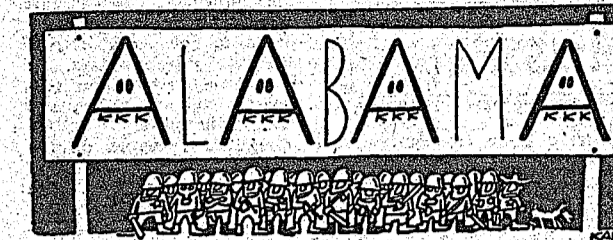
There has been no agreement so far on the elections in the South and those due on April 21 will be in the North only. The South may afterwards nominate members to its quota of seats in the National Assembly.

The Sudanese Communist Party and the People's Democratic Party have decided to take part in the present government and appointed their ministers to the posts which had remained vacant in the Council of Ministers so far.

The Supreme Council of the Sudan, after today's consultations with leaders of the political parties, has decided that the present government should remain in power until a new government is formed.

—BAREN RAY

KLAN'S HUNDRED YEARS OF VIOLENCE



By BOB LEESON

President Johnson's threat of action against the Ku-Klux-Klan his call to its members to get "back into decent society", comes not a moment too soon.

HE has promised this action before, in a pre-election speech last October. He said that "those who preach hate will have their robes pulled down, where the American people can see them".

Two things have presumably galvanised him into motion. One the wave of horror that ran through America and the world at the gunning down of Civil Rights worker and mother of five children, Mrs. Liuzzo.

The other is the swelling movement for the rights of Negro people whose power was being demonstrated on the roads outside Selma as Mrs. Liuzzo was killed.

For this is not the first time that the name of the Ku-Klux-Klan, a racist white organisation is linked with violence. Its 99 years' history is one of bigotry and bloodshed.

In 1865, at the close of the American Civil War, a group of defeated Confederate soldiers formed their secret society with its weird rituals, its white sheets and hoods, which in two years time had grown into the "Invisible Empire of the South".

For years, under their Grand Dragons, Titans, Giants, the Klan terrorised the newly-emancipated Negroes of the South, who had fought for their freedom.

The ingredients of its membership were typical of similar right-wing terror organisations: rich backers with a rank and file of economically depressed "poor whites".

By 1871 the wave of lynchings, burnings, brandings, whippings had alarmed the nation. Counter-action followed, many were arrested, and the Klan activity died down—not before it had helped crucially to destroy many rights won by Negroes.

Revival Of Klan

But by 1915 it had revived under the leadership of a Colonel Simmons as a "high-class mystic, social and patriotic society devoted to the protection of White womanhood and the supremacy of White Protestants." Simply speaking, this meant that Jews and Catholics were now the target, as well as Negroes and the rapidly growing militant labour movement.

In the 1920s the Klan grew to immense size, even organising mass, hooded parades through Washington, declined again in the 1930s to revive in postwar years to meet the challenge of a renewed battle by Negro people and their progressive allies for long-deferred rights.

Today the organisation is split into contending groups. Estimates of its numbers vary from about 50,000 to over 100,000.

As the SUN remarked a few days back "many sheriffs and other law enforcement officers undoubtedly are members".

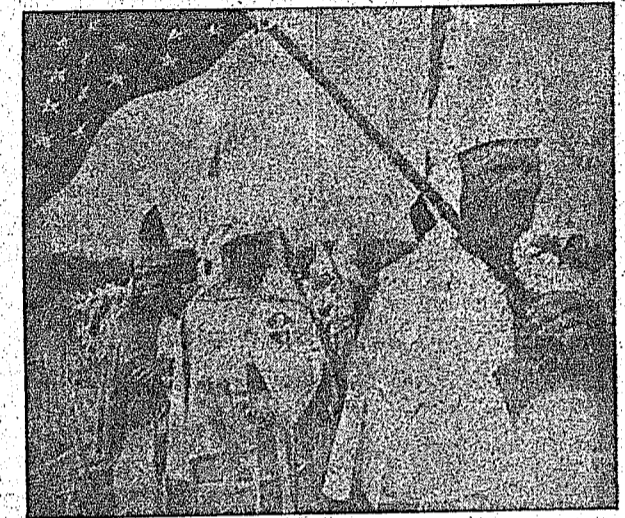
Four alleged Klan members arrested after the killing of Mrs. Liuzzo are to be indicted under the Federal charge of depriving her of her civil rights—not of murder, which is a state charge.

The TELEGRAPH says: "It goes without saying that no jury in Alabama would convict white men for killing a white woman who supported Negroes in their struggle for civil rights". The maximum penalty under this Federal charge is ten years in jail.

Thus the situation in Alabama has not changed much since 1949 when Klan members prosecuted in Birmingham, Alabama, for "flooding while masked" were acquitted to applause in the courtroom. One of the accused was a former deputy sheriff.

The crux of the matter is in some statistics from Selma, Alabama, scene of the killing.

In the area of Selma there are 335 Negroes and 15,000 whites. But the number of registered voters is 335 Negroes and 14,009,500 whites. The TIMES remarked that "ulti-



mately Negro voters will remove people like the Selma authorities from office".

The fight for the Negro right to vote, important not only to the Negroes but to the whole development of democracy in the United States, is the reason why Selma is the present battleground.

It is the reason for the upsurge of Klan activity. Klan members are believed to be behind the killing of several Civil Rights workers in recent months.

Talking about putting the Klan out of business and doing it are two different things and a number of newspapers have claimed this will take time. But if the same energy, ruthlessness, time and money were devoted to dealing with the real menace from the Klan and the other hate-groups in America, as have been devoted down the years to the persecution of the left and notably the American Communist Party, then there can be little doubt the job would be done quickly.

Sham Of Inquiry

Prolonged "investigation" of the Klan by a rightwing body like the Un-American Activities Committee, as is proposed, is needless—indeed could even prove to be a whitewashing job.

Votes for the Negro people are one way of turning the tide in the South. Mississippi has 42 per cent Negroes in its population. South Carolina, 34 per cent, Alabama, 30 per cent and so on.

The call for an economic boycott of Alabama strikes at the heart of the financial backing for the bigots and reactionaries hooded or highly respectable.

But the enormous state machine of the United States can, if its leaders choose, crush these organisations without delay. Certainly President Johnson's "Great Society" will not advance without it.

Uncle Sam's umbrella under

Robe Off Great Society

VIOLENCE in the Uncle's own land is spreading. I have been giving lot of facts on the crime situation in the US in these columns for quite some time now.

Recently an American journalist Woody Klein interviewed Walter Arm, deputy commissioner of Police in New York. Here is the gist of the crime situation in the US straight from the law-keeper's mouth.

According to Walter Arm, the crime rate has gone up by 15 per cent in the first six months of 1964 over the preceding six months. No longer can any one say that any neighbourhood is "safe".

In New York alone, there were 7,304 assaults during the first six months of 1964, as compared with 6,169 for the same period in 1963: 15,142 cars were stolen as against 12,888 in six months in 1963.

More cab drivers were held up, more women were raped, more people mugged and robbed. There were 13,025 felonious assaults, more than 75 per cent of which took place in the streets.

Is there an end in sight, notwithstanding the US President's declaration of war against crime?

This is what Walter Arm has to say: "Any end to fear of violence in the streets? No, there's no end. We're in the midst of a moral breakdown with an increasing lack of respect for law and authority."

The figures given by Walter Arm cover only the New York city, which in the "national crime table" ranks as the seventeenth or eighteenth city. The situation in other cities can therefore be easily imagined.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's report shows that every hour in the US one person is murdered, two burglaries are committed and auto thefts take place at the rate of one every minute. In 1963, 88 police men were killed in the line of duty.

The FBI report further shows that 2.25 millions serious crimes are committed every year—an activity that costs the American public a staggering 27 billion dollars on law-enforcement administration. Crime is increasing at a rate five times faster than the increase in population: 40 per cent as against 8 per cent.

This is just one side of the Great Society of USA.

Let us take another side: say, the question of poverty and the plenty. Every year the disparity goes on increasing and in the field of industrial activity, the profit and the output shooting up while rendering more and more workers without jobs.

The profits of 13 important mining companies in the second quarter of 1964 rose to 72 million dollars as against 57 million dollars for the same period in the previous year.

But between 1947 and 1962, 288,000 miners and

70 per cent of all workers in bituminous coal mines lost their jobs! And productivity rose from 6.2 tons to 15.31 tons per miner!

In agriculture, productivity has gone up by 135 per cent in 15 years—with 40 per cent fewer workers. Even the White House is of the opinion that one million efficient farm needs. But there are 3.4 million farmers—what will the rest 2.4 million farmers do?

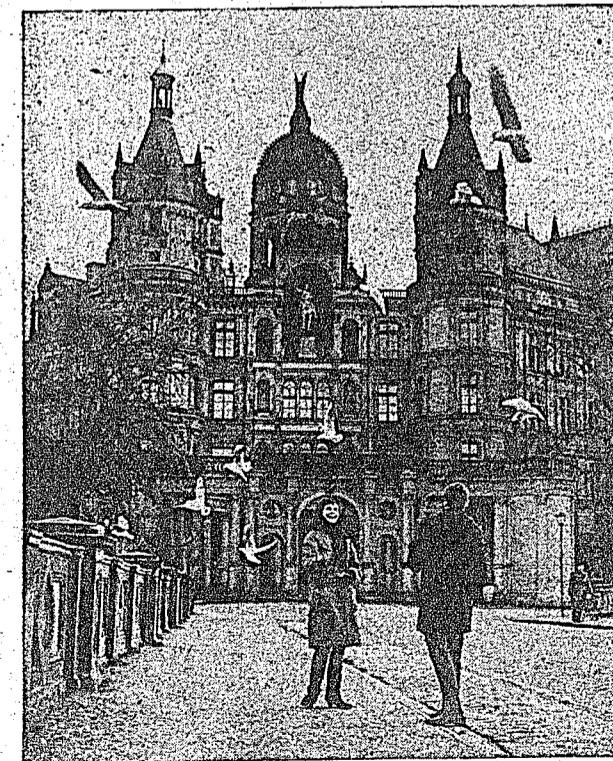
President Johnson said on January 25 this year: "Many low-income families will have to find other ways of earning a living." So, two out of every three American farmers will have to join the hunt for jobs.... jobs which don't exist!

In 1964, the profit of American steel companies soared to 262 million dollars as against 180 million dollars in 1962. But there were fewer workers. Between 1959 and 1963, 150,000 workers lost their jobs!

In ten years, 1954-1964, the US population has increased from 162 million to 192 million i.e., about 18 per cent. But the percentage of people on state relief (dole) increased from 5.5 million to 7.8 million i.e., 42 per cent!

And this is the condition of the workers as a whole. If the relative conditions of the Negro and White workers are analysed, it will be seen that the conditions of Negro workers are far worse!

—CHARVAK



Spring under Socialism

US HAS SHOCKED MANKIND

Says
EARL RUSSELL

The Americans have at last succeeded—too late, alas—in shocking the conscience of mankind. They have been engaged for years in various kinds of atrocities in endeavouring to subdue "inferior" races at home and abroad, but these acts have been excused as occasional excursions on a too energetic population.

THE British Labour government has applauded them and has made itself an accomplice in unspeakable cruelties. But, in the endeavour to exterminate the inhabitants of South Vietnam in the sacred name of freedom, they have now adopted the use of what we are told is "non-lethal" gas.

For some reason, which I do not quite understand, people who thought nothing of the murder of babies and the torture of women and children, are shocked by this new method of warfare.

It is not their present shock that is astonishing, but their previous indifference. The present cries of horror are amply justified. What our press tell us about these American "non-lethal" gases is that, when employed against an enemy, they induce a state of nausea or in some way render the victims incapable of action for a period.

During this period, however, it is clear that the possessor of the gas can murder his enemy, or imprison him, or capture his citadels so that he is killed or, when he comes to, finds the battle has been lost.

This is bad enough, but the recent history of Americans in Vietnam makes one doubt whether it is really the whole truth. Are the gases really non-lethal? One remembers the "defoliants" which were said to poison only vegetation, but, in fact, also poisoned animals and human beings. We have been told that they were harmless weed-killers and that to deprive the population of its crops is no grave matter. We learned, slowly and with difficulty, that what were called "weed-killers" were, in fact, poisons of which, after observation of their effects, the use in the United States has been forbidden.

I cannot remember what excuse was given for the use

next step America will take will be the destruction of China. When China has been destroyed Americans will turn to giving assistance to their labourers in the British Labour Party in their struggles in Malaysia.

She will then "liberate" various other, hitherto happy, countries in Asia and Africa. When these tasks have been accomplished, America will rule the world. No one will dare to resist, since resistance will be useless.

A population rendered cruel by wholesale slaughter will feel no restraint in practising cruelties, by this time become habitual, in any part of the world. Is there anything that can be done to prevent this universal empire of evil?

Certainly the first step is to help the people of Vietnam in their efforts to win and

preserve their freedom. As for the further steps, if mankind is to be preserved from the threat of a nuclear war, there is only one hope for the world which is that the better elements in the American population will refuse to follow collective mass murderers on their fatal course and will restore to mankind permission to remain alive.

This is a work in which individuals as well as nations and parties can take part. It may be that, if the greater part of mankind expresses, forcibly, a horror of such a prospect and the almost universal hatred of America which its success would entail, the more ferocious elements in America would be restrained by those who have some feeling of human welfare.

These are, I am convinced, the great majority of Americans—81 per cent, according

to a Gallup poll. There is no reason why we should sit down and be over ridden passively by organised murderers.

It should still be possible, though it is getting daily more difficult, to induce Americans to choose a government not composed of savage exterminators, a government with some respect of human rights and human happiness.

The British people, despite the attitude of the leaders of the two great parties, can help to bring this about.

The action of the 94 Labour MPs and of important trade unions in protesting against the American aggression is a step in the right direction.

White men, generally, have been accustomed to some centuries of supremacy, but the day has come when men of other colours demand equality, possibly in combination with the better elements in the white nations.

It may prove possible for more liberal views to prevail. But it is necessary for these liberal views to be publicised in strong and clear statements, based on trustworthy information.

This is a slender hope, but it is all that the present world can justify.

IRAQI LEADER DEMANDS POLITICAL FREEDOM

Nazhia Dulami, who recently attended an international conference in London which demanded amnesty for all political prisoners in Iraq, has, in an article in COMMENT, discussed the still tense situation in Iraq.

SHE was the only woman in the Kassem Cabinet which was overthrown in February 1963, during which and since she fought strenuously for a progressive policy and a democratic constitution.

In the midst of the new progressive upsurge in the Arab world Iraq still represents a serious problem. Alongside some limited progressive measures, the internal situation is still tense under the heavy hand of the forces of reaction.

There are still thousands of political prisoners. There is no semblance of democratic government, and no elections for the past eight years. The Kurdish people (one-fourth of the population) are still suppressed, and their just demands for self-government within the Republic are being opposed.

One of the most acute problems is the Kurdish question. The Kurdish leaders on February 10, 1964 had come to an agreement

when this has been done by a government which presents the United Arab Republic (UAR) as an example of socialist progress.

Together with thousands of political prisoners there are still tens of thousands of people who have lost their jobs and are victims of many forms of discrimination. The country is under martial law. There are no democratic institutions. All patriotic political parties are banned, and the government is now engaged in the formation of a one-party system which will be responsible to no one.

There are independent states in which the one-party system is justified because this system represents the will of the people. But in Iraq the situation is quite different.

Political parties with a high prestige among the people, arising from their glorious record of struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, have existed in Iraq for over thirty years.

These include the Communist Party of Iraq (which has lost hundreds of members in its struggle), the Kurdish Democratic Party, and the National Democratic Party. These parties represent the patriotic and progressive forces in Iraq, without which it would be impossible to advance towards a democratic Iraq.

The present situation in Iraq clearly shows the necessity of rallying all the progressive forces in the country, all the patriotic political parties (including the progressive national forces) around a national programme which would realise the main demands of both Arabs and Kurds.

This is the key to the necessary changes in Iraq which would ensure democratic progress.

It is essential that all patriotic and democratic forces should be represented in the government; that political freedom for all patriotic parties should be achieved; that a democratic parliament should be established, and all political prisoners released.

This is the only way in which to advance along a progressive path, to achieve basic agrarian reforms, to nationalise all foreign capital, and build a strong and stable national economy, and to solve the Kurdish problem.

RAJASTHAN WORKERS PLAN ONE-DAY STRIKE

From H. K. VYAS

JAIPUR: Rajasthan workers have given notice to the state government that unless their demands are met, including the one that dearness allowance should be linked with the cost of living index with hundred per cent neutralisation, they would go on a one-day strike on May 5.

OTHER demands of the workers are: full implementation of the recommendations of the minimum wages committees and wage boards, setting up wage boards for industries which are not yet covered by such boards and absorption of casual labour in government departments.

The workers have said that they would wait till April 8 for the government to implement these demands. Unless it is done, on April 9 the unions will serve strike notices for the protest strike on May 5.

These decisions were taken at a convention of trade unions held at Jaipur on March 28 and 29.

The convention was attended by representatives of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, and several federations of workers and employees in the state like Public Works, Electricity and Waterworks Departments, municipalities and the Rajasthan State Roadways. Swami Kumarannand of the AITUC presided.

The convention has set up a Joint Action Committee with H. K. Vyas of the AITUC, Mahaveer Prasad of the HMP, Permanand Tripathi of the HMS and R. B. Hajela representing the inde-

CSD EMPLOYEES ON STRIKE SINCE APRIL 1

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: About 1,700 employees of the Canteen Stores Department India, under the Ministry of Defence, are on a strike since April 1. The strike is led by the CSDI Employees Union.

THE strike is a complete success, every one of the employees having responded to the strike call. Only those serving in operational areas and in the defence services cinemas in New Delhi, who have been exempted, have remained on duty.

The employees have been compelled to resort to strike action due to the grossly unjust attitude of the Defence Ministry towards their simple and just demands. All other efforts to win the demands have failed.

Their main demand is that they should be paid bonus equivalent to two months wages for the last year.

Considering that the CSDI earned a profit of one crore of rupees, with a total turnover of about Rs. 10 crores only and no worthwhile investments this demand can only be termed too meagre.

But the Defence Ministry is refusing to grant any bonus. It is prepared, on the other hand, to transfer Rs. 4.5 lakhs (which is equal to three months wages of all the employees) into a benevolent fund.

The difference is that if this amount is given to the employees as bonus, they can spend it to meet their urgent

requirements according to their own choice. But, the benevolent fund is to be spent as the authorities specify and only for "community welfare".

The reason given by the authorities for this strange stand is that the CSDI employees are not commercial employees.

The employees have been demanding that if they are not commercial employees according to the government, then they should be treated as government employees with all the corollary benefits.

Interim Relief

If that is not possible, then they should be treated on par with commercial employees. They should get the wage scales and amenities of employees of the Life Insurance Corporation or any such other undertaking.

But the government does not accept either course. It prefers to maintain the status quo which has been available ever since the Defence Ministry took over during the second world war the supply of stores for the canteens under it.

This means that it is neither part of the Defence Ministry, though mis-called a department, nor a statutory

corporation as it should be as a commercial undertaking. This scandalous situation has remained even after the Public Accounts Committee has repeatedly drawn attention to the necessity of giving the Canteen Stores Department organisation a statutory basis.

There is no channel for resolving disputes in this organisation since the central industrial relations machinery has refused to intervene in the dispute. The negotiating machinery which was in existence in this organisation was shelved in 1962 in the name of emergency.

All avenues of settling the dispute through other means than a strike have been exhausted. The employees had observed hungerstrikes in November last. There was a token one-day strike on January 8. They observed a "work-to-rule" movement till February 1.

The CSDI Employees Union had prepared for the strike to begin in the first week of March. But it decided to give more time to the government to come to a decision on their demands.

A meeting between the Defence Minister and representatives of the CSDI employees was held on March 18, but the Minister refused to accept any of the demands of the employees.

He was willing to increase the amount set apart under the benevolent fund accounts! But that certainly would not bring any relief from difficulties to the employees who are suffering as a result of high prices.

Burnpur Convention Demands

EXPEDITE WAGE BOARD REPORTS IN STEEL, ENGG.

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BURNPUR: A convention of steel and engineering workers in both the public and private sectors was held at Burnpur on March 27 and 28 to chalk out joint action for securing better wages and amenities in the two industries.

THE convention was organised by the United Iron and Steel Workers Union, an AITUC affiliate. It was attended by several hundred delegates.

Several fraternal delegates attended the convention and greeted it, among them Monoranjan Roy, general secretary of the BPTUC, Mohammed Elias, general secretary of the Metal and Engineering Workers of India, Nityananda Ponda, general secretary of the Rourkela Steel, Mazdoor Union and Sunil Sen, joint secretary of the Hindustan Steel Employees Union Durgapur.

The convention noted the unusual delay by the central wage board for iron and steel industry, which has been in existence since 1962, in submitting its report.

The delay was due to the failure of the board members to come to unanimous conclusion of the wage board.

It said that the constitution of the wage board,

"though belated, marks a significant victory for the workers in this industry". The prevailing anarchy in the wage structure in the engineering industry needed to be ended soon.

Profits of employers have increased manifold while the employees' standards of living have gone down, even the faulty price index showing a 79 per cent rise in the last 21 months.

The convention recorded its "unstinted support" to the demand made by the National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers before the wage board for a 30 per cent rise in wages with a minimum of Rs. 30 as interim relief.

A third resolution condemned the government's attempts to scuttle the recommendations of the Bonus Commission in collusion with the employers and demanded implementation of the recommendations without any change.

A public meeting at the end of the convention at the Pari Maidan was presided over by Chandrashekar Mukherjee and addressed by Renu Chakravarty and Mohammed Elias.

Employees' Demands

Through another resolution the convention demanded immediate grant of interim relief to workers in the engineering industry.

It said that the constitution of the wage board,

HUNGER-STRIKES IN RAJHARA, NANDINI MINES

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BHILAI: Workers went on hunger-strike in the Rajhara and Nandini mines on March 27 protesting against the refusal of the public sector management to accede their demands.

The workers had submitted memorandum to the management on March 8 listing their demands.

These included regular pay scales for the daily rated workers, publication of job description, provision of safety appliances and adequate supply of drinking water in working areas and labour camps.

The workers also demanded that an enquiry should be conducted into the reasons for the low production in the BSP mines which has hit the workers by reducing the quantum of their production bonus.

The management was requested to meet the demands by March 25. However, it re-

fused to do so and took a very haughty attitude regarding the workers' demands.

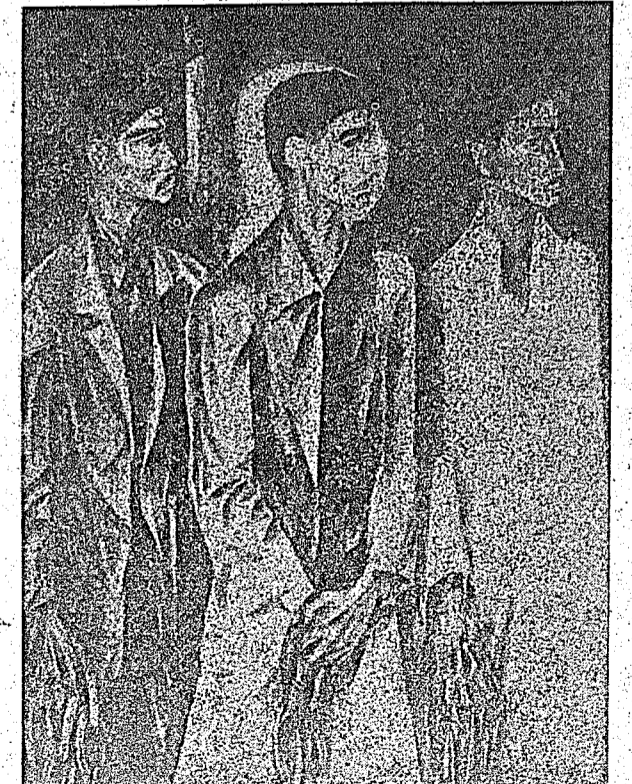
Subsequently, the Samyukta Khadan Mazdur Sangh gave the call for the hungerstrike action.

In Rajhara 165 workers including 25 women participated in the 35-hour hungerstrike on March 27 and 28. They were drawn from all the departments in the Rajhara mechanised mines.

Processions were taken out on March 26, 27 and 28. Public rallies were also held on these days. The meetings were addressed by S. K. Sanyal, Jibon Mukherjee, Nasim Alam and R. S. Tewari.

In Nandini mines 80 workers participated in the 24-hour hungerstrike on March 27-28. Hundreds of workers visited the hunger-strikers and greeted them.

On March 28, a public meeting was held to explain the workers' demands. It was addressed by C. R. Bakshi, N. S. Nair, C. R. Goswami and Sayed Israr Husain.



"Free the Prisoners"—an Iraqi sketch.

NEW AGE

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MOSCOW: President Ayub Khan was accorded a cool, correct and polite reception in the Soviet capital. There were no welcoming arches on the streets but all protocol formalities were observed.

SOVIET circles while welcoming all positive developments towards an independent policy and watching with sympathy tendencies of reappraisal tending to emerge in Pakistan, do not forget her membership of western military blocs and adherence to reactionary doctrines.

There is a realistic attitude of encouragement here for new stirrings and search of new ways and means more in accordance with the interest of the people of Pakistan. But there is no possibility here of creating any anti-Indian prejudice or influencing the Soviet Union's friendly attitude towards India.

Soviet circles have again assured India representatives that the friendly cooperation and understanding and grow-

ing fruitful relations between India and the Soviet Union are not to be affected in any way.

The Soviet Union firmly considers Kashmir to be an integral part of India and this has been repeatedly reiterated. Ayub Khan cannot find any encouragement here in his attitude of hostility and intransigence towards India as he did in his visits to other countries.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union wants to encourage a friendly settlement of all issues and problems arising between India and Pakistan through peaceful talks without outside interference.

Soviet journals have emphasised in recent weeks the "undercurrents" prompting a re-evaluation of Pakis-

A COLD WELCOME FOR AYUB IN MOSCOW

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

tan's foreign policy", the growing realisation of the harmful consequences of the one-sided orientation and reliance upon her military allies and a striving to overcome economic and political isolation by developing economic and other relations with Afro-Asian and socialist countries.

Possibilities of Cooperation

The Soviet Union, following its peaceful policy of developing economic relations and trade with all countries on the basis of mutual bene-

fit, has welcomed the possibilities of extension of such cooperation with Pakistan also.

Help has been extended in oil exploration and some credits have been given for economic development. A new trade treaty envisaging considerable expansion of trade turnover is to be signed shortly and cultural relations are likely to improve.

Meanwhile, an Indian delegation led by Prem Kripal, Secretary of Indian Educa-

tion Ministry is here to review Indo-Soviet cultural cooperation during the last year and finalise the plan for cultural exchanges and technical cooperation for the next year.

Cooperation in the field of science, higher studies, assistance for the setting up of the proposed institute of Russian studies and for the enlargement of regional engineering colleges in India on the lines of the Bombay Institute of Technology are being discussed.

Both sides have expressed satisfaction at the developing cooperation between the two countries and at the fulfilment of the past year's plan which had been generally satisfactory.

Indian interest and eagerness for further expansion of cooperation in this field can be judged by the long list of proposals which the Indian side has brought in for consideration.

The plan for cultural and technical cooperation will be largely finalised this week and is expected to be signed soon by the representatives from both sides. The Soviet side is also eager to meet Indian wishes and requests as far as practical and more than half way.

AFRO-ASIAN MEET IN ACCRA

CAIRO: It has been announced here on April 4 that the fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity conference will be held in Accra from May 9 to 16 this year.

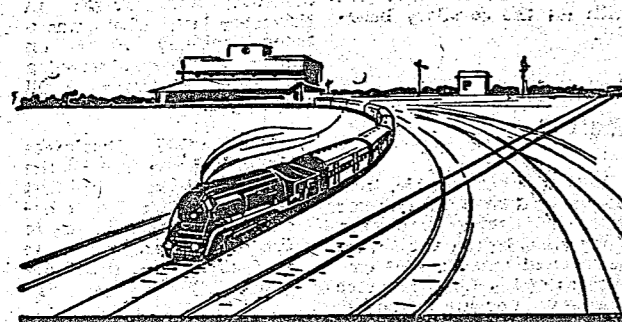
The permanent secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation has received from the Convention Party of Ghana the final dates for the holding of this meeting.

The conference is to discuss several very important problems. They include the situation in Vietnam in connection with the American aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and expansion of the U.S. "dirty war" in South Vietnam, support of the liberation movement in the Congo, in South Africa, in Southern Rhodesia and in the Portuguese Colonies.

The agenda of the conference also envisages the discussion of problems of economic, cultural and social character.

The conference will devote serious attention to questions of strengthening and expanding cooperation with the peoples of Latin America, consolidation of actions of international democratic and anti-imperialist organisations and movements in their struggle for freedom, independence, universal peace and social progress of all the peoples.

It is expected that the conference will be attended by representatives of more than 60 organisations taking part in the solidarity movement, as well as numerous observers from the countries of Latin America, Europe and from international organisations.



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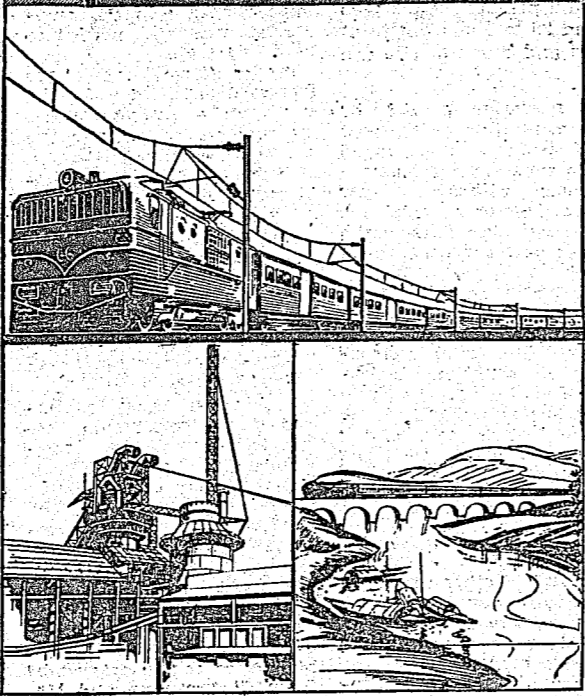


112 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE NATION

INDIAN RAILWAYS

SERVE THE INDIVIDUAL AND BUILD THE NATION

1/6 a 65



After the ignominious boomerang of Hallstein doctrine as regards the UAR for its invitation to the GDR Head of State Ulbricht, the West German government openly declared that it would cease arms supply to Israel.

THE aim obviously was to appease the Arab countries but as is usual with the imperialists, the West German government found yet other methods to keep Israel also in good humour. It has already asked for establishment of diplomatic tie between the two countries.

A few days back the West German government entered into another agreement with Israel whereby West Germany would provide one million marks, to be repaid in five years, to enable Israel to purchase weapons.

When the news of the secret agreement first got leaked out, the West German officials loudly denied such a deal. But bang came the report from Tel Aviv which asserted that by its denial the West German side "violates the agreement" on the non-divulgence of the subject of negotiations.

Moreover, according to sources close to Bonn, West Germany is playing a go-between role in organising arms delivery from other states, particularly from Spain.

The US government is also interested in maintaining arms supply to Israel and US President's special envoy Harriman has already hinted to Israel that the US might take upon itself the responsibility of arms supply.

Harriman also visited London a couple of weeks ago, closely followed by Eshkol, the Israeli Prime Minister, and the details of their visit were sought to be kept as a closely-guarded secret.

But indications were available that the object of the visits was to draw Britain also in the team to render arms aid to Israel. Even GUARDIAN admitted that military questions were major items of discussion during these visits.

The involvement of West

German and US imperialists in gun-running to Israel is bad enough in itself and now if the British Labour government led by Wilson also joins the intrigue which is aimed at subverting the freedom of Arab states, then Labour government would lose even the last semblance of a progressive government as compared to its Tory predecessor. But that is besides the point.

What is of prime importance is the now-clear definite shaping-up of a Bonn-Tel Aviv-Washington triangle whose aggressive military designs in the Middle East pose not only a threat to peace but constitutes a major danger to sovereignty of the Arab countries.

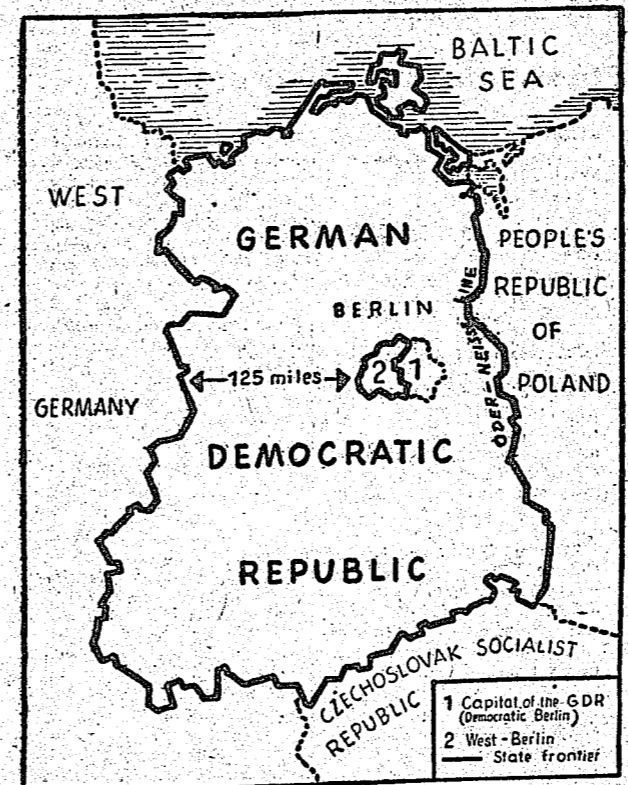
BUNDESTAG : SESSION IN FOREIGN LAND

THE latest decision of Bundestag, the West German Parliament, to hold its session in West Berlin on April 7 is once again an open act of provocation against the sovereignty of the GDR. The Bonn cabinet has already held a session in West Berlin.

By all intent and purpose, the West Germans pose that there is only one Germany and that Bonn rules over the entire territory. They try to ignore the existence of the GDR and show that West Berlin is really a part of West Germany.

West Berlin is situated 200 kilometres away from the West German frontier and is actually a part of the GDR, situated as it is in the heart of that country though administered as a special territory.

Three western powers, the US, Britain and France, control West Berlin as occupation powers, and it has been cate-



Bonn's Secret Agreement With Israel

FROM ARMS DEAL TO FINANCING

gorically avowed by them that West Berlin does not form part of the Federal Republic.

The West German Parliament thus plans to meet on a territory on which it has no business to be and over which it has no say. Besides the deliberate provocation to the GDR (therefore, the FRG move is fraught with other dangers: the move is closely connected with the FRG's stepped-up war preparations and the aim of taking on supreme authority of administration of the special territory of West Berlin.

The GDR government has rightly imposed restrictions on the corridor, which is the entry and exit point to and from West Berlin, prohibiting the entry of West German Members of Parliament.

The West German provocation, apart from creating new cause of tension, is also likely to affect the people of West Berlin who are to visit their relatives in the other part of Berlin during the Easter holidays.

SUEZ TAKE-OVER : THE GAINS

THE United Arab Republic, states a MEN agency report, has earned about 7.5 million Egyptian pounds last month from the Suez Canal.

This income was one million Egyptian pounds higher compared with the earning in March 1964.

During the eight-year operation of Suez Canal following nationalisation, the UAR has so far earned about 400 million Egyptian pounds.

This large amount of foreign exchange earned from their ships through the canal, is being used by the UAR to gear up its economy. A large part of this earning is also being used for the construction of the Aswan High Dam.

The annual receipts from the canal now is about 71 million pounds, as against one million pounds a year which was being paid by the management of the Suez Canal company to the UAR before nationalisation.

The nationalisation of the Suez canal was a major blow against foreign stranglehold over the national economy of the UAR. The results of nationalisation have only underlined how deep was the interest of Britain in keeping the canal under its own control.

The same is the position of the imperialists in other areas



S. RHODESIA : OAU CANNOT REMAIN INDIFFERENT

NOW that the racist Ian Smith government in Southern Rhodesia has decided to go ahead with its unilateral plan of holding an election in the country to ensure the white rule, situation has taken a dangerous turn in Africa.

The election is scheduled to take place on May 7 and meanwhile, the Organisation of African Unity has taken a serious note of this proposed election.

The Deputy Secretary General of the OAU has declared in a statement that "the OAU will not be indifferent at a time when Smith's racist regime is creating a basis for the complete enslavement of Africans in Southern Rhodesia."

The second all-African conference of the heads of states had discussed the Southern Rhodesian issue in detail and in the light of its decision, the OAU will now be absolutely free to call for the imposition of total sanction to Southern Rhodesia and thereby segregate it completely. It is only this language that can bring sense to this white settlers' government and stop it from further precipitation.

—Sadhan Mukherjee

French CP Ratifies Moscow Meeting Call

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

PARIS: The plenary meeting of the central committee of the French Communist Party ended here on April 2.

It heard and discussed a report by the secretary of the FCP Central Committee Gaston Plissonnier on the results of the municipal elections in March. It was also addressed by general secretary Waldeck Rochet.

The plenary meeting heard a report by member of the Political Bureau Raymond Guyot on the consultative meeting of the representatives of Communist and Workers Parties, held in Moscow in March.

The Central Committee adopted two resolutions on these questions.

Reporting to the plenary meeting about the results of the municipal elections, Gaston Plissonnier, said that the Party's ranks have grown and its influence has increased.

Plissonnier reported that the collection of funds for the Communist Party is proceeding successfully. About 254 million old francs have so far been collected, he said.

Ever since the exchange of Party Cards began in 1965, 23,000 new members have joined the Party, 325 Party units, including 108 at factories, 123 in cities and 96 in rural regions, have been set up.

The Communists are preparing to honour the memory of the late Maurice Thorez on his 65th birthday on April 28. This will close the Thorez enrolment which has already won 30,000 new members for the Party.

The resolution on the report by member of the Political Bureau Raymond Guyot concerning the consultative meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow says that the French CP Central Committee approves the general idea of the consultative meeting's communique that in the present international situation effective unity of the international Communist movement is necessary as never before. The differences which exist in the world Communist movement damage the cause of peace, national liberation and communism.

The French Communist Party supports the measures for preparing the conference advanced by the participants in the consultative meeting, in particular the holding of a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 parties that took part in the conference of 1960.

ROME: 125,000 members joined the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Communist Youth Federation during this year's campaign of increasing Party membership, announced a communique of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party.

POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNIST UNITY

National Council Welcomes Moscow Meet Decisions, Outlines Tasks For CPI

The National Council of the Communist Party of India in its meeting on April 5 adopted the following resolution on the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow.

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India, having heard the report of the delegation of our Party, which participated in the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow from March 1 to 5, welcomes the two documents unanimously adopted by the meeting, viz., the Communiqué and the Statement on the Vietnam events, and approves of the work of its delegation.

The Party Congress in Bombay had successfully concluded the discussion that was organised throughout the Party on the ideological differences in the world Communist movement and on the ways of restoring unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and had laid down the Party's stand on both these issues in its resolution.

This resolution served as a guide for the work of our delegation at the consultative meeting.

The National Council is of the opinion that the holding and successful conclusion of

this consultative meeting was an important and positive contribution to the task of achieving cohesion and unity in the world Communist movement though it faced certain difficulties due to opposition of the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

Of the utmost importance is the unanimous conclusion of the meeting that, despite "the differences relating to the political line and many important problems of theory and tactics" which exist in the world Communist movement, it is "quite possible and necessary to strive for unity of actions in the struggle against imperialism, in the cause of giving all manner of support for the liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace and peaceful coexistence of the states with different social systems."

The National Council warmly welcomes the call for international solidarity actions against mounting brutal aggression of US imperialists in South and North Vietnam, and in sup-

port of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for the consolidation of their sovereignty and independence, and the reunification of the country without foreign interference.

The National Council welcomes the fact that the consultative meeting has reiterated the objective of holding an international conference of all Communist and Workers Parties and has put forward a three-point programme of preparing for such a conference, both from the point of view of content and form, the organisational point of view, and for creating the favourable conditions for the participation of all Parties in such a preparation.

The National Council fully endorses this three-point proposal for preparing for the international conference of Communist and Workers Parties:

1 To stop open polemics which are in character unfriendly and degrading to fraternal Parties, while continuing discussion and exchange of views on important

contemporary questions in friendly terms, without mutual attacks;

2 Strict observance of the norms of relationship between Parties as defined by 1957 and 1960 meetings and no interference of any Party in the internal affairs of another Party;

3 Bilateral and multi-lateral meetings of representatives of the fraternal Parties, and other forms of Party contacts for exchange of opinions on the common tasks of the world Communist movement and finally calling a preliminary consultative meeting of the representatives of 81 Parties which took part in the meeting of 1960 to discuss the question of a new international meeting.

But the leadership of the Communist Party of China has rejected the proposal of the conference to stop open polemics which are in character unfriendly and degrading and observe the norms of relationship between Parties as defined by the 1960 meeting.

It is the opinion of the National Council of the Communist Party of India that the Communist and Workers Parties must persist in their efforts to achieve unity of the world Communist movement by firmly implementing the principled stand and measures outlined by the Moscow consultative meeting.

It is only by persisting in developing joint initiatives for common action against imperialist aggression, for the support of national liberation movements and for world

peace, and by developing contacts, cooperation for exchange of opinion on common tasks between Communist and Workers Parties that the cause of the world Communist unity will advance and succeed in overcoming splitting and disruptive tendencies.

The Moscow consultative meeting, which was held in the spirit of a strict observance of the democratic principles of independence and equality of all fraternal Parties has rendered a service by charting out a positive and constructive path for achieving world Communist unity.

The Communist Party of India, in order to make its contribution to this common objective, will undertake the following tasks:

1 Educate the entire rank and file of the Party on the common tasks and problems of the world Communist movement and of its unity as laid down in our Congress resolution on "Ideological Controversies and the Unity of the International Communist Movement."

2 Activise the Party ranks in the struggle to rally the masses for international solidarity actions, against imperialist aggression, for support to national liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America and for world peace.

3 To take initiative in holding bilateral and multi-lateral talks with brother Parties for exchange of opinions and working out common tasks in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and world peace.

YANKES DICTATE AICC EDITORIAL

*FROM FRONT PAGE

arguing not only in support of the US aggression in Vietnam, but in favour of the war. Full support to the sacred fight of the US for democracy—even if it meant escalation of war", "even if it means war". "Preserving peace" is a "subordinate consideration".

The editorial is an open defence of all the horrors committed by the US imperialists in Vietnam. It is an open call to India and "all democratic countries" to "put their might" behind the US action in Vietnam, and a criticism of their "dilly-dallying".

This is NOT the declared Congress policy. This is NOT the policy of the Congress government, at least as far as their public statements are concerned.

But it is necessary for the Congress leaders, the government leaders to say so to repudiate the dirty "made-in-USA" editorial and to take action against the persons responsible for it.

If this is not done, the Indian people and indeed anti-imperialists all over the world have a right to take it that the policy indicated in the AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW's editorial is official Congress policy since the

Review is the official Congress journal.

The editorial's first half deals with Kerala and indulges in the usual anti-communism, defending and upholding repression and the arrests without trial. The conclusion of this first half is typical of the US stamp on the editorial as a whole. It says:

"The course before the government is clear. If India's democracy has to be preserved, the war against Communists within India should be carried on relentlessly".

Gulzaril Nanda protests that his ruthless use of the DIR and the emergency is not directed against "Communists" as such, but only against individuals. But the journal of which he is one of the editorial board members says something different.

If the Congress leaders do not find it convenient to repudiate this American-dictated editorial, one can only hope that the democratic Congress rank-and-file will act.

The appearance of the editorial is not an accident—a slip or the error of an individual. It is a portent of the rot which is setting in, in the entire Congress organisation, a rot which it daily appears more difficult to stem.

L'UNITA'S RETORT TO CHINESE SLANDERS

By OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: Last week, under the title **COMMUNIST UNITY: VITAL NECESSITY OF THE HOUR, NEW AGE** carried an article by Romesh Chandra. This article made pointed reference to the latest Chinese article on the March consultative meeting of 19 Parties in Moscow.

The **NEW AGE** article drew pointed attention to the provocations contained in the Chinese article and showed how its antics portend extremely dangerous developments as regards the unity of the international Communist movement harming the interests of peace.

A number of Party journals the world over have also condemned the Chinese article in the same vein and roundly rebutted the Chinese logic.

Among these journals is **L'UNITA**, central organ of the Italian Communist Party,

which published a summary of the Chinese article on March 23 with a note appended to it.

The note, after having recalled the line of the Italian Communists already elaborated by the Political Bureau of the ICP, adds:

"... we reject and consider definitely arbitrary the accusation of the **RENMIN RIBAO** (**PEOPLE'S DAILY**) which defines the Moscow meeting secessionist, as all those attending it have in different manners made efforts to avoid such a character.

"The violent tone of the Chinese attack reveals the premeditated will to avoid the difficult path of discussion and agreement and to impose an inadmissible 'diktat' on the whole Communist movement.

"Further, the insults to the Soviet comrades are absurd and unacceptable and so are those addressed to the other Moscow Parties which are all considered 'the allies of imperialism and reaction!'"

"Such demagoguery is to be rejected always, but it appears particularly deprecable today when it is more than ever necessary and urgent for the socialist world to present a united front to American aggression.

"The line, not of discussion but of violent and insulting polemics (there is a great difference between the two) which the Peking comrades appear to wish to keep up does not appear to be consistent with the search for unity which they also proclaim.

"And, unfortunately, together with these words there are also some facts in the Chinese attitude which, being coherent with the trend expressed by the **RENMIN RIBAO**, do not certainly facilitate the unity of the socialist world against the imperialist attack and might be used as easy polemical retorts concerning the instrumental character of the Chinese line with regard to the problem of Vietnam in relation to the USSR."