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COURSE**



Delhi Protest Against Dismissal of Communist Ministry in Kerala in 1959 by Congress rulers.

KERALA READY TO END CONGRESS MONOPOLY OF POWER

TRIVANDRUM: Kerala is getting set for inflicting a crushing defeat on the hated Congress regime and installing a left democratic government in office.

The Election Commission has announced that the general elections in the state would be held on March 4. An announcement by the Governor about the schedule of the elections will be made soon.

EVEN before the election campaign has got into stride, there is evident panic in the Congress camp. After announcing that the elections will be held on February 15, the Establishment has brought pressure on the Election Commission to change the date to March 4.

Though many pleas have been put forward by the official circles for this postponement of the elections, everybody in Kerala knows that the real reason for this lies elsewhere: it is aimed at smothering the mass discontent, at least to a certain extent, against the Congress misrule which has reached a highpoint after the largescale arrests of the leaders of the rival Communist Party.

There are indications that the efforts to form a Left United Front would bear fruit. Many rounds of negotiations have taken place and the constituent parties and democratic-minded independents who would form the Front have reached agreement on many points regarding the programme and the election strategy.

The views of the Communist Party of India on the strategy and tactics to be followed in these elections were finalised at a meeting of the Kerala state council of the CPI at Trichur from January 5 to 7.

The meeting presided over by P. A. Solomon, was attended by C. Rajeswar Rao, general secretary of the Party, and N. K. Krishnan and M. N. Govindan Nair, two members of the central secretariat of the Party.

The council set forth in a statement the Party's idea of what the Left United Front should be and how it can be brought into existence.

A resolution adopted by the council re-asserted its firm conviction and hope that the united front of all left democratic parties and groups in the state can secure a decisive majority in the ensuing elections in Kerala, defeating both the Congress and Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance.

The council expressed regret and surprise at the peculiar stand of the rival Communist Party

whose plea for adjustments with the Muslim League, if implemented, can only help in today's conditions increase the strength of the Kerala Congress-Muslim League axis.

It was noted that these reactionary parties were entering the electoral battle with the avowed aim and solemn pledge of preventing the emergence of a government of Left democratic parties.

State Council Resolution

The resolution *inter alia* said:

The dates of the poll have been finalised. The leadership of the Congress Party are doing all they could to disrupt and defeat the growing unity of popular democratic forces including the shameless use of Defence of India Rules in arresting a large number of leaders and workers of rival Communist Party on the eve of the poll.

They are coming out with ever new moves and manoeuvres to save themselves from the growing anger of the people who are in the grip of severe food crisis and other difficulties, all result of the wrong and reactionary policies of their government.

Simultaneously, all the communalists and reactionary forces

outside the Congress have entered the field in the name of rebel Congress-League axis and with the slogan of an alternative government in the state. It has become clear that this alliance will have the support and backing of the Swatantra Party.

The meeting of the state council wants to underline the significance of the re-asserted statements of the leaders of rebel Congress and Muslim League that their aim is to prevent the emergence of a government of united front of left democratic forces.

The entry of the DME also in Kerala electoral battle is an event of more than ordinary importance.

The Jan Sangh which was not a force in Kerala has also come into the picture with considerable sound and fury.

The council draws the attention of all democrats that all the aforesaid parties and their leaders have

joined the chorus of the extremely reactionary parties in expressing jubilation at the arrests of rival Communists and today are demanding the banning of both the Communist Parties.

The Communist Party is however fully confident that the enlightened electorate will give a telling rebuff to the reactionary alliance which is seeking to capitalise on the just anger of the people against Congress misrule and secure popular votes and seats. The council desires that popular vigilance should be ever kept up against the dangers that may arise from the combination of these reactionary forces.

The state council after reviewing the latest developments in Kerala repeatedly endorses the stand of the Communist Party that the only effective way to defeat,

* ON BACK PAGE

The PM, The Bomb And The Future

Durgapur could have had at least one positive result. But Prime Minister Shastri prevented it. This is a charge which is not lightly made: it is serious and calls for urgent public attention.

Of the abysmal failure of the Durgapur session to tackle the growing economic problems of the country, enough has been said. Several commentators have pointed out (perhaps not altogether one-sidedly) that one could not expect more from a party, whose class policies provide the contradictions which create the economic chaos and the high prices, which starve the millions.

But at least on foreign policy, there was always hope that Durgapur would mark a step forward. That it did not is essentially the responsibility of the Prime Minister.

What is the evidence for this grave accusation?

The key issue of foreign policy, which is being discussed today in political circles and which, therefore, was at the heart of the international affairs resolution at Durgapur, is: should India

Editorial Article

make an atom bomb, in reply to China; and, of course, as an essential supplement to this should India accept a nuclear "umbrella" or "shield" from the imperialist powers, to "defend" us from the Chinese threat.

It would be an unpardonable mistake to underestimate the confusion which exists in

large sections of the masses on this question. The right reactionary parties are campaigning for the Bomb and the Umbrella—without rest. And in the existing confusion, they do receive a certain amount of response from circles, which in the ordinary course, would reject advice from the right.

The depth of the confusion can be gauged from the fact that the main champions of an Indian bomb at Durgapur were two Congress members of Parliament, both of whom are decidedly opposed to rightwing policies on other issues, one of them being a secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party itself.

In such a situation, when confusion had spread itself quite widely among Congressmen and Congress leaders

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We Remember...

FOUR years ago, one of the most heinous crimes in history was perpetrated by the imperialists and colonialists in the Congo; Lumumba and his two colleagues were brutally murdered. The colonialists hoped that the Congo's freedom would be subverted; and aspirations of resurgent Africa for liberation would be scotched.



The martyrdom of Lumumba has strengthened the determination of the oppressed people to shatter the chains of subjugation, to achieve freedom ending all vestiges of colonialism and defeating the neo-colonialist intrigues.

NEW AGE wrote, on February 19, 1961—when the news had just reached our country:

"But Lumumba will live. At this very moment of his death, he is being reborn and reincarnated in a million African hearts. His name is whispered like some sacred incantation in every African home, and his words ring true in our ears like a multi-million chorus of revolt roaring from coast to coast in Africa. Lumumba will be remembered like Garibaldi, like Joan of Arc, like Bha-

gat Singh, like a whole procession of other bright and burnished names, in all climes and countries, who have given their all to extend the horizons of human freedom."

Resurgent Africa and the liberation movement suffered a great loss but the colonialists did not gain. During the last four years a number of countries have become free and the day is fast approaching when there will be no trace of colonialism anywhere. On the anniversary of martyrdom of Lumumba, people all the world over will reaffirm their pledge to translate this aspiration into reality. It is only through such an action that the murder of Lumumba can be avenged.

SHASTRI AND THE HOARDERS

Once again the Prime Minister of India has warned the hoarders: they will face 'dire consequences', if they fail to dehoard. The Durgapur session ended with this warning, which in other circumstances, might have created a sense of confidence in the country. As it is, the people are only laughing cynically, and the cartoonists are having a field day...

FOR this is NOT the first time Shastri has warned the hoarders. He has done so several times. He has given them ultimatums which "expire" in a couple of weeks after he makes them: Beware of the punishment which will come if the dehoarding does not take place within the allotted period of grace!

But nothing has happened. The threats are never carried out. The hoarders continue to hoard; the blackmarketeers continue to profiteer; and the people continue to starve and suffer.

And so one more threat at Durgapur, more ink in the newspapers. Nobody believes this threat will be any more serious than the previous ones. Everyone knows that these brave words are used each time the people's discontent becomes more unbearable than before, and a little deceitful bluster is necessary.

At Durgapur, the rank and file Congressmen, faced with

popular anger and resentment, spoke up sharply, criticising the government in terms never used at any Congress session before. Quick to react, the Prime Minister trotted out the old weapon: a threat of action against the hoarders.

Unfortunately the weapon is rusty. No one is taken in any more by these brave words. For words are not food and cannot end the people's hunger.

The Prime Minister's speech itself made it clear that he had no real intention to act, but was convinced that somehow or other, the hoarders would be compelled out of necessity (NOT as a consequence of his threats) to disgorge their stocks. For he asked rhetorically and wishfully: "How long can the producers and the traders keep the stocks with them?"

Since no one at Durgapur gave the Prime Minister an answer to this pathetic question, perhaps some kind soul should do so now and tell the innocent head of our government: The hoarders will dance the death

dance, as long as the Congress governments at the centre continue to shield them and refuse to take over state trading in food-grains.

ANOTHER KAMARAJ PLAN

DURGAPUR revealed Kamaraj as a planner once again. But this time it was not a plan of the kind that till now bears his name—that is, a plan for the "reorganisation" of the Congress party. Kamaraj at Durgapur came out as a spokesman for the whittling down of the Fourth Plan outlay, to the cheers of the reactionary forces in the country.

What is interesting is that, despite his own strong defence of the Plan outlay and opposition to any cuts, the Prime Minister appears to have been persuaded by Kamaraj and the Right caucus, which manipulated the Durgapur session, to call a meeting of the Planning Commission to consider the criticisms made by the Congress President.

Comment

There was nothing original in what Kamaraj said. He was mouthing an old, old story, which has been repeatedly considered by the Planning Commission. But it is clear that the Presidential Address at Durgapur cannot be brushed aside: those who are responsible for the "new" (actually stinkingly stale!) Kamaraj Plan are determined to see that it goes through.

What was rejected when proposed by the spokesmen of the reactionary forces will probably become sacrosanct and 'practical' when it has the stamp of the Congress President. Durgapur is thus not just a colourless milestone in Congress history: it may well become a point of reactionary reversal in the positive policies of the government, unless popular opinion is roused against any such reversal.

In these circumstances, all the hullabaloo round the bedside of the dismissed Kashmir leader seems completely out of place. If government wants to assure the people of this country that it is serious about rooting out corruption in high places, it cannot blow hot and cold at the same time. It cannot on the one hand imprison a leader and launch a case against him, and at the same time, treat him like a royal guest of the entire state.

CORRUPTION AND ALL THAT

THE nation is aghast at the manner in which the ex-Prime Minister of Kashmir, Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi, was feted on his arrival in Delhi after his release from prison. He has received visits from a large number of Ministers. The President and Prime Minister have talked to

him on the telephone. His health is evidently of the deepest concern to the highest in the land.

One can understand that normal decent demand that enquiries may be made regarding the health of a man, who had held high office and was a personal crony of several of the Congress leaders. But the fact remains that the Government of India has categorically stated that Bakshi Sahib was imprisoned because of charges of corruption, and that a case is to be registered against him and the proceedings started very soon. In the opinion of many, this action comes late, as it is.

Since for obvious reasons, these four members of the Zilla Parishad could not attend its meeting of December 31, the Congress decided to use this opportunity to strike.

Using telegrams, jeeps and intimidation they managed to get a temporary majority in the Parishad.

Ignoring the despicable means they had used, the Congress members managed to get both the administration report and budget rejected. And, on this basis, they have rushed to Hyderabad with the demand that the Zilla Parishad be superseded.

Their *dadas* in the Congress Ministry are now racking their brains to see how this can be managed.

This whole nefarious game has been exposed in a hard-hitting statement issued by Ravi Narayana Reddy MP, Arundha Ramachandra Reddy MLA, Arundha Kamala Devi MLA and Dharma Bhiksham MLA.

They have appealed to all democrats to agitate for the immediate release of those arrested and to demand of the Congress Ministry—"Hands off the Nalgonda Zilla Parishad".

This Parishad, the only one held by opposition party in the state, had in the previous Panchayat election also an elected majority of Communists and their supporters.

But the then Congress government nominated seven Congress MLCs and one Rajya Sabha member who had no connections with Nalgonda to the Parishad and with their help secured the cooption of some more Congressmen, thereby giving the ruling party a spurious majority.

When the Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samiti Amending Act was being debated in the Legislative Assembly in 1963, the then Minister for Panchayat Raj, Chenna Reddy, solemnly assured the House that MLCs, not belonging to a particular district, would not be nominated to the Zilla Parishad of that district.

Later, however, two Congress MLCs—Abu Yusuf and Gautam—who had never been associated with Nalgonda and who had voted in the recent municipal elections in Hyderabad, were suddenly enrolled as voters in Nalgonda and equally suddenly nominated to the Zilla Parishad.

In spite of this shady trick, the Nalgonda Zilla Parishad remained outside the grasp of the Congress. And so the ruling party had to stoop to the level of trying to use the arrests of some members of the Parishad to get it superseded.

It should be noted that the Panchayat Act explicitly lays down that the budget as prepared by the secretary is forwarded to the government by the chairman after discussion in the general body.

The government has only the right to recommend modifications which the parishad secretary and chairman, after discussion in the general body, need not accept. The budget forwarded for the second time has to be accepted by the government. Neither the government nor the general body can ultimately prevent the budget from being passed.

There are indications that Brahmananda Reddy has also somewhat clipped the wings of Balarama Reddy, the Food Minister and Sanjeeva Reddy's protégé, and that his relations with A.C. Subba Reddy are not the most cordial.

APEC President Thimma Reddy and Cabinet Minister Chenna Reddy are also said to be coming closer to the present Chief Minister. A trial of strength may well be in the offing—for posts of power and not for even a shred of a principle.

Providing A Berth

In the meantime, Sanjeeva Reddy has so arranged matters that his son-in-law will be the official Congress candidate for the constituency which he has had to vacate!

These factional manoeuvres are going on at a time when the food crisis shows no signs of abating. In the capital *dal* is the latest foodstuff to become practically unavailable. Wheat also is extremely scarce.

The Food Minister more or less publicly confessed that the government could and would do nothing to remedy the situation.

Dal was allowed to be exported to Bombay and Sholapur to help the profiteers, and at the same time private dealers were sent to buy *dal* from Punjab and elsewhere where state governments rightly insisted upon government to government purchases.

Even now there is no proper price fixation policy nor the minimum arrangements made for an adequate distribution mechanism. It seems that the Congress Ministers here are a stout upholder of the Swatantra philosophy of *laissez-faire*.

Only such democratic vigilance and action can arrest and reverse the already strong trend on the part of the ruling party to ride roughshod over the fundamental rights and civil liberties of our country.

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HYDERABAD: The Congress lust for maintaining its monopoly power knows no limits and abides by no rules even of elementary decency. This has been again confirmed in the case of the Nalgonda Zilla Parishad, where the chairman belongs to the CPI and where not all the shady manoeuvres of the Congress could prevent its being reduced to a minority position in the recent Panchayat elections.

IGHTEEN Communists were elected to the Nalgonda Zilla Parishad. In addition three allies were elected with the support of the Communist Party. The unity between the CPI and the rival Communist Party enabled the CPI nominee to get elected as the Parishad chairman.

This has become an eyesore to the Congress bosses in the state and the district. So much so that they overlooked the elementary rules of courtesy and refused even to congratulate the chairman on his election.

The Zilla Parishad was scheduled to meet on December 31, 1964. In the early hours of that day there was the infamous police swoop, in which 20 members of the rival CP were arrested in the district. Among those arrested were P. Laxmidas MP, N. Srinivasa Reddy MLA, and Bhagvan Reddy, president of the Nagaraj Panchayat Samiti. It is also known that an arrest warrant is pending against Uppala Malsoor MLA.

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ANDHRA: Mockery of Panchayati Raj

Congress Plans to Supersede Communist-Led Nalgonda Zilla Parishad

From MOHIT SEN

Actual Position

Unlike the position with the Chief Minister and the ministry, the secretary and chairman of the zilla parishads are directly elected by the entire parishad and not only by the majority party. A no-confidence motion against them has to receive a three-fifths majority.

In the present Nalgonda Zilla Parishad the Congress can only muster some 16 members out of a total of 38. Even taking into consideration the few members who cannot attend and the intimidation of a few others, it has no chance of getting such a no-confidence motion passed. Hence, the clamour for supersession.

Obviously, this is not an issue of Congress versus Communists nor even an issue confined to Andhra. It bears directly upon the democratic system that the people of India have given unto themselves and on the principle of decentralised authority.

The Congress Ministry in Andhra must be firmly told by democratic opinion throughout the country that it must not trample these principles in the dust.

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There are persistent rumours that Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy is trying to win a certain degree of independence from strong man Sanjeeva Reddy. Reports have it that the recent appointment of V. B. Raju, present vice-

president of the Andhra Congress, as chairman of the Andhra Road Transport Corporation is a move in this direction.

While many wonder whether V. B. Raju was the fittest person for the job, others point out that Sanjeeva Reddy had earlier stopped his entry into the new Cabinet formed following his own resignation as Chief Minister.

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These factional manoeuvres are going on at a time when the food crisis shows no signs of abating. In the capital *dal* is the latest foodstuff to become practically unavailable. Wheat also is extremely scarce.

The Food Minister more or less publicly confessed that the government could and would do nothing to remedy the situation.

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There are persistent rumours that Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy is trying to win a certain degree of independence from strong man Sanjeeva Reddy. Reports have it that the recent appointment of V. B. Raju, present vice-

president of the Andhra Congress, as chairman of the Andhra Road Transport Corporation is a move in this direction.

While many wonder whether V. B. Raju was the fittest person for the job, others point out that Sanjeeva Reddy had earlier stopped his entry into the new Cabinet formed following his own resignation as Chief Minister.

There are indications that Brahmananda Reddy has also somewhat clipped the wings of Balarama Reddy, the Food Minister and Sanjeeva Reddy's protégé, and that his relations with A.C. Subba Reddy are not the most cordial.

APEC President Thimma Reddy and Cabinet Minister Chenna Reddy are also said to be coming closer to the present Chief Minister. A trial of strength may well be in the offing—for posts of power and not for even a shred of a principle.

Providing A Berth

In the meantime, Sanjeeva Reddy has so arranged matters that his son-in-law will be the official Congress candidate for the constituency which he has had to vacate!

These factional manoeuvres are going on at a time when the food crisis shows no signs of abating. In the capital *dal* is the latest foodstuff to become practically unavailable. Wheat also is extremely scarce.

The Food Minister more or less publicly confessed that the government could and would do nothing to remedy the situation.

Dal was allowed to be exported to Bombay and Sholapur to help the profiteers, and at the same time private dealers were sent to buy *dal* from Punjab and elsewhere where state governments rightly insisted upon government to government purchases.

Even now there is no proper price fixation policy nor the minimum arrangements made for an adequate distribution mechanism. It seems that the Congress Ministers here are a stout upholder of the Swatantra philosophy of *laissez-faire*.

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Bhutan Rumblings

WHAT is the real significance of Prime Minister Shastri's meeting with the King of Bhutan in Calcutta early this week? In fact, Bhutan continues to be one of the danger spots on our external affairs map. There is a strong reluctance on the part of our ministers and officials in New Delhi to discuss the Bhutan affairs freely, even on an off-the-record basis.

And for very good reasons. It is generally known here that the situation inside Bhutan is very delicate at the moment. The powerful Dorji family commands a good deal of influence in this old-world kingdom. At the moment, the family fraternity of the Dorjis is split. The more powerful of the Dorjis have got modern ambitions, to come out as the bosses of a full-fledged independent kingdom.

In this ambitious venture, the Dorjis are believed to be getting the backing and encouragement of the Chinese leaders. There is nothing revolutionary about it, for the Dorjis are far from having any leftward leanings; rather, if anything, they have what may be called, elemental bourgeois aspirations, and curiously enough, the Peking leadership with all its high-sounding phrasemongering about upholding the revolutionary cause, does not have any hesitation in taking a purely power-politics view of the Bhutan development.

In other words, whatever is anti-India in Bhutan banks on getting the Chinese leaders' blessings this

way. Many political adventurers hope to thrive in these regions, cashing in on the situation. Those who knew the Dorjis are not surprised when they find their having active contact with Western circles as well.

The Dorjis have also established links with Nepal. Not only have the supporters of the deposed Prime Minister Lhendup Dorji, secured shelter in Nepal; they have been trying to create trouble inside Bhutan, making Nepal as their take off base.

The political line of the intransigent Dorjis is that Bhutan should be a full-fledged independent state; and that the treaty obligations with India have to be abrogated. They propagate that the treaty rights constitute a hangover of British overlordship, and these have to be repudiated.

It appears that the Dorjis have been spurred on in their adventurous moves by what they regard as New Delhi's timid attitude towards the Nagas. If the Nagas could browbeat the Government of India, they seem to argue, why can't we, specially when we have such powerful neighbours to underwrite our claims.

Inside the royal household, the Dorji penetration is an important factor in the complicated Bhutanese situation. The present queen belongs to the Dorji family, and according to some of the experts of Bhutanese affairs, the Dorjis could get the important position that they hold mainly because of this powerful link with the royal family.

There is an understandable circumspection in New Delhi about this matter, but many are doubtful how far the present king can take a firm stand against the Dorjis so long as they could count on the queen as one of their clan.

It is in this background that the early formation of the Regency Council assumes great importance. The proposal for such a council has been pending for quite some time. In fact, Lhendup Dorji, when he was the Prime Minister tried to put it off, because he knew such a Regency Council would act as a brake on his dangerous activities.

Now the King has made up his mind to form the Regency Council soon, and it is more than likely that this question—particularly the personnel of the proposed Regency Council—came up prominently during the King's Calcutta talks with Prime Minister Shastri. For, New Delhi is interested in seeing that the Regency Council is not packed with people whose allergy to the Government of India becomes a new source of danger for this country.

The general impression in New Delhi is that Bhutan may suddenly flare up into a first class trouble-spot when the snows start melting on the high Himalayas at the beginning of April. The abnormally large concentration of Chinese troops in the Chumbi valley may be more as a demonstration of force to keep up the tension inside Bhutan, rather than preparing for a new aggression south of the McMahon line.

The sense of urgency noted in New Delhi for the creation of political stability in Bhutan is therefore understandable. The backward kingdom, living in pre-feudal primitivity, is no longer an appendant principality, tucked away in a far corner of our frontier.

Thanks to the expansionist diplomacy of the Chinese leaders, it has been pushed to the centre of the stage, in

which court intrigues have got mixed up with power-politics, touching off new tensions, throwing up new challenges to New Delhi's foreign policy.

Film Festival Irritations

THE arrangements in connection with International Film Festival in New Delhi have become the subject of adverse comments in the capital's diplomatic circles.

The festival is a government-sponsored function. And on that understanding, there was ready response on the part of the foreign governments, which I believe, even readily paid for the transport of films to this country.

But the foreign missions in New Delhi are disappointed, if not annoyed, at the way the screening of the films have been organised in private cinema-houses, where open blackmarketing in tickets has been going on. It is the common talk in New Delhi that such rampant blackmarketing could not have been possible without the acquiescence, if not connivance, of the cinema-house proprietors.

Secondly, it has come as a surprise that during the screening of the international films, for the festival, the cinema-houses are permitted to show trailers of their coming programmes (which have nothing to do with the festival) as also numerous advertisement spots which take away a considerable portion of the time. In other words, the cinema-hall owners have fully exploited the festival for their own purpose, and profiteered on it, apart from making good money by the normal sale of tickets.

It is learnt that the capital's diplomatic colony has resented—and rightly too—this mismanagement of the festival, and some of their representatives could not help expressing their displeasure.

Could not the organisers of the festival exercise a little more imagination and avoid these, by hiring on their own, some of the cinema-houses for a couple of weeks and arrange for the sale of tickets through government's own agencies?

—DIARIST

FOOD POLICY UNDER FIRE IN RAJASTHAN

This is also reflected in the prices of pulses. The price of gram has gone up to about Rs. 50 per quintal. The rise in moong is beyond comprehension. It is not available at a price less than Rs. 135 a quintal.

Edible oils too are selling at Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 a kilogram, a price which used to be the usual price of ghee some time back.

The stocks of imported wheat available at the government-run or licensed shops, are showing signs of complete disappearance. In the last week of December literally there were no stocks available at all.

The authorities tried to explain it away by saying that since from January 1 prices were going to be revised they were not issuing stocks.

Even after that date the situation has not fully improved. Out of 90 such shops, stocks of imported wheat are available at hardly 15 shops.

Even the shop supplying wheat to the secretariat employees had a long queue before it and poor chaprasis and clerks had to wait till 8 p.m. to get their turn.

The real reason why wheat is being sold in such tardy manner is because the Government of India has reduced Rajasthan's quota of imported wheat.

Formerly the state was allotted a quota of 50,000 tons a month. Now it has been reduced to less than half of it.

The reason for this, shown by the Central Food Ministry, is that local produce of last year's wheat was enough to meet the needs of this state. But it is still underground and that should be unearthed.

Moreover, they say, due to anticipation of the next crop the hoarded stocks are likely to come out.

Hence the state Food Department has been asked to manage with less of quota of the imported wheat. This has resulted in the available stocks suddenly going down.

Added to this is the fact that in some place like Jodhpur, the local authorities have officially announced the reduction of quantum of wheat that will be given per person.

Now this has been brought down to one kilo per head a week. This quantum is absolutely inadequate.

The result is that people have to fall back upon the use of coarse grain like bajra and maize and the prices of these items too have gone up.

This sudden deterioration in the situation has naturally led to a spate of protest meetings.

In Jodhpur a joint committee consisting of the Communists, the SSP and the rural Communist Party and some independents has been formed to carry on agitation against the rise in prices and the reduction of the quantum of wheat being given per cards.

Trade Unions of Jaipur in a joint meeting have protested against this and are planning a demonstration. In other places too meetings have been held.

So serious is the situation that in Jaipur a deputation of the city Congress too was moved to meet the collector and ask for immediate measures to increase the stocks and set the situation right.

The state government does not seem to have woken up from its typical slumber letting things drift and get set again.

This is illustrated by the fact that practically no steps have been taken to set up the machinery for the state trading corporation in food.

The next crop will start coming in the market from April. If the food corporation agencies are not there in the meantime the stocks will all be cornered by the traders.

But the state government has not yet even thought about setting up this machinery. (IPA)

JAIPUR: With the dawn of the New Year, the food situation has again taken a sudden turn for the worse. The decision of the Government of India to raise the price of imported wheat by about Rs. 11 per quintal acted as a sort of general trend-giver for the prices of other coarse grains too. The price of Bajra has shot up by about Rs. 15 per quintal resting at about Rs. 65.

This in a way is more than even the official price of the imported wheat and equals the maximum price for good quality of wheat declared by the state government. Of course, at that price wheat (local) is not available at all.

All-Out For Kerala Fund

HAVE you started your collections for the Kerala Election Fund? If not, please do so without delay. There is urgent need for money to intensify the election campaign.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued a special appeal to the broad democratic masses "who realise the dangers of continuing the Congress monopoly of power or the communal forces dominating the political scene of the country", to strengthen the hands of the Party in its struggle for a united front in Kerala.

Help the Party and its allies to win a majority in this election by contributing your mite.

*FOR A LEFT DEMOCRATIC UNITED FRONT IN KERALA

*FOR A LEFT DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN THE COMING ELECTIONS

Send your contributions to:

C. Achutha Menon, Secretary, Kerala State Council of CPI, TRIVANDRUM

A PYRRHIC VICTORY FOR AYUB KHAN

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

steps which were meant to perpetrate Ayub's regime.

In these circumstances, the important point to note is that a considerable section of the so-called basic democrats, notwithstanding threats and pressures of every kind, voted for democracy and fundamental rights.

This shows the strength of democratic sentiments in Pakistan.

It was not only the 28,000 votes cast in favour of Miss Jinnah which showed the extent of the democratic urge; it is equally and more, the determination and enthusiasm of the huge masses which opposed the Ayub dictatorship (and this enthusiasm is still there even after the defeat) which really indicate the strength of the people's urge for democracy.

After the announcement of results, General Azam Khan, one-time right-hand man of Ayub and now a staunch supporter of Miss Jinnah, declared that "the nation will continue to fight for people's sovereignty and the establishment of complete democracy".

The democratic forces in Pakistan were handicapped in many ways and faced with many difficulties in their struggle. First of all, there was the dictatorial law EEDO, the biggest weapon of Ayub by which he disqualified many genuine people's representatives from contesting for the basic democracies.

When the elections of the basic democrats were over, pressure of every kind was brought on them through government officials.

Miss Jinnah, it was argued, was fighting for the restoration of parliamentary democracy.

cracy, which would mean that the basic democrats would be deprived of their privileges and votes.

As a result of this argument, a certain section of basic democrats, who were not ready to forego their exclusive rights and votes were persuaded to back Ayub, despite their earlier pledges to the electorates.

These tactics of the ruling party were more successful in the rural areas particularly where the Combined Opposition Parties had no significant influence or hold. The COP's strongholds were mainly in the urban areas, and it was only here that Miss Jinnah won a majority of votes.

The ruling dictatorship secured the help of religious leaders and ulemas also. These ulemas whose influence among the backward sections of the people is considerable, issued FATWAS (edicts) that no woman can become head of the state in an Islamic state. These ulemas openly worked for Ayub.

The ruling caucus incited parochial and communal feelings also. In this way it tried not only to bag the votes of Pathans in the frontier areas, but also created feelings against those who had crossed over from India in Karachi and some of the areas of Sind—a hate propaganda which resulted in the riots after the elections.

Using all these dirty manoeuvres, the ruling party was so confident of Ayub's victory that a new biographical sketch and photographs of Ayub were distributed to pressmen long before the counting was completed and sweets were distributed in some of the government offices of Karachi and Dacca. After the announcement of course a national holiday was declared.

After the success in the elections, a period of revenge-seeking began and the first target of this hooliganism was Karachi where Miss Jinnah received a majority of votes (Miss Jinnah 1061, Ayub 907).

Masani demanded that India must take nuclear help from abroad "as a deterrent against aggression by imperial countries". And of course darling Minoo has it all fixed up with the Pentagon; the umbrella is ready to be unfurled.

Unfortunately no one but Minoo and his reactionary pals want the umbrella; they want the nuclear weapons banned. Oh, it's all a question of one ban or the other. Ranga-Masani-Raja-Golwalkar (and their imperialist masters), of course want nothing but the CPI banned. The rest of the Indian people want nuclear weapons banned!

—ROMESH CHANDRA

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KARACHI: "The light which has been lit by Miss Fatima Jinnah will keep burning till we reach our goal"; this was the reaction of a prominent lawyer of Karachi when the results of the Pakistan presidential elections were announced.

PRESIDENT Ayub has secured a new lease of life for his dictatorship as he was able to secure 49,402 votes against Miss Jinnah's 28,225 votes. But it would not be correct to judge this election on the basis of these results and voting figures.

Miss Jinnah has declared already that the election campaign was only the beginning of the people's march towards the emancipation of the country from the shackles of an authoritarian rule.

And, as everybody knows, this beginning itself was so impressive that Ayub's dictatorship was in a panic.

During the last ten days of the election campaign, Ayub's ministers were repeatedly threatening the Combined Opposition Parties with the worst possible attacks. Ayub even ordered the military to be on the alert in all parts of the country.

There were rumours going round that Ayub and his family members were trying to flee the country. These rumours were so widespread that Ayub took it upon himself to contradict them. He had to say that he would remain in the country and face the verdict of the people whatever it might be.

This was the situation before the election.

As far as the elections and their results are concerned, these elections proved, in Miss Jinnah's words, that under this system, the people have no effective means of ensuring that their wishes would be reflected and registered in the final result.

"I am sure", she said, "that the victory of Mr. Ayub Khan is indeed his greatest defeat".

In fact these elections were not fought between two persons, Ayub and Miss Jinnah, but they were basically a fight between the authoritarian rule of Ayub on the one hand and democracy and the fundamental rights of the people on the other.

Ayub came to power in 1958 by staging a coup d'etat and then he played many tricks to perpetrate his power.

In 1960 he had himself confirmed as President in a simple "yes or no" ballot, which was concluded under martial law administration.

Then he imposed his constitution on the country and has now held these presidential elections under that constitution.

In a way these elections were one of the series of the

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

RANGA SEES RED

THEY are not even original... these gentlemen of the Right. Or maybe any originality in them is driven out by their pay masters, who insist that they dance to the tune played for them. And since it is the same tune, it must be the same dance.

The latest to join the bandwagon and demand the banning of the Communist Party is that old, well-versed-in-reaction Acharya Ranga. Speaking in Hyderabad on January 8, the chairman of the Swatantra Party said it was "high time the government banned both the right and the left Communist Parties" (PTI report).

Ranga demanded that the government should make clear "its real attitude towards communism and the Communists". By this he obviously meant that government should adopt the anti-Communist policy of the Swatantra Party and other pro-imperialist gangs in this country.

What is specially amusing and ironical is the manner in which this ancient reactionary suggests that the Communists are "out to capture power", "with the direct or indirect help and inspiration from foreign countries".

The irony lies in the fact that the maker of this charge is chairman of a party which is openly advocating handing over Kashmir to the imperialists via Pakistan, and is the un-

ashamed spokesman for the imperialists, urging India to give up nonalignment and enter into a military pact with the US and British imperialists, and to accept the nuclear umbrella.

It's the old tale of the thief crying "Stop Thief!" The villain strives to draw attention away from himself by attacking others and accusing others.

Ranga's statement is part of the new right reactionary campaign, which follows the large-scale arrests of the leaders of the rival Communist Party. No one need be surprised that the sharper edge of the attack is against the Communist Party of India and not against the arrested leaders.

It is the same with the rest of the reactionary chorus: they know who their most dangerous enemies are.

MAHENDRA AND THE RSS

WHO was responsible for the outrageous decision taken by the King of Nepal to address an RSS rally in Nagpur? It is true that evidently better advice has prevailed and the King has cancelled his programme. But the mystery remains: how did it all happen?

It is difficult to believe that the King could have acted on his own without seeking the

advice of the Government of India. If he did, then it is a sad commentary on the Indian government's relations with Nepal.

If, however, as is maintained in Nepal government circles, some guidance was sought from Indian officials, who was responsible for giving the King the go-ahead signal?

One thing is absolutely clear. It is the soft attitude extended by the government towards the RSS, which created conditions for this fantastic situation, when the head of state of a neighbouring country had agreed to address a rally of fascists who, everyone knows, were responsible for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi and for the communal massacres which have soiled India's fair name only so very recently.

Let us not forget that Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri only a few months ago received Gurus Golwalkar with much "warmth and sympathy." And it was then rumoured that the RSS would be absorbed inside the Congress itself. Let us not forget also that it was not long ago when President Radhakrishnan presided over a so-called birthday meeting for Sardar Patel where Gurusji was another leading figure.

One cannot blame the head of another government too much, if he assumes that the RSS has been rehabilitated in the eyes of the Government of India, when its chief is received by the Prime Minister and becomes respectable enough to join hands with

the President of the Republic to pay tributes to Sardar Patel.

A THOROUGH ENQUIRY INTO THE WHOLE AFFAIR IS NEEDED. BUT WILL IT BE MADE? WHAT WAS THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR IN NEPAL DOING? OR DID HE OKAY THE KING'S VISIT HIMSELF? IF HE DID NOT, HOW DID IT HAPPEN?

An answer is wanted by the Indian people.

MASANI, THE BOMB-LOVER

THE "Ban the CPI" campaign is accompanied by an equally loud agitation for the nuclear umbrella. At the same time as the Swatantra chairman was mouthing his nonsense in Hyderabad, the Swatantra general secretary Minoo Masani was pouring forth similar dangerous nonsense in Patna.

Masani demanded that India must take nuclear help from abroad "as a deterrent against aggression by imperial countries". And of course darling Minoo has it all fixed up with the Pentagon; the umbrella is ready to be unfurled.

Unfortunately no one but Minoo and his reactionary pals want the umbrella; they want the nuclear weapons banned. Oh, it's all a question of one ban or the other. Ranga-Masani-Raja-Golwalkar (and their imperialist masters), of course want nothing but the CPI banned. The rest of the Indian people want nuclear weapons banned!

—ROMESH CHANDRA

DHANUSHKODI: Eight Urgent Demands

By K. T. K TANGAMANI

Disaster has made Dhanushkodi a familiar name to the Indian people by now. The cyclone and tidal waves which hit the southernmost tip of the peninsula on the night of December 22-23 has wrought havoc to life and property. The National Council of the Communist Party of India has appealed to the government and the people of India to render all help to the victims of this national disaster.

THE Tamilnad state council of the CPI sent three comrades to the affected areas for a first hand report on the situation there: myself, Sundaram, secretary of the Tamilnad committee of the AITUC, and M. Ramamurthy, member of the Tamilnad state council of the CPI.

We proceeded to Dhanushkodi on January 1 and spent three days visiting the affected places and the people.

Rameswaram is a tiny island, 20 miles by 10 miles, with a population of 25,000 distributed in four panchayat towns: Rameswaram, Thangachimadam, Pamban and Dhanushkodi. Dhanush-

Rameswaram island is part of the Ramanathapuram taluk in Ramnad district of Madras state. Both Ramnad and Paramakudi districts were affected by the December 22-23 cyclone. Trees have been uprooted and tanks breached.

The gale and cyclone which began their evil work on the evening of December 22, continued the whole night. There was a tidal bore as well. It swallowed up Dhanushkodi, a third of the inhabitants were washed away. Only the railway and customs buildings remain intact.

A train which arrived near Dhanushkodi at about mid-

Sharda and taken to Mandapam, 20 miles from Dhanushkodi.

At Rameswaram all the inhabitants, nearly 4,000, are still in the town. Government have opened gruel centres and so also have the temple trustees. This is a small relief. The fisheries department with its station in Rameswaram is doing its bit to help the fisherman. The displaced persons are in Mandapam camp which used to be a quarantine camp of the Ceylon government.

We spent three days in these areas. We met the Special Officer in Mandapam camp. Here two meals are served each day; clothes and other articles are being handed by the Special Officer.

At Rameswaram, members of the Communist Party are doing useful relief work. There are 1,000 homeless and jobless and the fishermen are yet unable to ply their trade on the high seas.

We crossed the channel by ferry and walked seven miles to Rameswaram since there are no frequent trains. From Rameswaram we travelled 18 miles by sea in a fishing boat to reach Dhanushkodi—the deserted town.

The pier is greatly damaged and we may not be able to use it. In the town, the sight that met us was too ghastly and terrible for words. In all more than 30 railwaymen died. The five P&T men managed to escape. The train which was derailed is lying there with all the carriages washed away. Many bodies were buried and some more are yet to be extricated. The water has receded and the town resembles a bombed city.

The following main questions require special attention:

i How did the Railway accident take place? Train No. 660 Dhanushkodi-Mandapam mixed passenger was scheduled to leave at 18.40 hours on December 22. In spite of protests by Driver Karupplah, the train had to leave at the instance of APWI and reached Pamban at 20.50, an hour late.

It appears that he informed Driver Rathnam of train 663, that is, Pamban-Dhanushkodi passenger, of the dangerous weather. But it seems that the officials in charge insisted upon the running of the train. The train left two hours late, that is, 22.40 instead of 20.40. The train took nearly one hour to cover five miles to Rameswaram Road station. Still the train was not cancelled, but had to proceed further. The train must have neared Dhanushkodi after midnight when as a result of the cyclone and tidal bore and the rushing in

of water, the train was washed away except for its iron portions.

The passengers numbered 300. No one is alive today. More than 30 railwaymen were killed.

This is a major accident. The railways have ordered only departmental enquiry. This is not enough. There has been callous negligence, inefficiency and bureaucratic stubbornness on the part of the Railway Board. Hence the Tamilnad Committee of the CPI has demanded open enquiry by a High Power Committee as in the case of the Ariyalur train accident of 1956.

ii The families of the deceased railwaymen should be paid full wages till the date of their retirement, in addition to lump sum compensation and preference in appointment to members of the families of the deceased.

iii The 35 railway policemen, who stuck to their posts of duty must be paid three months wages in advance and leave with wages for one month. The P&T Department has offered one month's wage as advance but the National Federation of Post and Telegraph Employees has demanded three months advance to all employees in the affected areas in Ramnad district.

iv For the past ten years, there have been frequent storms and cyclones in the Coromandel coast affecting the districts of Tanjore, Trichy, Madurai and Ram-

nad. The work of the Meteorological Department has not come up to expectations. Therefore, it is necessary to set up a High Power Committee to go into this question and ensure proper coordination between the various departments namely fisheries, railways, shipping etc. It is now doubtful what kind of warning was given, if any, to the inhabitants of Dhanushkodi: the town ought to have been evacuated.

v Rameswaram continues to be an important all-India pilgrim centre. All facilities must be extended by way of ferry arrangements and propaganda for tourism must be intensified. The inhabitants of Rameswaram must be given all aid including financial assistance.

vi The repair to the Pamban railway bridge must be carried out in record time. Work on the road bridge across the Pamban Canal connecting Mandapam on the mainland and Pamban on the Rameswaram island, with a lift span for boats to pass must be speedily undertaken as planned. The Madras government proposal for building a road for 23 miles in Rameswaram island, as part of the National Highway, linking Pamban with Dhanushkodi via Rameswaram must be immediately taken up by the Union government.

vii The Sethusamudram scheme, which includes a canal near Mandapam and a suitable port near Rameswaram for boat service to Ceylon must be started during the present plan period.

viii The Union government must take all steps to rehabilitate all the evacuees and affected persons of Rameswaram island, and east Ramnad district.

These are some of the important demands on which there is consensus among the people of Tamilnad. The people of other states must do their best to render help to the unfortunate people of this area, and support the above proposals.

CHEAP FOOD, A WORLD OF PEACE

By VIMLA FAROOQI

Secretary, National Federation of Indian Women

The National Federation of Indian Women has decided that March 8, International Women's Day, should be celebrated this year throughout India round the slogan "Cheap and Adequate Food in a World of Peace".

THE Council of the Federation met in Bombay on December 26 and 27, under the chairmanship of the President of the Federation, Kapila Khandwala. A large number of other leaders of the women's movement were present. The key question discussed was that of rising prices and the non-availability of the necessities of life.

- It was felt by the Council that in order to ameliorate the food situation, women and women's organisations should jointly demand that:
 - The state must take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. The government should purchase directly from the peasants and pay them a fair price;
 - Statutory rationing should be introduced in the deficit states;
 - An adequate number of fair price shops be opened in cities, towns and villages;
 - Besides foodgrains, essential commodities like cooking oils, pulses, and baby foods should also be sold at fair price shops;

In towns and cities, municipal vegetable shops should be opened. The Council urged all women to work together and join every movement aimed at achieving cheaper and adequate food: the Price-Resistance Movement, Vigilance Committees, consumers' co-operatives, etc. and work actively in all of them.

On March 8, women's meetings will also pass resolutions and pledge themselves to work steadfastly for world peace, and support the declared policy of the Indian government that India will utilise atomic energy only for peaceful purposes and not for making bombs.

This being the fifty-fifth anniversary of the International Women's Day, a call was given to observe it on a bigger scale than in previous years.

It was decided that on this occasion mass rallies of women, seminars, deputations, and processions should be organised jointly with other women's organisations. Every organisation should choose for the celebrations the forms it finds most convenient.

It was decided that the organisations affiliated to NFIW should celebrate Sarojini Naidu's birthday, which falls on February 13, in co-operation with other women's organisations. Education will be the main issue taken up at Sarojini Naidu's birthday, the special emphasis will be laid

on the fact that there should be no cut in the expenditure on education in the Fourth Five Year Plan. All the members of NFIW were urged to work actively to make International Co-operation Year (ICY) a success.

Since the NFIW has been made a member of the Indian National Committee for the observance of ICY, it was decided that the General Secretary of the Federation, Renu Chakravarty, should represent the Federation on this committee.

In a special resolution on disarmament, the Council welcomed "the fact that the Prime Minister of India has emphatically supported the stand of peace forces all over the world—both at the Cairo Conference of non-aligned countries and at the world Conference for Peace and International Cooperation in New Delhi, on nuclear disarmament, and stated clearly that India will adhere to her policy of using nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes".

The Council denounced "the continued attempts both by reactionary elements in the country as well as by interested powers outside for the establishing of a joint nuclear shield for India."

"Such a proposal," the Council declared "is nothing but an attempt to subvert the policy of non-alignment and peace, pursued by the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and accepted by the entire nation as the only course to be followed by his successors."

The Council called upon all Indian women to "exert their full pressure to ensure that India abides by and re-strengthen her resolve for upholding the policy of co-existence, non-alignment and peace."



ALL-OUT ATTACK ON DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION TRIPURA COMMUNISTS' MEMO TO HOME MINISTRY

The Tripura government is carrying out an all-out offensive against the democratic opposition in the name of quelling a so called "armed rebellion". This is the charge made in a detailed note handed over to the Minister in the Minister of Home Affairs Jaisukhlal Hathi by Communist MP Dasarath Deb and Communist Leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly Nripen Chakravorty MLA, on behalf of the secretariat of the Communist Party, Tripura.

THE Note is a devastating indictment of the misuse of power by the local administration in Tripura, and calls for immediate intervention by all who value democracy in the country.

The note points out that in a memorandum submitted in September 1964 and again in the memorandum submitted by two MPs and Rajeswar Rao, general secretary, CPI on October 10, 1964 a number of concrete cases were put before the government for investigation.

From the statement submitted in Tripura Legislative Assembly by the Chief Minister, it was clear that though during last two years, hundreds of Communists and Communist supporters were implicated in serious court cases and kept in custody for months, in not a single case could the prosecution get a conviction against any one. This fact alone was enough to prove conclusively that the police had been used to suppress the Communist Party

known to the government here that the Communist Party in Tripura all along had supported the defence measures of the Government of India and adopted resolutions condemning Chinese aggression in 1962.

The only objective of such arbitrary action is to suppress the democratic opposition which voices the mounting discontent of the people against the present regime.

The note submitted by the Communist Party to the Home Ministry has demanded an early end to this intolerable situation by taking such measures as withdrawal of all cases against Communists and Communist supporters, release of Communists detained under the DIR, cancellation of the order demanding security from the Janasiksha Press, restoration of land to the tribals who were forcibly evicted and withdrawal of police camps from the interior tribal areas.

The second biggest problem today for Tripura, the note points out, is the continued influx of DPs into Tripura. It is now an agreed fact that Tripura has reached the saturation point and no further load of DPs could be taken by the old DPs could not be given minimum land and living. They are in semi-starvation condition without gainful occupation. While it is necessary for the

government to shift the camp inmates outside the territory as early as possible, it is not possible to do so in the case of DPs who stay here either deserting camps or in the case of those who have come here by exchanging properties with Muslims. Their number will also be very big by this time. If these DPs are to stay here they must get some financial assistance for rehabilitation.

This heavy influx of DPs has changed the entire face of Tripura. Today it has a population of about 13 lakhs, 75 per cent of whom are either DPs or tribals or landless from other sections. The land being mostly tilla and under protection of Indian Forest Act, it is impossible to offer them any occupation unless industries could be started. For starting industries an infra-structure has to be created through construction of railways at least up to Agartala and construction of a power station at Damodar. Such medium scale industries like cotton and jute textiles, paper and sugar mills could be started immediately.

The continued fring by Pak forces at different border areas of Tripura brings an entire problem to the forefront, the problem of improving the communication system. It may be noted that a large number of important bridges which the government planned to construct during the Second Plan period, could not be constructed even in the present Plan period.

Even the border roads have been neglected. It is high time that the Border Road Organisation was asked to take up this work on priority basis.

Tripura with its evergrowing population has become now traditionally deficit in food. This year there were dozens of starvation deaths in tribal areas. Even now when the new crop has appeared in the market, rice is sold at Rs. 30 at Agartala where ration shops do not supply even half the requirements.

Therefore, it is imperative that the deficit be calculated on a rational basis and the number of ration shops multiplied to cover tribal areas and full supply maintained throughout the year at Agartala and at the time of need at other places. As the purchasing power is lowest here, the present order for enhancement of price of ration should be withdrawn and ration supplied at Rs. 18 and Rs. 20, as was being done earlier.

The price of essential commodities is probably highest here, the high transport cost contributing to it. The best possible way to meet this situation is to supply such essential commodities as dal, mustard oil, sugar, cloth, matches, salt etc. through the ration shops, co-ops and panchayats. As long as

* ON PAGE 8 PAGE SEVEN

the press THE TWO VOICES FROM DURGAPUR

LETTERS

INTUC'S SUBDUED HARANGUE AT HYDERABAD

THE recent session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) at Hyderabad was in some respects in marked contrast with the earlier Jaipur session held in May 1963.

Jaipur was perhaps the highpoint of bragging by the INTUC leadership and there they demanded that the INTUC alone should be considered by government as a representative trade union organisation on an all-India scale. So much venom was poured out on the AITUC and other central TU organisations at Jaipur. At Hyderabad, the virulence of this attack was significantly absent.

This is understandable. Hardly had the Jaipur session ended when the working class began to hit back and defend themselves against the onslaught of the monopolists—the acute price rises and the crushing tax burdens of the Morarji Budget. The INTUC went hammer and tongs in favour of CDS, the workers struck against it. The workers won and the INTUC leaders had to eat the humble pie.

Those among the prisoners who are sentenced have given long terms. The 1148 convicted prisoners in Nugrat el Salman prison are sentenced to an aggregate of 9,056 years. One hundred and twenty nine are sentenced for life.

Who are these prisoners? More than nine-tenths of them were sentenced for joining democratic organisations which are fighting in defence of the people, or for refusing to renounce their political creeds. They were court-martialed in trials which took just a few minutes and in which all normal procedures were abandoned. Inside the courts, the prisoners were beaten savagely.

And after being sentenced, what are their conditions in prison? In Nugrat el Salman prison, already three veteran fighters for the people's rights have died due to absence of medical care. One doctor visits the prison on rare occasions for just an hour or two. Medicines are almost non-existent.

The appeals draw attention to the fact that the Iraqi government had declared after the November 1963 coup that it would bring about a change and correct the situation brought about by Baathist rule and all the terror against democrats, which went with it. But unfortunately, the conditions appear still to be the same as far as the political prisoners are concerned.

NEW AGE joins its voice with that of freedom-loving forces everywhere in extending its complete solidarity with the Movement for the Defence of the Iraqi People and in support of the urgent demand for immediate amnesty for all political prisoners in Iraq.

Listen to the voice of Iraq's finest sons and daughters calling out to all humanity from behind the jail walls... NEW AGE has before it the moving texts of appeals sent out on behalf of 1397 political prisoners in the Nugrat el Salman prison and of 930 prisoners in Hilla prison. It has taken a long while for these appeals to reach out to the world... they are three and four months old. They have been sent out to all who stand for the rights of man and the dignity of human beings by the Movement for the Defence of the Iraqi People, urging international action for an amnesty for Iraqi political prisoners who number about 4000 in all.

An international meeting is being organised in London on February 7 and 8 in support of the demand for amnesty. Among those who



Salam Adil

have taken the initiative to call this meeting is Bertrand Russel himself. This meeting will assuredly have the full support of every Indian democrat, who reads the appeal we are giving on this page from the political prisoners.

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OPEN THE PRISON GATES IN IRAQ

4000 Political Prisoners Appeal to World Conscience

WE APPEAL TO:

- * Every citizen who hates imperialism and fascism;
- * Every believer in the rights of man and the dignity of human beings;
- * Every fighter for peace, defender of freedom, democracy and socialism;
- * Every father and mother, husband and wife, sister and brother;
- * All people of good will in the world.

To all of you we raise our just appeal from the hateful Nugrat al-Salman prison which was built by the British imperialists in the heart of the desert... from the fortress of slow death, we call upon you, you the honest people of the world, we call upon you from where there is unbearable heat, sand storms and isolation from your news and those of our heroic people; from where there is no electricity or light and where bitter salty water even makes the earth thirsty, from where there is no newspapers or radios, or medicines and beds; from where there is only food to quieten hunger and where we are forbidden to receive visits from our families, children and friend and their or our correspondence is torn... from where there is no law or justice and the dignity of staunch fighters is trampled upon in the mud... from behind the ugly walls and the rows of policemen,

soldiers security forces and jailkeepers armed with machine guns.

From here, we call upon you, you the free minded people of the world, and we have great confidence in you and in our great people that you will raise your voices in our defence.

From this frightfully isolated place we extend to you, friends, the hand of love, friendship and endorsement... the hand of sincerity and honest promise... We swear by you friends that we will remain sincere to the just cause of our people, we will never abandon the flag of brotherhood among nations, the flag of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism... We will never abandon our heroic people or our ideas or forget our hatred towards imperialism and its agents. We will remain believers in the brilliant happy future and fighter for its achievement, no matter what the sacrifices might be, even if it has to be our lives.

We call upon you all to put pressure to bear on the Iraqi government to release and without discrimination all political prisoners, and detainees. We call upon you in the name of human principles and high ideals to work for the realisation of the following:

- The formation of special committees from

among you to visit Iraq and look into the conditions of political prisoners and demand of the Iraqi government to stop persecuting and torturing us;

● to demand the cancellation of death sentences passed against tens of citizens.

● to demand that an honest investigation be conducted into the activities of the members of the nationalist guard and all those who have participated in the murders and torture; and the formation of a special court composed of honest judges to try those criminals who have harmed humanity; and to allow us and all the citizens to be witnesses.

Free-Minded People of the World!

Strugglers for the sake of man, his freedom and dignity!

Mothers all over the world who have lost their children as victims of fascist terror and imperialist oppression!

Youth of the world whose children was haunted with the crimes of fascism and nazism!

Raise your voices to support our struggle and an end to our persecution! Save the lives of the militants!

Put an end to the torture of citizens!

Champion the principles of justice and freedom!

Free Minded People of the World!

For the sake of truth and its defence, we have entered the jails and borne all kinds of torture and deprivation.

For the sake of truth and its defence, and from behind the frightful prison bars we appeal to you. This is the appeal of the Iraqi people, whose voice has always been heard all through modern history against injustice to which the Iraqis were subjected and are being subjected.

We send to you this appeal of ours, hoping that you will raise your voices in defence of the dignity of man, the rights of man.

Raise your voice with ours. Every word you say in our favour, is a word for right, justice, and honour. Every word you say or write in our defence is in fact a defence of truth, justice and all human values.

We have struggled for the victory of justice. We have always carried and we will continue to carry the torch of truth.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN NUGRAT AL-SALMAN PRISON, IRAQ

SONG OF HOMAGE TO MARTYRS OF IRAQ

By MADAN DIDI

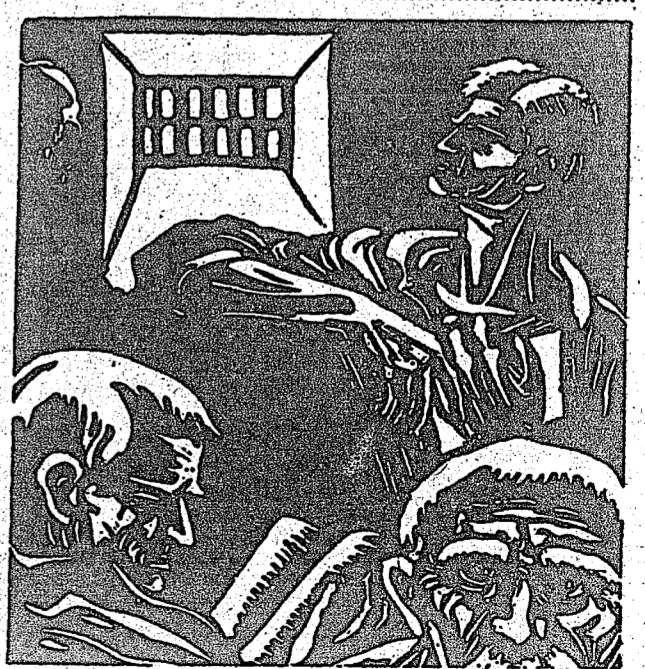
Pain in every heart, anguish in all eyes, Murder roams the streets, even wine turned to poison Baghdad's tale of tyrants' cruelty breaks the heart.

There, those were picked out and slaughtered Whose light illuminated the whole country Those who wished to brighten every nook and corner Achieved glory through the sacrifice of their lives.

Brigandage and treason were rampant Entire humanity cried: Enough, enough of cruelty and injustice

The martyrs proclaim: Do not mourn us, The more they suppress us Sharper shall be our sword, mightier our hand.

[This moving song in Urdu was sung by Madan and Sheila Didi from the rostrum of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India in Bombay. Later, the author of the song presented it to the fraternal delegation from the Communist Party of Iraq who attended the Congress. It has been translated into English by Sajjad Zaheer.]



Congress sessions are always welcome to the Fourth Estate, for, besides providing abundant copy material—from the full text of the presidential address distributed in advance to the longwinding speeches of ministerial personalia—they are occasions for assessment and forecast by the editorial writers on the state of the nation.

THE Durgapur mela was no exception, it even had the added attraction of the Prime Minister and the Congress President living in "huts" though it did not earn that attractive display the organisers had expected.

For the editorial writers, the keynote speech was of course, the presidential address by K. Kamaraj, though some did not forget that the Prime Minister also spoke on major issues like planning and the economy. But that was to note the dissonance in views expressed by the two leaders.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, for example, found that the Congress was speaking with "two voices", while the PATRIOT saw "indecision" writ large in the pronouncements and decisions.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES said on January 11: "Mental reservations behind 'unanimous' assent to resolutions are not uncommon in the recent history of the Congress, but when the Congress President and the Prime Minister speak with two voices it becomes difficult for the public to make up its mind about the party's real intentions."

This duality of expression, however, did not worry the paper much as it found later that "the resolution on economic and social policy despite its vagueness in some respects and ambiguities in others may provide the basis for a viable policy for the coming years".

"There is little doubt", the paper went on, "that its particular emphasis as well as its general tenor reflect the anxiety to obtain for our people the substance rather than the ideological shadow of socialism."

Happy Shift!

It noted happily: "In sharp contrast to the customary insistence on the reservation of the commanding heights for the public sector, the new criteria for allocation of resources 'whether in the public or the private sector' is to be the production of 'essential commodities and services on an adequate scale'."

Also, "in industry the emphasis on basic industry is in a deliberately low key. Instead of being used as the touchstone of socialistic faith, it is mentioned as one of the many things that have to be achieved for realizing our ultimate ambitions. Significantly, the necessity for a period of consolidation has been openly avowed for the first time in a formal party document."

The concluding prayer of the paper was: "It is to be hoped that in the coming months both Mr. Kamaraj and Mr. Shastri will feel confident enough to ask, and obtain from their party consent for the general tenor of this policy".

The Birla paper did not know that unwittingly it was admitting that the orientation being given to the economic policy did not have the sanction of the party ranks.

THE PATRIOT, on the other hand, was worried about the disastrous consequences for the Congress if the present shift continued. "The Congress certainly is in a mood of hesitation and uncertainty and it may be the correct thing for the President to reflect the total attitude of the party", but...

"The people are confused about the intentions of the Congress. As many delegates and AICC members pointed out at the open session and the meetings of the subjects committee, it often looks as if the Congress talks with two or more voices on almost all issues. When a ruling party in the middle of a serious crisis gives the impression of lack of purpose, opposition groups will take the maximum tactical advantage of it."

Cause For Doubt

The paper added: "Even on such vitally important matters as the Plan, Mr. Kamaraj in his advocacy of caution gives opportunity for doubt about his party's capacity to implement any drastic reform".

Kamaraj's plea for smaller investments in the Fourth Plan drew the following comment from the paper: "such generalisation if they are not to be mistaken for preparations for a retreat should have been made before the Congress embarked with full knowledge of consequences on the vast programme of basic building initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru."

Again, on the pessimistic view of the Congress President on the capacity to raise resources: "Such afterthoughts are not likely to improve the chances of fulfilling the Third or giving the necessary impetus to the Fourth Plan."

Ultimately, the paper summed up its view that the approach as indicated in the presidential address "will appeal only to the conservative elements in it who made up their minds long ago that any effort at socialism should be sabotaged" (January 11).

THE TIMES OF INDIA found it "easy to understand the note of anxiety in Mr. Kamaraj's address to the Durgapur session". For, "The Congress can no longer expect the people to take its promises at their face value. If they are to believe that it means what it says it must find here and now the means to master the crisis which has made even the daily bread a luxury for most people."

Regarding the "measure of control over distribution and

regulation of prices" about which Kamaraj talked, the paper said on January 11: "But such regulatory measures as the Government has taken so far have had little effect on the price level. Mere promises by the ruling party to bring down prices to a more reasonable level will not do."

On the problem of raising adequate resources and checking inflationary tendencies posed by the Congress President, THE TIMES OF INDIA bluntly stated: "The real challenge before the Congress is to discover how to carry out so large a plan without incurring the inflationary risks inherent in it."

"The party has decided to give a higher priority to agricultural programmes in the next Plan. But it is a grievous mistake if it thinks that it can achieve a steady increase in food production merely by providing for a larger outlay on agriculture," it said.

However, it did not forget to warn against the "dangers" of extending the public sector:

"In industry, Mr. Kamaraj has asked the state governments to produce consumer goods like textiles, sugar and cement. But there is no warrant for the belief that this can be done at cheaper prices. Indeed there is a real danger that in extending its activities over a wider area than it can cope with, the public sector may further slow down the rate of development."

THE STATESMAN had also lots of objections to the extension of the public sector as suggested by Kamaraj. It said in an editorial on January 10:

"Once again he put forward the contentious proposal of the state engaging itself in medium and consumer industries; there was little indication that the idea had even been discussed at many levels."

The paper, however, disagreed with the others in that it did not find much antagonism between the pronouncements of the Congress President and the Prime Minister: "Prudence he has recommended, which is in line with the Prime Minister's thinking."

It added: "Realism is still the keynote of everything Mr. Kamaraj says, which is not to say that ideology of a sort does not still distort the thinking of many in the Congress." It was left pleasantly vague whether the Congress President also belonged to this category.

It was quite surprising to THE STATESMAN that Kamaraj "devoted not a few first paragraphs to international affairs, in appropriately vague terms, and did not turn to internal conditions until the thirteenth."

The most biting of the digs which the paper made against the Congress President was when it said: "Mr. Kamaraj had much to say about the country's agricultural failure; he, however, thought that, in face of the severer food crisis, which might engulf the country, the Congress governments rose to the occasion both at the Centre and in the states. A somewhat different view may be taken in, for instance, Kerala..."

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TRIPURA: ATTACK ON DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION

* FROM PAGE 7

that cannot be done, the government should give adequate subsidy to meet the transport cost.

While the cost of living is rising, indebtedness is on the increase and employment opportunities are not expanding, it is strange that the government thought it wise to enhance the rate of land revenue, two to six times the old rates. The rate fixed here is higher than for West Bengal, Assam, Manipur, Punjab etc.

Though the Act and Rules provide only for enhancement of 12.5 per cent over the old rates, the present rates have been fixed in violation of it. If this rate is enforced, the agriculturists will be ruined. As most of them are either DPs or tribals it is essential that the rate be scrapped. The question of enhancement may be taken up after 10 years when the tribals and DPs would be rehabilitated.

The question of protection of tribal rights in land is no less important today. The Government of Tripura is not prepared to implement any recommendation of the Dhebar Commission in these matters, as well as in matters of employment, education etc. The tribal blocks formed in tribal areas have failed miserably, to give them any assistance. Even the jumias could not be rehabilitated.

The eviction of tribals from

land, in various ways, has become widespread. Many tribals have started migrating to Assam from tribal dominated areas due to the policy of the government which prefers non-tribals to tribals in matters of rehabilitation in these areas.

The note further says that time has come when the government should seriously consider the proposal of the former Chief Commissioner of Tripura to declare the tribals dominated areas as Scheduled areas. Dhebar Commission also made this proposal. This alone can give effective protection to tribal people, in the face of continued influx of DPs and failure of the government to stop forcible eviction of tribals from land.

One more question remains to be drawn attention to. The Government of India has asked the poor government employees of Tripura to refund the special compensatory allowance that they were receiving according to the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission. While it is necessary to increase the pay and DA of these employees and to grant Hill Allowances to the employees working in Hill areas, it is cruel to ask them to refund SC allowance. On the other hand, it is necessary to continue this allowance as in past and ask the Government of Tripura to make an early revision of other pay and DA.

Hyderabad A. MOHAN RAO
JANUARY 17, 1965

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES ASTIR

Centre's Paltry DA Raise Fails To Satisfy Staff

It was announced on January 4, that consequent upon the readjustment of dearness allowance rates in central government services, over two million employees would get annually an additional increase of Rs. 30 crores in their wage bill.

THIS is, indeed, an impressive sum and there will be some people who might criticise the "extravagance" of the government in "padding" its own employees by such liberal wage increases!

There will also be critics who will be aghast at the building up of such lavish bureaucratic apparatus in the central government which requires a sum of Rs. 30 crores, even to readjust the DA.

The truth, however, lies somewhere else.

For the majority of the 21 lakhs now involved in the DA adjustment, the grand appellation of a "central government employee" is, indeed, a cruel joke.

Because the majority of them are industrial workers

and it is only because they are departmentally employed as in the railways, post and Telegraph, civil aviation, CPWD, ordnance factories, etc., they are kept as a separate category of "central government employees", as distinct from public sector workers of Bhilai, Sindri or Barauni.

And because they are classified as "central government employees", the railwaymen and other departmentally-employed workmen are denied the norms of industrial wage fixation; they were classified as "sedentary" workers by the Second Pay Commission.

Moreover, they were the victims of the spurious theories on nutritional norms spun out of thin air by the

Second Pay Commission, to deny rational wage fixation to the employees.

Now, when we notice the new DA adjustment, what is important to consider is not so much the gain secured by the 21 lakh industrial workers and other employees under the central government.

The question to be asked is: how much T. T. K. has saved by depriving the 21 lakh industrial and office workers of their legitimate

DA? Firstly, if a system of dearness allowance is to provide any measure of relief, it should be capable of providing prompt relief and only then can this relief provide even limited compensation for the rigours of price rises.

The existing formula for DA revision is exactly the contrary: it has such a "gestation period" that only when the price rise has completely shrunk the purchasing

power will the government condescend to readjust the DA. The irrationality of the present formula is admitted by the Das Commission but it has made no recommendation for revising the formula.

For instance, the recent DA revision is said to neutralise upto 145 points in the all-India consumer price index, as from October 1964. In this very month, the actual all-India consumer price index was 163, that is, 18 points more than 145.

The all-India index, as is well-known, is fraudulent and the government has itself admitted the fault to the extent of eight points, when the bank and insurance employees were given additional compensation for the eight point fault.

Therefore, the Finance Minister has given by way of a DA increase limited neutralisation for a rise of 10 points upto 145 in the index and has quietly avoided payment of DA upto 171 points, (163 plus the eight-point fault).

How many crores TTK has saved in this transaction is evident.

Another important question is: how long should the industrial and office workers employed by the central government wait to change the irrational DA formula? There can be a limit to patience.

Secondly another saving which the Finance Minister has got is through the jugglery of the rates of neutralisation and the slabs which were taken into account.

The Das Commission was appointed when dispute arose as to what additional neutralisation was required when the DA was last adjusted at 135 points.

It was then fully understood that upto 125 points, government had provided full neutralisation and in the slab upto 135 points, the neutralisation was 50 per cent.

In determining the quantum of DA required for a specified percentage of neutralisation on various pay ranges, the Das Commission took into account all the previous DA adjustments, thereby slashing down the actual quantum considerably.

Thirdly, in almost all important wage adjudications, it has been admitted that neutralisation by way of additional DA should be 100 per cent for the low-paid categories.

It hardly stands to reason why the government which regards itself as a "model employer" should claim exception when it comes to its own employees.

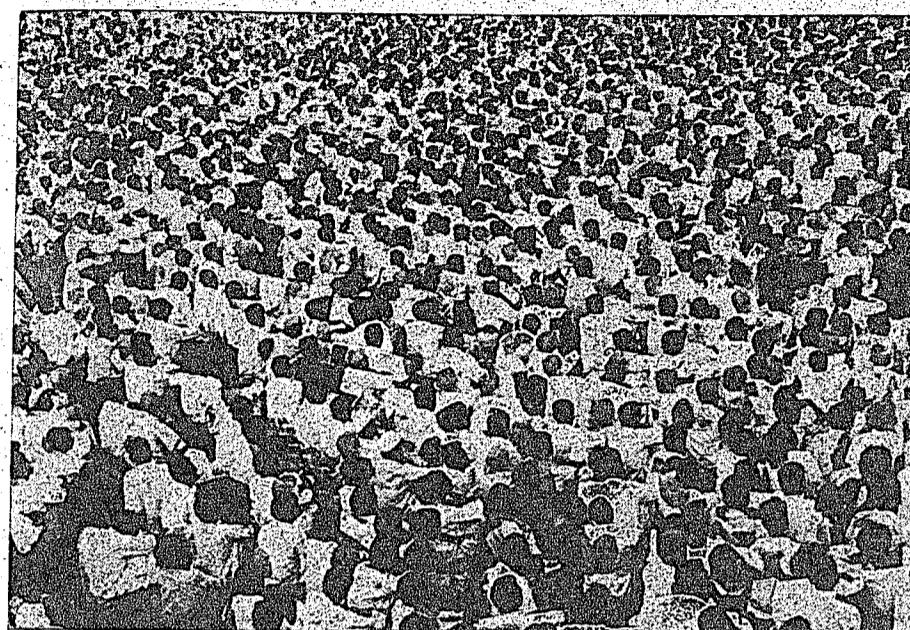
It has now become a well-settled policy with the po-

wers—that be that every action of theirs should create greater discontent.

The government had been far too long delaying the evolution of suitable machinery for industrial relations in the central government services.

Even after the five-year period of the Pay Commission's recommendations had expired long ago, the consultative machinery envisaged in the Commission's report is yet to see the light of the day.

The government did, of course, put out a draft scheme of joint councils sometime back but this was made more to hurt than to resolve disputes: in exchange for the



dubious advantage of a joint council, the government wanted the unions to surrender vital TU rights. The method adopted in

the recent DA revision is identical: what is given is inconsequential; what is withheld is crucial. This is true just as much

about the quantum of relief in cash as such cardinal questions as wage determination and norms of DA fixation and revision.

PLANS FOR ACTION IN THE STATES

As a sop to the increasing discontent among government employees, the Union government has announced some meagre increase in dearness allowance. It has not satisfied the employees because it would not go to meet the cost of living and resentment still persists among them.

BUT the situation among state government employees all over the country is explosive. The lot of these employees is more pitiable because the state governments do not even pay the salary scales given by the centre though the cost of living in many states are as high if not higher than in Delhi.

There is a general stir among state government employees for increase in dearness allowance and for revision of wages to make them on par with central government employees.

The situation in some of the states is as follows:

In the face of a massive agitation launched by the non-gazetted officers, the Kerala government has announced that a pay commission would be appointed within a few weeks.

But this announcement has gone to meet the demands of the employees only partially. Their main demand for an interim relief in the form of a Rs. 25 increase in wages has not been met by the government.

The Kerala NGO Union Council had taken a decision on December 13 to conduct a strike ballot by January 15. The ballot would have involved 40 thousand employees of the state government.

Announcing the decision to take a strike ballot, K. Chellappan Pillai, president of the Kerala NGO Union Council, said that they were compelled to go for the last resort since all their

They will hold a protest rally at the premises of the secretariat on January 4, when they will burn the effigy of the Pay Revision Committee and wear hunger badges on January 12.

A ballot will later be taken from January 15 to 18 to ascertain the opinion of the employees for either a general strike or a mass casual leave to build sanctions behind their demands.

Pillai stated that though the membership of his union was only 14,000, the proposed action will have the whole-hearted support of 40,000 NGOs in Kerala.

The NGO Union is also seeking cooperation and support of the non-gazetted employees in government schools and lower grade employees. These two categories have their own organisations.

The council meeting has set up a coordination committee to carry out negotiations with these organisations for united action against rising prices and high cost of living.

If these efforts succeed the action will cover as many as one lakh thirty thousand government employees in Kerala.

The government employees of Bihar are much agitated over the recommendations of the pay revision committee, appointed by the state government, which they hold to provide very meagre relief.

The recommendations were announced by the Chief Minister in the Bihar Assembly last week.

The Patna Secretariat Ministerial Officers Association at a meeting on December 28 decided a four-point programme of protest against the new pay rise offer of the Bihar government.

But the harvests are still months away and meanwhile employees are starving.

The situation in Maharashtra is also not much different.

The state government employees have given notice that their agitation will be intensified unless the government accepted their demands.

A huge rally of the employees was held in this connection at Bombay on December 23 under the auspices of the Maharashtra State Government Employees Confederation.

The agitation of the government employees in the Punjab is being intensified.

The Punjab Subordinate Services Federation at its meeting on December 22 decided to hold demonstrations every day during the lunch hour before the government offices.

Their demands include increase in emoluments to class III and Class IV employees and reinstatement of two fellow employees who were suspended recently.

The government response has been to clamp section 144 at Chandigarh. It has also suspended another employee, who is a vice-president of the Federation.

This has led to a further deterioration in the situation.

The state government is now trying to devise measures to weaken the agitation by a show of concession.

A cabinet sub-committee has recommended that government employees drawing a monthly salary below Rs. 500 should be supplied foodgrains, sugar, cloth and pulses at subsidised rates.

SANGRAM SAMITI FORMED IN WEST BENGAL

CALCUTTA: Sixteen organisations—state branches of central trade union organisations and trade federations—have joined to form the West Bengal branch of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti.

THE decision to form state organisations was taken at the last meeting of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti.

The constituent meeting of the West Bengal branch of the Samiti was held on December 16, in which the following organisations took part: West Bengal Committee of the AITUC; UTUC; UTUC (48 Dharamtala St.); Hind Mazdoor Panchayat; Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association; Life Insurance Employees Association; Federation of Mercantile Employees' Union; Newspaper Employees' Federation; Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers; All-India Cine Employees' Federation; Insurance Field Workers' Federation; Transport Workers' Federation; Petroleum Workers' Union; Calcutta Division LIC Agents' Association; Reserve Bank of India Employees' Association; and All-Bengal Teachers' Association.

The meeting also decided to form regional and district committees jointly with all constituent units and to make the joint committees as broadbased as possible.

The state branch of the EMS has not yet joined the committee possibly because it has not yet centrally joined the Samiti.

The All-Bengal Teachers' Association which is starting a movement in February on dearness allowance and for linking DA with the cost of living index, has agreed to take part in the joint committee.

The Committee appointed Monoranjan Roy MLA (AITUC) and Jatin Chakravorty MLC (UTUC) as Joint Convenors.

It was decided at the meeting that under the auspices of the Joint Committee a central convention will be held on February 7 to adopt a concrete programme of movement.

The meeting also decided to form regional and district committees jointly with all constituent units and to make the joint committees as broadbased as possible.

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be Kashmir, where the state government has been able to off set employees agitation by some concessions.

The government has announced an increase of Rs. 8 for its employees getting a salary between Rs. 102 and Rs. 400 per month. The payment will be made with retrospective effect from April 1, last.

Only recently the government had announced an increase of Rs. 10 in DA of its employees drawing a salary upto Rs. 100 a month.

AITUC Wins In Two Calcutta Plants

CALCUTTA: Workers of two establishments in Calcutta—one in the public sector and the other in the private sector—where the managements have refused to accord recognition to the AITUC, have affirmed their faith in the AITUC unions by large majorities.

THE two establishments are the Garden Reach Workshop and the Kesoram Cotton Mills. The occasion was the election to the works committee in the former and the provident fund trustee board in the latter.

In the works committee elections held on December 28 in the Garden Reach Workshops of Matlabuz in Calcutta, all the 10 seats were won by the AITUC-affiliated Garden Reach Workshops Mazdoor and Staff Union.

As many as six seats were won uncontested and in the remaining four seats, the AITUC-nominated candidates have been elected with overwhelming majority of votes.

In the last two elections also the AITUC union and its candidates had secured overwhelming majority of votes.

It is most interesting to note that the management fixed up the date for deduction of advances just on the eve of the poll date, with the intention to agitate the workers against the union, which also failed.

Another interesting fact was that the INTUC union did not put candidates in the name of the union, but put them as "independent" candidates. The persons were the same who suffered defeat in the last election also.

Though the AITUC union has been proved as majority union through these elections and through verification conducted by government, the management is still refusing to recognise the AITUC affiliate.

In all the three seats of the workers' representatives in the Provident Fund Trustee Board of Kesoram Mills Workers' Provident Fund Institution in Calcutta all candidates of the Garden Reach Textile Workers Union (AITUC) were elected with overwhelming majority, defeating the candidates of both the INTUC unions.

The management tried their level best to secure the victory of the candidates of the official INTUC union (Kesoram Cotton Mills Employees' Union), through intimidation and threats.

Despite the fact that in membership verification during the last few years, the AITUC union has proved to be the majority union with more than double the membership compared to the INTUC union, the management of the Kesoram Cotton Mills continues to recognise the INTUC Union and is trying to introduce "closed shop" method through the INTUC union.

The workers have once again given a fitting reply to the company.

The election took place on December 23 and 80 per cent of the total number of the voters, (9500) cast their votes. The candidates of AITUC secured 68 per cent of valid votes, whereas official INTUC got hardly 31 per cent. The elected members are Haridas Saba (Asst. Secretary of the Union), Ab. Khalque and Niranjana.

A great enthusiasm spread amongst the workers and public of the area. A victory procession of more than 5000 workers took place in the evening with the victorious workers and ended in a meeting.

PREMIER WORKERS FIGHT FOR TU RIGHTS

BOMBAY: The workers of the Premier Automobiles Ltd. in Bombay, are unitedly struggling for trade union rights and against the betrayal of their interests by racketeering TU leaders on whom the management has bestowed recognition.

THE Engineering Mazdoor Sabha led by R. J. Mehta was recognised by the management on October 14, last year.

It is said that this was a sequel to the secret agreement on classification of workers and the willingness of the union leadership to agree to enforce higher workloads on workers in the name of an incentive bonus scheme.

The incentive bonus scheme was enforced on top of a wholly chaotic situation in this plant in respect of classification.

It is reported that pending cases of classification workers are many years old and

Mehta's agreements with the management.

On November 30, R. N. Nair was informed by the management that "your services are no longer required in this organisation and as such your services are hereby terminated with immediate effect, i.e. on and from Monday, the 30th November 1964."

R. N. Nair is a highly-skilled worker and has been in service since 1951. For eight years, he has been a member of the Works Committee, and had been an active trade unionist, formerly in the Engineering Mazdoor Sabha itself.

The victimisation of R. N. Nair has been condemned by the Premier workers.

S. A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC, has asked the Maharashtra government to intervene against this blatant act of victimisation.

ON LBJ'S MESSAGE

By MIKE DAVIDOW

PRESIDENT JOHNSON, with an unprecedented electoral majority behind him and a commanding Democratic majority before him, unveiled the general outline of his Great Society to an anxiously awaiting nation Monday night.

THE President's State-of-the-Union Message clearly reflected the pressure of the people's mandate more however as yet in promise than proposed performance, although on some issues he projected some significant forward steps.

The President extended a public invitation to leaders of the Soviet Union to visit the US and proposed an exchange of TV broadcasts between leaders of both nations. He made it clear that he considered a policy that would "seek peaceful understandings" with the Soviet Union an unmistakable mandate.

With obvious reference to this as one of the main issues that distinguished his platform from Goldwater's, the President stated: "Last fall I asked the American people to choose that course. I will carry forward their command." (emphasis added)

The President also provided a new and significant stress on "exploring ways to increase trade" with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Europe and indicated that "labour" was playing a role in these plans.

The importance of breaking through the "iron curtain" on trade with socialist countries, was not diminished even though the President implied that efforts would be made to use such trade to foster differences among socialist countries.

At the same time, President Johnson served clear notice that his Administration intended to attempt to utilize the differences that have developed within the socialist world, to pursue an aggressive course, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

DANGEROUS BOAST

This was most dangerously disclosed in the President's boast that "the unity of the Communist empire has begun to crumble."

And it was apparent that he sought to justify the brutal "dirty war" in Vietnam on the grounds that "in Asia, communism wears a more aggressive mask."

Perhaps more than on any other foreign policy question, the American people awaited to hear what the President had to propose as a way out of the explosive dead end that is US policy in Vietnam. But, here the President confined himself to a "justification" of a commitment to continue the same hopelessly discredited dangerous course.

Clearly, on the issue of getting out of Vietnam, the President has yet to hear the people's command.

The bulk of the President's message dealt with the nation's accumulated domestic needs long neglected during the many years of the cold war.

What emerged was the projection of some substantial improvements, which past experience has proven, are far from guaranteed by their inclusion in

a State-of-the-Union message or even by a commanding Democratic Congressional majority. As a skeleton to be clothed with the flesh provided by public pressure, some of the President's proposals can serve as the basis for much needed advances. The President proposed:

To begin a programme in education "to insure every American child the fullest development of his mind and skills."

A massive attack on "crippling and killing diseases such as cancer and heart diseases."

Enforcement of the civil rights law and the elimination of "every remaining obstacle to the right and opportunity to vote."

To aid the recovery of stricken and depressed areas.

1965 MANDATE IN PEOPLE'S HANDS

This of course should mean not only our nation's Appalachians but its Harlems.

Improvement and modernization of the unemployment compensation system.

This needs to be spelled out along the lines of AFL-CIO proposals that would set a national minimum and raise the standard in keeping with the rise in the cost of living.

Medicare for the elderly with "hospital care under social security" and with increased benefit payments.

A change in Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. This section further union-busting "right-to-work" laws now in 20 states. However, Mike Mansfield, Senate majority leader, had said a change would have no chance in this Senate session, so mass pressure is needed to back the President's pledge.

A cut in excise taxes. This is of some help but is far from the tax reforms needed to adjust to people's ability to pay.

The President, indicating a growing awareness of the crisis of our cities and the unresolved housing crisis, called for establishment of a Department of Housing and Urban Development as part of his cabinet. President Kennedy had unsuccessfully sought to set up such a department and had suggested Robert Weaver, a prominent Negro, to head it.

No doubt with the expertise in Alabama and Mississippi in mind the President said he would propose reforms in the Electoral College which would make sure "no elector can substitute his will for that of the people."



Will their future be bright?

However, he limited his proposals for governmental reforms to the general suggestions that they "should be modern in structure, efficient in action, and ready for any emergency."

However for a Great Society the President's outline was sorely lacking on a number of crucial points. There was indeed little flesh on his educational programme despite the fact that it would double the present Federal expenditures for the schools from \$1.5 to 3 billion.

One has but to look at the New York City decades-long school crisis to get the measure of the inadequacy of this proposal.

The New York City Board of Education recently urgently requested the Federal government for \$1.5 billion for its own five year crash building programme.

The President's own party is committed to raising the minimum to \$1.50 at the forthcoming session of the New York State Legislature.

The AFL-CIO has set \$2 hourly as a national minimum. If anything would provide real ammunition in a war against poverty and a boost to the nation's economy, it would be enforcing the AFL-CIO proposal into law.

The President in equal-handed fashion called upon labour and business to keep "wages and prices within the framework of guideposts that have already served the nation well."

But, the President neglected to say whether the record-breaking \$1.7 billion in profits for the past year reported last week by American Telephone and Telegraph Co. were within the "framework of such guideposts."

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr., chairman of the House Labour and Education Committee which considers such legislation has demanded a

minimum of \$3 billion be provided. Even this is far from sufficient.

But, the President by failing to support Powell's request is clearly inviting the defeat of this proposal.

The President while pledging to act for the "enforcement" of the civil rights law, failed to speak out sharply on the need for Federal intervention to end the terror against the Negro people in the South and particularly in such states as Mississippi.

He confined his proposals on the minimum wage to mere "extension" of its provisions to two million more workers.

The Federal \$1.25 an hour minimum has long proven obsolete.

And, let there be no illusion that the fight for them will be easy in the Congress.

But, the President by no means set the limits of what is possible. On the contrary, while making some important concessions to the mandate of the voters, particularly on some domestic issues, the President is evidently not looking for a fight with those forces in monopoly circles and his own party who would oppose some giant steps toward a Great Society. And such a Society cannot be a Military or a Racist Society.

The forces that formed the backbone of the Great Anti-Goldwater Coalition now need to put the flesh of such a Peace and Full Equality Society on the skeleton that President Johnson last week presented to the nation.

Perhaps the single most glaring contradiction in the President's outline of the Great Society was his silence on disarmament.

He spoke boastfully of the \$3.5 billion saved in governmental economy last year.

Yet about \$51 billion was spent for military expenditures at the same time and more than \$1.5 is being wasted in a brutal war that most Americans do not want. But the President promised to continue to expand the nation's treasure to achieve greater superiority in the arms race and in the war in Vietnam.

THE situation inside the Communist Party of Japan has caused concern to Communists and anti-imperialist fighters everywhere. It will be recalled that several leading members of the Party were expelled after Yoshio Shiga, member of the Central Committee, had voted in the Lower House of the Diet (Parliament) on May 15 in support of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty.

We have recently received a copy of an appeal issued by four members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan—YOSHIO SHIGA, ICHIZO SUZUKI, SHIGEHARU NAKANO and SHIGEO KAMIYAMA. This appeal was made public at a press conference in Tokyo on December 2.

As we consider that this appeal will be of interest to our readers, we are publishing extracts from it, as information material. —EDITOR.

Today, 19 years after the termination of World War II, the domestic and international situation is at a turning point. Reflecting this, various political parties and forces, representing the different social classes of this country, are making preparations to cope with this situation.

IMPORTANT political parties of this country are holding national conventions one after another. Following the inauguration of the Komei Party in mid-November, and the Congress of the Communist Party of Japan (Yoyogi group) at the end of the same month, the Socialist Party of Japan and the Liberal Democratic Party are about to hold their national conventions in December. This is no accident. These conventions are intended not merely to make preparations for the coming general election.

It is for the purpose of rallying our comrades broadly at this juncture for the cause of liberation of the working class and toiling people that, in starting as the Communist Party of Japan (The Voice of Japan), we are going to make clear a course for all Communists to follow.

The lengthy report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan (Yoyogi group), which it adopted at its ninth Congress, is entirely lacking in the fundamental angles which are required correctly to analyse the present situation.

Depending on the United States, Japanese capitalism recovered in the '50s the prewar level of mining and manufacturing production

and continued a high rate economic growth for 10 years after that. This was possible due to the low wage of Japanese workers, which was combined with postwar technological innovation, heavy taxes levied on the working people, and concentration of funds on monopolies.

Today, the production equipment and facilities and the production of the iron and steel and other major industries of this country are comparable to those in the principal capitalist countries of the world, excepting the United States.

Thus, Japanese capitalism has developed into an imperialist power with larger monopolies than in prewar years. Contradictions inherent in Japan's "high rate economic growth" are more and more in evidence in recent years. The symptoms of overproduction, together with the expansion of equipment and production, are observed in many sectors of industry, while the rising prices of consumer goods, increased pinch on credit, the intensified spoliation of medium and small enterprises and agricultural enterprises have become the major issues of the present day.

The Sato Cabinet was formed

JAPANESE CP LEADERS MEET THE PRESS

Four central committee members of the Communist Party of Japan (The Voice of Japan)—Shiga, Suzuki, Nakano and Kamiyama—met the press on December 20 and told about 20 Japanese and foreign newspapermen that they had started as the Communist Party of Japan (The Voice of Japan) that day.

They met the press after they had issued an appeal "Let us rally around the Communist Party of Japan (The Voice of Japan)!" At the press conference, Shiga made the following points.

The Yoyogi group has soiled the traditions of the Communist Party of Japan founded by Sen Katayama, degraded to the positions of modern revisionism and dogmatism and come out with a positive anti-Communist and anti-Soviet policy.

This group is not qualified to call itself the Communist Party of Japan. We cannot recognize the decisions of the ninth Congress of this group.

As is clear from their betrayal of the April 17 strike, one of the features of modern revisionism is to avoid struggle against state power,

while to uphold only the banner, borrowed from others, of national-liberation struggle is sheer dogmatism.

In this sense, the position of the Yoyogi group is a mixture of revisionism and dogmatism. We can no longer leave the communist movement in Japan to this group.

We have started as the Communist Party of Japan today. You pressmen are now describing the Yoyogi group as the Communist Party of Japan. We will endeavor to lead you to describe it as the Yoyogi group.

We four have so far worked to uphold the party programme decided by the eighth Party Congress.

However, the Yoyogi group has discarded the political line decided by the eighth Congress. The situation has changed greatly

Communists In Japan Struggle For Unity

FOUR CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ISSUE IMPORTANT APPEAL

to fulfill its mission to solve these grave economic difficulties in a reactionary way. When it calls for "economic expansion on a stabilized basis," "elimination of waste and greater interest in saving," and professes to uphold the principles of "tolerance and harmony," it intends to promote labour-capital collaboration in a new form and to strengthen the offensive of reaction through the promotion of nationalism.

Similar phenomena are observed in other capitalist countries of the world. The recent crisis of the pound sterling is a concentrated expression of the various contradictions of the world capitalist system and is associated with the general crisis of capitalism. In the world capitalist system, antagonisms between imperialist countries have been intensified and the relative position of the United States is being gradually downgraded.

Imperialist countries are locked in the struggle for markets on an unprecedented scale, which cannot but lead to a new upswing of the international working-class movement.

The struggle of the peoples of the world for peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, for general and complete disarmament, and for the prevention of thermonuclear war, are forging ahead. In this situation, the national liberation movement and the struggle of newly independent countries for real independence are becoming more and more powerful.

Recently, imperialism has become more and more undisguised in suppressing national liberation movements in order to maintain its colonial system. The situation in South Vietnam and the Congo bears out this situation.

In Asia, US imperialism is in a tight corner, confronting the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese people. US imperialism is utilizing its military bases in Japan to a maximum and is bent on using Japan as its junior

partner. This is clearly seen in the visit of nuclear submarines to Japan and the forcible appointment of a new Chief Executive in Okinawa, and Japan's normalisation talks with South Korea.

Cooperating with the United States, Japanese imperialism intends to push a policy of imperialist expansion in South Korea, Taiwan and Southeast Asian countries, depending on its strengthened economic prowess.

In the world arena, the decisive factor for preventing imperialist aggression and war is the socialist system, and the international working-class movement and the heroic national liberation movement, uniting their forces with the socialist system, are shattering into smithereens imperialism's policy of aggression and war and rapidly weakening the capitalist system. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are dealing a crushing blow to the aggressive and expansionist machinations of the imperialists by taking a resolute attitude to imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the Congo.

The ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Japan (Yoyogi group) held in this situation, has discarded the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Party of Japan, proletarian internationalism, and Marxism-Leninism, and refused to play its role as the vanguard of the working class, causing serious damage to the interests of the Japanese people. We cannot recognize this Congress.

First, the report of the Central Committee adopted at this Congress, contravenes the two documents setting forth the general line of the international Communist movement—the Moscow Declaration and Statement—which were unanimously approved by the seventh and the eighth Congress and on which the present Party programme is based.

Thus, the Yoyogi leadership is about to play its role as an advance-post in the struggle to undermine the international Communist movement. They find a moral support for their divisive activities in their erroneous thinking that "the discharge of Khrushchov means a defeat for contemporary revisionism" and that it meant "a victory for the Yoyogi leadership, which has followed an anti-Soviet policy." However, such an erroneous thinking is being shattered by subsequent developments.

As for a concrete way to rally our forces, we would like to unite our forces through efforts to reach an identity of views in the course of talks and discussions with those who have been ousted from the Yoyogi group, honest-minded members who are still in the Party, and others who are no longer in the ranks of the Party but are maintaining their class positions.

Apart from its date, a new world conference of Communist and Workers Parties will certainly be held. When I visited the Soviet Union, I was told that the decision to call a preparatory meeting of 26 Parties was still valid. We will attend this conference, if invited.

settling important questions in an entirely new way.

Unduly ignoring the struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence and for democratic reforms, they counterpose the socialist world system and the international working-class movement to the national liberation movement and are conducting divisive activities against labour, peace and other democratic movements at home and abroad.

Second, in order to impose such an erroneous policy on the entire Party, the Yoyogi leadership resorted to unusual and abnormal procedures in holding the ninth Congress.

Thus, the Congress, consisting of virtually appointed delegates, did not reflect the general will of the Party and cannot be recognized as a formal congress based on the Party Rules.

Void Decisions

Therefore, all the decisions of the ninth Party Congress are null and void. The actions taken to expel the four Central Committee members elected by the eighth Congress and to punish other honest Communists, are null and void.

We consider that in order to perform our tasks as Communists, it is necessary not only to fight politically and ideologically against the betrayal of the working class by the Yoyogi leaders and their divisive activities against the international Communist movement, but also to develop organising activities.

The task of remaking the Communist Party into a glorious, revolutionary Party worthy of the names of its founders, beginning with Sen Katayama, cannot be achieved without long-drawn, difficult struggles.

This task is a noble duty of us, Communists, to the great Japanese working-class and people, and must be fulfilled by all means in order to chart the path for the revolutionary movements in Japan.

It is by successfully carrying out this task that we can restore the real unity and cohesion of the Communist movement, which have been destroyed by the Yoyogi leadership, restore to the international Communist movement and the Communist movement in Japan, the prestige that has been harmed by them, and open up the way to regain the confidence of the people.

Together with our comrades who have courageously risen up throughout the country to rectify the Party and the Communist movement, we, as inheritors of the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Party of Japan, call on the members of the Communist Party of Japan, honest Communists, revolutionary workers and all people who cherish progress and peace, to rally their forces.

The Communist Party of Japan (The Voice of Japan), with this perspective in view, will work creatively and vigorously, upholding the Moscow Declaration and Statement and developing the Party programme on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, establishing close ties with the people and basing itself on the realities of this country, and establishing Party life on the basis of Communist norms.

Curious Hodgepodge

Lying at the base of the errors of the Yoyogi leadership is a hodgepodge of modern revisionism and modern dogmatism.

They do not correctly evaluate Japanese imperialism, and formalistically emphasise the need for national-liberation struggles against US imperialism, while avoiding struggle against monopoly and state power. This indicates their falling-off to the position of bourgeois nationalism.

They do not recognise at all the fact that the socialist world system is in a superior position in the struggle between the two social systems and that there is in our time a real possibility of

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

AFTER CPI VII CONGRESS

New Responsibilities Before Progressive Writers

By SAJJAD ZAHEER

The adoption of a new Programme by the Communist Party of India, at its Seventh Congress, marks an important event in the history of the forty-year old Communist movement in India.

ASING itself on an objective assessment of the national and international situation today, the Party has given a call for the building up of a national democratic front—a militant combination of all the popular progressive forces which will take our country forward to a new life, free and democratic, ridding it of its present ills, weaknesses and confusions, and opening the road for the building of fulfilled social-ism.

The transformation can only be brought about through the mass mobilisation and struggles of our workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and the middle-classes, including the patriotic anti-monopoly sections of the national bourgeoisie.

While fighting for the redress of the immediate grievances of our people—the rising prices, profiteering and corruption; increasing grip of the monopolies over the economic structure of society; and, for the carrying through of the much-delayed agrarian reforms, for increased food production, for industrialisation, and generally for a leftward trend in the policies of the government, the national democratic movement would aim, through increased support of a majority of our people, at changing the present inept, corrupt and faction-ridden Congress bourgeois government and replacing it with a government of the national democratic front.

Intensive Work

Clearly this involves intensive work, both ideological and organisational, in practically all spheres of our national life, primarily, of course among our working-people and the middle sections of society, including the intelligentsia.

As far as the intelligentsia is concerned—work in the cultural sphere assumes very great importance. Section 79, para 4 of our Programme specifies it thus:

"The National Democratic Front will concentrate its attacks against the group of right reactionary forces not only in the economic and political spheres, but also in the cultural sphere. The struggle on the ideological front assumes great importance in view of the fact that outmoded feudal and imperialist ideologies continue to exert their reactionary influence among vast sections of our people.

"Casteism, communalism, religious obscurantism and all sorts of reactionary ideas including those coming from western imperialist sources are being utilised and propagated to disrupt class unity, unity of the democratic forces and national integration and to undermine our people's faith in a secular, democratic and socialist future.

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is that our progressive middle-class intelligentsia, our patriotic writers, artists, teachers, journalists etc., struggle for a cultural regeneration in an organised manner.

"They have not only to prevent the pollution of young minds with reactionary ideological poison, but also to inspire the fighting masses with optimism and an unshakable faith in a bright future."

Today, the situation in our country for an advance on the lines indicated above is very favourable. We find, for example, that modern Indian literature in all our national languages, has grown and arisen, as a result of and as a part of the Indian people's struggle for freedom from the bondage of imperialism.

Indian cultural renaissance of the 19th and early 20th centuries was an assertion of Indian national personality—a search in the treasures of our hoary national culture, on the one hand, and an effort to infuse modern, secular, democratic values in Indian social life, on the other.

'Inherent Inferiority'

The imperialists, during their rule in India, tried to instil into our minds the idea of "inherent inferiority" of our people, they denied our very nationhood; and at the same time fostered every possible division and disruption in society based on indigenous reactionary and backward ideas born out of moribund feudalism and even tribalism.

Indian cultural renaissance was a flaming rebuttal of all this. Naturally, it also reflected, in the ideological sphere, all the weaknesses and shortcomings of our national liberation movement, dominated as it was, by the bourgeoisie.

But the situation began to change after the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, the rise of the liberation struggles of the Asian peoples following the First World War, the emergence of the Indian working-class and the spread of Marxist and socialist ideology among certain sections of the Indian intelligentsia.

In the thirties a new revolutionary wave arose in our country concurrent with the triumph of socialist construction in the USSR, powerful anti-fascist united front battles in Europe, and the mighty struggles of the Indian working-class and peasantry.

Revolutionary trends manifested themselves among the Indian intelligentsia also. The Communist Party of India, braving ruthless imperialist repression, emerged as an independent political force. In the Indian National Congress also, left-socialist trends developed, led by Nehru, Bose and the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party.

The radicalisation of our political life in the thirties was reflected, in the field of literature, in the progressive writers' movement. Communist writers and Marxist intellectuals took the initiative in giving an organised shape to this movement. The progressive writers' movement and its organisation in this period, was a united front of all democratic, anti-imperialist and patriotic Indian writers, including the Communist writers.

It is well to remember that the first president of the Indian Progressive Writers' Association was the outstanding Hindi and Urdu writer Premchand, that Rabindranath Tagore addressed and blessed the second conference of the association held at Calcutta in December 1938, that Jawaharlal Nehru and Sarojini Naidu attended and addressed two of its conferences, and the great Malayalam poet Vallathol supported and associated himself with the movement.

Changed Situation

With the achievement of our independence, the situation changed. The Indian bourgeoisie, through its main political organ, the Indian National Congress, assumed the reins of power. Although contradictions between it and imperialism as a world force, remained, yet now the reactionary, anti-people face of the bourgeoisie was also manifest.

Thus, while the new ruling-class pursued certain progressive policies, which strengthened our independence and world anti-imperialist and peace forces, helped the development of industry, agriculture, education and culture, and certain democratic values, its uglier and reactionary side was also no less evident.

This latter aspect is shown in the growth of monopolies, in not carrying out of the essential agrarian reforms, increasing the economic burdens on the people etc. In the social sphere we find the bourgeoisie ruling-class, in spite of its professions to the contrary, unable or unwilling to struggle against and defeat the dark forces of national disintegration—casteism, communalism, obscurantism, revivalism etc.

It also goes full freedom to western imperialists to try and drag our country into the ideological cold-war. Anti-Communist propaganda of the vilest nature, and anti-scientific and anti-humanist ideas coming from the West have been given a free field in our country. The educational, cultural and publicity organs of the Government of India, or those helped and assisted by it, practise a subtle and insidious anti-communism, thus negating the democratic professions of the Constitution itself.

The government, on the one hand, professes to encourage and attempts to develop scientific research and modern technology; and the late Prime Minister Nehru incessantly spoke about the need for developing the scientific outlook in life, as a necessary condition for the advancement of the

country; on the other hand, we have the ridiculous spectacle of the Minister for Home Affairs, Gulzari Lal Nanda, setting up and patronising the Sadhu Samiti—an organisation of parasitic "holy" vagabonds, who prey upon the credulity as well as the meagre subsistence of our common people.

Such incongruities abound in present society.

Religious Revivalism

Religious revivalism—the ideological sheet-anchor of communalism and separatism, has probably never been so unashamedly propagated in our country as it has been since independence. Among the Hindu population, the Jan Sangh is its most militant exponent. The Jan Sangh advocates, day in and day out, nothing short of extermination of millions of non-Hindu religious minorities in India. Occasionally they practise through their semi-military organisation—the RSS—what they preach, and massacres of Muslims take place.

The Jamaat-e-Islami, through its widespread organisation and propaganda, preaches cultural separatism, and obscurantism, and spreads unpatriotic ideas among the Muslims of India through a distorted reading of Indian history.

Both these revivalist organisations have one thing in common—virulent anti-communism and enthusiastic support to western imperialism. Both are patronised by foreign imperialist agencies.

Many newly-rich elements have grown in our society since independence—the licence-holders, the contractors, the blackmarketers, income-tax evaders, and a whole bunch of dishonest businessmen, who have amassed their illegally begotten fortunes through their influence with the ruling party and its officials. Thus we see today the spectacle of vulgar display of wealth and luxury at one end of society—and growing misery and anguish among vast masses at the other end.

In such a situation the moral fabric of society gets more and more weakened. Hypocrisy, charlatanism, selfishness, heartlessness, inhuman behaviour and cynicism become rampant. The new capitalist class, growing in the wake of industrialisation, becomes more and more devoid of patriotism and social sense.

But, since a great majority of our people is the victim of such a situation, there grows also simultaneously the consciousness and the will to change and alter it—to struggle against the oppressors; to unite, to organise, to expose the lies and hypocrisies spread and fostered by the exploiters and their allies and to break the chains which bind the people.

During the last two years this discontent of our people manifested itself in great mass actions—the Great Petition, the Great March, Bandh actions etc. There is no doubt that these will grow in the coming period. In the process of these struggles, the national democratic front would be forged.

India's revolutionary intelligentsia has a glorious past—it has articulated the highest and

What does the CPI's Seventh Congress mean for different sections of the Indian people? In this article, Sajjad Zaheer poses important issues, which call for discussion among writers and intellectuals. NEW AGE cordially invites all writers to contribute to this discussion on the tasks which face progressive writers in the light of the new Programme of the Communist Party of India.

the noblest aspirations of our people during our freedom struggle. It has fought and sacrificed, together with other sections of our people, for the honour and independence of our motherland. It has given consciousness to the urge for justice and equality of the labouring masses; it has inspired these masses with hope and faith in a future where there would be no exploitation of man by man.

The thirty years' record of work of Indian progressive writers alone is no mean record. In most of the major languages of India, progressive and Communist writers have particularly achieved eminence in the spheres of fiction, poetry, drama and criticism.

The new sensibility, the humanism, the patriotic fervour, the understanding of the changing pattern of Indian society, the interplay of class forces, the peculiar psychological problems of the individual in modern times, are reflected in their works.

The Marxist method has helped them to see the social realities in a better and clearer way. They have striven to give a beautiful and artistic form to their creations. They have made new experiments, more in consonance with the realities of our modern life and the modern world, and attempted new and novel forms of expression in poetry and fiction.

No doubt there have been failures, weaknesses and aberrations too. Their achievements as well as failures need a detailed analysis, thorough discussions and criticism.

However, there is no doubt that Indian progressive writers are today in a much stronger position, in numbers, in the quality of their work already done, and in regard to their capabilities than when their conscious and organised movement began about thirty years ago.

New Epoch

In the present epoch when the balance of forces on the world scale has turned in favour of socialism, when among our own people, democratic and socialist consciousness has become widespread, it should be possible for them to unite with the great majority of our patriotic writers, in spite of ideological differences, to fulfil the tasks which history itself imposes on them.

The theme of literature is as wide and varied as life itself. Through their manifold creative activities, their search for truth and beauty in life, through patient and principled discussions on the problems of art and literature with those who disagree with them, through their identification with the people and articulation of their hopes, sorrows and aspirations—they can achieve still bigger successes, defeat reactionary ideological influences, and raise the general level of Indian cultural life as a whole.

The possible organisational form of all these activities will be dealt with in a subsequent article. In the meanwhile, it is hoped that other writers would express themselves on these issues.

We must at the same time give support to any constructive proposals the governments may make. Here, I particularly welcome the proposal for an All-European

JANUARY 17, 1965

"The Congress which the WCP decided to call in 1965 will be held in Helsinki from July 10 to 17, 1965.

"The World Council of Peace wishes to ensure the fullest participation in the Congress of all movements and organisations, all who are working for peace. It cordially invites them to take an active part at every stage in its planning, organisation and proceedings...

"All who are concerned by the great problems of peace, the independence of peoples and general disarmament, can meet at this Congress."

THE Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace, meeting in Berlin from December 6 to 9, 1964, issued the above communique convening the World Peace Congress in 1965. The decision was adopted after thorough and careful discussion.

The key issue that was debated in the course of discussion was very significant and reveals the sincere desire on the part of the highest leadership of the WCP to contribute towards the building of an ever broader peace movement.

Should it be a Congress of the World Peace Council? Or should the Congress be convened by all the peace forces represented in the WCP and various other peace groups who do not formally belong to the WCP?

There is obviously no contradiction in these two views. One does not stand opposed to the other. It was therefore decided that the Congress

will be convened by the WCP but will be open to all peace forces.

Everybody, as the communique quite clearly and categorically states, will be given full opportunity to express their views, full right to participate in the deliberations and will be requested to associate with every stage of preparation.

Why then should the Congress be convened by the WCP? The reason is very simple. The WCP is fifteen year old. It should make an assessment of its activities during this period—its successes and failures, its achievements and shortcomings. It has to discuss a number of organisational questions which do not concern others, who will be participating in the Congress. The WCP must not give the impression to other forces that it transacts its own business in a Congress convened by several peace groups.

But some questions were considered by the meeting to be of great importance. Many speakers suggested that all issues endangering peace in different regions of the world—the proposed Multilateral Nuclear Force (MLF) or the Atlantic Force as proposed by the British Prime Minister, the war in South Vietnam conducted by the US government, the Belgian attack against the Congolese people with the help of US government, the remilitarisation of West Germany with nuclear weapons etc.—should be taken

1965 SHOULD BECOME YEAR OF PEACE

By J. D. BERNAL

Chairman, Presidential Committee, World Peace Council

It is clear from the momentous developments that have taken place on the international scene in the last weeks of 1964 that the New Year will confront mankind with some very far-reaching decisions.

THESE will either lead to a worsening of the situation, or fortify the tenuous moves that were made in 1964 to ease international tension and make some progress towards disarmament. The path that the nations will follow in 1965 depends more than ever before on the forceful expression of the peoples' will to peace.

Perhaps the most fateful struggle at the year's end was waged around the plan to set up a multilateral nuclear force within NATO, designed to provide the military leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany officially for the first time access to nuclear weapons.

Such a project would have meant a serious setback to the growing possibilities of easing tension in Europe and of making any progress at the disarmament talks in Geneva. It would have made impossible any agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Various modifications of the original MLF scheme are being put forward, such as the Atlantic Nuclear Force, proposed by the British government, and all of them carrying the same danger of placing the German generals' fingers on the nuclear trigger.

Thus, in the first months of 1965, we shall see diplomatic moves of the utmost gravity inside the NATO alliance. The peace movement must follow these moves with the closest attention and counter each new threat as it arises.

We must at the same time give support to any constructive proposals the governments may make. Here, I particularly welcome the proposal for an All-European

Security Conference, including the USA, the USSR and the neutral countries, made by the Polish Foreign Minister, Adam Rapacki, at the United Nations, whose plan for disengagement and denuclearisation in Central Europe has, over the years, won such widespread support. Such a meeting could lead to a genuine security pact covering the whole of Europe, providing a basis for settlement of



Prof. J. D. Bernal

the hitherto insoluble German problem and making real progress on disarmament possible.

I think particularly of the martyrdom of the people of Vietnam, their sufferings in an atrocious war directed by the US government through phantom governments in Saigon, none of them able to remain in power for more than a few weeks at a time.

JANUARY 17, 1965

World Peace Congress Helsinki, July 10-17

By CHITTA BISWAS

General Secretary, All-India Peace Council

together during the preparations for the Congress.

It should be a political forum of all forces, including the peace forces of the



Dr. James Endicott

United States, on equal footing, as Prof. Bernal rightly put.

As has unfortunately been the usual practice in all these international meetings, the Chinese delegates would never be satisfied with any document that does not contain the exact wordings used by them. This meeting was no exception. The Chinese delegates very clearly stated that this should not be a Congress for disarmament and peaceful co-existence.

According to them the Moscow Peace Congress of 1962 was not to be emulated as, according to them, it was "not against imperialism" (it should be noted that this realisation on the part of the Chinese delegation came to them when they went back home after supporting all the decisions of the Moscow Congress).

CHINESE VIEW

The Chinese representatives expressed the view that the Congress should be titled as a Congress against war and "the aggressive policies of imperialism headed by the USA". When this view did not find any support, they preferred to abstain single-handed.

Of course, the Congress will be directed against imperialism: that is what a Peace Congress always is. But to state this in the title would only narrow its scope and reduce its strength.

The meeting considered that the Congress will have an added significance as it was being held in the year 1965—the year of International Cooperation. This again provoked the Chinese delegates to come out sharply against the World Peace Council, which is going to work out a plan for observing the International Cooperation Year.

Their "argument" was that the World Peace Council has

shown yet another instance of "collaboration with US imperialism" by associating with the International Cooperation Year which, according to them, is "the device of USA." And why? "Because President Johnson is very enthusiastic about the programme."

But the meeting refused to oblige the Chinese delegates by sharing their views on the matter.

The Presidential Committee adopted resolutions condemning the MLF, the US aggression in South Vietnam and the US-Belgian attack against the Congolese people, and addressed two messages to the people of South and North Vietnam. Two memoranda on Cuba and Cyprus were addressed to the United Nations.

Prof. Bernal, in his concluding remarks, said, the preparations for the Congress should start right now. The Secretariat of the WCP has already decided upon a number of meetings—meetings with the secretaries of the National Peace Committees early in March, a consultative meeting with different peace forces, and another Presidential Committee meeting in April—all in preparation for the Congress.

BERLIN MEETING

The Berlin meeting endorsed the work of the WCP delegations to the Algiers Conference held in July for a nuclear-free zone in the Mediterranean, the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation held in New Delhi in November, 1964, and the Hanoi Conference in support of the struggle of the South Vietnamese people.

The Chinese delegation took serious exception to the circulation of a report on the New Delhi Conference prepared by the WCP for the members of the Presidential Committee, and attacked vehemently the conference as "an anti-China clamour" and accused it of adopting "an erroneous line of close collaboration with imperialism."

Dr. Endicott, who participated in the conference on behalf of the WCP, in his concluding speech declared the New Delhi Conference to be the most successful conference held in 1964—a fitting reply from the World Council of Peace to the Chinese vituperation against the World Conference which began on Jawaharlal Nehru's seventy-fifth birthday.

It is clear from the proceedings of the Berlin meeting that the next World Congress will be another important event in the history of the World Peace Movement. The All India Peace Council has to contribute its share in the world-wide preparations for this important Congress. The

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NEW AGE

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This article is based on talks which the writer had with an important leader of the United National Front of Sudan in November last. Further discussions with Mohammed Ibrahim Nugud, who represented the CP, Sudan at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India, has helped to improve and make the article up to date.

SUDAN: Peaceful Revolution And After

By Kunhanandan Nair

Under the leadership of the united national front in which all progressive parties and revolutionary forces are rallied, a bloodless national democratic revolution has been accomplished in Sudan.

IN the last week of October 1964 the revolutionary forces overthrew the hated military regime of General Abbud and his reactionary officers and established a civilian government on October 29. The new Sudanese government under Prime Minister Ser el Khetm Khalifa carried out a number of democratic reforms fulfilling step by step the national democratic tasks before the country.

The state apparatus (the army and administration)—were systematically purged of anti-people and corrupt elements. Civil liberties were restored, and political prisoners released. Commanders of the armed forces were sent to retirement.

Against Imperialism

The government also began to take a number of effective measures to eliminate imperialist influence in the country. The Sudan cabinet decided to prohibit British military aircraft from landing at any Sudanese airfield if it were suspected of carrying soldiers or weapons to South Arabia. The new government granted franchise to all women for the first time in history.

The peaceful revolution in October 1964 was the culmination of relentless efforts at building up national unity. The Communist Party of Sudan was the main force that strived for this unity.

Since 1958 coup through which a group of high officers of the Sudanese army headed by General Abbud captured power and suppressed political freedom, the Communists and other progressive forces were working among the people to bring about a change. The military dictatorship in these years failed to give any relief to the suffering peoples. They could not solve a single problem of the country.

Instead they opened the door wide to the neo-colonialists, American and West German monopolists intensified their efforts to penetrate into Sudan's economy. The country had become increasingly dependent financially on the imperialist powers.

When the condition of the masses deteriorated, the conscious efforts of the Communists and other democratic forces to build a national democratic front began to surmount many political obstacles. The military regime on

the other hand more and more relied upon repression to deal with the situation. Throughout the six years of the military regime, the country was in effect under martial law. Parliament was dissolved, the Constitution suspended and all political parties and mass organisations of the working people were banned. In March 1960, the Abbud government outlawed Sudanese Trade Union Federation and declared strikes and demonstrations illegal.

Thousands of patriots, trade unionists, Communists and other democrats were thrown into prison. But repression did not in any way strengthen the position of the military government. On the contrary it found itself more and more isolated from the masses.

Democratic forces working for the overthrow of this regime consolidated themselves. Broad sections of the people increasingly came to realise that the army generals were steering the country towards disaster.

In the beginning the bourgeois opposition parties were suspicious of the intention of the Communists and the character of the national front. Later, their suspicion vanished as the regime went wild in suppressing civil rights.

Opposition To Dictatorship

The main bourgeois-political parties which had existed prior to the establishment of the military rule—the National Unionist Party; People's Democratic Party; Umma Party—joined the opposition. Work of the opposition among soldiers in the army was intensified. Ferment grew in the army, among soldiers and junior officers.

The working class and its vanguard, the Sudanese Communist Party, trade union federations, student organisations and peasant unions, which functioned underground, were the most consistent opponents of the military dictatorship.

From the underground the working class movement was able to strike decisive blows against the Abbud regime. The general strike of Railway workers in 1959 and 1963, numerous mass petitions, campaigns, strikes and demonstrations of university and high school students, the militant actions of the agri-

cultural workers in North Sudan, and other forms of popular struggles more and more undermined the foundations of the military dictatorship.

The political crisis in Sudan was accelerated by the sharp deterioration of the situation in the three southern provinces inhabited mainly by Negro tribes. A separatist movement has been spreading in recent years in the area.

Southern Revolt

The attempts of the Abbud government to crush this movement by force only added fuel to the fire of the southern revolt. Armed uprisings of the tribes in this area had of late occurred almost continuously and the government despatched army units to put down the revolt. The problem of the South further complicated the general political situation and served as the immediate cause of open revolt by the masses against the military regime.

When the Southern question got entangled with the general political upheaval, the government in August last unleashed fresh waves of repression. On August 14, the police arrested well-known Sudanese leader Abdul Khalik Mahgoub and six of his comrades. The government promulgated emergency law and filled the prisons with Communists and other patriots.

On October 21, an unprecedented mass demonstration took place in Khartoum. Sudan's metropolis where the white and blue Niles flow together, witnessed marvels of heroism of the students. Police attacked demonstrations and one student was killed.

The powerful movement and demonstration culminated in the peaceful general strike. The life in the capital and other cities came to a standstill. The popular movement assumed a scale and degree never witnessed in Sudan before. The military dictatorship fell and on October 29 a popular government was installed in power.

Leading Role of UNF

The overthrow of the military regime, a major victory for the patriotic forces, was won under the leadership of the united national front. This front, which came into being in the course of the struggle against the dictatorship has united in its ranks members of all political parties and mass democratic organisations. The provincial government that replaced the



Mohammed Ibrahim Nugud, member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Sudan, being received at the Seventh Congress of CPI.

dictatorship was formed chiefly of representatives of the Umma Party, the National Unionist and the People's Democratic Parties, the Communist Party of Sudan, trade union federation and representatives of the Southern peoples.

The new government is following an independent foreign policy based on nonalignment and resolute struggle against imperialism. It is firmly opposed to imperialist intervention in the Congo. The government has restored the democratic liberties and general elections are going to be held in March this year.

In the agrarian front the government is preparing for a radical land reform. Economic reconstruction that

benefits the majority of the population is a chief point in the government declaration.

A new stage has been ushered in the Sudanese revolution. The national democratic government is paving the way for radical socio-economic reforms and emancipation of the working people. A non-capitalist path of development will take the country towards socialism.

The working class and the Communist Party of Sudan is playing an important role in the democratic transformations taking place in Sudan today. The Sudanese revolution will further accelerate the process of national liberation in the African continent.

World Peace Congress HELSINKI JULY 10-17

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preparations in India will centre round the NEW DELHI APPEAL adopted at the World Conference held last November.

Signatures are to be collected on this appeal from representative people and organisations—MPs, MLAs, members of Municipal bodies, Panchayats, Cooperatives, leaders of trade unions and other mass organisations, writers, artists, lawyers, teachers, doctors, scientists etc.

A popular movement has to be built up against the clamour for manufacturing an atom bomb in India by interested sections and even by some honest people who sincerely believe that India has to manufacture an atom bomb as a reply to the Chinese atom bomb.

It has to be explained dispassionately that the reply to the Chinese bomb is not to join the atomic club—but to continue to strengthen the campaign for a complete ban on atomic weapons.

The Armament race can

never create an atmosphere of peace—it only aggravates the already existing tension. The pride of our nation is that people from all over the world gathered together in the capital of our country and adopted an appeal demanding abolition of nuclear weapons and thereby relieving mankind from the threat of a nuclear warfare.

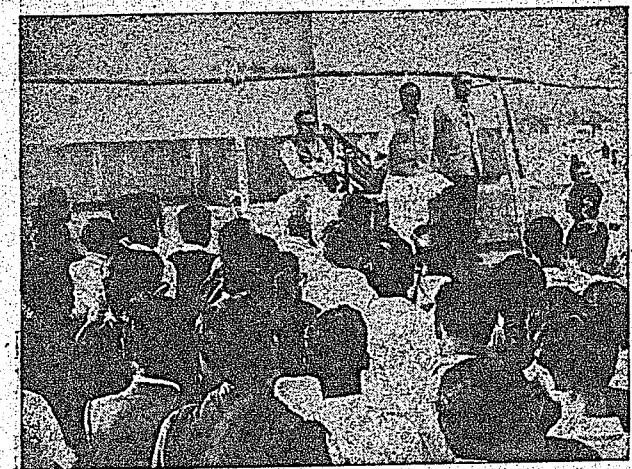
Together with the campaign for popularising the NEW DELHI APPEAL, we must rouse public opinion against the continuous provocations of the US government—the dirty war launched by them in South Vietnam, the stationing of the Polaris-equipped submarines in the South East Asian waters off the China Sea the sending of British armed forces in large numbers to Malaysia.

The Secretariat of the All India Peace Council, has decided to seek the cooperation of all prominent individuals and organisations who are interested in the struggle for peace, all men of goodwill for the Helsinki Congress.

CIVIL LIBERTIES COUNCIL PROTESTS

An emergent meeting of the executive committee of the All-India Civil Liberties Council on January 11, adopted a resolution condemning the governmental action of arresting under DIR about 800 leaders and workers of the rival Communist Party. The meeting of the council was presided over by N. C. Chatterjee, MP, a senior advocate of the Supreme Court.

THE resolution of the council states: This emergent meeting of the Executive of the All India Civil Liberties Council, attended by a number of leading advocates of the Supreme Court, expresses its grave concern about the largescale arrests in the country under the Defence of India Rules enacted in disregard of the fundamental rights guaranteed under Articles 14, 21 and



THE PM, THE BOMB AND THE FUTURE

* FROM FRONT PAGE

(with the rightwing caucus inside the Congress joining hands at least secretly with the right parties outside the Congress), what was required of the Congress leadership at Durgapur was a sharp and clear-cut stand on the issue.

It was necessary not only to reiterate government's decision to use nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes and never to accept any sort of imperialist nuclear "umbrella" or "shield"—but also, in view of the dangerous confusion, to plug all loop holes, which may suggest prevarication or vacillation in the execution of this policy.

The resolution put forward by the Working Committee did reiterate government's policies. But it did nothing more. And the manner in which the "bomb makers" amendments were withdrawn (in the usual "highly democratic" way of the present day Indian National Congress) left ground to assume that the confusion remained, and the "bomb-makers" had only withdrawn to fight again another day.

But nevertheless the resolution was adopted, and that was a positive gain. Unfortunately all the good that might have been done as the result of the debate and the adoption of the resolution was virtually wiped out by the statement made to the subjects committee by Prime Minister Shastri that the policy of using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes alone

would be continued—"FOR THE PRESENT".

The PTI report quotes the Prime Minister as making these three words even more explicit, by adding: "But I cannot say what will happen in the future. What will be the circumstances nobody can say".

Needless to say the "bomb-makers" are jubilant: they have won the right to go on shouting, whenever they like, that now "the future" envisaged by Shastri has arrived, and "the circumstances" have altered enough to change the policy.

And so Durgapur, instead of closing the debate and plugging the loopholes, has thrown the doors wide open for the imperialists and reactionaries to continue their vile propaganda, which is aimed essentially at making India subservient to the imperialists, through an "umbrella" or through the enormous burden of membership of the nuclear club and participation in the nuclear race.

Not only that: the high prestige which Shastri himself had won for India all over the world, precisely because of his firm reassertion of Pandit Nehru's pledge that India shall never make an atom bomb, has been lost almost entirely. If it is merely experience and present conditions and circumstances (which obviously include economic difficulties) which govern our nuclear policy—then our crusade for the banning of nuclear weapons loses most of its appeal.

The support which an In-



CPI demonstration and meeting in Calcutta on January 9 to protest against arrests of rival Communist Party leaders. (Below) Bhupesh Gupta addressing the meeting.

Detention Without Trial Undemocratic

22 of Constitution.

The Supreme Court had observed that detentions in violation of fundamental rights are bound to render the government liable for damages for the violations of the Constitution by a government which has assumed office under an oath to bear true faith and allegiance to our Constitution and respect fundamental rights.

The late Prime Minister Nehru had responded to the enlightened voice of demo-

cracy when the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Bill, 1964 was dropped and the attempt to legalise the illegal acts of the government committed in breach of fundamental rights during the period of emergency was given up despite the government being aware of the observations of the Supreme Court.

It is the duty of every son of India to defend the integrity and the territorial sovereignty of India against aggression.

We fully share with the government the concern for the security and the safety of our country and we yield to none in our patriotism. Our love for our country and its democratic Constitution compels us to declare that any citizen guilty of treason must be tried and severely punished by competent court of law.

But democracy itself stands undermined and respect for fundamental rights stands subverted when the executive takes upon itself the responsibility to deprive, even the meekest citizen in this land of his liberty without formulating the charge against him and without giving him an opportunity to defend himself and establish his innocence in a court of law.

It is still not too late to undo the damage. If the Prime Minister has been misunderstood or misinterpreted, all who stand for peace will be happy if he issues an official contradiction without delay. In all circumstances a categorical assertion must be made that the policy is a firm policy, and government will not be shaken by the kind of campaign now being run by the right reactionary forces in the country.

Durgapur has made clear that on the issue of the bomb, it would be suicidal for the people to sit back and leave everything to the Government of India, alone. The vacillations shown at Durgapur are a warning that unless public opinion asserts itself vigorously, the peace policy itself may weaken under reactionary pressures.

The World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation held in the capital last November adopted the now famous New Delhi Appeal against the nuclear threat. This must become the rallying point of all Indian patriots, who are against the Bomb and the Umbrella, not only for the present, but for the future as well.

It is not possible for democrats in this land to place implicit faith on the fiat of the executive to furnish sufficient basis for denial of fundamental freedoms to the citizens. Such action of the executive must always be backed by a valid law and it must be capable of being tested in competent courts at all times to inspire confidence. Even British rulers did not claim a right, during any of the two world wars, either to detain an Indian in jail for a day under an invalid law or to deny him access to courts of law to test the validity of his detention.

We, therefore, view the recent largescale arrests of citizens in this country as a retrograde departure from standards of democracy and civil liberties.

We are firmly of the opinion that our citizens are certainly entitled to greater respect for their fundamental liberties at the hands of their own government.

All preventive detentions are bad. We demand that the government forthwith place on trial every person alleged to be guilty of treasonable activity. We expect all citizens to join in this demand.

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SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NEW YEAR

The battle goes on in apartheid-ridden South Africa. Every day brings news of fresh actions by the forces of liberation, led by the African National Congress, against the hated Verwoerd regime. As the New Year begins, our hearts go out to the freedom fighters of South Africa.

What is the balance sheet for 1964, of the liberation movement, of the war against racialism? The answer to that question is best given in the words of the freedom fighters themselves, through this editorial from the African National Congress' weekly news digest 'Spotlight on South Africa', which is published in full below:

THE end of 1964 draws nigh. It is at such a period that one normally takes stock before launching into the New Year.

On our side we have undoubtedly suffered severe losses. There has been the Rivonia Trial of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and others; recently Wilton Mkwayi was sentenced to life imprisonment and his colleagues to terms ranging from 12 to 20 years; and currently the eminent defence lawyer Braam Fischer, Q.C., is facing charges with 13 others under the so-called Suppression of Communism Act.

The world and the people of South Africa will always remember how Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba were secretly executed in spite of appeals for clemency by

Pope Paul VI, U Thant and other outstanding international figures. We cannot forget how "Baba" Saloojee met his death in the course of brutal interrogation by the police.

Internally, Verwoerd is fast making progress with the building of a well-equipped army, with arms "made in South Africa". On the labour front he is experiencing tremendous difficulty with the overseas recruitment of white workers, but the passing of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act will enable him to re-introduce Hitler style. Such are the chronic labour problems of an apartheid economy.

In the Transkei, with his stooge "Native" Prime Minister, Matanzima, he still finds it necessary to rule by the vicious Proclamation 400,

under which a state of emergency was declared in this Bantustan in 1960 and which is still in force today.

The year also saw certain members of the Liberal Party of South Africa, now expelled, adopting the method of sabotage to oppose the government.

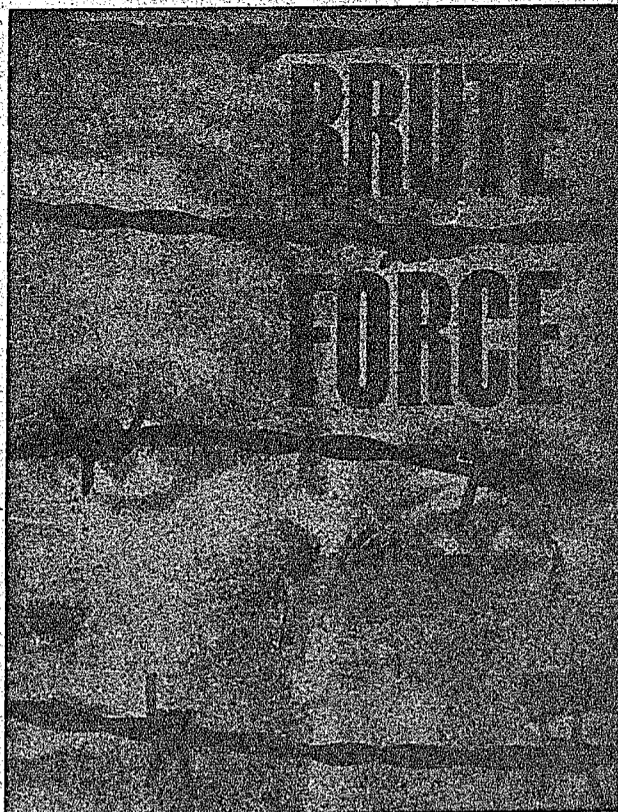
In the southern part of Africa, the imperialist oppressors have made some unwelcome progress by way of alliances. Salazar has reached accord with Banda; Smith with Verwoerd; Verwoerd with the traitor Tshombe and also with Subhuza 11 of Swaziland.

Verwoerd also managed to have the Buccaneer aircraft exempted from Harold Wilson's arms embargo, much to the regret of the people of South Africa.

On the other hand, South Africa was, for the first time, excluded from the world Olympic Games after years of struggle on the part of progressive sportsmen and others. South Africa is also experiencing increasing difficulties with other world bodies in which the presence of the representatives of White South Africa is met with condemnation and revulsion. They have been expelled from many international organisations.

The United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid has made proposals which are far-reaching in demanding positive international action against the Verwoerd government. April, this year, saw an important economic sanctions conference take place in London where many concrete measures were thoroughly discussed with a view to applying further pressure on South Africa.

Recently an International Public Committee for the



Investigation of the Racialist Crimes of Verwoerd was created. The trial will be held in Algiers next year. It is to be remembered that a similar committee was set up to try Hitler and his henchmen in 1934.

Meanwhile Verwoerd watches the world with trepidation and wonders how much longer he is going to be allowed to hold South West Africa. Of tremendous encouragement to us has been the declaration of an independent Zambia and the Republic of Kenya.

The growing unity of Tanzania and the great progress being made in improving the socio-economic conditions of the people is an inspiring example to the rest of Africa. Tanzania has proved to be an effective and consistent bulwark against the intrigues of international imperialism and neo-colonialist forces in Africa.

The commencement of hostilities in Mozambique is wat-

ched with the greatest interest and support by all South Africans, indeed by the whole of Africa and the world.

We know that Verwoerd is being isolated more and more in a world in which we are winning more and more friends. We know that Verwoerd cannot escape his downfall at the hands of the people of South Africa.

Let us face the New Year with renewed vigour and resolve to make it one of still greater successes.

*** STOP ARMS AND OIL SUPPLIES TO SOUTH AFRICA!**

*** STOP TRADE WITH THE FASCIST VERWOERD REGIME!**

*** INTENSIFY THE CULTURAL AND SPORTS BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA!**

LONG LIVE THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT!

FORWARD TO A FREE SOUTH AFRICA!

A PYRRHIC VICTORY FOR PRESIDENT AYUB KHAN

*FROM PAGE 5

hours and shoot at-sight orders did not help to better the situation.

Former Prime Minister Choudhry Mohammad Ali and a COP leader Nawabzada Nasarullah Khan visited the affected areas and said in a joint statement that "immense loss of life and property has been inflicted by organised hooligans on peaceful citizens, whose only fault was that they voted for Miss Jinnah, armed bands of men in cars and trucks appeared suddenly in these areas and while they did their work of destruction, police did nothing to prevent them".

They said that they had heard people openly accusing Gaubar Ayub of complicity in these attacks. Even the

pro-government newspaper MORNING NEWS had to admit that "it was the organisation of 'victory' procession that has led to the disturbances".

One of the first jobs Ayub did after his election was to order that all educational institutions of Karachi will remain closed "until further notice".

The schools and colleges were to open in the first week of January. It was after the student agitation which was launched in support of their demands, that schools and colleges were closed for one month.

The students action committee has decided now to continue its agitation till the authorities accept all their demands.

All this shows what way the

wind is blowing in Pakistan today. Although Ayub managed to ensure his "victory" in these rigged elections, the struggle of the democratic forces is still continuing unabated.

In the words of Dacca's PAKISTAN OBSERVER:

"Though the Presidential election is over the constitutional struggle for fundamental principles on which the election was fought is not. The struggle for democracy is a continuous process which will not end until success has been fully achieved".

The determination, instead of despair, which is evident in the camp of COP shows that the struggle against Ayub's dictatorship will go on in Pakistan.

Those who were waiting for a radical change in the approach of President Johnson to problems at home and abroad have largely been disappointed in his State of the Union message. Perhaps, the people of USA might look forward to the future with a little more interest since the message holds out some promises of action which were long overdue; but on the whole the message lacks clear perspective and bold initiative to break new ground in keeping with the changing world situation.

THE President's message is full of those American clichés which have lost their meanings as for the world at large and become only symbols of a highly-strung society that harps only on the position of power taking on the self-assumed leadership of changing the destiny of mankind.

The message lacks the determination to fulfil his obligations as a President, who so recently had obtained a landslide victory over his rival in the presidential election and pledged to honour the mandate of the people. From the "New Frontier" to the "Great Society" is spread obviously the story of the American people, in travail, and yet most surprisingly the President has not outlined any strategy of action that will bridge the gap between the haves and have-nots of that "great society".

Whatever long overdue measures he has planned to take to improve the lot of the common people in the USA do not even contain promises for any significant improvement in their conditions. And these measures are yet to pass through the Congress, where diehard tycoons are awaiting their pound of flesh first before agreeing to grant concessions, if any, to the common people.

In the international field, the President has not taken of any bold step to ease tensions, except that he would endeavour to formulate a policy that would "seek peaceful understandings" with the Soviet Union and that stress will be laid on "exploring ways to increase trade" with the socialist countries.

The situation created by the aggressive US policy in South-East Asia, particularly in South Vietnam, promises to hang fire with the same obduracy, and it appears that the President is bent upon pursuing the policy of escalation of war in this part of the world. The sending of a US submarine armed with nuclear warheads to Asian waters close to the shores is clearly indicative of this policy. The US provocations in Laos and other Asian states would continue as before since the President does not contemplate any change in the handling of the situation in this area.

Johnson's message contains the same old bravado in relation to Europe and the developing nations. Johnson has asserted as before that the political course the USA follows would continue as before in the "interest of Europe". This is a contention which is vehemently disputed and resisted by the European leaders who are faced with, as de Gaulle describes it, "the offensive of the American capital."

For the developing nations, and India falls in this category, the President maintains

the same high-browed attitude which smacks of supercilious disregard concerning all national aspirations. Like an old and wise Uncle, the President tries to tell the minor wards that their well-being is being looked after by him and they have no cause of concern. And under that paternal guise, there goes on an unchecked inflow of American private capital which tries to subvert and dominate the national economies and bring in an all-round American "way of life" in the areas in which it operates.

For the Indian people one question is uppermost: by what right does Johnson talk of deciding the destiny of mankind and denounces those who have chosen for themselves a different way of life than the one advocated by him and his predecessors?

The answer to this is perhaps not very unclear—the Johnson administration believes in "equality" of those people and those societies that have submitted or are submitting to the yankee system, paving the way for "world-supremacy" of US imperialism. Johnson is still decades behind grasping the reality, which is just the opposite of what he dreams.

ANOTHER DEFEAT

THE US policy of creating a scare among the newly-independent countries about lack of funds in the UN as well as discrediting the Soviet Union and several other countries, which have refused to bear share of expenses of UN operations in the Congo and elsewhere, has received a rebuff.

By trying to invoke Article 19 of the UN Charter which provides for suspension of voting rights of those countries which lag behind by two years payment of UN dues, the US obviously expected to reap several benefits. One, the Soviet Union, as the leader of the socialist countries would be discredited before the world; two, the newly-independent countries would be afraid that the assistance they receive under various UN schemes would be stopped or curtailed and they would indirectly blame the Soviet Union, and third, the image of US as the most conscientious contributor to the UN funds would be further brightened.

These expectations have not been fulfilled; for, the USSR and the other countries concerned have very clearly stated their objections to bear part of the cost of UN operations, which were clearly in furtherance of US aggressive designs and nothing short of colonial brigandage.



By Sadhan Mukherjee

JOHNSON MESSAGE FULL OF CLICHES

Meanwhile, the Asian-African group has asked UN general secretary U Thant to secure a settlement of the problem on the basis of a plan to suspend Article 19 and to wipe out the \$6 million dollar "peacekeeping" deficit through voluntary contributions. The USSR has readily accepted the proposal but the USA has not, which incidentally has exposed the hollowness of US concern over the funds.

If the USA does not accept the plan by January 19 when the General Assembly reconvenes, there will be no other alternative but to put the proposition to vote in the form of a resolution.

The US plan has also backfired in another respect: subtle propaganda was being carried on by the US over a period of years that it has been contributing maximum to the UN funds. What it concealed is that by virtue of the fact that the UN headquarters are located at New York, the American authorities earn substantial taxes from the UN, notwithstanding the exchange earnings, which amount to about \$7 million dollars a year.

On the other hand, the USA has to pay only 24 million dollars as its annual membership fees. In fact, the USA makes about 200 per cent profit on its payment to the UN funds!

It is good that by trying to press home the advantage of the so-called non-payment of arrears by the Soviet Union, the USA has unmasked itself, and provided the opportunity to end the myth that the USA is contributing to the UN funds more than others. It is clear that the policies of US big business seeking too-clever a manipulation have tripped again.

NEW PROBLEM

THE walk-out by Indonesia from the UN to register its protest against Malaysia's election to the Security Council is neither prudent nor indicative of any solution of the problem as such. All peace-loving people fully sympathise with Indonesia's concern at the neo-colonialist intrigues, of which Malaysia is sought to be the base.

But the irresponsible statement made by the Indonesian spokesman after the walk-out, particularly that of the Indonesian Information Ministry declaring that it could

set up "a new-style UN" are also clearly against the spirit of unity of nations cherished by all peace-loving nations. This is not the way to fight neo-colonialism in this region; on the contrary, it only provides an excuse for the imperialists to intensify their operations.

Already the Chinese government has welcomed the Indonesian withdrawal from the UN and termed it as a "just, correct and revolutionary action" and assured on behalf of the Chinese people that they would "resolutely side" with their 164 million Indonesian brothers.

What is necessary at the moment, not merely on the question of Malaysia but on a matter of general principle, is to strive for inclusion in the UN of all the countries of the world, including China. India had been continuously fighting for this cause and this is the only correct approach towards solving those vexed issues which have yet remained unresolved.

By withdrawing from the UN and accentuating its policy of confrontation with Malaysia, Indonesia has actually strengthened the hands of imperialism, particularly British imperialism. If Indonesian and Chinese governments consider that by trying to disintegrate the UN, it would be able to rally the Asian and African countries, they would only be toying with an explosive manoeuvre which contains in it the most dangerous consequences of a world conflagration. Splittism as a philosophy may be a great intellectual creed for some, but a split has never brought any good to the world, nor can it ever bring about anything good.

EUROPEAN MEET

AT the 19th session of the UN General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of Poland, Adam Rapacki, has come forward with yet another proposal to ease tension in Europe and to further the cause of peace.

Rapacki's latest proposal is in consonance with the policy of peaceful coexistence and is against proliferation of nuclear arms. One may recall in this connection that Rapacki had earlier proposed an atom-free zone in Central Europe which envisaged a principle of settling the European problems.

With the question of creation of a multi-lateral

nuclear force under the NATO assuming far more concrete character, and taking into account that since the signing of the Moscow partial test-ban treaty, there has been no further progress towards disarmament, it is incumbent that a conscious effort is made towards alleviating tension, the building up of which is now clearly discernible.

Rapacki has very correctly pointed out that the discussion now under way for a universal treaty on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons would become a futile exercise if nuclear weapons are disseminated in Europe under the guise of a multi-lateral nuclear force.

Rapacki emphasised that to examine the problems of European security, it was essential to convene a conference of all European states, with the participation of course, of the USSR and the USA. Such a meeting could study the question in its entirety and thereby solve a number of difficult problems.

The proposal of Rapacki is a sound one and provides an opportunity for those who are genuinely interested in maintaining peace in Europe and easing tension and in restraining West German revanchism, to secure some workable proposition which would render further incitement to war designs by aggressive quarters ineffective.

The proposal has been hailed by all who cherish the cause of peace. Newspapers the world over have lauded the proposal and it now remains to be seen whether this proposal would be accepted by those whose plans threaten security and endanger peace and peaceful coexistence.

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Kerala Prepares For . . .

* FROM FRONT PAGE

on the one hand, the Congress Party, which is sinking in its own sins against people, and on the other, the aforesaid reactionary alliance seeking to capitalise from the anti-Congress mood of the people, is to forge a firm united front of all left democratic parties, groups and individuals.

The Communist Party has been engaged in ceaseless efforts during the past few weeks to form such a united front including the rival Communist Party, the RSP, the SSP and the KTP, besides genuine and progressive independents. These efforts have been crowned with success to the point of evolving a common democratic programme.

People have been anxiously hoping for the successful emergence of such a united front.

It has become clear as daylight that such a united front will be able to secure a decisive majority in the new Kerala legislature, hoisting the banner of victory even in the fortresses and strongholds of the Congress, the rebel Congress and the Muslim League. The state council desires to repeat and assert that it will go all out to realise this inspiring prospect.

The state council regrets to note that the rival Communist Party who should be an active partner in the forging of this front and realising the above victory, instead of contributing actively towards this, is engaged in raising new difficulties and activities.

SERIOUS OBSTACLE

The most serious obstacle and threat to the emergence of the United Front is the stand of the rival Communist Party that they should be free to sponsor and support certain independent candidates acceptable to the Muslim League and the rebel Congress in certain constituencies and if this is not acceptable to other constituent units of the United Front, they will have nothing to do with the Front.

This plea and posture of the rival Communist Party, to say the least, is surprising particularly in view of the fact that their stand will only add to the strength of the reactionary rebel Congress-League alliance whose main declared aim is to prevent the emergence of a government of the United Front.

The dubious game behind their policy of sponsoring a category of independents jointly with the Muslim League on the one hand and

on the other of fighting certain official Muslim League candidates in certain constituencies is becoming clearer day by day.

Acceptance of the rival Communists' insistence that adjustments will have to be evolved with the Muslim League in regard to certain independent candidates would result in not only adding strength to the reactionary alliance in the election but will lead to the re-emergence of a Congress government after the poll.

The proclamation and practice of the rival Communists have led them, to a situation where they consider adjustments with Muslim League more important than forming of an alliance with the Communist Party, the RSP and other democratic forces.

While talks were proceeding among constituent units of the United Front regarding the basic approach to build the front, the rival Communist Party leaders went ahead unilaterally with negotiations with the Muslim League, an important constituent of a reactionary alliance, and with the SSP, who has not yet expressed willingness to join the Front, with regard to certain seats and constituencies.

The state council desires to point out that these activities are tantamount to subverting the formation of the United Front itself.

The stand that the Communist Party has taken from the very be-

Left United Front- The How And Why

Following is a statement on the 'How And Why' of the left democratic united front issued by the Kerala state council of the CPI.

THE Left United Front is an alliance consisting of political parties, groups and individuals who accept the election manifesto of the Left United Front and pledge to implement it and resolve to unitedly contest the elections with the above object.

Only progressive parties have a place in the United Front. Such parties as Jan Sangh, the Muslim League, Swatantra Party and Kerala Congress, who stand for reactionary policies or who seek to divide the people on the basis of religion and community and nurture communalism and

thus weaken democracy, can have no place in the Front.

The United Front will field as many candidates of the Front as possible in the ensuing elections with the aim of defeating the Congress and the aforesaid communal reactionary parties and ensuring the emergence of a progressive democratic government.

Such candidates sponsored by the United Front may be candidates belonging to the constituent political parties or groups or they may be independents.

All of them would have to accept the election manifesto of the United Front and pledge to support the government of

the United Front if formed.

But in case the United Front is not able to field its own candidates in certain seats, or if the United Front is of the view that its candidates will not be able to win in the seats, the United Front can support a category of independents who may not accept the manifesto in its entirety.

Such independents will give an open assurance before they enter the contest, that they will support no government other than that of the United Front.

And regarding the choice of such independents, all the constituent units of the Front will have to reach agreement.

PROGRESSIVE ALTERNATIVE TO CONGRESS GOVERNMENT

ginning is that the United Front must be prepared to sponsor as many deserving independent candidates as possible with a view to reduce the seats and strength of the Congress and broaden the basis of the United Front.

The Communist Party considers that the very minimum demand it should impose on these independents is that they should be prepared to help and support the formation of a government of the United Front.

The council therefore sincerely appeals to the friends in the rival Communist Party to give up their present stand which impedes the efforts towards the formation of a United Front and the emergence of a government of the United Front which will rid the people of Kerala from Congress misrule and help them realise their aspirations.

As far as the SSP is concerned, it has refused to join the United Front on the basis of the programme. It has not even declared categorically that it is prepared to back the efforts of the United Front to form a government.

On the contrary, it is engaged

in unilateral negotiations and talks with such communal and reactionary parties as the rebel Congress and the Muslim League and coming to decisions regarding certain seats.

The council desires to declare that such activities of the SSP are opportunistic and detrimental to the general interests of the state as a whole.

In spite of and in the face of all these obstacles that stand in the way of peoples' advance today, the Communist Party declares its firm resolve to continue its tireless efforts towards the formation of a broad left democratic front of not only the Communist Party, the rival Communist Party, the RSP and progressive independents but also of the SSP and the KTP on the basis of a democratic programme of relief to the people and all-round development of the state, the resolution concluded.

After the state council meeting, the members of the central secretariat met the press and explained the decisions of the Party regarding the Kerala elections.

Rajeswar Rao said that the stand of the CPI was that it was

as important to provide a democratic and progressive alternative government as defeating the Congress and ending the Congress monopoly of power.

It was urgent that the Congress should be trounced; but the Communist Party does not wish to see a government of the Jan Sangh or the Muslim League in its place. It is a better government than that of the Congress that should come into being, he said.

The situation in Madhya Pradesh was cited as an example by Rajeswar Rao. There, he said, the Congress can be thrown out of office if the CPI is prepared to join hands with the Jan Sangh in the Assembly.

But the result of such a step would be to leave the state to the free play of the most reactionary and communal forces. The Communist Party does not wish such a situation to arise anywhere in India.

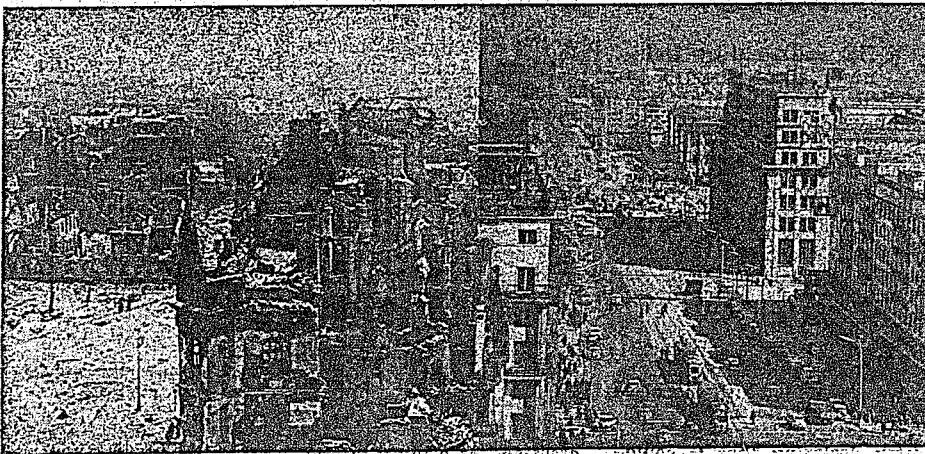
Rajeswar Rao also made it clear at the press conference that the CPI did not consider the rival

Communist Party as a reactionary party. The allegation which the Government of India has made against them—of being traitors—are yet to be proved, too.

He asked: if the government has so much proof as it claims why was it that action was taken under the Defence of India Rules? Why were they not prosecuted in courts of law under the normal laws of the country?

Meanwhile, C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the Kerala state council of the CPI, has declared that even without the help of the communal and reactionary parties or any adjustments with them, the progressive forces in the state are in a position to achieve a resounding victory in the elections.

He cited facts and figures to show that the progressive forces can inflict a crushing defeat on both the Congress and the reactionary combine of the Kerala Congress and the Muslim League if the democratic parties and individuals face the elections unitedly.



Warsaw after the Nazi attack and today. January 17 is the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw.

DOCUMENTS OF THE CPI SEVENTH CONGRESS TO BE PUBLISHED

NEW DELHI: The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has taken a decision to publish immediately three volumes containing the documents and materials of the Seventh Congress. The first volume contains the Programme, the Political and Ideological Resolutions, the Organisational Report and the amended Constitution, besides all the other resolutions adop-

ted by the Congress.

The second volume is devoted to the addresses made at the Congress by the 24 fraternal delegations present as well as the messages received for the Congress from some 40 Communist and Workers Parties.

The third volume is devoted to a summary of the proceedings of the Congress, the reports of Commissions, Plenary Sessions and the Public Rally.