

WHY THE U.S. AFFRONT

TO SHASTRI?

Result Of Year-Long Drift In Our Foreign Policy

new age

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That the US government's unilateral cancellation of Prime Minister Shastri's visit to the USA was an insult to India is accepted by all sections of public opinion. But opinions differ in regard to the motives and aims of this deliberate slap in the face. And opinions differ even more regarding what action India should take in the light of this insult.

It is of decisive importance for the future of this country to know the truth about US imperialism's intentions in regard to India—the intentions with which Johnson shut Shastri out of the sacred precincts of Washington—and also to know the correct way to deal with the barbaric monster which dares to spit on us so contemptuously.

THE right lobby, true to its salt, is attempting to extricate itself from the mess in which the US highhandedness has landed all dollar-lovers.

It unashamedly argues that, the US chiefs had good reason to be dissatisfied with India, because of our failure to support the US "crusade" against China in South East Asia.

Members of Parliament belonging to the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh joined hands with those of the PSP and SSP in a symposium held on April 20 in New Delhi to decry Indian foreign policy in South East Asia.

The common burden of In Parliament both the

their song was that India should support the American war in Vietnam in order to win US friendship and not be insulted by the US gods a second time!

Birla's HINDUSTAN TIMES has editorially (April 21) said much the same thing though more cleverly and called for introspection into the reasons for the bad relations between India and the USA, justifying the USA's actions in Vietnam and its resentment at India's failure to lend support to these actions.

The pressures are on full steam. Fortunately so far the impact on the Prime Minister appears to have been to resist these pressures.

Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister have categorically stated that the policy on Vietnam WILL NOT BE CHANGED in favour of the USA and there will be NO YIELDING to the US blackmail.

The Prime Minister has followed up his interview with an American news agency calling for a halt to US bombings on Vietnam by making a public declaration, at a reception accorded to him by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, that the way to peace in Vietnam is blocked so long as the US continues its bombing raids.

It is generally recognised that the US insult was meant to teach the Prime Minister a lesson for daring to make this call for a halt to the US bombings.

But the question remains: why was this method chosen to demonstrate US wrath, what gave the US imperialists the confidence to take an action of such hostility, as was bound to create a furore in any self-respecting country?

AFRO-ASIA CONDEMNS

Several other countries have time and again, refused to march along with the US imperialists. The number of Afro-Asian countries, which have condemned US actions on Vietnam more strongly than India, is not small.

But none of them has had to face this kind of insult—which is unprecedented in diplomatic relations between countries which are supposed to be "friendly."

Why then the insult to India? The answer has to be faced squarely.

The US leaders believe that India will tolerate this insult meekly and will bend more obsequiously before Washington as a result of the blow.

Time was when every one in the world knew that to insult India was to court disaster—for this country allowed no one to insult it and get off scot free.

But today, the US imperla-

By OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

lists, think differently. It is no use burking the issue: the reason for this assumption lies in the weaknesses and vacillations of the Congress government particularly in regard to the US aggression in Vietnam.

The US government knows that:

★ The Government of India fought to see that the nonaligned appeal did not name the US imperialists as the villains of the piece;

★ The Government of India was one of the first important nonaligned countries

up by concrete action on a governmental and non-governmental level.

This means, first of all, that the evil stink of India's role at the Belgrade discussion on the nonaligned appeal must be removed by taking a forthright stand against the US imperialists; and second, there must be no more praise for Johnson's totally insincere offer of "negotiations".

★ The Government of India should boldly insist on an immediate meeting of representatives of all those non-aligned nations as are prepared to support it, in its de-

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PREOCCUPATION, SAYS LYNDON JOHNSON

to rush to pat President Johnson on the back for his offer of so-called "unconditional" negotiations.

And in the context of India's need for US "food" and its shameless begging for American "aid" and private capital, naturally the assumption is that a kick in the pants will bring the naughty boy to heel.

But India is NOT America's "naughty boy". And the sooner they realise this the better.

The demand made by the Prime Minister for a halt to US bombings must not be allowed to become just a cliché to be mouthed by Indian spokesmen on occasions. It must be followed

mand for a halt to US bombings as a vital and necessary first condition for any solution of the Vietnam problem.

A joint demand must be made along these lines, directed straight to the US imperialists.

The government's own stand on Vietnam must not weaken from that taken these last few days by Prime Minister Shastri; on the contrary, it must go forward to support the democratic movement's demand for the withdrawal of US forces from South Vietnam.

The nonsensical fear sought to be whipped up by the US

* ON PAGE 17

US ATOMIC CANNONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

THE US Pentagon has already sent atomic artillery into South Vietnam.

According to confirmed reports nuclear cannons were landed in South Vietnam on April 12.

The US marine officers involved in the landing operations admitted that "the cannons were designed to fire nuclear ammunition" though no nuclear shells accompanied them.

But it was made clear that if needed, the nuclear shells could be shipped to South Vietnam "at a day's notice."

Meanwhile, conscription of young people to the US Army has been intensified contrary to the promise made by President Johnson at the time of his election.

For the month of March, the US Army had originally planned to draft 3,900 persons but it was increased to 7,900 persons after the escalation of war in Vietnam.

The April quota is already as high as 13,700 and is certain to be increased during the month.

The already enlisted people have started showing signs of resentment against the dirty war in Vietnam.

A few days ago, spurred by the failure of the Army to keep its junior officers at work, General Richardson wrote personally to 5,500 lieutenants and captains in the Army reserve requesting them to return to active duty.

Only 82 of the reserve lieutenants and captains declared a willingness to rejoin active forces.

A further batch of 1,500 marines is also reported to be now ready at the US base at Okinawa to go to South Vietnam.

IN DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY

Editorial

THE IMPOSITION of President's Rule in Kerala and the refusal of the Congress government to release the 29 detenu MLAs in that state have shaken democratic opinion in the country to a realisation of the grim threat which exist to the basic policy of parliamentary democracy.

If the ruling Congress Party can use the extraordinary powers with which it has vested itself to keep itself in the saddle in Kerala, even when it is routed at the polls, there is every reason to fear that the same shameful tactics may be pursued by the Congress in other states in the coming days, whenever it faces similar prospects of defeat.

In the Calcutta Corporation, the Congress has brazenly used the detention of six elected corporators to ensure election as aldermen of its nominees and convert its minority into a majority.

Detention without trial is obnoxious to any one who claims to be a democrat. When such detention is extended to political opponents, it becomes even more reprehensible and smacks of the worst tendencies in dictatorial regimes. The Indian national movement when it fought for the ending of British imperialist rule repeatedly pointed out that the manner in which the British rulers threw its opponents into prison

without trial was among the most hateful of their practices.

India's martyrs gave their lives to end the pernicious and evil, inhuman and autocratic practices of the British rulers. They did not die to bring into being a regime which would continue the hated practice of detention without trial of political prisoners.

All the "arguments" put out by the Home Minister and his merry band of jailors for the detention without trial of the leaders and workers of the "Marxist" Communist Party are utterly and completely devoid of facts which could justify the detentions in the slightest degree.

Several Congress leaders have themselves openly stated that the emergency situation which prevailed in October-November 1962 no longer exists. Only last week the Orissa Law Minister declared on the floor of the Assembly that the emergency was over. And yet the same Congress Party uses the so-called "emergency" to detain its political opponents.

From state after state, news keeps coming in of the use by the ruling party and petty bureaucrats of the hated DIR to suppress the struggles of the working masses against the exploitation of the monopolists and vested interests.

The ruling caucus in each state, in each district, look upon the DIR as a means by which to hold on to their seats of power if and when

they are threatened. The vested interests, the gentlemen who want to determine whose "heads" will "roll", use the DIR to suppress the mass movements which rise to check their profiteering and amassing of wealth.

The question of the defence of democracy is NOT a party question. It is a matter which affects all who cherish the principles, for which our people fought for freedom from British rule. The last four months have seen most severe attacks on democracy which cannot be allowed to go unchallenged.

The right reactionary forces and their imperialist patrons are chording with delight at the use of DIR against the left parties: they are demanding more vociferously than ever before the banning of the Communist Party as well as the "Marxist" Communist Party.

The Communist Party of India has already addressed letters to other left parties proposing a nationwide joint campaign on this vital national issue of defence of democracy. Already several joint meetings and demonstrations have been held or are being planned. During the coming Action Week, called by the Communist Party, the defence of democracy will be one of the key issues on which actions will take place.

The fight for the defence of democracy, for the release of detenus, for the ending of President's Rule in Kerala must become the urgent duty of all democrats in this country.

(April 21)

Kanpur Mayoral Election

A TYCOON IS CHOSEN CONGRESS CANDIDATE

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

LUCKNOW: The industrial centre of Uttar Pradesh, Kanpur, is the stronghold of notorious tycoons, who not only control the city, but also the Congress Party of the state. And the Congress Party of course is divided within itself.

THE hold these industrialists have over the Congress machinery has once more come to limelight in connection with the election of the Mayor of the Kanpur Corporation.

This corporation has 80 seats, of which Congress occupies 42 and has therefore the absolute freedom to rule the city. It has annual budget of rupees seven crores and naturally the mayoral seat is considered a prize-post. But the city remains in squalor and filth.

The election for the mayoral post this year is going to take place on April 28 and who is the Congress candidate?

He is none other than Sardar Inder Singh, an industrialist who owns the Singh Engineering Works. He was the Mayor of Kanpur Corporation in 1963 and one of his achievements was to secure a plot of land measuring 72.5 acres for the Singh Engineering Works of which he is the owner.

When the agreement for transfer of this land was drawn up, a case was filed in the court to declare it void by another Congressman. The Civil Judge of Kanpur in his judgment (Suit No. 12 of 1961) held *inter alia* that the agreement to

seat. Does not it go to prove that the Kanpur industrialists really have the Congress Party in their pockets? What have the Congress members to say about it?

Interestingly, Kanpur is the only municipal corporation among the Kaval towns in Uttar Pradesh where the Congress has got a majority.

was deprived of an earning almost to the tune of Rs. thirty lakhs.

It is also relevant in this connection to remember that the Supreme Court has already held in a similar case sometime back that land for industrial purposes should not be sold to private parties at concessional rates since such transactions cannot be considered as public purposes.

But the story of Inder Singh does not end here. He has the credit of contesting against Congress candidates themselves! He was suspended last year by the UP Congress Parliamentary Board for a similar offence!

And yet, he is the person who has again been nominated as the Congress candidate for the mayoral

The nomination of the candidate for mayorship in the Kaval towns had led to a tussle between the two contending groups in the Uttar Pradesh Congress.

The ministerial wing under the leadership of C. B. Gupta had called a meeting of the old parliamentary board on April 19 to select the Congress candidates for mayorship.

The rival organisational group led by Kamalapati Tripathi declared that this parliamentary board had now become defunct and therefore a new parliamentary board had to choose the Congress candidates. The meeting of the old parliamentary board was against the constitution of the party, this group maintained.

When the ministerialists persisted in their plans to hold the meeting of the old parliamentary board, the organisational wing threatened disciplinary action against all those who attended the meeting.

This led to a near showdown between the two contending groups and the AICC leadership had to intervene and issue a directive to avert the showdown.

According to the directive of the AICC, the choice of the candidate for mayorship was to be left to the Congress party in the Kanpur Corporation, as was the practice hitherto.

Also, both the meetings of the parliamentary board and the PCC executive called on the same day, April 19, to take action against those attending the parliamentary board meeting were to be cancelled.

Both the groups have now accepted this directive. The showdown has thus been averted for the time being. But the truce, obviously, cannot last long.

Bihar Govt Profiteers In Land

PATNA: An instance wherein the Bihar government is engaged in profiteering in land has been brought to light in a memorandum submitted to Chief Minister K. B. Sahay by 198 peasants from the Singbhum district.

IT concerns the acquisition of land for the Adityapur Master Plan by the government and its allotment to industrialists. Land acquisition in Adityapur started as far back as 1958-59 and is still going on. So far about 900 acres of land, both cultivable and home-stead, have been acquired. The compensation which

vance and Rs. 9.68 a month an acre as rent.

Over and above this, the government is also getting an amount near about Rs. 15,000 as salami for every acre of land rented out to the industrial units.

Thus, the government is reaping a profit of as much as Rs. 24,870 per acre of land rented out to the industrial units. If the entire land acquired is rented out, the total profit of the government would amount to Rs. 2.24 crores.

While this is one side of the picture, on the other is the pitiable plight of the agriculturists whose land is being acquired. They are not given any alternate land for cultivation or as homestead.

The peasants affected are from the village of Uperbera, Kalkapur, Barubad, Sidadih, Krishnapur and Asingi and 83 moujas covering an area of 30 square miles extending from Adityapur to Kandra and beyond and encircled on three sides by river Subarnarekha and Kharkai in Singbhum district.

BANDUNG 1955—ALGIERS 1965 : TEN YEARS OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Would the US government have had the temerity in 1955 to slap India in the face, as it has done exactly ten years later, by its insulting unilateral cancellation of Prime Minister Shastri's visit to Washington?

Would any Afro-Asian head of state in 1955 have dared to suggest, as certain of them are doing today directly or indirectly, that India is acting at the behests of imperialism, bracketing it with such imperialist stooge governments as those of South Vietnam and South Korea, and the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan?

THE answer to these questions—which is obviously in the negative, NO, in capital letters—gives one a glimpse of the road along which Indian foreign policy has travelled in the ten years since the Bandung Conference of heads of Afro-Asian governments.

The prestige of the India of 1955 was so high among the nations of the world, that no US President would have dared to act as President Johnson has done in regard to the Indian Prime Minister's visit to the USA.

And if any among the Afro-Asian heads of governments had dared to suggest at the Bandung conference of 1955 that the India of that year was, in any sense, subservient to imperialist interests—he would have been laughed out of court and dismissed as a lunatic of the first order.

This is not the case in 1965. Today, the US government appears to have got away with its insult to our nation; and the gibes by certain Afro-Asian leaders at India do not seem to have evoked that resentment (and perhaps amusement) which such remarks would have met, had they been made ten years ago.

Tarnished Image

It would be a mistake, however, to come to an oversimplified conclusion from these realities. The weaknesses and vacillations in foreign policy, and the consequent tarnishing of India's image as a major participant in the shaping of world affairs—are now widely accepted facts.

Commentators on international affairs, irrespective of their particular political view point, are fairly unanimous in their assessment that India is no longer the power that it once was, in the councils of the world.

But from this assessment, can one conclude that India's foreign policy based on non-alignment, anti-imperialism and peaceful co-existence has suffered a total reversal, that the light which shone from India and which was so closely connected with the name of Jawaharlal Nehru, has been dimmed for all time?

Here again the answer is in the negative. It would be fantastic nonsense to suggest that India has shifted from nonalignment to alignment with imperialism.

Apart from anything else the bourgeois class interests of the ruling Congress government, as it is at present composed, are not compatible with a policy of total alignment.

But let us take a look objectively at just a few of the most recent facts.

Cairo Conference

In 1964, India participated in the Cairo conference of nonaligned nations, which took a sharp and uncompromising stand against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism—a stand which was far more clearly and firmly anti-imperialist than that taken at the first nonaligned conference at Belgrade.

India was a party to all the decisions and a signatory to the Cairo declaration, even the initiator of some of the anti-imperialist drafts.

Of course, it is true that the absence of Pandit Nehru

sign the Moscow test ban treaty.

Here once more the hesitations and waverings on the question of India manufacturing its own atom bomb, and the stupidities on the question of a nuclear "shield" contributed to the tarnishing of India's image.

But the broad policy remains one of not manufacturing nuclear weapons and not accepting the nuclear "umbrella" of the imperialists. This is not the policy of a country whose policy of nonalignment has been reversed.

Perhaps this point would be best illustrated by discussing the attitude of the Government of India in regard to the problem of Vietnam today. Nothing has perhaps shown up the drift in foreign policy towards the right as has the government's policy on the US aggression in Vietnam.

Democratic public opinion in the country has rightly criticised the government's failure to condemn the US

This call on the US government to stop its bombing raids is by itself proof of the fact that India has not sold the pass, that the independence of its foreign policy, despite considerable corruptions, has by no means been destroyed.

It is important to arrive at a proper understanding of the true meaning of the weaknesses and vacillations in foreign policy, which command the headlines in newspapers these days.

As the facts given above show, these weaknesses and vacillations despite their gravity, do not add up to a reversal of nonalignment.

Popular Actions

They also indicate that the democratic forces still have the power and the strength, provided they use them sagaciously to fight back these weaknesses and vacillations in foreign policy, and brighten up India's darkening image.

Here it would not be wrong to point out that the persistent, popular actions on the issue of government's shameful stand on the Vietnam issue, have helped in large measure to compel government first to express concern at the use of gas by US forces and now to call for a halt to the bombings.

Equally on other issues—such as that of the manufacture of nuclear weapons or of the so-called nuclear "shield"—democratic opinion has asserted itself to help to compel government to aban-

mean to pressurise India into abandoning its policy of nonalignment.

The continued refusal of the Chinese government to settle the border issue by peaceful means, and its growing collaboration with the Ayub dictatorship—are unending fuel for the imperialists and reactionaries to demand a reversal of the basic policy of non-alignment.

Even the latest insult by President Johnson to Prime Minister Shastri and indeed to this nation as a whole has been seized upon by the pro-imperialist lobbies to suggest that the government has not known enough to Washington and is reaping the fruits of this abominable sin!

If India is to play an effective role at the second Bandung in Algiers—a sharp break must be made in the execution of our foreign policy. The government itself appears to be aware of this need, but the manner in which it is proposing to "solve" the problem is a disastrous one.

The appointment of a committee of secretaries (the top bureaucrats, including at least some whose pro-imperialist bias is well known), to supervise external affairs can lead to the very opposite results to those intended.

What is required is not another committee of bureaucrats, but a clear policy. The answer to Johnson's insults can be given only by a firmer and stronger anti-imperialist policy, particularly in regard to Vietnam.

Why The Insult

The US President can dare to insult an India which is constantly on its knees begging for "aid" of one sort or the other and in return refusing to fight back with the necessary vigour the criminal aggression of the US imperialists.

If the Johnson insult can help to give a backbone once again to the spinelessness of Indian foreign policy, then there is every hope that at Algiers, India's voice will be heard with the old respect it once commanded.

All over Asia and Africa, ears are cocked to hear what will be India's answer to the outrageous conduct towards it of the Washington overlords: it is not words alone which will count, it will be deeds.

The Indian democratic forces must not relent for a moment in their campaigns on the most urgent issues of foreign policy today—above all the issue of Vietnam.

On these united actions against the pressures of imperialism and reaction, against the dangerous drift in the foreign policy of the Government of India depends very largely the task of bringing back the brightness to the image of this country in the world and above all in Asia and Africa.

(April 20)

A Bandung Anniversary Commentary

By ROMESH CHANDRA

aggression and to demand the withdrawal of US forces from South Vietnam.

The excessive haste, with which President Johnson's so-called "unconditional" discussions offer was hailed by the government, and the weak-kneed attitude taken by India in the Belgrade discussions on the non-aligned nations' appeal, have been rightly pinpointed as evidences of knuckling under imperialist and reactionary pressures.

At the same time, it is clear that the Government of India is not supporting the US government in its Vietnam policy; and it is no secret that the latest affront to India by the US government—the brusque cancellation of the Prime Minister's state visit to Washington—is meant at least partly to be a "punishment" to the Prime Minister for daring to call publicly on the US government to stop bombing the Vietnamese people.

Today on the eve of the second conference of Afro-Asian governments (scheduled for June in Algiers), it is necessary to grasp the twin essentials of the situation—the immense dangers to the basic policies, which follow from the increased imperialist pressures on these policies, and on the other hand, the possibilities of defeating these pressures, provided the democratic forces hit back against the vacillations and weaknesses of the Congress government and its violations of the requirements of a consistent anti-imperialist policy, on each issue, as such violations occur.

The tensions on India's borders and the latest intrusions by Pakistan forces in Kutch and elsewhere, operating from US bases and with US arms—are

The Scandalous Story Of A Samaj

The report of the Public Accounts Committee on the finances and activities of the Bharat Sevak Samaj has spotlighted anew the scandalous manner in which public funds are administered and spent to support associations enjoying special ministerial patronage.

It adds another chapter to the sordid story of corruption which is the most widely understood commentary on the Congress government in the country today.

The PAC has pointed to the many malpractices in the functioning of the BSS over a long period, not the least of which perhaps is that it has become a body serving its own interests and utilising the liberal grants from the different ministries for that purpose.

Is "Plan publicity" for which it received subsidy from the I&B Ministry turned out to be publicity for itself. Cases of defalcation and embezzlement of funds have also come to light.

Treated as a "limb of the Planning Commission", the BSS received all kinds of favours and assistance. It was given huge grants and loans, accommodation was provided for it rent free, it was exempted from paying income tax, free railway passes were given to its workers, technical personnel were loaned by government to the BSS and so on.

In short it had all the facilities it could want plus a free hand to do as it liked without any effective check or control from the ministries which were doling out grants to this body.

The total grants-in-aid given to the BSS by the Central Government alone amount to two crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, and the total of grants which it received from the state governments come to Rs. 96 lakhs. But it has never, since its inception in 1952, submitted its consolidated and audited accounts for any year and yet grants continued to pour.

It is interesting that this "voluntary organisation" survived almost wholly on government munificence and did not get any worthwhile donation from the public. Thus in 1962-63, it appears, the receipts of the BSS from sources other than government amounted to less than one lakh rupees, as against Rs. 28 lakhs provided by the government.

The PAC has observed that "certain activities of the Samaj have been practically financed entirely by government". Obviously, enjoying as it did high level official patronage, the Samaj had little need for public contributions to sustain itself. Further it had near monopoly of receiving government subsidy in certain spheres.

The Samanta Committee had observed: "Among the voluntary organisations doing Plan publicity work, Bharat Sevak Samaj is the largest beneficiary receiving aid from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, as much as 95 per cent of the total grants allotted for that purpose".

How come that the BSS was chosen for such generous assistance by the Ministry and

vigorous drive to clean up this mess.

The Secretary of the I&B Ministry told the PAC that the picture of the Bharat Sevak Samaj was neither black nor white, but just grey. May be, but the record of those who allowed this kind of thing to go on for years would certainly be only black in the eyes of the public.

nobody ever bothered to find out if it was justified?

The Secretary of the I&B Ministry says, "the only guess that I could hazard in the absence of any enquiry done by the Ministry was that when this organisation was being assisted to such a great extent by other organisations of government, it was taken at its face value". That shows the pattern of favouritism and corruption thriving on it.

The PAC has now recommended that no more grants be given to the Samaj unless it submits its consolidated and audited accounts. It is a pretty late action and should be only the beginning of a more

Comment

AT THE ALTAR OF HIGH FINANCE

IN a letter to some Congress MPs from West Bengal who had complained to him about the "apologetic tone" of his speech to the Indian Chamber of Commerce last week in Calcutta, Home Minister Nanda has defended his action and emphasised his government's need for "active cooperation" of businessmen.

According to Nanda, what

he expounded before the businessmen in Calcutta was "the philosophy and approach of the Congress to the economic problems". If this is so, that approach is more understood and appreciated by big business than by the mass of people in this country.

Nanda "reflecting the mind of the Prime Minister" and Birla speaking with authority arising from his established hold on the Congress were both keen to impress upon businessmen that for them there is no alternative to Congress.

The Marwari magnate told the tycoons that there was absolutely no chance of the Swatantra or the Jan Sangh replacing the Congress, if that is what they are hoping for. "You may be replacing this government by a government of the communists, but they will be the first to cut your throat", he said.

Nanda responded suitably by repeating the same thing. Without mutual support, "where would you be and where would we be" was his query to the tycoons.

Satyaranain Sinha, whose loyalty to the Birlas is a byword in Congress politics and who reported that he had been authorised by the Prime Minister to state categorically that the treatment meted out to businessmen in recent years "must be changed", was more blunt: "If we go, you go, perhaps before us".

Having established such rapport, Nanda assured that there was "a basis for good understanding between the business community and government" and enunciated his concept of "socialism" in which there was plenty of scope for the private sector.

As a side-show to all this sycophancy developed the controversy over a West Bengal minister being insulted at the airport by Nanda the state minister not getting a lift in the car in which Nanda with Birla went to the Raj Bhavan.

That apart, the whole incident of the ICC meeting in Calcutta and the sizzling address of the Union Home Minister on the occasion has revealed more clearly than anything else in recent times the abject dependence of the Shastri Ministry on the support of big business.

S. K. Patil's tribute to big business, when recently he said that in its fifty years of political agitation the Congress spent over ten crores of rupees and ninety per cent of this had come from the business community, has been given a political recognition by Nanda by his speech before the Indian Chamber of Commerce.

After such a pusillanimous performance before the private sector, Nanda, if he expects the people to believe in Congress professions of socialism, is acting dumb.

Equally ridiculous sounds his statement to the Congress MPs that "it is well known how much I had endeavoured through the government and through other agencies to prevent and put down hoarding, profiteering, etc.". Who does not know what he has done?

-K. U. WARIER

HYDERABAD: The rising popular discontent with the government bungling of the food problem is finding partial reflection in the heightening of the factional feud inside the Andhra Congress. The Food Minister and the top organisational bosses are now engaged in public name-calling through the press.

IT began with APCC President Thimma Reddy launching a blistering attack on the Food Ministry on April 13. Addressing a convention of young farmers, he stated that the stagnation in agricultural production was due to "official ignorance and callousness".

His advice to the young farmers was to shun politics and politicians and to throw up their own leadership. They must develop an attitude of self-reliance.

Naturally enough, Food Minister Balaram Reddy rose to the bait. He termed the charges made by the APCC President as baseless, in a press conference on April 14.

In his turn he called Thimma Reddy "ignorant" and irresponsible since he had not cared to find out the facts from his Congress colleagues before launching an open attack.

When questioned as to why the topmost Congress organisational leader was behaving in this manner, his reply was 'draw your

FACTIONAL FIGHT BECOMES ACUTE IN ANDHRA CONGRESS

From MOHIT SEN

own conclusions and fill up the blanks"—a rather wide hint to the known desire of Thimma Reddy to come into the cabinet.

Balaram Reddy followed this up with a monstrous display of precisely that callousness and ignorance with which he had been charged. He claimed that all was well as far as the supply and sale of rice and wheat in the capital was concerned.

When pressmen gave concrete instances of serious

shortages and dislocation of both rice and wheat supplies, he pleaded his ignorance and surprise since the "stock position in satisfactory".

To cap everything he repeated his earlier scandalous statement that the mixing of stones with rice was quite legitimate, as it helped to "shine up" the latter!

It is because of his dreadful bungling and favouritism towards the hoarders and black-marketeers that the Collector of Hyderabad had to ask for leave. The collector has now been replaced. Evidently, his drive and thoroughness proved too much for Balaram Reddy.

His press conference, however, did not mean the end of the public controversy. On April 17, the General Secretary of the APCC, Lakshman Das, rushed in with yet another statement lashing out at the Food Minister.

He mentioned that two crores of rupees had been allocated to the Cooperative Marketing Federation to buy rice in areas where the prices had fallen below the controlled rates.

This scheme was not put through by the Food Ministry till the smaller farmers had sold their crop. Obviously the big hoarders and wholesalers would now reap the benefits of this deliberate delay.

He alleged that cases of adulteration of fertilisers were many and public knowledge. Why the Food Minister should try to deny this was beyond his comprehension.

He ended on a taunt if the Food Minister was ignorant about the supply of foodgrains in the capital, with what face could he charge those outside the Ministry with ignorance?

This unseemly wrangle only adds edge to the demand voiced in the Assembly by the CPI spokesmen that, as a first step towards solving the food problem, the Food Minister must resign or be dismissed.

Of course, no democrat can have any sympathy with APCC President Thimma Reddy. This worthy gentleman is one of the most conscious reactionaries in Andhra, whose real place is at the head of the Swatantra Party.

It is also well known that the Chief Minister is not in the least averse to dropping Balaram Reddy and bringing in Thimma Reddy. But Sanjeeva Reddy is obliged to the former for once having surrendered his Assembly seat for him

and is dead-set against any such move.

Thus, the seesaw continues while the people suffer. But the suffering is not going to remain silent for long.

As if food shortage is not enough, the people of Andhra are now faced with the prospect of being drowned whenever they think of taking a boat trip. Two boat tragedies have taken place in the space of four days with 45 persons drowned.

On April 12 twentyseven were drowned in a boat disaster, on the river Gautami. On April 16 another 18 met the same fate on the river Krishna.

These dreadful accidents were not due to any storms or untoward tides. They were completely the result of the greed of the private boat operators. They put far too many passengers on their vessels just to earn more profits. Sudden movements in over-crowded boats had led to both the tragedies.

The obvious course is for the government to immediately institute a public enquiry into these accidents and to mete out the severest possible punishment to those who play with people's lives. It is essential that adequate official compensation is paid to the families of the victims.

As a long-term measure the only way out seems to be the nationalisation of inland river transport. The Andhra Home Minister stated on April 17 that he had recommended this course of action some years ago but the national emergency came in the way of its acceptance.

say the least, why the emergency should have been used as an argument against nationalisation of inland river transport when the lives of the people were at stake.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK Snakes in the Swamp

PAKISTAN's aggression on the Kutch-Sind border evoked very strong reactions in Parliament and official pronouncements have taken a serious view of the situation. A significant factor in this latest episode has been the use of American arms by Pakistan to commit aggression against our country.

And very significantly the American lobby is either silent on the issue or trying to play down the fact of Pak aggression using American arms. As was pointed out in these columns before, in a comment on the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha, the Swatantra is usually silent on Pakistan's belligerence and now on this open aggression in the Rann of Kutch.

Otherwise eloquent on defence, national security etc. and even howling about "communist aggression" in S.E. Asia, the Swatantra which demands that we send volunteers to Malaysia and support the American imperialists' war against the Vietnamese people has lost its power of speech to condemn Pakistan which is in possession of Indian territory.

The stark silence of these American stoges is so revealed in the latest issue of SWARAJYA, on whose pages one reads a lot about language and such other things. But their vocabulary falls when there is a Pakistani aggression. No doubt the subject is very inconvenient.

There are others who have tried to dismiss the whole affair as nothing important and even tried to find fault with the Government of India for taking a serious view of Pak aggression in Kanjarkot area. Foremost among them is our old friend, the editor of HINDUSTAN TIMES.

His column on national affairs in the April 14 issue of

the paper is excellent reading to understand the attitude of some of those who pretend to be very deeply concerned about our territorial integrity and national security.

First of all, it has to be stated that SM is a very unhappy man these days. To quote his own words,

"As someone, who has cherished the dream of stable relationships with Pakistan and has often found Indian policies in this regard narrow-minded and ungenerous, let me say that Pakistan and Sheikh Abdullah between them have succeeded in putting Indians like me more completely in the wrong than the most militant Hindu communalist."

Poor SM! How he has been let down by Ayub and Abdullah! But then what does the editor of HINDUSTAN TIMES prescribe for his readers? Caution, warning against "hysteria", warning against creating "a climate of imminent hostilities".

"Let us by all means be firm with Pakistan and even prepare for the worst, but the cultivation of a war psychosis is not firmness!"

Truly we have here a new discovery of a peace partisan. But only after Ayub's army entered and occupied Indian territory and shot down our border defence personnel with American weapons.

And this "sober" gentleman—there are many passages in his article exhorting his readers to "cool down", to be patient in the face of Pakistani aggression, to see the "dispute" (mark the word) "in proportion"—has the temerity to suggest that the widespread concern in this country about the Rann of Kutch situation is all misplaced and is hysteria. Here are a few passages:

"Do we... have to conclude, at any rate at this stage, that what Pakistan wants is a large-scale military

confrontation? Do we have to work up hysteria and issue calls to the nation to 'rise as one man' in the manner of Mr. Nanda?"

"There is no evidence that Pakistan is looking for a major clash of arms with India in the immediate future."

"As for the Rann of Kutch affair it has been blown up out of all proportion."

But the crowning piece of this mischievous anti-national talk is the suggestion that the area which is under Pak aggression is not at all important for us.

"The entire area is a swamp for six months in the year and to describe the dilapidated wall-enclosure at Kanjarkot as a fort is a far-fetched extension of the meaning of the word."

It is just possible that the area has "some economic potential", but it is not so important is the impression which the editor of the Birla paper wants to spread.

Readers might remember what furore SM and his tribe created when the late Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out that the area on our northern borders which the Chinese had forcefully occupied was mountainous and not a blade of grass grew there. They thundered and belched fire then. Now when Pakistan with American arms attacks and grabs part of our territory, they are so meek and see everywhere a swamp.

That is what happens when you have to serve extra-territorial loyalties to suit the ideology of sucking up to the imperialists. But there cannot be two sets of laws for our citizens. If the government are serious about national security, they should keep a strict watch on the American lobby.

-K.U. WARIER

RARE UNITY AGAINST US INSULT TO INDIA

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

RARE are the occasions when the humiliation, frustration and anger of a nation are blended to generate a sweeping patriotic fervour which reflect the country's reserves of strength.

One such occasion was in evidence in the Lok Sabha this week. The event: Johnson's decision to put off the Indian Prime Minister's visit to the United States.

The atmosphere which pervaded the House—one of insult and injury—received precise expression from Congress Member D. C. Sharma when he said the United States action was an unprecedented insult in the annals of diplomatic behaviour between nations.

The Opposition benches (with the strange exception of the SSP members) vied with the ruling party in denouncing this outrage as was to be seen in the formidable list of members who raised the issue before the House.

Seldom during recent days have the Treasury Benches risen to the occasion with such dignity and forthrightness.

The Foreign Minister's statement in response to the members' call for information, and subsequently, Prime Minister Shastri's elaboration were couched in measured terms.

The sequence of events leading to the US President's action was succinctly put by Swaran Singh bringing before the world's gaze the type of behaviour which the United States had indulged in.

Here it goes: The United States takes the initiative to invite India's Prime Minister for a visit to the United States and through its Ambassador enquires about the convenient time for such a visit.

The Prime Minister indicates that he would not be able to leave India until the budget session of Parliament is over.

Then, said Swaran Singh: "On 18th January 1965 Ambassador Chester Bowles wrote to the Prime Minister under instructions from the President (of United States), suggesting a visit around the 15th May."

"Before giving any definite reaction as to the date the Prime Minister had to take into account his other commitments, namely, a visit to the USSR from where an earlier invitation was pending, the Afro-Asian Conference at Algiers and a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London."

"After taking into account the dates of these visits, the Prime Minister had indicated that the dates would have to be somewhere towards the end of May and the beginning of June."

"On the 23rd of March, the President wrote to the Prime Minister a letter of invitation for the Prime Minister to visit Washington on 2nd and 3rd June. The Prime Minister replied to this letter accepting the invitation..."

"On Friday, the 16th April, the United States Ambassador delivered to the Secretary to the Prime Minister a message which... suggested 'postponement' of the Prime Minister's visit until early autumn, for the reasons that during the next two months the President would be preoccupied with the Vietnam situation and important meetings of the US Congress."

India's response was to cancel the proposed visit.

Prime Minister Shastri received perhaps his most enthusiastic cheers from the House when he announced his

decision to keep up the visit to Canada, which had been fixed at about the time of the US journey, but to cancel the programme in New York.

While the interpellations which followed Swaran Singh's statement and the official replies gave ample expression of strong and dignified protest of the nation, an undertone persisted that not till India got rid of dependence on American aid will there be an end to such abject humiliation from the lords of Washington.

A notable exception to the protest which the Lok Sabha voiced against the American indignity were the members of the SSP who have usually been considered to be strong exponents of radicalism.

The SSP members not only kept away from the sentiment of protest against the American action but actually wanted to know why the government did not reverse its Vietnam policy to make it acceptable to the United States.

Said the bright boy of the SSP group Rammanohar Lohia: won't the government keep silent if its attitude and policy (in regard to Vietnam and South-East Asia) offend the United States?"

The Speaker intervened to say amidst roaring laughter—the government would do better only to this question by remaining silent!

Other members of the SSP pressed the government by similar questions. There was little impact on the Treasury Benches.

The highlight came when in reply to this measured pressure Shastri and Swaran Singh maintained that the government's policy on Vietnam was taken after full consideration and could not be changed if one nation did not like it.

It was an independent policy and would remain independent, they affirmed.

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AITUC GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING STAGE SET FOR NEW ROUND OF WORKING CLASS BATTLES

The general council of the All India Trade Union Congress, meeting in New Delhi from April 12 to 14 took comprehensive stock of the situation facing the working class of the country as the Third Five Year Plan draws to its close.

THE report of the AITUC secretariat and the introductory speech of the general secretary, S. A. Dange, highlighted the following features:

Between March 1963 and January 1965 food prices had risen by 35 per cent. The All India wholesale price index went up by 24 per cent during this period.

The main culprits responsible were the hoarder, the speculator, the big business profiteer, who were enabled to run amuck by the government's weak and compromising policies.

The havoc of runaway prices, particularly in 1964, made a mockery of all lip service to the so-called state of "national emergency" proclaimed in November 1962.

It amounts to the grossest violation by the Government of India itself of the solemn assurance given in the Industrial Truce Resolution of 1962 that the price line would be held, in return for which the working class had pledged to abstain from strikes in conditions of external aggression.

Workers Hit Back

The speed with which the crisis of the market and prices developed brought the working class face to face with a serious decline in its real wages.

The official index number of real earnings fell from 116.3 in 1962 to 106.9 in 1963 and still further in

1964 (figure not available) when the consumer price index (all-India average) rose by 18 points over 1963.

And this happened despite the small rises in money earnings in the shape of interim relief awarded during this period by wage boards in a number of important industries.

This explains why from mid-1963 onwards and particularly in 1964 the workers forced by circumstances resorted to strikes and other forms of militant action in sheer self-defence.

Dogged struggles took place in a number of concerns in both the private sector (notably the six month-long strike of the Jay Engineering workers, of Barbil iron ore miners; TELCO and Punjab textile workers) and the public sector (Pimpri, HBL, Vizag and Cochin ports, IIT and BEL in Bangalore, Rajhara mines, Durgapur and Bhilai steel plants etc).

The high water-marks of trade union action were the great "Bandh" actions of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, and the formation of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti on an all-India level.

The number of disputes resulting in work stoppages rose from 1471 in 1963 to 2,035 in 1964; the number of workers involved from 5,63,121 to 9,38,459 and the number of mandays lost from 3.3 to 7.3 million.

This shows the wide sweep of the movement and intensity of the workers'

unrest. It must be remembered that this upsurge took place in conditions of so-called "emergency" with hundreds of trade unionists behind bars, threat of application of DIR to every factory, illegalisation of strikes and severe police repression.

The new feature in this period was the activation of new sections like school teachers, university professors, hospital doctors, state government employees and others under the compelling whiplash of intolerable price rise.

Urgent Issues

Fifteen wage boards have been set up, so far under the pressure of the organised TU movement. But they have failed to secure the objectives of an all-India minimum, need-based wage, at least for the major organised industries, and a scientific standardisation of rates based on proper job-evaluation.

Even the limited recommendations are not implemented by many employers. Statutory minimum wages are at starvation level.

By INDRAJIT GUPTA

Full neutralisation of the rise in cost of living by DA has not yet been won for the major part of the working class, which continually suffers a fall in real wages with every price rise.

Even the principle of linking DA with the consumer price index, though accepted by government, is not enforced in practice.

The struggle for rectification of faults in the index numbers themselves has still to be waged in several states.

The report of six out of seven members of the Bonus Commission has not been accepted by government, but has been further modified in a reactionary direction to suit the interests of the private sector employers, particularly in capital-intensive industries.

This has created a major crisis for all workers except those who have never hitherto received bonus or those in concerns showing losses. All others stand to lose.

A serious confrontation between the trade union movement and the government on this issue is likely when the Bonus Bill is introduced in Parliament.

The question of job security is assuming more and more importance as the vast monopolist concentrations of capital accelerate schemes of rationalisation, automation, modernisation, "productivity", etc., leading to speed-up, un-

employment, and greater incidence of accidents and disease.

But the existing social security schemes are inadequate and administered in a callous and bureaucratic manner. Housing lags far behind the growth of industry.



Arrests and detentions of trade unionists and victimisation of worker leaders are on the increase. The DI Rules, are being cynically,

used to suppress the trade union movement.

Arbitrary dismissals on the basis of so-called police "verification" continue in the public sector.

Recognition is denied to representative trade unions despite their verified majority membership. The rights of unrecognised unions are sought to be whittled down. The code of discipline is used as a permanent veto against the justified claims of unions for recognition.

Role of Struggles

Lively discussion at the general council session revealed that, despite all difficulties, united working class action has the capacity to register gains from the unwilling hands of the government and employers and to make them retreat on specific fronts and fields of policy.

Whenever the cohesion, consciousness, unity and will to act against the anti-social, profit hunting monopoly bankers and traders and the Congress government which aids, abets and shields them finds expression in powerful mass actions such as the "bandhs", the exploiters, are forced to cry halt, albeit temporarily, to their most reckless ways.

They are forced even to formally adopt such policies as price controls, partial state trading in foodgrains, anti-black money drives concessions in the form of DA and interim relief, reduction in the volume of indirect taxation etc.

Objective conditions are forcing the workers and employees including new sections of professional classes, to take to the path of struggle.

Division in the TU movement and the large mass of still unorganised workers, act as an obstruction in the way of developing a coordinated, nationwide movement.

Therefore unity efforts such as the one which led to the formation of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti and united action at local levels must be intensified.

The perspective of a "Bharat Bandh" remains valid, as the expression of a future, gigantic forward step in the battle of the toiling masses for democracy, living wage, and socialism.

But when it can actually be implemented in practice will depend upon the state of organisation and the extent of unity achieved between some of the major TU centres and the independent federations.

The Indian working class has a tradition of internationalism. Today its international duty has to be performed primarily in relation to the "dirty war" waged by the aggressive US imperialists against the people of Vietnam, both North and South.

The AITUC general council decided to make this a major issue of the May Day celebrations this year, also calling for mass demonstrations and rallies on May 11 as a special all-India "Day of Solidarity With the Workers and People of Vietnam."

Release Detenus

Another priority issue to be taken up is the release of hundreds of trade union leaders and workers now detained under the DIR or being prosecuted.

This is a cardinal question of trade union rights and civil liberties. Along with the countrywide campaign, one of the steps visualised is an AITUC deputation to the Minister for Home Affairs.

All efforts have to be made to promote the "Sangram Samiti" movement in every state, as the united front basis for successful implementation of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti's next nationwide programme for realisation of its six-point charter of demands.

Particular efforts must be made from now for a central mobilisation on the bonus issue, to reach a peak point when the proposed bill is debated in Parliament.

Government must be told in no uncertain terms that the working class will not accept the reactionary, employer modifications in the majority recommendation of the Bonus Commission and will be free to resist these in any way it chooses.

Let May Day 1965 be the herald of a fresh upswing in the movement of united working class action, as the guarantor of people's victories in the grim struggles that lie ahead. Such is the call of the AITUC.

STRIKE AT RAJHARA IRON ORE MINES

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BHILAI: About one thousand iron ore miners under contractor Nemichand Jain at the Rajhara mines of the Bhilai Steel Plant have gone on an indefinite strike from April 14.

Their main demand is, the implementation of the wage board recommendation granting interim relief to the iron ore mine workers.

The wage board had recommended interim relief for all workers effective from January 1, 1964 and the government had accepted the recommendation. It was expected that at least in the public sector mines the recommendation would be speedily implemented.

But the BSP management has taken the stand that the workers are under contractors and it is not their responsibility to see that the recommendation is implemented.

The Samyukta Khadan Mazdur Sangh, affiliated to the AITUC, has been striving for the past year and more through various means to get the wage board recommendation implemented.

The Sangh approached the Union Labour Ministry, but there was no result. Then it approached the Regional Labour Commissioner (Central) at Nagpur.

The RLC intervened and convened several meetings to which the contractors and the Sangh representatives were invited. The contractors refused to attend any of these meetings.

The BSP management took the curious stand that it had no authority to compel the contractors to make payment of the interim relief nor to deduct the amount from the bill of the contractors and make payment to the workers.

This was the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. The workers who had patiently waited for more than a year for a peaceful settlement of the dispute, struck work from April 14.

The strike is causing untold misery to the already half-starved miners, but their morale is high and they know that justice is on their side.

It is high time that the Government of India enquired as to why some of the top brass in the BSP management is so solicitous towards contractors and their interests, against the legitimate claims of the workers.

ASSAM SECTT. STAFF WIN DEMANDS, CALL OFF 'NO WORK' MOVEMENT

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: The 43-day old deadlock in Assam secretariat ended on April 15 when the employees who had been observing "no work" went back to their work. The decision to call off the movement was taken at a meeting of the employees the previous evening.

THE movement has been called off, according to spokesmen of the employees, on an assurance of the Chief Minister in course of direct negotiations with the representatives of the Assam Secretariat Services Association (ASSA). Earlier the Chief Minister had refused to have any talk with the representatives of the ASSA unless the movement was called off.

The acting leaders of the ASSA, elected after the arrest of the main leadership, had a meeting with the representatives of several sister associations and unions.

In that meeting, it was suggested that the Joint Action Committee (JAC), representing nine associations of the state government employees, should make a fresh approach to the Chief Minister to establish a direct contact with the ASSA leaders. Accordingly, the JAC leaders contacted the Chief Minister

who readily agreed to meet the leaders of the ASSA.

Internal dissension in the ruling party, infecting even the cabinet itself according to observers had brought about the change in the attitude of the Chief Minister.

Whatever may be the reason, the meeting between the Chief Minister and the representatives of the ASSA took place on April 12. Representatives of the JAC were also present during the talks.

In course of that meeting the Chief Minister is stated to have assured that all the arrested leaders would be released, the "no work" period would be treated as working days, all suspension orders (on 73 employees) would be withdrawn.

He is also reported to have given the assurance that the recognition of the ASSA that had been withdrawn earlier might be restored. He stress-

ed that there would be no victimisation of any person for participation in the "no work" movement.

Regarding the question of reinstatement of the two dismissed leaders of the ASSA—its Secretary and vice-President—the Chief Minister is reported to have said that their case had already been referred to the review committee that would review the cases of all the detenus.

He is reported to have told the ASSA leaders that "nothing is impossible" in reply to the latter's insistence on a clear assurance about the reinstatement of the two dismissed leaders. It is over this question that earlier attempts for settlement had failed.

Though the assurance of the Chief Minister on this question is rather vague, the ASSA leaders carried the impression that his assertion: "nothing is impossible" coupled with his general statement that none would be victimised might be taken as an assurance about the reinstatement of the two dismissed leaders.

The main question over which the "no work" movement began had already been settled to mutual satisfaction, though not in direct negotiation. The government had appointed a one-man commission to scrutinise the anomalies in the pay committee recommendations.

The ASSA had accepted this one-man commission and in fact, it is now learnt that the ASSA leaders themselves had suggested the name of the senior officer who constitutes the commission and the government accepted it.

At the meeting between the Chief Minister and the representatives of the ASSA, it was reiterated by the Chief Minister that the one-man commission would also cover the secretariat employees. Moreover, it was said that the employees might cooperate with the "cell" in the finance secretariat to point out the anomalies, besides submitting representation to the commission.

In view of these assurances of the Chief Minister who is also said to have pleaded with the ASSA leaders to give him "an opportunity", and in view of the gravity of the situation in the Indo-Pak border areas, the general meeting of the ASSA decided to call off the movement.

Suspension orders on 69 employees have already been withdrawn, it is learnt, immediately after the employees resumed work. But the arrested leaders have not yet been released, though the release order is expected to be issued shortly.

Whether the two Opposition MLAs and the two Communist leaders, Benoy Lahiri and Prafulla Misra, will also be released along with the ASSA leaders—they were all arrested at the same time—is not yet known.

WORKERS DEMAND WAGE BOARD FOR PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY: The Maharashtra State Pharmaceutical Employees Federation has demanded a wage board for the pharmaceutical industry.

A resolution urging the government not to waste any more time in setting up a wage board for pharmaceutical industry was adopted at the Federation's general council which met in Bombay on April 11.

Pharmaceutical industry is one of the two most prosperous industries in the country, (the other being petroleum industry), with a high profit margin.

As a result of the government's industrial policy, pharmaceutical industry has made gigantic strides in the past 15 years, still its scope for further growth and expansion is virtually unlimited considering the huge population of India and the vast areas that are still lacking even in the minimum medical services.

Eighteen years after independence, the industry is still dominated by a handful of foreign monopoly concerns and there are no signs of their stranglehold on the industry being loosened. Huge amounts are being exported by these concerns as profits, royalties, etc.

This prosperity of the pharmaceutical industry is not only due to the improved machinery and layout, rationalisation and mechanisation, but

also due to greater intensification of labour and the very high productivity of the workmen.

In glaring contrast to the prosperity and bright future of the industry and in spite of the high productivity of the workers, the real wages of the workers in the industry have gone down.

This is not merely due to the abnormal rise in the cost of living over the past 15 years but also due to many other factors, the most notable among these being the unwillingness of the employers to pass on to their workers their legitimate share of the industry's prosperity.

Since the growth in the industry has not taken place on any planned basis, it has naturally been lopsided and this is reflected in the lopsided wage structure.

Wide Disparity

There is wide disparity in the wage scales of workers in similar categories in the various units; the classifications of employees are so heterogeneous that they defy attempts at standardisation.

Employers have taken advantage of the fact that workers of individual units have limited bargaining strength and have succeeded in keeping the workers' wages very low.

Even the most prosperous units have not been paying the workers a fair wage based on the fifteenth Indian Labour Conference of 1957. Smaller units flatly refuse to pay even living wages to the workers on the plea that they are "smaller" units.

Even to achieve the present level of wages, which lag behind a fair wage level, the workers of two of the most prosperous concerns, the Glaxo and the Pfizer, had to wage long-drawn out struggles including lengthy conciliation and adjudication proceedings lasting for more than ten years.

Even when the trade unions go before industrial tribunals, the latter avoid their responsibility to give effect to the decisions of the fifteenth ILC on the plea that the "entire industry" is not before them.

Under such circumstances comparison of wages and service conditions of one unit with another loses much of its significance for it means comparing one set of unsatisfactory service conditions with another.

Another adverse feature of the pharmaceutical industry is that while most of the concerns have their branches in several cities in

various states, the wage scales and service conditions differ very much from branch to branch.

This again is due to the very limited bargaining capacity of the workers attached to each branch of such concerns and the lack of a united organisation to voice their demands effectively.

Equal Work, Equal Pay

So, the most important slogan of the pharmaceutical workers has become "equal pay for equal work", says the resolution.

In order to effectively campaign for wage standardisation and the setting up of a wage board for pharmaceutical industry, the general council of the MSPEF felt an all-India Federation of all pharmaceutical workers is absolutely necessary.

The general council has authorised its working committee to take necessary steps to form such a federation.

The general council also adopted resolutions protesting against the retention of the "anti-marriage clause" in the service conditions of some of the pharmaceutical concerns and protesting against the anti-worker amendments which the government has injected into the Bonus Commission's recommendations.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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HISTORY THROUGH LITERATURE

LANDMARK, Hungarian Writers on Thirty Years of History, Corvina Press, Budapest, 358 pp.

THIS is a remarkable anthology of Hungarian literature of the two decades since liberation from under fascism and is published in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of people's power for the benefit of foreign readers.

Edited by Miklos Szabolcsi and with an introduction by Jozsef Bogner the volume contains 47 entries from as many writers covering the three historical periods beginning from the liberation in 1945 to the initial reforms and economic construction, then from the consolidation of the new state system upto the events of 1956 and lastly from 1957 upto date.

It also contains some 30

Bela Stettner: Sample Casting



remarkable reproductions of contemporary graphic arts that is no less significant than the writing. It shows Hungarian graphic arts not only at the highest level of competence but as equally remarkably modern both in spirit and idiom.

But the emphasis obviously is no doubt on writing and the introduction sums this up aptly:

"We are of the opinion that life and development of socialist society is throwing up hundreds and hundreds of problems which can only be resolved to the extent that the craft of literature is enriched."

True to a great literary tradition the present volume provides evidence of a contemporary literature that answers to this challenge and bears the imprint both of experiment as well as a sense of social responsibility.

Whereas the writings of the first period are characterised by the enthusiasm, deep feeling and self-confidence of the morrow of victory and they also reflect adequately the sufferings and misery of the earlier years, the literature of the second period is bedevilled by other factors:

"When we attempt to analyse the writings produced during this second stage of development, we find a con-

siderable variety in the attitudes expressed. While the enthusiasm and feeling engendered during the first few years of tension by the ardent desire for change still persist, the description of human life and experience tends to become oversimplified and schematic in the work of some writers. Yet it was precisely



BOOK REVIEW

in this period that, both for the individual and society reality was becoming increasingly complex. People were faced by hundreds of new problems to which they were

There is a good selection of the genuine work written in this second period reflecting the despair, the doubts and the self-torture of writers who were then themselves experiencing this sense of increasing tension and were seeking some way to evade this insupportable strain.

However, some new answer to all this torment, doubt and bewilderment was slowly to be found only in the literature produced after 1957.

One characteristic feature of this new period is that the "old intelligentsia" begins to play an increasingly important part in the life of the country, seeking and finding new contacts within the new society in contrast to the earlier situation when they were generally held in suspicion and kept away from the mainstream of social and intellectual life. This process of assimilation inevitably results in genuine social conflicts, for the faults and prejudices lie not on any one side only. Whatever form it may take, whether epic or dramatic, a literature that is even attempting to explore and depict such conflicts must necessarily be capable of subtlety and genuine characterisation.

The selection consists of short stories, some excerpts from novels, a few personal and critical essays and some poems excellently translated. Some of the excerpts from novels make one wish to read the novels themselves. The Faith of the Pedagogue by Laszlo Nemeth and Reflections on the Intelligentsia by Gyorgy Szabo in the last section of the book are among the most frank and analytical essays by Marxist writers that I have read for a long time. Apart from the beautiful get-up I must also mention the brief historical introductions. In each section and the extremely useful appendix consisting of a glossary, chronological guide and short biographical notes.

—BAREN RAY.

DELHI IPTA'S NEW VENTURE

Priestley's 'Dangerous Corner' Staged in Bengali

PRIESTLEY, I feel, is a very difficult choice as such and to achieve success in presenting his plays is far more difficult.

For, his plays, being mostly "time continuum" in which past facts are recounted, not only need deft handling and proper exposition but also slick movement and graded acting, absence of which may land these only to the status of mystery or suspense dramas.

This was evident last week when after about a year-and-a-half's silence at the Fine Arts Theatre while putting up "Tirak"—the Bengali version of J. B. Priestley's "Dangerous Corner",

Given a very good and fluent tongue by Subodh Sengupta, who incidentally happens to be the in-charge of direction too, the play centres around three male and four female characters.

The presentation was rather timid and did hardly rise to the expected height. It is not easy to detect wherein the fault lay, but it is a fact that it did not click.

Artists did not remember their lines and were, more often than not, aided by that "invisible actor" of the stage. They hardly knew what they were meant for and we saw the Oaks falling one after the other as if suddenly overtaken by storm.

There was no setting and even the minimum properties that were exhibited to decorate the stage had

LETTERS

AICC JOURNAL'S SABOTAGE

THANK you for having drawn our attention to the editorial leader in the AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW on the current problem in Indo-China and Vietnam (NEW AGE, April 11):

To say the least, the official organ of the Indian National Congress cut at the root of Nehru's mighty philosophy of non-alignment.

The letter and spirit of the Bandung principles as enunciated by Jawaharlal, seem to have been caricatured by the poor fellow, who scribbled the puerile nonsense in the AICC Review.

After Bandung, these very vital questions of principle were once again reaffirmed by Nehru in Belgrade.

The attitude adopted by Nehru during the time of the Geneva conference in 1954 and 1962 on the question of peace in Indo-China and Vietnam had virtually been declared to have been futile by the blessed Daniel of the Jantar Mantar Road.

And this is an instance of how Nehruism is being betrayed by the self-same persons, who loudly swear by the name of Nehru, day in and day out.

It may be that this journal of the Indian National Congress will never reach the destinations of the accredited representatives of the recently concluded Cairo conference of the non-aligned nations.

In Cairo, Prime Minister Shastri had committed himself to certain positions on Vietnam, in keeping with the traditions of Bandung and Belgrade. Here his official party organ has completely uprooted him from that position and advocated a patently partisan line of alignment.

Will it be any wonder if the 56 other nations who took part in the Cairo conference question the honesty of purpose of our Prime Minister?

For one reason or other, India is already much misunderstood in Africa and Asia and her stock is definitely going down. One expected very earnestly that Prime Minister Shastri would firmly act in favour of immediate toning up.

But is there any such possibility if subversion and sabotage take

place from within? What the AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW did was plain sabotage.

SOLIDARITY IN ACTION

HOW can we demonstrate our solidarity in action with the people of Vietnam in their fight against the American imperialist butchers?

Can we not go as volunteers to participate actively in the defence of Vietnam? Or if that is impossible, under the present circumstances, can we not go as part of a medical mission?

Nowshera, Amritsar. B. DATTA

BIRLA PAPER IN A RAGE

IT is interesting to read the main editorial of HINDUSTAN TIMES (April 15) attacking the decisions of the National Council of the Communist Party of India.

Blistering at the exposure of the aims of the imperialists and monopolists in the Party's resolutions, Birla's mouthpiece splutters and stammers dementedly. It sees 'red' in a very red way.

The editorial first pleads the cause of the innocent imperialists, by attempting lamely to ridicule the Communist Party's attack on them.

It then again tries desperately to suggest a "pro-Chinese" slant in the Party resolution and ends up with painting a picture of the familiar violent turmoil, of which all Communists everywhere have been accused of plotting!

The appeal to government to "scotch" the Communist Party's "experiment" (that is, its programme of struggle) is indirectly meant to be a threat, for everyone knows Birla's influence over the government. But the working people will not be thwarted in their purpose by such threats.

Agra. A. J. NANDA

DA RISE IS DUE

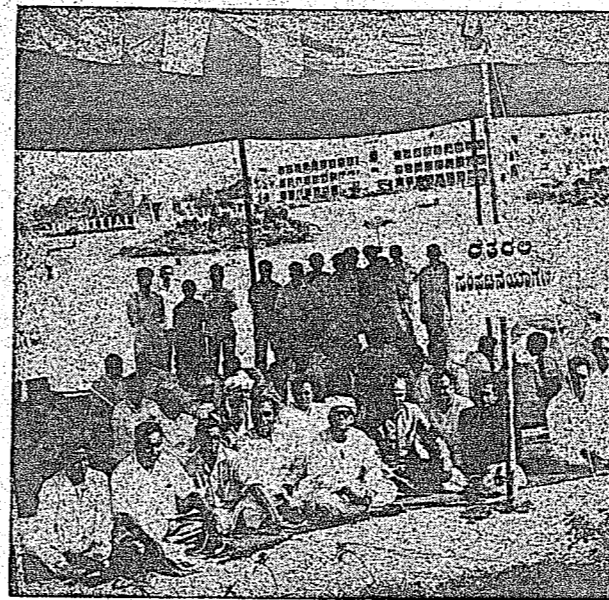
THE all-India consumer price index will average 155 over a twelve month period when the index for February is announced.

The last revision of dearness allowance for central government employees announced in January covered the rise upto 145 points.

Under the award of the second pay commission, the central government employees are thus entitled to DA revision. How long will it take the government to do justice to its employees?

—PEEDEE New Delhi AN EMPLOYEE

APRIL 25, 1965



Karnataka Opposition MLAs on fast.

MYSORE DISSIDENTS TO FORM NEW PARTY

From G. S. SATYANARAYANA

PREPARATIONS are going on for the formation of a new party by dissident Congressmen in Mysore.

A convention of dissident Congressmen from all over Mysore has been convened on April 28 in the city for the formation of their new party. The organisational set up and the policy of the new party are to be decided at this convention.

The dissident Congressmen who met in the city on April 8 took this decision, and also constituted a five-man committee to consider all aspects of the problem.

It may be recalled that Congress President Kamaraj had counselled the dissidents to wait for a month to reconsider the central cabinet decision against instituting an enquiry into the charges against the Nijalingappa Ministry. The one month's time asked

for by Kamaraj ended on April 8. On Kamaraj's failure to keep his promise the dissidents have written to him of their decision to quit the Congress and form a new party.

S. Chennaiah, MLC and former Pradesh Congress President, has openly declared his decision to the press to quit the Congress and organise the new party.

He has claimed that the new party will have the support of large number of Congressmen and of as many as 20 legislators.

The move to give the new party an all-India stature is still continuing. The dissidents have invited their counterparts from Maharashtra, Andhra and Kerala as observers.

They are trying to bring together dissidents from as many states as possible though it is too early to say how far they will succeed in this move.

Pondicherry: Regional Languages Become Official Languages

From V. SUBBIAH

PONDICHERY: The Legislative Assembly for the Union territory of Pondicherry passed unanimously on March 27 the Official Languages Bill thereby ending the exclusive status which the French language enjoyed till now, even after liberation in these areas.

UNDER the new law Tamil becomes the official language for Pondicherry and Karikal, Malayalam for Mahe and Telugu for Yanam.

Along with the regional languages of the Union territories of Pondicherry being elevated to the status of official languages it is also provided in the Bill that "the English language may be used for all or any of the official purposes of the Union territory".

It should be noted here that the French language is the only official language as per Article 28 of the Agreement concluded between the governments of India and France on May 28 1956.

APRIL 25, 1965

Karnatak: Opposition to Land Levy Increase Gains Wider Support

From C. R. KRISHNA RAO

BANGALORE: Mysore Government is facing a dilemma in regard to land revenue resettlement. Opposition both inside the Assembly and outside has pushed the government to the walls. Congress party itself is divided on the issue.

THE measure was introduced in the Assembly in January last. The government hopes to get an additional revenue of Rs. 3.5 crores. The proposed increase in some cases goes upto five times the present rates.

There was stout opposition from all sides of the House when the Assembly debated the official motion for adoption of settlement reports. When the House reassembled after a brief interval of five days for Ugadi (New Year), opposition members resorted to a novel method of protest. A twenty-four-hour hunger strike in front of the Vidhan Soudha was launched in batches of five.

After two days the entire opposition members squatted on hunger strike for one day demanding withdrawal of the measure seeking to increase land revenue. Two MPs of the PSP also joined the fast. This campaign had a terrific impact on the people all over the state.

The Congress party in the Assembly which has been meeting almost daily has not been able to come to a decision yet. As many as 80 Congress members have signed a petition and presented it to the Chief Min-

ister urging him to withdraw the measure.

They have also suggested relaxation of prohibition as an alternative source of income to the state. Even the cabinet is divided on the issue.

The government was expected to take a decision last week but now they have postponed it. But the government is bound to take a decision early next week before the Assembly adjourns.

The Communist Party in a statement has extended full support to the agitation against land revenue resettlement and demanded its withdrawal as it affects large sections of people.

Meanwhile the long awaited amendments to the Mysore Land Reforms Act introduced in the Mysore Legislative Assembly by Revenue Minister M. V. Krishnappa has reduced land reforms in the state to a big farce. The amendment proposed takes away all the progressive features contained in the parent Act.

When the Mysore Land Reforms Bill was introduced in the legislature in 1958, the Planning Commission had suggested several

modifications. But the government ignored many of them and the Bill was passed. There was considerable difficulty in getting assent for the Bill as the Planning Commission specifically wanted some provisions to be changed.

Presidential assent was got for the Bill in June 1961. But the government did not give effect to the Act till now. The plea for not implementing the Act was the fate of the Kerala Act in the Supreme Court. Spokesmen of the government said that suitable amendment would be introduced to the Act soon after the Seventeenth Amendment was passed by Parliament.

The amendment is now brought with a promise that the Act would be implemented with effect from 1st of July this year.

Hoax of Land Reforms

Ceiling limit has been retained at 27 standard acres even though this has been considered high by Planning Commission. Plantations have been completely exempted from the purview of the Act. In the original Act a ceiling of hundred acres had been fixed for future acquisition. Even that limit has been taken away now.

Besides this lands belonging to temples, religious institutions and other charitable institutions have been exempted. Several other concessions also have been provided for landed class.

There is no provision to check the benami transfer of lands. The provision which seeks to prohibit all transfers made after November 1961 is ineffective and is full of loopholes. During these few years almost all lands in surplus have been transferred to bypass the ceiling provision.

Several of the exemptions provided leave no surplus land for distribution. Even the provision which prohibits all transfer of lands from November 1961 till appointed day has invoked considerable opposition by landed class.

Congress Party again is divided on this issue. The Mysore Congress which is known for its landlord bias is not inclined to bring in any changes in the land system in the state. Apprehension that even if the Act is brought into force it may not be implemented wholeheartedly is very genuine.

Opposition members have unanimously characterised the amending Bill as most reactionary which takes away the very substance of land reforms.

The Peoples' Front led by the CPI inside the Legislative Assembly of Pondicherry put up a strong fight to make the regional language also an official language of the state government in order to enable the mass of people to participate in the day to day administration.

In the teeth of fanatic opposition from the former Chief Minister, the CPI mobilised public opinion and first succeeded in getting a resolution passed to conduct the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly in Tamil along with French.

However, this resolution did not secure a statutory position for use of Tamil language for all official purposes either in the place of French or along with it. Goubert indignantly opposed, at every time when, even for administrative convenience, English was sought to be used in the place of French.

After removal of Goubert from power, the disgraceful situation

is changing for good. It is a landmark in the history of Pondicherry that the Official Languages Bill was passed unanimously by the Legislative Assembly.

In this situation, the Government of India will have no justification in delaying the reorganisation of the judicial system and extending all such Acts as the Advocates Act of 1961, the Indian Civil Code, the Civil Procedure Code, etc. to the Union territory of Pondicherry.

Secondly, while passing the Bill, it was pointed out by the Peoples' Front opposition in the Assembly that the state government must take expeditious steps to elevate the regional languages by introducing them as medium of instruction in schools, as a language of administration and judiciary.

It was further urged that all Labour legislations must be immediately translated and published in Tamil.

NEW AGE

PAGE NINE

PAGE EIGHT

NEW AGE

CPI APPEALS : ACT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

NATIONWIDE 'VIETNAM DAY' MEETINGS & DEMONSTRATIONS

At the call of the All-India Peace Council and the National Committee for Peace in Vietnam, meetings and demonstrations in observance of Vietnam Day were held all over the country, demanding an immediate halt to US bombings and aggression and withdrawal of US forces from South Vietnam.

Reports of meetings, demonstrations and processions are pouring in from all states, as NEW AGE goes to press. Preliminary news reports are in hand from Delhi, West Bengal, Bihar, Kerala, Punjab and Karnataka. And more are coming in.

IN Delhi, the state Peace Council organised a public meeting at the Gandhi grounds. Despite continuous rain, the meeting heard several speakers denounce the US aggression in Vietnam.

A resolution was adopted by the meeting by an overwhelming majority (scarcely half a dozen opposed—and they were clearly persons sent specifically by the US authorities in Delhi).

The resolution condemned "the continued US attacks on the territories of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a naked aggression, unprecedented in peace time", and also the use of gas, napalm, phosphorous bombs by the US forces.

Exposing the misleading nature of President Johnson's so-called "offer" of "unconditional" negotiations, the resolution stated:

"Any negotiations to settle the Vietnam problem, must be conducted with the South Vietnam Liberation Front, which enjoys the support and confidence of the overwhelming majority of the population".

Diwan Chamanlal MP, Indrajit Gupta MP, Rana Jung Bahadur Singh and A. S. R. Chari were among the speakers who forcefully endorsed the resolution's demand for a halt to the bombings and withdrawal of US forces.

BENGAL

THROUGHOUT the last week, people of Calcutta kept up a steady tempo of protests against US atrocities in Vietnam. On April 12, a big procession was organised by the Unit-

ed Left Front consisting of eight left parties.

A memorandum adopted at a meeting held earlier condemned the use of poison gas and napalm bombs by USA in Vietnam and also the aggression on North Vietnam.

The procession first went to Raj Bhavan to present a copy of the memorandum to the Governor and then proceeded to the US Consulate where a deputation of the United Front handed over the memorandum to an official of the Consulate.

At the initiative of the Communist Party meetings and demonstrations have been held during the last week at Dum Dum, Batanagore, Habra, Barasat and other places.

On April 16 a meeting of professors, teachers, artistes and other intellectuals were held at the Mahabodhi Society Hall which was presided over by Prof. Rajkumar Chakravorty MLC.

Satyapriya Roy MLC, president of the All-India Secondary Teachers Federation, Nirmalya Bagchi MLC, general secretary of the West Bengal Primary Teachers Association, Sibaprosad Sinha, general secretary of the West Bengal College and University Teachers Association, Poet Subhas Mukherjee, Kalayan Dutt, general secretary of the West Bengal Peace Council and others spoke condemning the US aggression. Students have also staged a united demonstration a few days back.

A broad-based convention called by the leaders of the Peace Council and various

To Defeat Challenge of Imperialism and Reaction TO FIGHT ANTI-DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-PEOPLE POLICIES OF CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS

NEVER was the danger greater than today of a shift away from the accepted national policies of this country—the policies of nonalignment, independent economic development and parliamentary democracy, which have given India the prestige and respect it commands in the councils of the world, the policies which gave hope of progress and advance.

The US and British imperialists are engaged today in machinations which threaten the integrity of India and which are aimed principally to compel India first to compromise and then to abandon the policy of non-alignment.

The defence needs of the country are made the target for blackmail, offers of so-called nuclear "umbrellas" and "shields" are only traps meant to destroy India's independent foreign policy and drag it into the network of imperialist military pacts.

The US government is assisting and encouraging the Ayub dictatorship in Pakistan to heighten Indo-Pak tensions on our borders. US bases on Pakistani territory and US arms are being employed in the latest Pakistani intrusions and firings in the Rann of Kutch and elsewhere.

The continued refusal of the Chinese government to settle the border issue by peaceful means and the growing anti-Indian collaboration between the Chinese and Pakistani governments following the recent visit of President Ayub Khan to Peking and the activities of Sheikh Abdullah abroad, are all used by the imperialists and reactionaries inside the country to increase their pressures against India's policy of non-alignment.

The Congress government is yielding more and more to these pressures from the imperialists and reactionaries. There have been shameful weaknesses and vacillations in foreign policy—particularly in regard to the US aggression in Vietnam. Instead of roundly condemning this aggression and demanding the withdrawal of US armed forces from South Vietnam, the Government of India appears to be virtually condoning this aggression by adopting hesitant and apologetic attitude.

The belated call by the Prime Minister for a halt to the US bombings has been met by the unilateral cancellation by the US government of the Prime Minister's visit to the USA—a calculated and deliberate insult to this country. Such an insult is the direct result of the weak-kneed policies of the government and its repeated knuckling under imperialist pressures.

The basic policy of adherence to parliamentary democracy is being corroded by the ruling Congress party.

The widescale use by the Congress government of the Defence of India Rules to suppress the democratic movement and detain without trial leaders of democratic opposition parties and mass organisations, engaged in struggles for the vital interests of the working people has been followed by the arbitrary imposition of President's rule in Kerala in violation of all principles of parliamentary democracy.

In the economic field, the difficulties which this country faces are utilised by the monopolists, both foreign and Indian, to attempt to subvert those basic policies which stand to the slightest degree in the way of the monopolists' profiteering.

Disastrous new concessions have been given to foreign private capital. The Indian monopolists have been so greatly encouraged by the victories they have won that they are demanding even more facilities for profiteering. They are brazenly threatening that heads of political leaders will "roll" if they do not reverse the basic policies.

The government refuses to take the most elementary essential measures to stabilise prices and ensure that the food situation does not worsen in the coming months.

The discontent of the masses against the anti-people policies of the government is growing every day. The right reactionary forces in the country seek to use this discontent for their own nefarious purposes, to see that the basic national policies are completely reversed. They seek to divert this discontent into communal, caste and anti-democratic channels.

The pressures of imperialism and reaction must be fought and defeated. The weaknesses and vacillations of the Congress government, the drift of government actions on several issues away from the accepted national policies must be ended before it is too late.

The people have it in their power to give battle to the imperialist, reactionary enemies of the nation, to give battle to the anti-people policies of the Congress governments. The democratic forces of this country united, can halt the present disastrous trends in government policies and bring about a shift of these policies to the left, in favour of the urgent interests of the working masses, in favour of democracy, in favour of the pursuit of a consistent policy of nonalignment, anti-imperialism and peace.

The Communist Party has already taken the initiative to approach other left parties with a view to discussing common and united actions on the most urgent issues of the day.

The Communist Party appeals to the Indian people, to all progressive and democratic forces in the country, to join hands in vigorous united national mass actions and mass political activity in every city and village to meet the challenge of the imperialists and reactionaries and halt the surrender by the Congress government to this challenge.

The Communist Party has decided to observe the week from May 10 to 17 as a week of action which can open up a new phase of sustained and increased democratic mass political activity and struggles throughout the country. We seek the cooperation of all democratic forces in the observance of this week and call on the people to participate vigorously in the meetings and organised demonstrations.

- ★ STOP US BOMBING IN VIETNAM! WITHDRAW ALL US FORCES FROM SOUTH VIETNAM!
- ★ SCRAP DIR! RELEASE DETENUS! END PRESIDENT'S RULE IN KERALA!
- ★ STOP CONCESSIONS TO FOREIGN AND INDIAN MONOPOLISTS! NO SURRENDER TO BIRLAS-TATAS!
- ★ INTRODUCE STATE-TRADING IN FOOD-GRAINS! REMUNERATIVE PRICES FOR PEASANTS, REASONABLE PRICES FOR CONSUMERS!
- ★ DEARNESS ALLOWANCE AND WAGE INCREASE TO FULLY NEUTRALISE INCREASE IN COST OF LIVING.

CALCUTTA PROTEST AGAINST ATTACK ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

CALCUTTA: Attacks on civil liberties and democracy must be halted and the fundamental rights of the citizens enshrined in the Constitution of India must be enforced by united struggle of democratic and progressive parties and individuals—that was the main point of all the speakers who addressed the big gathering at the Calcutta Maidan on Saturday April 17 called jointly by the eight left parties of West Bengal united in the United Left Front.

IT is the first time that after split in the Communist Party that all-India leaders of the two parties, Bhupesh Gupta and E. M. S. Namboodiripad spoke, from the same platform. N. C. Chatterjee MP an eminent jurist also spoke.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad said that he was happy that in spite of various differences the parties have come together to defend democracy and civil liberties. Attack on left democratic movement mounted by the Congress would also engulf Congressmen themselves if they did not protest now, he said.

He characterised the President's rule in Kerala as a naked Congress rule through Governor A. P. Jain who was a prominent Congressman and a central minister. He expected that in 1967 general elections Congress would be defeated in many states if the left opposition parties came together and he assured all fraternal parties that his Party would make all efforts in this direction.

N. C. Chatterjee declared that he considered the De-

fence of India Act and Rules to be ultra-vires of the Constitution and that a committee had been appointed comprising of ex-judges of High Courts and Supreme Court and eminent jurists to consider whether Presidential proclamation on Kerala was unconstitutional or not.

He said that Home Minister Nanda's statement on the detention of the 'left' Communists was a political judgment by a political party against a political adversary and could not be considered as valid. Chatterjee said that Kerala, Calcutta and Ahmedabad had given slaps on Nanda's face and such united action should be intensified to defend civil liberties.

Bhupesh Gupta analysed the various acts of the Congress government in both national and international sphere and said that the government's refusal to speak out openly against US barbarity in Vietnam, relying on food imports through PL 480 and the attack on democracy are all interlinked.

Recalling the clarion call

given by Rabinranath Tagore for release of political prisoners, Bhupesh called upon the people to build up a mighty united movement for release of detenus, scrapping of the DIR and ending the emergency.

Jyoti Basu narrated briefly the talks with Home Minister Nanda regarding release of detained councillors and said that all left parties must unite to re-establish democracy in the country through struggle.

Jatin Chakravorty (RSP), Sudhin Kumar (RCPI), Subodh Bannerjee (SUC) and Nepal Bhattacharya (BPI) also addressed the meeting which was presided over by Amar Bose (MFB).

ORISSA

CUTTACK: In the Orissa Assembly, the Communist Party moved an adjournment motion on April 17 demanding the release of the leaders and workers of the rival "Communist" party detained in the state under the DIR.

The state Law Minister Banamali Basu had stated on April 16 on the floor of the legislature that the emergency was over.

The demand for release was forcefully made and government spokesmen were hard put to explain away the detentions.

AITUC CALLS FOR BONUS STRUGGLE

NEW DELHI: The All India Trade Union Congress has declared that it no longer stood by the commitment to the Bonus Commission's formula since the government has unilaterally modified it and would demand settlement of bonus claims on the basis of the trade unions' formula.

In a resolution adopted at its general council, which met in New Delhi from April 12 to 14, the AITUC said:

The government has declared its intention of introducing the Bonus Bill in the current session of Parliament. The draft of the Bill as was circulated at the last meeting of the Standing Labour Committee contains all the anti-working class modifications which the government made in the majority recommendations of the Bonus Commission at the behest of monopolists.

However, the employers are pressing for still more gains such as abolition of the minimum bonus clause and abrogation of the option to workers in various establishments to choose whether

bonus will be paid according to existing dispensation or according to the proposed Bonus Bill.

The AITUC has spearheaded the opposition of the workers to the modifications made by the government and their resistance to the fresh demands of the monopolists. Other organisations like HMS and UTUC have also declared their opposition to the government's actions. The Rashtriya Sangram Samiti has come out unequivocally against the retrograde changes.

The general council of the AITUC declares its firm resolve to oppose the reactionary, anti-working-class, pro-employer changes made by the government in the Bonus Commission's recommendations. It

reiterates its firm resolve that if even now the government insists on going ahead with the bill as proposed by it, the working class will resist it with all its might.

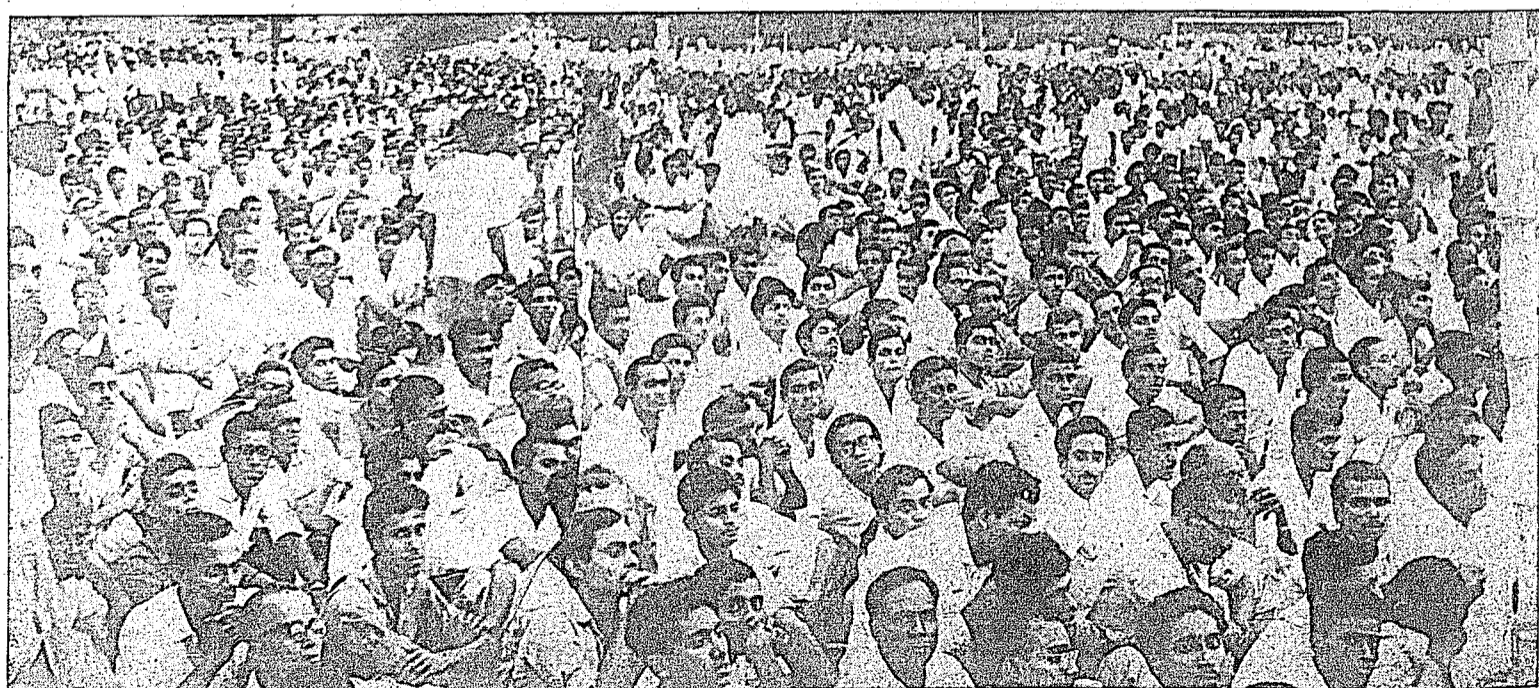
The recommendations of the Bonus Commission were in the nature of a compromise in order to secure a measure of agreement among the members, although they did not fully meet with the demands of the workers.

Since the government has unilaterally overthrown the terms of the compromise and has accepted all the retrograde suggestions of the sole representative of big business in the Commission, the trade unions will fight for the acceptance of their formula for bonus which is as follows:

1 A minimum bonus equal to one-twelfth of the total earnings in perennial industries and one-sixth of the total earnings in seasonal industries be paid by all concerns irrespective



(Top) Bhupesh Gupta addressing the rally held in Calcutta on April 17 to protest against attacks on civil liberties (Below) A section of the gathering (Photo: Shambhu Banerjee)



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SALUTE TO LENIN

Before the first world war, the name "Lenin" was known only to a handful of revolutionaries among the vast masses of the downtrodden peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who were then just stirring from their slumber.

TODAY, nearly 50 years thereafter, it has become a byword in the mouth of those millions, the flaming symbol and slogan of the stupendous revolutionary process of national liberation and national regeneration that is taking place in that vast region.

Lenin, the great founder of the Soviet state, was the inspirer and leader of the great October Socialist Revolution which opened a new era in human history, the era of transition from "the last stage of barbarism" to a new civilisation, from capitalism and imperialism to socialism and communism.

The clarion call of the victorious October Revolution, rising above the din of war and oppression, not only spoke of land to the peasant, bread to the worker and peace to all nations, but also of self-determination and freedom of the oppressed nations.

The peoples of the East saw how the new born workers' and peasants' state of Russia helped the peoples of Central Asia oppressed under Czarism, in their struggle for independence and democratic revolution.

sants republic, have found such a lively response among the conscious Indians, who are heroically struggling for their liberty.

"The Russian working masses are following with undiminished attention the awakening of the Indian worker and peasant. The organisation and discipline of the working people, their endurance and solidarity with the working people of the entire world are an earnest of their ultimate success."

This great idea of the alliance of the socialist revolution of the

Indian national movement from its early stages.

Witness to this close attention to the rise and growth of the Indian freedom struggle are several of Lenin's writings. A vivid example is the famous article "Inflammable Material in World Politics", which appeared in August 1908, a fortnight after the trial of Tilak, which was followed by a strike and demonstrations in Bombay to protest against his conviction. Lenin hailed the new upsurge and wrote:

"In India, too, the proletariat has already developed to consi-

derable dimensions, the national liberation revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America rose to unprecedented heights, bringing about the collapse of imperialism and the defeat of colonialism on the greater part of these vast continents.

Lenin's prophecy that "these masses will be converted into an active factor of world politics and of the revolutionary destruction of imperialism" is being realised.

In this new phase, the Soviet Union standing at the head of a system of socialist states, possesses the economic and military might not only to check imperialist aggression but also to give practical aid to peoples fighting against colonialism and to the great number of newly-independent nations, to consolidate their economic independence and take the path to progress.

Friendship: New Forms

The bonds of friendship between the Soviet Union and these newly-independent countries are taking new forms visible in such projects as Bhilai and Aswan Dam, and in the effective military assistance for the defence of independent

countries. They are becoming a powerful factor in opening up new paths to these countries and to the working people therein to complete their democratic revolution and achieve socialism. They are powerful factors facilitating the triumph of the forces working for democracy, peace and socialism.

On Lenin Day, the Indian working people salute the great Party of Lenin, which is creatively developing the glorious theoretical legacy of Marx, Lenin and making a mighty contribution to the final victory of democracy, peace and socialism throughout the world.

by
G. ADHIKARI

working class with the national revolution of the oppressed peoples expressed in his slogan "workers and the oppressed peoples of the world unite", became the rising material force facilitating the victory of the world people's struggle for socialism, democracy and peace.

In his lifetime, Lenin paid great attention to the freedom struggles of the oppressed of the East and followed with particular care the developments in

ous political mass-struggle and that being the case, the Russian style British regime in India is doomed!"

Lenin laid the foundation of the theory of national democratic revolution in the oppressed countries, which forms part of his legacy of revolutionary thought and work, and is the creative development of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolution.

Following in his footsteps, Lenin's Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government in the period between the two world wars forged bonds of solidarity with the surging tide of the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa and with the freedom movement in India.

Warm ties of friendship grew up between our freedom movement and the Soviet Union. Heartwarming record of this exists in writings and speeches of the great leaders of our movement and in the solidarity mass actions of working people. In the last twenty years following the end of the second world war and the historic victory over

NATIONWIDE SUPPORT TO VIETNAM PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

* From Central Pages

mass organisation will be held on 19 April to plan further movement.

Bihar

AMERICAN aggression in Vietnam and use of poison gas and napalm bomb and bombing of North Vietnam evoked widespread condemnation among all sections of the people in Bihar.

Protest meetings and demonstrations were held in different places to express solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, and to condemn the crimes committed by American imperialists on the people of Vietnam.

A huge demonstration was held on April 17 before the American Cultural Centre in Patna. The demonstration was organised by the Patna Town Committee of the CPI. Hundreds of students, workers and other sections of the people participated in the demonstration.

The American Cultural Centre as well as all roads leading to the Centre were heavily guarded by police. A heavy police cordon stopped the demonstrators a few hundred yards from the Cultural Centre in order to prevent them from reaching near the building.

Several mass organisations and trade unions also condemned the US aggression on Vietnam. Patna district Kisan Sabha at its last meeting adopted a resolution condemning the US aggression on Vietnam. The resolution demanded immediate withdrawal of US troops and bases.

Thousands of workers be-

longing to various trade unions have expressed their solidarity with the people of Vietnam and condemned the US imperialists for their barbarous attack on Vietnam.

Resolutions condemning the US aggression were adopted at the general body meeting of Phulwari Sharif Suti Mill Mazdoor Union, FMCH IV grade Employees Union and Baidyanath Ayurved Bhavan Mazdoor Union.

A public meeting, organised under the auspices of the Bihar State Peace Council to mark the Vietnam Day, strongly condemned the US military intervention in Vietnam and demanded all aggressive acts to stop forthwith.

A resolution unanimously adopted at the meeting called upon the people to raise their voice against the inhuman crimes being committed by the American imperialists on the Vietnamese people.

It demanded the withdrawal of US troops, war material, and bases from Vietnam.

The meeting held on April 18, in the local IMA Hall, was presided over by a former Minister Deo Sharan Singh.

Tamilnad

VIETNAM Day was observed in Madras city under the auspices of the Madras District Peace Council and the Madras District Trade Union Council. R. Ganesan, secretary, Madras Youth League presided.

D. Pandiyan, C. D. Sekkishar, S. L. Krishnamurthy, Subbu and K. Murugesan who addressed the meeting condemned the American imperialist aggression in Viet-

nam and demanded that the US stop its "dirty war" and get out of Vietnam.

Resolutions were passed at the meeting condemning the US war in Vietnam and expressing solidarity with the fighting people of Vietnam.

Kerala

THE Kerala Peace Council organised a protest meeting in Trivandrum on Vietnam Day. Several speakers condemned US aggression. Among the speakers was C. Achuta Menon, secretary of the state council of the Communist Party.

Karnataka

A militant procession marched through the streets of Bangalore on Vietnam Day demanding the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam. Several other meetings held in different parts of the state will culminate in a state Peace Conference on April 23 to 25.

Punjab

SIMILAR meetings and demonstrations were held in Punjab on the occasion of Vietnam Day. Chitta Biswas, general secretary of All-India Peace Council is touring the state to take part in these meetings. A state Peace Convention will round up these meetings at Chandigarh on April 22.

At Jullundur, at the Vietnam Day meeting, a committee was formed to collect medicines for and enrol doctors as volunteers to go to tend the victims of US adventures in Vietnam.

UNFURLING INDIA'S FLAG

This is a reproduction of photograph appearing in the Special Number of a Social Democratic paper published on the occasion of the International Socialist Congress held in 1907, showing Madame Cama and S. R. Kane. Madame Cama is holding aloft the first design of the national flag she herself had made and which she had unfurled at the International Socialist Congress.



LENIN - MEETINGS WITH INDIAN PATRIOTS

From the early years of the 20th century, Lenin kept his eye on the freedom movement developing in India. Even in emigration, he used to subscribe a number of English newspapers to keep himself abreast with the situation in India.

But no information is available about his personal contacts with the Indian revolutionaries during that time. According to M. Pavlovich, Lenin first met the Indian revolutionaries in 1907.

Pavlovich in his book REVOLUTIONARY SILHOUETTES: INDIA IN FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE (1925) in this connection refers to the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart in 1907 which Lenin attended.

At this congress, there were two Indian revolutionaries—Madam B. R. Cama and Rama Saheb. Addressing the congress Madam Cama specially mentioned about Russia.

She said: "Our people cannot send their delegates to

you, because they are too poor. But I believe that the day will come when they will awake and follow the example of our comrades from Russia, to whom we particularly send our fraternal greetings."

But the first Indian delegation as such to meet Lenin arrived at Moscow in November 1918. The delegation which consisted of Professor Saffar and Jabbar, (according to another report the names are Ahmed Haris and Mohamad Hadi) was received by Lenin on November 23, 1918.

The delegation brought a sandal-wood stick, the handle and tip of which were made of ivory, as a present to Lenin from the people of India. A message on behalf of the Indian people was also presented to Lenin.

The message by itself was significant. After the news of the Great October Revolution reached India, despite the efforts of the British colonialists to prevent the news from seeping in, a meeting was held in Delhi during November 1917 where the participants decided to send their greetings to the Russian Revolution and to its leader, Lenin.

These two professors who were going abroad were entrusted to deliver the message to Lenin.

The messengers had to undergo innumerable troubles before they reached Moscow. British authorities did not let them enter Britain and in a number of other countries, at the request of British government, they were declared as undesirable persons, arrested and later thrown out.

However, in November 1918 the delegation finally arrived at Moscow just when the first anniversary of the October Revolution was over.

During their meeting with Lenin, these two professors described in detail the situation in India and the struggle which the Indian people were waging against the British rule.

They also said that Lenin's slogan calling for the self-determination of nations had penetrated into India and made the Indian people confident of their victory over the British imperialists.

The message which they delivered to Lenin said in part:

"India salutes the great victory you have won in the interest of world democracy. India marvels at the noble and humane principles you have proclaimed when you took power in your own hands. India implores providence to give you strength in upholding these great principles."

On November 25, 1918, the Indian delegates attended a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (Parliament) where they were

welcomed with stony applause. This meeting is an important landmark in the history of Indo-Soviet friendship.

In their address to the executive committee, the Indian delegation, said:

"The world does not know what is happening in India because the imperialist and capitalist policy of England is concealing from the eyes of the world the true state of affairs in our country, which she is oppressing and plundering."

"The Russian revolution had a tremendous impact on the minds of the Indian people. In spite of England's efforts, the slogan of self-determination of the nations had made its way to India... Being aware of the new movement in progress in our country, we are convinced that England shall not be able to retain her possessions in India... It is impossible for England to stay in India..."

"We are hoping that our brothers in the great, free Russia will stretch out a helping hand to the cause of India's liberation..."

"Comrades! We are convinced that all the freedom-loving peoples of the world will see the day when the 325 million Indians, one-fifth of our world's population, will be freed from subjugation and slavery to the foreign rulers!"

Later, in 1919, another delegation, which consisted of Raja Mahendra Pratap, Maulana Barkatullah, Mouli Ram, Acharya and Dalip Singh GILL, met Lenin in Moscow.

Along with them was Ibrahim, a peasant from Punjab, who was the servant of one of the leaders, Ibrahim, hearing that his master and others would meet Lenin, had picked up a few words in Russian to greet Lenin.

During his talk with the delegation, Lenin noticed Ibrahim, who was trying to keep in the background. Lenin asked him what language he would like to speak in—English, French or German.

Ibrahim, who could hardly contain his excitement, greeted Lenin on behalf of the Indian peasants in broken Russian. Lenin began asking him about the life of the Indian peasants, the position of the working people and about their struggle against the colonialists.

Lenin's friendly manner helped Ibrahim to overcome his bashfulness and he kept giving detailed answers to Lenin's questions for half an hour.

Raja Mahendra Pratap, after some time, recalled the event and said that the members of the delegation were first surprised to see the Soviet Prime Minister paying so much attention to a common peasant.

"Then, however, I realised how important it was for Lenin to understand the thoughts and aspiration of the working people of the colonial India and to know their attitude to the Russian Revolution."

LENIN AND INDIA

The situation in India always found the pride of place in Lenin's analysis of colonial rule and freedom struggle in Asia.

As early as in 1900, writing in ISKRA (The Spark) on the colonial policy of western countries, Lenin particularly mentioned "the rebellion of the native Indian population against Britain and the hunger in India..."

Lenin made a detailed analysis of the 1857 mutiny and came to the conclusion that it was the "rebellion of the native Indian population against Britain."

In his famous article, "Inflammable Material in World Politics" (1908) Lenin wrote:

"The British liberal bourgeoisie, angered by the growth of the labour movement at home and frightened by the mounting revolutionary struggle in India, are more and more frequently, frankly and sharply demonstrating what brutes the highly 'civilised' European 'politician', men who have passed through the high school of constitutionalism, can turn into when it comes to a rise in the mass struggle against capital and the capitalist colonial system i.e., a system of enslavement, plunder and violence."

"In India, lately, the native slaves of the 'civilised' British capitalists have been a source of worry to their 'masters'. There is no end of the acts of violence and plunder which goes under the name of the British system of government in India. Nowhere in the world—with the exception, of course, of Russia—will you find such abject mass poverty, such chronic starvation among the people..."

"JUSTICE, the little weekly of the British Social-Democrats, has been banned in India by these liberal and radical scoundrels like Morley. And when Keir Hardie, the British MP and leader of Independent Labour Party, had the temerity to visit India and speak to the Indians about the most elementary democratic demands, the whole British bourgeois press raised a howl against this rebel."

"And now the most influential British newspapers are in a fury about agitators who disturb the tranquillity of India, and are welcoming court sentences and administrative measures in the purely Russian, Plevhe style to suppress democratic Indian publicists."

"But in India the street is beginning to stand up for its writers and political leaders. The infamous sentence pronounced by the British jackals on the Indian democrat Tilak—he was sentenced to a long term of exile, the question in the British House of Commons the other day revealing that the Indian jurors had declared for acquittal and that the verdict had been passed by the vote of the British jurists—this revenge against a democrat by the lackeys of the moneybags evoked street demonstrations and a strike in Bombay. In India, too, the proletariat has already developed to conscious political mass struggle—and, that being the case, the Russian-style British regime in India is doomed!"

"By their colonial plunder of Asia countries, the Europeans have succeeded in so stealing one of them, Japan, that she has gained great military victories, which have ensured her independent national development."

"There can be no doubt

that the age-old plunder of India by the British and the contemporary struggle of all these 'advanced' Europeans against Persian and Indian democracy, will steel millions, tens of millions of proletarians in Asia to wage a struggle against their oppressors which will be just as victorious as that of the Japanese. The class-conscious European worker now has comrades in Asia, and their number will grow by leaps and bounds."

Repeated references to India and the British colonial regime, its mode of exploitation, export of capital etc., are found in Lenin's well-known work: IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM where he has discussed the socio-economic impact of colonial exploitation.

Similar references are there also in his NOTEBOOKS ON IMPERIALISM; and a number of other books.

Lenin studied widest range of subjects concerning India—freedom movement, colonial exploitations, development of capitalism, feudalism and vestiges of middle ages, Indian army, Indian civil service, partition of Bengal, communal disharmony and so on.

Lenin's message in 1920 to the Indian Revolutionary Association, in reply to the greetings conveyed to him by the Association, is quite illuminating.

In the concluding portion of his message, Lenin said: "Only when the Indian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Persian and Turkish worker and peasant extend their hands to one another and work together for the common cause of liberation, only then will decisive victory over the exploiters be ensured. Long Live Free Asia."

Lenin's vision is speedily coming to be true....

PAKISTAN: which way fraternity, prosperity

Anti-People, Pro-Imperialist Policies Still Hold Sway

From OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

KARACHI: During his Soviet visit, Ayub was not able to bring about any change in the Soviet Union's position on the Kashmir question. Even as he was trying to overcome this shock, yet another shock has come: postponement of the proposed Washington visit.

PRESIDENT Ayub has been taken aback by the abrupt Washington announcement. It came as a great shock and surprise for Ayub, who was hoping, and had actually prepared to reap a rich harvest in Washington of what he had sown in Peking and Moscow.

Though the official circles and press of Pakistan are very angry over this abrupt postponement, their only consolation seems to be the simultaneous postponement of Shastri's visit, though in the opinion of certain sections, US has postponed Shastri's visit just to assuage Pakistan's injured feelings.

What Ayub gained from his Moscow visit is a question to be discussed in the coming months, but one thing is certain, that he has come back from Moscow a much wiser man. This visit has helped him to realise that to win friends and influence people, it is not enough just to pose as an anti-imperialist or a neutral.

For this purpose it is necessary to break all shackling relations with the imperialist power blocs and to merge with the powerful current of the Afro-Asian liberation struggle.

Now Ayub has become fully aware of the fact that while being a member of the aggressive blocs and closing eyes to the US aggression in Vietnam, it is not easy to get the support of Afro-Asian or socialist countries.

In addition to better understanding of events, Ayub was able to secure some important economic gains from his Soviet hosts. In the joint communiqué also, much emphasis was placed on the promotion of mutual trade and economic cooperation.

The best indication of this are the three agreements, signed during Ayub's visit. Under the trade agreement, the two countries envisaged the doubling of their trade—from a turnover of Rs. six crores to 12 crores annually. The second agreement provides for a Soviet credit of Rs. 1.5 to 2.5 crores.

The cultural agreement provides for the exchange of scientists, doctors, educationists, writers, artists and of radio and television programmes between the two countries.

These three agreements show that, "despite the difference in the socio-economic systems, there are real possibilities for further development of relations of good neighbourliness between both states."

The question as to how far Pakistan will be able to utilise the Soviet aid in a proper way depends upon the direction she chooses for her economic develop-

ment. This question is much too relevant today, because Pakistan is now busy finalising her third five year plan.

Even after the completion of two five year plans Pakistan's economy is still in the grip of foreign monopolists and capitalists. The public sector is virtually non-existent in Pakistan's industry.

Moreover, as Pakistan's Finance Minister has reiterated recently, the private sector is given every possible opportunity for its development at the cost of the people.

Government is interested in setting up only those industries, for which private sector is unable to supply the required resources.

This consideration is carried into practice to such an extent that many basic and important industries which were set up by the government itself have been turned over to the private sector once they reached the stage of profitability.

As far as the question of resources and technical personnel for the development plans is concerned, Pakistan is wholly dependent on foreign aid.

In the result Pakistan is paying back huge sums every year as interest and service charges on these loans and credits. These development plans have failed to better the economic conditions of the people and the best example of this is the plight of working class in Pakistan.

AFAO, a weekly from Lahore wrote recently, "So many laws have been made for the working class, but none of them gives the workers either the guarantee of employment or the minimum wage... workers have got no housing facilities; there is no provision for their children's education or health.

"On the other hand, industrialists are given every opportunity and full freedom to perfect their exploitation and they use it mercilessly to deprive the workers of their minimum wages. They push up the prices of consumer goods at their own sweet will and government does not object to these practices; on the contrary, it gives them encouragement.

"The result of all this is that government is no more an arbitrator or mediator between the industrialists and the workers but a patron and adviser of the exploiting class, which uses its powers and law in the service of industrialists and against the interests of working class."

In this background, the problem of immediate concern for the working class of Pakistan is to get the minimum wages law enforced in all of the industries. Although the government is considering to introduce minimum wage rates for the workers during the third five-year plan, according to indications available so far, this law will be confined to just a few important industries.

Even in this, we can rest assured there will be so many loopholes that employers will easily exploit these to deprive the workers of their rights.

It is in this context that, organised and conscious sections of working class are demanding that, while fixing the minimum wages not only the employers but workers also should be consulted. They demand that, the representatives of the workers should be included in the Planning Commission to accelerate the pace of industrial development and to define its correct direction.

The main hurdle in the struggle of Pakistan working class is the absence of militant organised trade union centre. Pakistan Trade Union Federation was formed immediately after the formation of Pakistan.

But under the pressure of US imperialism, government adopted a policy of repression and violence against this organisation. Several working class leaders were dubbed as "subversive elements" and thrown into jails, and all the unions were disbanded.

Now very few unions, with US encouragement and financial support, are functioning.

Pakistan's working class, is waging a hard struggle for its rights, under difficult and trying conditions.

Non-Capitalist Path in Syria

THE people of the Syrian Arab Republic celebrated on April 17 the 19th anniversary of their attainment of national independence.

The central celebrations this year were held in Aleppo, one of the country's many historic cities. It is also the second largest industrial centre of Syria today.

A military parade was held and a big demonstration was addressed by President of the Presidential Council, Amin Hafez.

Far-reaching economic changes have been taking place in Syria in the recent past. The essential content of these is an attack on foreign and native big capital, manifested in the nationalisation of industrial and other enterprises.

In January a hundred and fifteen of industrial enterprises were made national property. These included all the big textile cement, sugar and vegetable oil mills. The combined capital of these companies is estimated at 350 million Syrian pounds.

This was followed by the nationalisation of 49 private companies engaged in the import of consumer goods. Another special decree was brought to enforce a state monopoly in the import of foodstuffs and medicines.

Foreign firms selling oil products were targets of another blow struck last month. Control over this vital branch of economy was taken out of the hands of ESSO, Shell and Socomey-Vacuum.

The Soviet Union declared support for and solidarity

Sometime earlier the government had adopted a decree banning foreign mining concessions. By the beginning of this year it was already in control of the banks and insurance companies of the land.

Agrarian reform measures too have constituted a feature of recent developments: only a few weeks ago a good amount of surplus land was confiscated from a number of landlords.

All these measures have strengthened the role of the state sector in the economy and thrown open before Syria the prospects of non-capitalist development.

Uganda-USSR Agreement

AN agreement between the governments of Uganda and the USSR came into force early this month. It envisages the construction in Uganda with Soviet assistance of a textile mill, a factory for dairy products, a big freezing plant and a technical college for 300 students.

A delegation headed by Communications Minister W. W. Kalema of Uganda concluded a visit to the Soviet Union on April 17 with the signing of a joint communiqué in Moscow. It "denounced the aggression of American imperialism against the peoples of Vietnam and the whole Indochina peninsula."

The Soviet Union declared support for and solidarity

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

with Uganda in connection with the armed provocation against her on the part of mercenaries operating on the territory of the Congo (Leopoldville) under the aegis of imperialist powers and their stooges.

The two sides have expressed confidence "that all attempts of imperialist forces to engineer a split in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and to impose their will on Africa are doomed to failure".

Ghana: Stocktaking

"WE are waging a difficult struggle which calls for prolonged efforts and self-sacrifice, for unflagging vigilance against the machinations of the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism," President of the Republic of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah stated in an Easter message to the people of the country.

Nkrumah stressed that the efforts made in this direction were yielding fruit on the way of progress and pointed out among other things that Ghana's economy was quickly developing, the educational system improving and the living standards of the population rising.

Ghana is facing certain problems, the President said, but they are problems of growth and not of stagnation or decay.

One of the greatest problems we are facing, the President said, is the problem of

efficient management of factories and better distribution of goods.

Kwame Nkrumah criticised the government organs and the distributing network for the lack of efficiency, slow pace of work, red tape and bureaucracy. He emphasised that the goods which should go directly to the consumers often got into the hands of an army of speculators—middle men.

Turning to the measures for solving this urgent problem, the President said it was necessary to expose and bring to light all cases of speculative and unlawful deals in retail and wholesale trade and the cases of inefficient work of the price control apparatus.

He called upon the population to step up the struggle against bribery, corruption, cupidity and nepotism, against all the evils which "undermine the faith in our revolution and socialist construction".

Tanzania-Mali Communiqué

"OUR countries face identical problems, primarily those of economic development," stated President Julius Nyerere of the Republic of Tanzania, leaving the Mali Republic on April 17 at the end of an official visit.

Mali and Tanzania demand that the military intervention in Vietnam be stopped and the people of South Vietnam allowed to decide their own destiny, the communiqué points out.

PARIS: As was generally expected here, the principal achievement of Prime Minister Harold Wilson's visit to France was in the improvement in the climate of Anglo-French relations. The talks were cordial although their only practical outcome so far is in connection with the cooperation between the two governments in the construction of certain models of aircraft.

FOR the rest, each side retained their respective positions. The two sides are on record that they were in disagreement on Europe as also on the situation in South-East Asia. The discussions were carried out mainly on other subjects:

1 Construction of a tunnel under the English Channel (the two governments agreed to underline its need without coming to any agreement on its practical modality and the details of construction).

2 Difficulties of the pound sterling and the French project of reintroducing the gold standard.

3 Technical cooperation in the field of civil aviation (the construction of the supersonic "Concord" will be followed up).

4 In Vietnam the positions of the two countries are different. London stands by the American policy at the same time speaking of the possibility of eventual negotiations whereas Paris stands for the recalling without any precondition of a new Geneva-type conference.

5 Problems of European unity and of the relations between the seven members of the European Association of Free Trade (patronised by Great Britain) and

the six countries of the Common Market: France, West Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

6 Reorganisation of the NATO. There again, the views were divergent; London being favourable to maintaining the present American leadership is opposed to any structural changes whereas Paris contests the utility of this American predominance.

It was, however, the problems of European unity that drew the maximum attention from the commentators. The subject was raised recently in Dusseldorf at the Congress of the Christian Democratic Party of West Germany and in Paris at the Council of Ministers.

Common Market Summit

At Dusseldorf, Chancellor Erhard declared that de Gaulle had promised (in an interview with the West German Ambassador) to participate in July in a summit conference of the Common Market countries.

But in Paris, the Council of Ministers replied that, while the French government was not hostile to the principle of such a conference, prior fulfilment of certain preconditions

LETTER FROM PARIS

POLITICAL UNITY IN WESTERN EUROPE

Sharp Divergence on Strategy

From JEAN-EMILE VIDAL

was essential before such a conference took place.

The conference, said the Council of Ministers, must be preceded by a meeting of foreign ministers, its objectives must be strictly established in advance and the preparatory work must give evidence of "reasonable chances of agreement".

These conditions have been badly received in Bonn and a new coldness has come over the official relations between France and West Germany.

In fact these disagreements on matters of procedure, arise from basic differences. West Germany, like Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, stand for a Europe whose institutions will be controlled by a European Parliament, a Europe open to Great Britain and directly aligned to the United States. These countries are also favourable to a European

nuclear integration under American leadership.

The French conceptions are diametrically opposed to this. De Gaulle favours a "Europe of the Fatherlands" (Europe de Patries); he rejects all delegation of sovereignty to the hands of a cosmopolitan parliament which, according to him, will never be qualified to bind or pawn the fate and future of entire countries.

For de Gaulle, Europe must not be an appendage of the United States, but a sort of third force between Washington and Moscow, able to serve as a bridge between the two giants, able to counter their decisions and influences.

The French position further irritates the West German leaders

who also fear that any Franco-Soviet rapprochement will be at the cost of the Bonn-Paris alliance.

Adenauer, in the course of the Christian Democratic Congress, cited as an example the luncheon recently given by de Gaulle to the Soviet Ambassador in France, Serge Vinogradov, on the eve of his returning to Moscow after serving in Paris for twelve years.

Franco-Soviet Relations

De Gaulle made a personal eulogy of Vinogradov. He also felicitated him on the good relations between Moscow and Paris and made use of the occasion to put his signature on the recent Franco-Soviet agreement on colour television as a prelude to a much greater European entente to come.

De Gaulle has let it be known that he considers this agreement, and other similar economic and cultural agreements signed with the Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries, as an indication of the future development of what he describes as the Europe stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals.

This conception causes anxiety to Bonn as well as to Washington. And as the ex-Chancellor Adenauer pointed at Dusseldorf the cordiality of the conversations between de Gaulle and Vinogradov, the majority of the participants of the Christian Democratic Party Congress (government party) notably manifested by their shouting and shouting their hostility towards this aspect of French policy.

These diverse conditions confirm that the debate on the subject of European political unity remains and will continue to remain for a long time still as the apple of discord between Paris and the other European capitals of the Six.

READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS

PLEASE NOTE

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Devoted Family Head...

BETWEEN 1945 and 1962, the treasury of dear Uncle Sam has 'doled out' \$616 million as military aid to Latin America!

Rather, an interesting figure and its meaning becomes clear when you find that ten out of twenty independent Latin American countries are now ruled by military juntas which came to power through 'putsches'!

Let us list out these countries:

BOLIVIA: a military junta headed by air force general Barrientos Ortuño seized power on November 4, 1964.

BRAZIL: Joao Goulart's government was overthrown by the army on April 1, 1964 and Marshal Castello Branco became its president.

HAITI: President Francois

Duvalier came to power in September 1957 with the assistance of a military junta.

GUATEMALA: the military carried out a coup d'etat on March 30, 1963 and installed Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia, former Minister of Defence as president.

HONDURAS: Colonel Osvaldo Lopez Arellano, former commander-in-chief became president on October 3, 1963 following a putsch.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: Military overthrew the elected government on September 25, 1963 and appointed a triumvirate headed by Donald Reid Cabral.

NICARAGUA: the Somoza family—the descendants of General Somoza who overthrew the government in 1934—continues to rule the country though a nominal president has been elected.



45 Years of Communist Party of Spain

The glorious Communist Party of Spain marked the fortyfifth anniversary of its foundation on April 15.

WRITING on this occasion Dolores Ibaruri, the famous La Passionaria, reviewed in PRAVDA the latest developments in Spain and outlined the tasks facing the Spanish Communists.

Ibaruri notes in her article that "the issue now is to put an end to the fascist dictatorship, to open the road to democracy without resorting to a new civil war".

Ibaruri writes that the struggle developing in Spain today "is headed by the working-class, led by Communist and Catholic workers' organisations that are uniting in political activities and in economic demands."

"The activities of the Church are one of the most interesting aspects of the present changes in Spain", writes Ibaruri.

"Today the Church, or at least the most sophisticated part of the hierarchy and particularly young priests, are beginning to demarcate themselves from the dictatorship, proclaiming their independence from the regime and defending democratic positions which coincide in many respects with the positions of the forces that are most consistently coming out against the dictatorship".

The general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain says:

"When the Church, which has a moral and political influence on millions of people—I am speaking specifically about Spain—is experiencing such an evolution, we cannot remain indifferent to such changes. The Communist Party of Spain is coming out in favour of cooperation with the Catholic forces not only in the initial period of the transition from dictatorship to democracy but also during the establishment of the new, democratic state".

"No negotiations with the dictatorship", Ibaruri declares. "One must open a dialogue with all forces that are striving for political changes irrespective of their political positions in the past, including representatives of the army also into these talks."

"It is only through this policy that a democratic regime can be established in Spain without disorders."



"This does not mean", she says, "renunciation of other forms of struggle, should the course of developments and intrinscance of the last Mohicans of the dictatorship compel recourse to these forms. And though the struggle of the people has already yielded substantial partial results, we cannot rest content with this."

"We must extend and develop this struggle to the level of a nationwide strike with the participation of all sections of the population who will thereby express their revulsion at the regime."

"This should above all be the struggle of the working-class. This will open the natural and logical way to putting an end to the dic-



Demonstration against US Imperialism

tatorship without incurring the risk of another civil war in Spain".

Dolores Ibaruri emphasises the continuing process of the growth and consolidation of the Communist Party of Spain. "We Communists" she declares, "have always been ready to accept the decision of the people, the will of the masses. And it is not without reason that the young workers and peasants,

the children of those who were fighting yesterday, including the children of those who were fighting against the Republic, come to the Communist Party whose militant and consistent anti-Franco policy are wellknown to them".

The article says that the Communist Party of Spain, on the 45th anniversary of its foundation, re-affirms its allegiance to Marxism-Leninism

and proletarian internationalism.

"Today, just as during the many years of struggle, the Communist Party sees in friendship with the Soviet Union and in solidarity with the Communist Party of the great land of the Soviets one of the mainsprings of revolutionary inspiration and an impetus to struggle for itself and for all Communist and Workers' Parties".

near Calcutta have also been supplied by the Limes GMBH. These blueprints and the components are valued at about seven million marks.

Through the Limes, India has till now purchased from the GDR licences worth twenty million marks.

Production centres for the manufacture of fireproof glassware have been set up in India through this firm.

AT INSDOC SEMINAR

An eminent professor in philosophy, Harry Spitzbardt, arrived in India last week.

Spitzbardt is visiting India as a guest of the University Grants Commission. Among his engagements in India are the participation in a seminar of the National Scientific Technical Documentation Centre on questions of scientific technical translations, and lectures at the universities in New Delhi, Agra, Poona and Calcutta.

In New Delhi, he has already been received by Prime Minister Shastri and a number of eminent personalities.

BLUEPRINTS FROM GDR

LIMEX GMBH, the foreign trade firm of the GDR, has built up close connections with India.

Recently at the Leipzig trade fair, this firm signed an agreement with an Indian firm on the erection of a mica processing plant.

The blueprints for construction as well as some building components for an electric construction equipment company

Bridges Of Amity

INDIA : AS SEEN BY SOVIET SCHOLARS

A FOUR-VOLUME history of India is being prepared in the Soviet Union. This definitive work of a big group of Soviet specialists, covering India's history from ancient times till the present days will be completed in 1966, announced prominent historian Eric Komarov a few days ago.

He was a participant in the meeting of Indian students with Soviet scholars of India held in the Moscow Friendship House. Komarov stressed that the new study will be "the most definitive Soviet work on the history of India."

The Indian students, who are studying in Moscow, were told at the meeting about many scientific assignments that Soviet scientists have fulfilled in recent years in close cooperation with Indian specialists.

Doctor of History, Vladimir Balabushevich spoke at the meeting and named among these joint works the book put out to mark the centenary of Rabindranath Tagore's birth.

INDIAN SCIENTISTS IN KIEV

UKRAINIAN specialists spoke highly of the reports of Indian scholars made at the Institute of Semi-conductors of

the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences last week.

Prof. Bhide from Bombay and Prof. Jain from Delhi acquainted their Kiev colleagues with the achievements of Indian scientists in the field of the physics of semi-conductors.

The guests met the leading Kiev scientists whom they knew well from scientific literature and studied their latest works. They also acquainted themselves with the laboratories of the polytechnical institute and university—major scientific centres of the Republic.

The Indian professors went to the USSR at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

CZECH TRUCKS AND TRACTORS

ACCORDING to an agreement concluded recently, Czechoslovakia will export to India transport lorries worth some 1.5 crore rupees shortly.

In addition, Czechoslovakia is supplying components for six hundred Zetor tractors, which are assembled in India. Last year, 882 such sets were supplied.

ALL-INDIA URDU CONVENTION TO BE HELD IN DELHI

By ASAD JAFRI

DELHI is preparing for an All-India Urdu Convention to be held here on May 2 and 3. It will seek to give a new impetus to the movement for the recognition of the legitimate rights of Urdu.

The convention is being held under the auspices of an all-parties Urdu Regional and Secondary Official Language Committee.

This committee has been much encouraged in its work by the resolution on the language question recently adopted by the National Council of the CPI.

The resolution urges that "Urdu should be given its due place in all those areas where a considerable section of population speak Urdu. In these areas Urdu should be recognised as additional regional language".

The demands raised by the all-party committee are also the same. Another important feature of this struggle is the wide support that this committee is getting.

Some interested circles had tried to raise the Urdu-versus-Punjabi controversy in Delhi but as the Committee has made it clear, its demands are not against any language.

They only demand that Urdu be given its rightful place.

It will be recalled that the committee presented a memorandum to Prime Minister Shastri and to the Chief Ministers Conference which was held to consider the language problem on February 23.

The convention which

will be held in Delhi on May 2 and 3 will be a turning point in the movement in which, ways and means of broadening this struggle will be discussed and the future course of action chalked out.

Writers, poets, intellectuals—Urdu lovers from all over the country—will be attending this convention.

The programme of the convention includes an exhibition of Urdu journals and books and an all-India mushaira in which prominent poets from all over the country are expected to participate.

The Delhi branch of the Progressive Writers Association is also doing its bit to make this convention a success. It has already held a few meetings in this connection.

A high point of this campaign will be a public meeting convened by the PWA on April 26 at NDMC Hall in New Delhi.

A memorandum signed by 104 MPs belonging to all parties was presented to Prime Minister recently. The memorandum urged that Urdu be recognised as a regional language and as the second official language in Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan, under article 347 of the Constitution.

It was made clear in this memorandum that the interests of Urdu did not clash with those of Hindi. The MPs stressed that if Hindi had to be successfully developed it had to be made as simple as possible. Urdu could help in evolving a simple and commonly understood form of Hindi.

SOMETHING NEW IN TAMIL FILM WORLD

From "Ayiram Thalai Vanki Apoorva Chintamani" to "Chandralekha" it was a big step; to "Parashakti" a still bigger step. But what we saw in "UNNAI POL ORUVAN" (someone like you), shown to an invited audience in New Delhi recently, was something entirely new in Tamil films.

SOME of the vital statistics on this film itself would make it clear that it is something out of the ordinary rut into which the film world, whether Tamil or Hindi, has fallen:

The picture was finished within a budget of Rs. 80,000 against the four lakh rupees plus that is the normal budget nowadays for an ordinary film.

There is no 'star' in this film; all are newcomers to filmdom—some have acting experience on the stage, others not even that.

What is more, the director himself is a novice; his experience so far as films are concerned was that he had written occasional reviews.

There is not a single song—that must in any box office hit—in this film; all that it boasts of is some background

music which has been excellently merged in the background.

All these add up to one thing: "Unnai Pol Oruvan" is an event. It is a challenge to the world of box office formula and all that it stands for—mythological yarns and romantic extravaganzas which the studios in Madras, Bombay and elsewhere turn out by the dozen today.

And the challenge has been thrown by D. Jayakanthan, director. This is an individual achievement for Jayakanthan in that he has taken one of his own novelettes, adapted it to the screen and produced it with such easy nonchalance as to arrest any film lover's attention.

The story is real life, taken at its raw best. It is the story of a thriving slum in the middle of a throbbing

city. The plot is only incidental, a peg on which Jayakanthan has hung the message he has to deliver.

Realism pervades the entire length of the picture. No facet of life in the slum has been ignored; nor any blown up beyond recognition and reality. The slum is a world within the world; it is not bound by the moral and spiritual code of the outside—it has its own code of life: live and let live.

Here is to be found an unmarried mother, bitter with her experience but holding her head proudly erect. By a quirk of nature, she loses her heart to another young man and takes him as life's partner.

The society around her has no qualms over her action and accepts it as normal, but the trouble arises from the young son who does not take kindly to his stepfather. And the story is woven around the resultant conflict between the son and the mother.

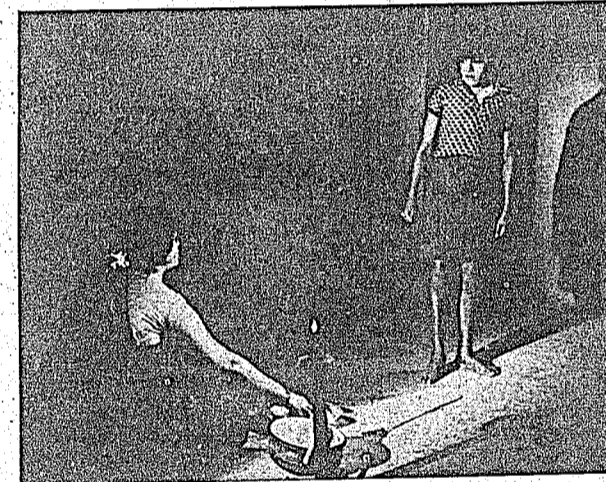
The personal tragedy of the young mother has been brought out vividly with sympathy and restraint—an admirable achievement by itself—but it is in catching the atmosphere of the slum that Jayakanthan has planted his imprint.

All this is not to suggest that "Unnai Pol Oruvan" is flawless or that it is a masterpiece in general leave much to be desired; editing in particular falls far short of the standards. Photography could have been improved, as also the acting of some of the characters.

That however does not detract from the freshness of approach, the imagination in portrayal and the expert handling of the characters which Jayakanthan has brought into this film.

—SUDARSHAN

A Still from the film Unnai Pol Oruvan



WRITERS DISCUSS PROBLEMS OF HINDI-URDU GROWTH

The question of development of Hindi in the Hindi regions of North India was the subject of discussions at a meeting on April 12 which a number of Hindi and Urdu progressive writers had with the central leadership of the Communist Party of India.

SIMULTANEOUSLY, the problem of Urdu's development was also discussed, for Urdu also is the mother-tongue of millions in this very region.

It was decided, at this meeting to hold a bigger conference of progressive Hindi and Urdu writers and scholars some time in August this year.

The primary aim of this conference is to suggest ways and means for a full-blooded, popular and quick development of Hindi in the Hindi region ridding it of its scholastic and reactionary encumbrances and bringing it nearer to the spoken language of our people—what was defined as Hindustani by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

The second aim was to strive simultaneously and with the unity of progressive Hindi and Urdu

India conference for this purpose. But, it was felt that such a conference required more preparation and more time.

So, for the present, we will hold regional conferences, but we shall invite to the Hindi-Urdu conference some writers and scholars from the non-Hindi regions also for mutual consultations and advice.

An organising committee for

steps to be taken for its proper development; the question of linguistic minorities in the Hindi region.

All Sardar Jafri, Namwar Singh, Sheodan Singh Chauhan, Masoom Raza Rahi and Ram Gopal Singh Chauhan, who were present at the April 12 meeting, have agreed to write on some of the problems stated above.

Other eminent scholars would also be approached by the organising committee.

It is hoped that the forthcoming conference of Hindi and Urdu writers would help to mobilise all progressive forces in the Hindi-Urdu region for a truly democratic advance on the cultural-linguistic front of the vast Hindi region of our country.

At present obscurantist and reactionary forces are far too active in this region. It is time for the democratic forces to hurl back and defeat the offensive of reaction, and advance towards a new, enlightened and popular development in this field of culture.

By SAJJAD ZAHEER

And finally, to take practical steps to replace English with Hindi in the Hindi Region of India.

Some of those who attended this meeting suggested that the question of the link language for the whole country should also be taken up at this conference and that we should hold an all-

* From Front Page

agencies in India, of Chinese "advance" into Vietnam if the US withdraws, has no basis whatsoever.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam as well as the South Vietnam Liberation Front have made it clear that they will not tolerate any foreign forces on the soil of Vietnam after peace is established. These are solemn pledges on this count.

The Chinese "bogy" on Vietnam is only a useful US weapon with which to keep up the falling morale of the American agents in India.

The democratic movement must intensify still further its concrete solidarity actions with the people of Vietnam. That is the best answer to the insults of the US imperialists.

This country has a long and proud tradition of standing upto imperialism. It has never bowed before imperialism.

Hit back at the enemies of this nation! Hit back at those who would trample on India's dignity and honour!

This is the only answer imperialists have ever understood.

(April 21)

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AFTER THE INSULT

Political weather pundits in the capital forecast a period of strained Indo-US relations, following the row over the sudden closing of Washington's doors to Prime Minister Shastri. The cabinet discussions on President Johnson's message were not nearly as unanimous as is sought to be made out by government and Congress spokesmen.

THE right ganged up to suggest, albeit obliquely, that Shastri's call for a halt to the US bombings was "ill-timed" and had "provoked" Washington. Another variant of this right "explanation" of the Johnson diktat is that India's protest over the use of US arms by the Pakistani forces in Kutch "annoyed" the President, and was therefore, also "ill-timed".

Fortunately, this viewpoint did not carry weight with the much-maligned feelings of the Prime Minister and most of his colleagues; and the general opinion prevailed that "something must be done" to tell the US authorities off.

American diplomats in the capital appear not to be worried at all, and patronisingly insist, when asked for their reactions, that it is all a storm in a tea-cup and will blow over in a few days.

This nonchalant behaviour is, however, only on the surface. Behind the white marble walls of the US Embassy, hectic work is reported to be going on. The "contact" campaign with bottles and other gifts thrown in—is on full swing; winning friends for Uncle Sam is not a cheap business these days.

American Propaganda

Two major points are being stressed in the latest propaganda drive of the local USIS boys: first, the Government of India is asking for and has been promised a real bumper load of US food "aid"; and secondly, the Government of India is in the closest touch with Washington regarding the so-called nuclear "shield", and the viewpoints of the two governments are "very close".

Commenting on the Prime Minister's decision to visit Canada "defying" Johnson's advice—the American embassy high-ups sniggeringly suggest that Washington can pull strings in Canada to see that the Canadian government also cancels the invitation to Shastri. The arrogance of these little men, with large "entertainment" allowances, knows no bounds...

MINISTER OR MARIONETTE?

FOREIGN Minister Swaran Singh is reported to have reacted belatedly; but nevertheless firmly, against the appointment of the so-called secretaries' committee on External Affairs.

Naturally the External Affairs Ministry officials themselves are, for the most part, up in arms against the appointment of this committee, for it is clear that it is intended to lord it over the men in the ministry, give them instru-

ctions and generally run the whole show.

Swaran Singh's reaction to the whole business is evidently correct: he is reported to have told the Prime Minister that if he is to be Minister, no committee of secretaries should be allowed to order him regarding the foreign policy to be pursued.

Policy is the responsibility of the Cabinet and of the minister concerned, the Foreign Minister, is reported to have argued, making it clear that he is not prepared to

dance to the tunes composed by the secretaries' committee.

The External Affairs Ministry officials complain that most of the members of the committee of secretaries are not in the know of developments in the international field, and hence will only be interfering on issues about which their information is often extremely limited. The Ministry officials feel that the establishment of the committee is an implied repudiation of their work.

Incidentally, lobby talks suggest that several of the senior Foreign Service officials, who were trained and groomed by Pandit Nehru to carry out the policy of nonalignment in its true sense, are being shunted out on foreign assignments.

The new secretaries' committee is not remarkable either for its

NEW DELHI BAROMETER

acumen or for its passion for the Nehru policies, exceptions notwithstanding.

TRUE FRIENDSHIP

COMMENT is universal in the capital, on the contrast between the attitude of the Soviet government and that of the US government towards India.

While New Delhi was smarting under the blow struck by President Johnson by cancelling Prime Minister Shastri's visit to the USA, President Mikoyan was crossing all

boundaries of protocol to welcome President Radhakrishnan in Moscow, on his way back from London to India.

Political circles in the capital have marked the warm friendliness of the Soviet leaders towards Dr. Radhakrishnan.

Details are now finalised for the Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union next month. It is clear from the proposals made by the hosts for Shastri's programme in the Soviet Union, that they intend to make the visit a really mighty demonstration of Indo-Soviet friendship. The doors of Moscow are wide open to friendly India—as wide open as Washington's are tight shut!

—DELHIWALA
(April 21)

AITUC PLANS STRUGGLES ON BONUS, TRADE UNION RIGHTS

FROM CENTRE PAGES

of the number of their employees and irrespective of their financial position.

2 The available surplus for distribution as bonus should be arrived at and distributed as follows:

From gross profits, deduct depreciation; 6 per cent return on actual paid-up capital excluding bonus shares; 2 per cent return on reserves employed as working capital in the relevant year and on bonus shares; Statutory income-tax on profits after deducting bonus, payable.

Sixty per cent of the available surplus thus calculated should be paid as bonus in cash, without any ceiling.

(Gross profits for calculating bonus will be arrived at before deducting managing agency commission and allowances/salaries of managing partners).

3 Rehabilitation, development rebate, super-tax shall not be admitted as prior charges.

4 There should be no freezing of any part of the bonus amount into savings certificates.

5 Accounts of companies must be made available for inspection on demand from the union.

6 New concerns must pay minimum bonus till they start making profits. New establishments of old companies shall be treated along with the parent company for the purpose of bonus.

7 All public sector concerns whether departmentally run or otherwise and whether enjoying monopoly or not must pay bonus to all its employees without any discrimination, on the basis suggested herein.

8 All workers including casual, temporary, contract workers shall be paid pro rata bonus according to the number of days put in by them with the concern in the relevant year. This also applies to dismissed workers.

9 Bonus shall be recoverable through Payment of Wages Courts.

10 Employers failing to pay bonus due before the expiry of the eighth month after the end of the bonus years shall be punished.

11 Wherever there exist awards or settlements for payment of higher quantum of bonus, or customary bonus is paid, these shall continue.

The general council of the AITUC calls upon all workers and their organisations to forge a mighty united front to defeat the unholy alliance between the government and the employers to deprive the workers of a proper share in the fruits of their toil.

On Public Sector

In another resolution the general council of the AITUC expressed grave concern over recent developments in the public sector. The resolution said:

The trade union movement and the working class of our country had arrived at a considered opinion in respect of the public sector. The establishment and development of the public sector in heavy and basic industries, was welcomed by the trade unions as one of the positive achievements of our economic development.

The public sector was defended by the working class. It aroused hopes and aspirations in the working class that not only would the industrialisation of our country take place through the public sector, though it is capitalist in character, but that their own conditions of working and living would be improved considerably.

However, the recent trends and developments have been quite disturbing. Though, all along, the monopolist circles have been voicing forth their opposition to the public sector, it has become more vocal today and efforts to subvert it are also made.

More than that, foreign monopoly capital is making inroads into the public sector through equity capital holdings, etc. The Government of

India is succumbing to these mounting pressures of Indian and foreign monopoly circles. Considering the new dangers to the public sector itself, it becomes necessary for the working class to resist these reactionary trends.

At the same time, the AITUC is of the opinion that side by side with construction of new projects, it is also necessary to have a policy of phased nationalisation of some of the vital industries such as private banks, coalmining industry, import-export trade and wholesale trading in foodgrains. The AITUC urges upon the government to take all steps for the nationalisation of the sectors mentioned above.

However, it is in the matter of industrial relations in the public sector that the workers' aspirations and beliefs have been dashed to pieces. It has been the experience of the trade union movement that the government which is supposed to act as a model employer has been behaving in a most retrograde manner. The labour policies are in a state of utter chaos and industrial relations between managements and workers are deplorable...

The general council, considering the seriousness of the problem urges upon the Union Ministry of Labour to convene a tripartite meeting of representatives of government, the managements of public sector undertakings and central TU organisations and independent unions of the public sector employees to discuss this question, evolve an agreed approach and lay down an integrated labour policy for all public sector enterprises in India.

Workers Demands

Among the demands made by the AITUC general council are:

★ All the workers and employees of the public sector shall be eligible for the same rights and facilities as are statutorily available for all other industrial workers in India.

The public sector employees shall not be discriminated ag-

ainst as an entirely separate category of so-called "government servants" subjected to all sorts of rules, regulations, restrictions and powers usable against them.

★ A well-planned wage policy is urgently necessary which will take into consideration the minimum requirements of the workman and his dependants, the nature of the industry or enterprise involved with its specific types of work and skills, as well as the incentives required to stimulate efficiency and output.

★ The worst feature of public sector labour policy is the denial of elementary TU and democratic rights. In some places even the entry of trade unionists inside the residential areas of the workers is physically barred.

Security zones are created which are virtually a state within a state. In the new townships which are coming up, civil and democratic rights are curtailed in the name of security.

The Defence of India Rules are utilised to deny permission to hold TU meetings in the townships, colonies or outside the factory premises.

The general council while strongly criticising this policy of the government, demands that the government should revise its policies and guarantee TU and democratic rights of the employees.

★ In the name of police verification, services of employees are being terminated and security of service itself has become an important issue. The obnoxious system of police verification has to be done away with.

★ Recognition of trade unions is also another issue of vital importance. In many cases, totally unrepresentative unions are recognised on political considerations or because they work as convenient tools of the management.

The general council supports the demand of the public sector employees that recognition should be granted to such unions which have demonstrably the following of the majority of the workers:



The joint Soviet-Vietnamese communique signed in Moscow last weekend clearly reflects the determined manner in which the Soviet Union has taken its stand against the American aggression on North Vietnam and the continuation of the 'undeclared' war.

By firm expression of solidarity and material assistance, the Soviet Union has been aiding the people of Vietnam not only in defending North Vietnam from the piratical attacks of US airforce but also in combating the American barbarity in South Vietnam.

The virulent campaign that was being carried on against the Soviet Union that it was only "orally" supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese people has been nailed.

The Party and government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has in so many words expressed "the profound gratitude" for the moral and material "support and assistance" which the USSR has rendered.

This support and assistance "to a great extent strengthen the forces of the Vietnamese people in their struggle in defence of the security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and in the struggle against the barbarous aggression by American imperialism in South Vietnam," the Vietnamese declared.

And not only the fraternal solidarity and material assistance: what is more important is that the Soviet Union has officially declared that "if the United States aggression against the DRV is intensified, the Soviet government, in case of necessity, given an appeal by the government of the DRV, will consent to the departure for Vietnam of Soviet citizens who, guided by the sentiment of proletarian internationalism, express a desire to fight for the just cause of the Vietnamese people, for the maintenance of the socialist achievements of the DRV."

The further proof of genuineness of the Soviet assistance is established by the daily increasing number of US planes shot down by the DRV anti-aircraft batteries.

A veteran American military commentator has already drawn attention to the grim fact that the rate at which the US planes are being daily shot down by the DRV defence system already equals the rate of loss the US airforce sustained during the second world war.

What can be more heartening than the fact that a country like Vietnam, which has been divided into two parts by imperialist intrigues, is inflicting telling blows to the mighty US imperialism in both parts of the country.

The communique has further underlined the crux of the issue that the continuation and extension of the American aggression is deemed as "a provocation not only against one socialist country but also against all socialist countries."

To the USSR therefore it is no longer a limited question of rendering assistance to one country alone but of safeguarding the entire socialist community.

Those countries which on the one hand impeded the transmission of defence material to Vietnam and on the other imputed that an entente has been established between the US and the USSR for not aiding the afflicted people of Vietnam, will have to eat their words now.

Soviet Support to Vietnamese People

NOT BY WORDS, BUT BY DEEDS

sive actions of the US against North Vietnam; withdrawal of its troops and war material, an end to the US aggression against South Vietnam and the infringement of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the DRV.

The US stand on this issue as amplified by President Johnson's offer still keeps a course for the extension of the acts of aggression and further spreading of war in Vietnam and "does not seek to explore the avenues leading to a peaceful solution of the Vietnamese problem."

For the US therefore this is the testing time: either negotiate for peace in terms of the Geneva conference agreements or face the consequences!

It will no longer be the question of escalation of war in Vietnam by the US; it will be the escalation of defence with Soviet and other volunteers fighting side by side with their Vietnamese brothers to throw out the aggressor. More Soviet arms will be available to the DRV in the coming months.

The choice has been made by the defenders after mature consideration and sober reasoning, not by mouthing merely ultra-revolutionary phrases. It is now for the US to make its choice in the face of public opinion of the world over against its actions.

FILLING UP THE VACUUM

AFTER failing to acquiesce India into accepting the presence of the Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean, the US has gone in for a bipartite arrangement with the British government for what is described as "Allied cooperation east of Suez."

According to this plan, which is more or less finalised in principle following a visit

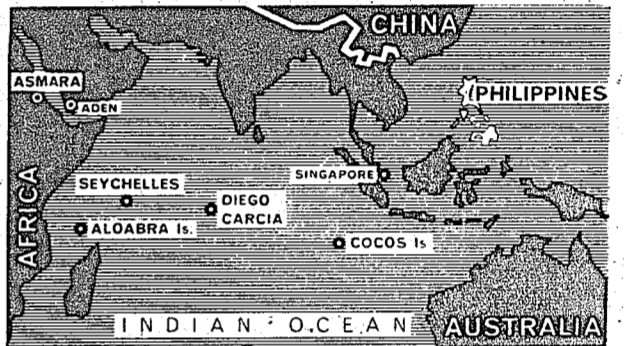
to the four bases in this area by a joint team of Anglo-American strategists, and later okayed at the political level during the visit of British Prime Minister Wilson last week to Washington, the US would use these bases to fill up the longstanding vacuum in its strategy of global "deterrent" against communism.

Between the continents of Africa and Asia, the US has a base at Asmara in Africa and the next one in Philippines—with a void of about 10,000 km in between. The sites now selected are those where communications cen-

Vietnam. It is quite likely that the US would seek to utilise all its pressure tactics to fortify its shaking foothold in this part of the world, even risking an open denunciation by the non-aligned countries, including India.

The US, it is now facetly admitted, has already sold an unspecified number of "Hawk" missiles to Israel and more arms are on the way from the US to Israel.

As we have been repeatedly pointing out in these columns, after the West German debacle, the US has directly taken over the res-



positions of these centres go a long way towards the realisation of the American dream of filling up the vacuum.

London OBSERVER writes: "In the view of the American and British defence staffs, the area is strategically vital if the Western Allies are to retain their capacity to intervene against aggression in South Asia."

"Polaris submarines in the area are able to cover targets in the Middle East, the southern Soviet Union, western China and the invasion routes to India and Burma."

The motive behind this move of "Allied Cooperation" is therefore clear and is all the more ominous in view of the steadily falling American hold in South

possibility of arming Israel so that it can be used any time to attack the Arab states and subvert their freedom.

The occupied territory of West Berlin, the war blocs of NATO, SEATO and CENTO, the ANZUS pact and so on are the pillars of US strategy of world domination.

This network of aggressive bases—the ring round the socialist world and the non-aligned countries—IS THE GREATEST DANGER today to peace and freedom of the peoples who have already thrown away the shackles of imperialist domination.

If indirect intervention fails, the Pentagon aims at taking direct recourse to force to impose its will on these peoples. (April 20)

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE

PICKETING BEFORE WHITE HOUSE, EASTER VIGIL AT LBJ RANCH

NEW YORK: The mighty demonstration before the White House in Washington demanding that the US get out of Vietnam and end the war in that country is going on since April 17.

THE people of USA have joined the worldwide protest against the US actions in Vietnam. On April 17, more than 30,000 people demonstrated before the White House.

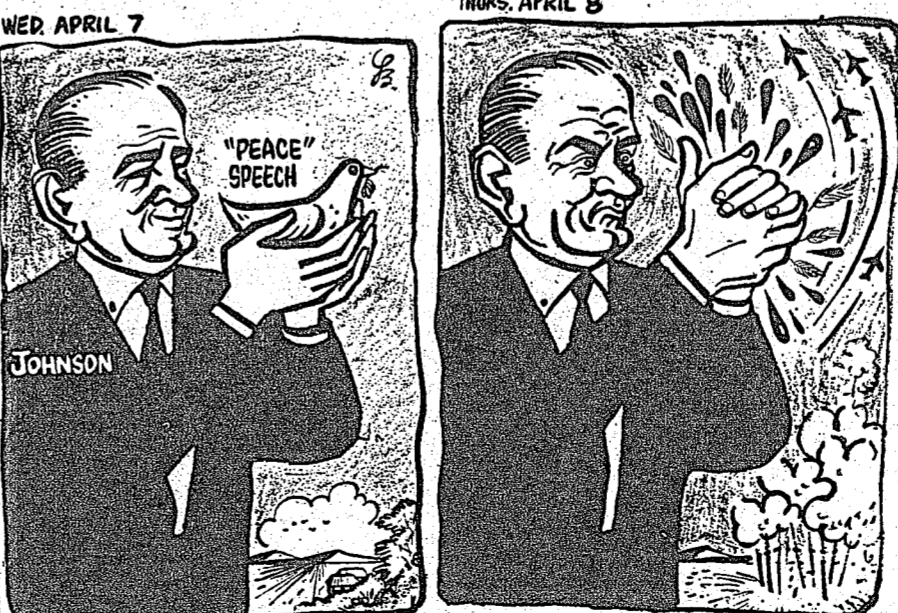
Contingents of students are continuing their picketing before the White House and they would remain there until they have an opportunity to present a petition demanding peace in Vietnam to President Johnson.

Meanwhile a veritable army of secret service agents and police guarded access to President John-

son's Texas ranch against about hundred Texas demonstrators who on April 18 tried—unsuccessfully—to get the President's attention.

The demonstrators held an all-night vigil huddled in front of a high wooden barricade reinforced with piles of sandbags which police erected half a mile from the President's ranch.

Protest demonstrations are being held in a number of US cities and people from all walks of life are joining in the protest movement. (April 19)



US LOBBY IN DISCOMFITURE

The American lobby has been badly hit by the action of the American President himself. Perhaps since independence there never has been such bitter resentment with White House in New Delhi as it is today over the insult felt at the unceremonious cancellation of Prime Minister Shastri's US trip.

OBSERVERS in the capital think that the nearest parallel was in 1954 when the US-Pak arms pact was announced and Eisenhower wrote to Nehru offering arms as a sort of parity with Pakistan which Nehru with his noble sense of national self-respect angrily spurned.

This incident has an important feature, which in a sense, marks the crisis of US policy towards India—perhaps as part of the overall crisis of American policy towards Asia today: after a series of hesitant and halting steps, the Government of India this time reacted sharply and promptly.

In contrast to the one-week long delay in contradicting Sudhir Ghosh's mischievous canard about Nehru having asked for a US aircraft carrier to steam up the Bay of Bengal when the Chinese were pounding at our northern frontier in the winter of 1962, this time, the reaction has been sharp and forthright.

The Indian Ambassador in Washington in his report to New Delhi had to reflect this anger. The crude unilateral procedure was resented; normal procedure for such cancellation of foreign trips is to hold consultations with the party concerned and thereafter announce it simultaneously from both ends.

And the government's forthright statement in Parliament on Tuesday was the measure of the annoyance that Johnson's action had provoked even in Shastri who has throughout preferred to work on a low key.

What observers noted as significant was that in the

storm over the cancelled trip, New Delhi's policy on Vietnam has lost some of its earlier weaknesses.

There was quite a lot of wobbling over it from the beginning and this found expression at the Belgrade conference of the nonaligned ambassadors.

But since then, with the crisis fast reaching the point of escalation thanks to the continued US aggressive action, New Delhi policy was more and more critical of the American stand.

A significant point was reached in this context with Shastri's interview to the Associated Press two days before the White House announcement cancelling his US visit: it was in this interview that Shastri demanded the cessation of US bombing in North Vietnam.

This definitely was a step forward from the External Affairs Ministry testimonial to Johnson's ready-to-negotiate (without ceasefire) statement.

The reiteration of Shastri's stand got Parliamentary sanction when the overwhelming bulk of the members of the Lok Sabha cheered the Foreign Minister as he did it.

The impression has gained ground in the capital that Moscow has been carrying on quite a lot of silent diplomacy in persuading India to take a more active stand in the Vietnam crisis.

This point was stressed during the brief Mikoyan-Radhakrishnan meeting at the Moscow airport dinner as

the President flew back home from London.

Besides, there are reports current here that Shastri has received some important messages from Kosygin in this connection.

It is generally expected in New Delhi that during the Prime Minister's forthcoming visit of the Soviet Union, the subject will be pursued further.

Now with the putting off of the US trip, it is more than

WORLD TALK

likely that Shastri's Moscow talks will have very important bearing on the evolution of Indian foreign policy, particularly with regard to South-east Asia.

Foreign policy experts in New Delhi feel that a more positive stand in foreign affairs is in the offing, for what New Delhi needs is some sort of a rehabilitation in world stature before it goes in for the crucial confrontation with Peking at the Algiers conference in June.

The weekend of utter discomfiture for the American

lobby in New Delhi saw interesting goings-about.

US Embassy officials worked overtime to contact friends and allies. Newspapermen and MPs were the obvious targets.

But the unexpected reactions worried them. It appears that an American Embassy official had a difficult time arguing with a particular politician whom he had so long taken for granted as booked for his pasture.

Brisk lobbying went on in both the PSP and the SSP circles. The line taken was well-thought-out—a sort of diversionary guerilla strategy: no open pleading of Johnson's cause but to divert the focus to Vietnam and to stress that the Americans fighting in Vietnam are really doing our job by containing China.

This was precisely the argument trotted out by Chester Bowles when he came to the External Affairs Ministry objecting to the Government of India's statement against US gas warfare in South Vietnam.

Could't we have kept quiet, Bowles had argued, since his boys were fighting our battle against China in Vietnam?

In the secretariat circles, the demoralisation is the worst in the Finance Ministry, where the pro-US lobby is strongest today.

In the higher echelons, the Prime Minister's secretary, L. K. Jha is said to be worried as he had high hopes that Ayub's latest antics would give Prime Minister Shastri a change to show that India under him is a truer friend of America than Pakistan is.

But Johnson's ban on the Shastri visit has upset all these calculations.

And of course the large flock that has been planning as usual to go on official jaunts—and incidentally to do a round of the New York World Fair—are sore: they do not know if the political weather in New Delhi will change for the worst thereby upsetting their holiday-cum-duty plans.

At a slightly higher level, the man who is most distressed in the capital today is S. K. Patil who was looking forward to the Shastri visit as a new stage of Indo-US collaboration out of which he can make the most.

It was he who last year had taken the initiative in selling the idea that Shastri must soon visit Washington.

Nehru was a hard nut to crack in the eyes of Patil; but Shastri might be pliable, in his calculation.

So, the Prime Minister getting committed to a pronouncedly pro-US line—that was what Patil had been hoping out of the trip—would give him a big leeway.

So, this cancelled visit of Shastri is almost like a personal tragedy for Patil.

NEHRU was called the banyan tree. Now Tarakeshwari Sinha has found that Lal Bahadur Shastri is like a mango tree, laden with fruits.

Is she hoping to get one of the fruits out of this summer's crop?

The talk of ministerial reshuffle is an annual pastime towards the end of Parliament's budget session. Is Tarakeshwari Sinha having a midsummer night's dream? Possible.

—DIARIST

SOVIET SUPPORT FOR VIETNAM PEOPLE

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Soviet President Mikoyan who met Radhakrishnan passing through on way to India talked to Indian journalists about Vietnam. India should take interest in the Vietnam problem, he said, as it was a matter of concern for all Asian countries. They should not only take interest but must support the Vietnamese people in their struggle, the Soviet President said.

EACH and every country has its own possibilities which can be used in support of people struggling for independence. Mikoyan said, when it was mentioned that India was nonaligned.

President Mikoyan referred to the Soviet-Vietnam Communiqué and said that it explained the Soviet position very clearly on Vietnam and answered all questions.

At a dinner given by Mikoyan for Radhakrishnan, the question of Vietnam was discussed and the Soviet position was elaborated. It is understood that Soviet high officials confirmed that Soviet supplies to Vietnam are now going through China satisfactorily.

President Mikoyan gave a very friendly and warm welcome to the Indian President expressing the high regard Soviet government and people have for India.

Toasts were proposed to Indo-Soviet friendship and developing cooperation. Talks took place in an informal, warm and friendly atmosphere.

It is now quite clear that while doing everything in its power to prevent an escalation of the war, the Soviet government is determined to see that the imperialist aggression in Indo-China is defeated and American warmongering appetites are not given encouragement to increase.

A grave warning to the United States has been given by the Soviet government that if the imperialists continue to mount up their aggression on the North Vietnam, Soviet volunteers will be sent to fight for the defence and freedom of the Vietnamese people.

It was announced here on Sunday that a Party and government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam headed by Le Tuan, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Vietnam, was in Moscow for a week at Soviet invitation and they left for home on April 17.

During their talks with Brezhnev, Kosygin, other Soviet Party and government leaders the situation in Indo-China, the US ag-

gression against North Vietnam and American armed intervention in the South of that country were discussed.

The joint Soviet-Vietnamese Communiqué published here makes it quite clear that the Soviet Union stands firmly by the side of the fighting people of Vietnam and is not going to watch and let the United States attack a socialist country with impunity.

The Soviet Union has thus reaffirmed its offer of volunteers to fight side by side with the Vietnamese people which was first made by Leonid Brezhnev on March 23 in his speech on Red Square welcoming the communists. The reiteration shows that it was no empty threat but a firm resolve on the part of the Soviet government and people.

The Communiqué expresses satisfaction of the two sides that measures to strengthen the defence potential of North Vietnam are being implemented as envisaged and in accordance with the earlier understanding reached between the two countries on this question.

The two Parties and governments have also reached an understanding on the further steps necessary to safeguard the security and sovereignty of DRV and appropriate measures for this purpose are to be taken. "The Soviet Union reaffirmed its readiness to continue rendering the necessary assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to repel the US aggression."

AICC JOURNAL AT IT AGAIN!

NEW AGE (April 11) frontpaged an exposure of the now notorious editorial in the AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW of March 25.

It seems the US gentlemen who dictated that editorial are not satisfied: they have now dictated still another in the next number of AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW dated April 10.

This is an open support of the US escalation of war in Vietnam. Titled *Freedom or War* this editorial would delight the heart of a Dulles. Here are some extracts:

"If USA... keeps aloof from this area, man's freedom is at stake. Those who plead that under any circumstances war should be contained do not realise the immense and incal-

culable potential and real danger ahead. Should we allow freedom to suffer for peace at any cost, not aware that such peace has only a sepulchral character?"

It is not necessary to quote more. The lines are the familiar ones used to justify US expansion and escalation of the war in Vietnam.

The Prime Minister is calling for a halt to US bombings. But the organ of his party is week after week writing in support of those very bombings.

An organ of the ruling party, on whose editorial board are Union Ministers and top Congressmen, has become a mouthpiece of the US embassy in India. And no one in the Congress top seems to be bothered.

What the resultant image of the Congress Party is among progressive forces all over the world requires no comment.