

ATTACKS ON N. VIETNAM, LAOS U.S. RISKING A FULLSCALE WAR

JOHNSON OUT FOR BRINKMANSHIP IN S. EAST ASIA

FEB 14
Copy 1965

THE ten-year old undeclared war against the people of Vietnam carried on by US government in complete disregard of all international norms and in violation of the clear mandate of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, reached yet another stage of escalation with the US airforce openly bombing the North Vietnam territory.

After two days of air attacks on North Vietnam territory, a country with which the USA is not 'formally' at war, the US airforce switched back to strafing Loatian territory on February 9, while remaining in readiness to go in for an all-out attack against North Vietnam.

World opinion has been shocked at these open acts of aggression of the US government in the name of "thwarting the guerilla attacks within South Vietnam." This is a desperate bid of the Pentagon to avert the sure defeat which stares at it in South Vietnam at the hands of the liberation forces. Already most of the territory of South Vietnam is in the hands of the liberation forces.

The US warlords have realised that they cannot win this dirty war despite pouring in men and material in South Vietnam and by carrying on fascist repressions and chemical warfare on the people through their puppets. Hence the only alternative to them is the escalation of war rather than admit defeat and get out of South Vietnam. This is clearly a return to the Dullesian brinkmanship in the US foreign policy.

The Pentagon officials, states a report from Washington, are strongly urging intensification of attack against North Vietnam and Laos as well as air-strikes at the Chinese mainland.

The reason trotted out by the US officials justifying the air attacks against North Vietnam and Laos is blatantly preposterous: they claim that they are only disrupting the supply line of the South Vietnam guerillas. This argument is patently nonsense. How is it that the ICC office in North Vietnam has not noticed any supply line? The ICC has an office at Dong-Hoi, the city which was bombed by US aircraft.

The South Vietnam liberation forces already have enough arms and ammunitions (most of which are captured American armaments) and are inflicting telling damages by their own strength on the puppet South Vietnam government forces and their American mentors. The people are with the liberation forces and the American repression has not been able to trample them.

And the American themselves officially admit that the so-called 'outside supply' constitutes only one-fifth of the combat capacity of the guerillas. Is it not clear from this admission that with 560,000 Saigon troops, supplemented by 100,000 South Korean troops and 25,000 crack US marines and abundant supply of latest equipment of war, the US warlords are unable to hold onto their foothold in South Vietnam? The guerillas number just over 130,000 according to American official estimates.

The people of South Vietnam do not want the presence of the US troops and there is not a single, even remote, reason which can justify American presence in South Vietnam particularly, and in South-East Asia in general.

The facts speak for themselves: the air-attacks against North Vietnam and Laos are not 'acts of retaliation' or 'limited offensive' as explained by the Pentagon. These are deliberate acts of aggression to provoke a largescale armed conflict in which other powers would be compelled to join.

Obviously, the neighbouring countries of Vietnam and the Soviet Union cannot go on watching the US show and at a stage would be forced to intervene. The Pentagon bosses are just waiting for such an opportunity which will provide them an excuse to start an all-out war.

The timing of the US attacks, when the Soviet Premier Kosygin is visiting North Vietnam, is proof enough of the real intention of the US government. The Soviet Union has already made its stand clear: it does not consider war a solution of the Vietnam problem but if the attacks persist, it would not remain an idle spectator. North Vietnam forces are already repulsing the US attacks to their capacity. They have shot down 12 US jet bombers in two days.

The only solution to the problem is that the US forces must get out of South Vietnam and let the people of Vietnam decide for themselves how they would run their country. The predatory moves of US imperialism, in the name of containing communism, are too clear to be mistaken. President Johnson's "warning" on February 8 about "any miscalculation of United State's strength" and the boast that "the nation would answer any threat and pay any price to insure freedom" only prove the point.

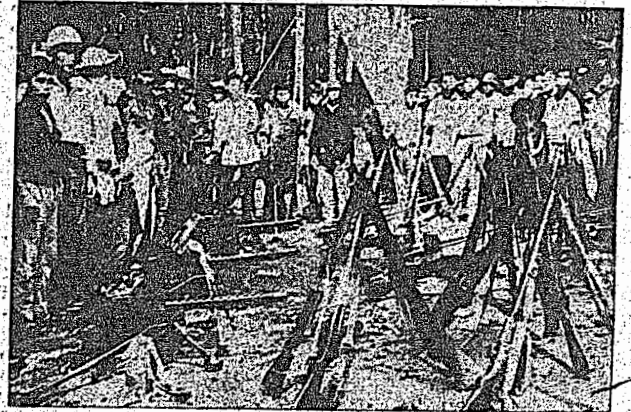
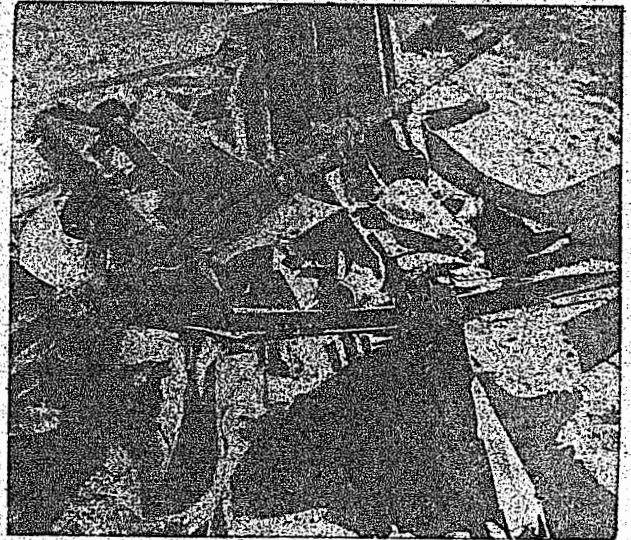
Prime Minister Shastri has correctly and wisely suggested the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South-East Asia and an immediate meeting between President Johnson and Premier Kosygin. This proposal although welcomed by many has received cold shoulder in the US and British aggressive circles.

But Prime Minister Shastri's call, general as it is in its scope, does not provide a basis for an immediate solution of the Vietnamese problem. India has a special responsibility in the affairs of South-East Asia, more so in Vietnam where it is chairman of the ICC. India must openly call for IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL US TROOPS FROM VIETNAM and then seek a negotiated settlement of the internal problems of Vietnam.

Already massive demonstrations have been held in the capitals of important countries of the world protesting against US aggression on North Vietnam and demanding immediate withdrawal of US forces from South Vietnam. In the United States itself, people have protested against this mad venture of the Pentagon and asked it to "get out" of that country.

In India, massive protest demonstrations have been held in the Capital and in important cities before US consulates and other American offices. The Government of India must now reflect the wishes of the Indian people, which is in line with the common desire of all peace-loving people; and demand: **US GET OUT OF VIETNAM.**

Top two: US arms captured by S. Vietnam liberation forces; Below: American atrocity against a Vietnamese suspected to be a guerilla.



CPI DEMANDS

Replace English With Regional Languages

The demand for immediate replacement of English by the regional languages in the states for all official purposes has been made in the memorandum submitted by the Communist Party of India to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri on February 9.

BLAMING the government for mishandling the language issue, the memorandum said "There is no intelligent anticipation of things and a sympathetic response... The worst illustration of this is the crisis that was caused by the Republic Day announcement on Hindi becoming the Official Language of the Indian Union."

The memo went on to add:

Though the decision in principle is all there in the Constitution and the Official Language Act has been debated for years, yet the manner of its execution in many respects was not quite in the true spirit, either of the accepted principle or the assurances given by Pandit Nehru.

DMK's Game

And this was used by the DMK to push forward its reactionary aims.

The deep intensity of the feeling and the sensational though misdirected courage shown by two young men of Madras in burning themselves in public for what they falsely thought was the defence of their mother-tongue, Tamil, which they imagined was being "annihilated" by Hindi, brought realisation to all that something that was correct in principle was being done in the wrong way.

We agree that we must have an all-India link language for the people and between the various states, and the cen-

tre, if India is to really function as a federal state and not be perpetually bound down to an alien non-Indian language like English in preference to a language already spoken by more than a hundred and sixty million people in our land. We agree that the language best suited for the purpose is Hindi.

At the same time, English can be replaced immediately and directly in the various states only by their mother-tongue, that is, the regional language of each linguistic group and state and that Hindi cannot take that place everywhere today for a long time, as the language of every citizen of India.

Moreover, the Hindi of today has to be still further enriched and developed by drawing from the fountains of all the Indian and foreign languages in all fields before it can be even an effective link of an all-India character in all fields.

Only In Words

This is, perhaps, all agreed but only in words. Otherwise, why was no provision made, even in Parliament, for all languages to be spoken and translated? Why is a non-English, non-Hindi member put under the obligation to provide himself in advance a translation in English or Hindi of his proposed speech? Is it not a humiliation of the member's mother-tongue?

When the announcement of the transition on the Republic Day was not made with all the necessary explanation that should be given to the masses.

We, therefore, urge that the same guarantees and assurances that Pandit Nehru gave should be given a firm basis in law and also in practice while adhering to the principles already adopted to make Hindi gradually and slowly the all-India link language, to replace English by the regional language in each state for all purposes and at all states of administration and education.

Problem Of Jobs

The fear of falling back in getting jobs in the all-India services, entertained by the non-Hindi intellectuals should be allayed by providing for examinations in all the regional languages allied with the knowledge of Hindi and English in the transitional stage.

We would like to see the students and others who were arrested and released and victims of repression in the ranks of the young students and workers rehabilitated.

CORRUPTION LINKED WITH GROWTH OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, SAYS CPI

Corruption has as its source the development of monopoly capitalism and therefore any fight against corruption should necessarily be accompanied by the struggle against the growth of monopoly.

THIS is the view set forth by the Communist Party of India in its memorandum to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri submitted on February 9 by a deputation of the Party's central secretariat members.

Saying that the question of corruption at all levels is attracting public attention, the memo said:

While your recent efforts to check corruption should be supported, yet we do not think that they will succeed much.

Corruption is not an individual problem of morals. When petty individuals are amassing millions in a few years on the basis of the tremendous speed with which capitalism is growing in our country and when ministers see how with the help of the state and public treasury millionaires are helped to grow big and bigger to the detriment of the common good, which our Constitution condemns,

We would also draw your attention to our position on this question as given in our Party Programme and like you to consider the feasibility

of calling a wide consultative conference on national integration whose preliminary steps were taken by Pandit Nehru.

they themselves are tempted to climb into that class, become themselves millionaires, small if not big, then their sons and relatives.

When you help to breed capitalism, you yourself are drawn into the current. The source of corruption is the development of monopoly capital and its attempts to get hold of the state machinery for its own group and class interests.

The process cannot be cured by treating it as a crisis of monopoly capitalism. So we would ask you to combine the struggle against personal corruption in the centres of state power with the struggle against growth of monopoly.

Our Party is all on your side in this effort. The fight against corruption must be supported and continued as a part of the struggle against monopoly capitalism by mass action and social sanction.

Calcutta Bus Fares Up

LEFT PARTIES PLAN UNITED ACTION

From AJAY DASGUPTA

The Calcutta State Transport Corporation has heaped further burdens on the already overburdened shoulders of the citizens of Calcutta industrial area. In the name of rationalisation of fare structure, fares have been increased on all the routes in most of the fare-stages.

It is expected that the CSTC would make up most of its reported deficit of Rs. 42 lakhs by this device of rationalisation.

The fares on the CSTC ranged from eight paise to 38 paise. By rationalisation, fare stages have been reduced to only seven, beginning with 10p and increasing by 5p at every stage and ending at 40p. The argument advanced by the CSTC authorities are difficulties in giving small changes, consequent loss of mobility of the conductors and loss of revenue to the undertaking.

Misleading Public

It also mentioned that it was falling in line with other undertakings in other cities.

The CSTC authorities claimed that if fare had been increased in certain stages, it had been reduced in other stages and consequently loss or gain of passengers would be compensated.

This is a half truth and like all half truths very dangerous, which the travelling public has already realised.

Take route 2, the busiest of the routes. Here fares have been reduced in six stages, but increased in 21 stages. In another route, 8B, fares have decreased in 4 stages and that too by one paise only. But increase in fare has taken place in 22 stages; in nine stages by two paise and in six stages by three paise.

Like this in all the routes there had been some reductions, mostly by one paise, but the increase has been effected in much larger of stages and that too upto three paise.

But that is not all. The real increase over last few years had been enormous. While conversion to decimal coinage took place, generally one paise increase was made in most cases.

Take for instance one case: From Shyambazar terminus to Esplanade or Dalhousie Square, that is the office area, the fare was six paise (old). While con-

verting to naya paisa the fare was fixed at 10, though the official conversion table put it at nine.

During the last two years, on pretext of increase in oil and diesel prices fare has been increased by 2 paise making it 12 n. Now that has been increased to 15 paise. So the increase has been from 9 to 15 paise or 66.6 per cent.

Similar is the case in many other stages, which are most frequented. All this will add upto almost 42 lakh rupees in a year.

Bosses' Fat Salaries

When asked specifically by press reporters about the increase in earning due to this rationalisation, the bosses of CSTC did not give any reply.

It is really difficult for them to explain the deficit and necessity of more revenue as there are dozens of big officers drawing four figure salaries and what exactly are their duties is anybody's guess.

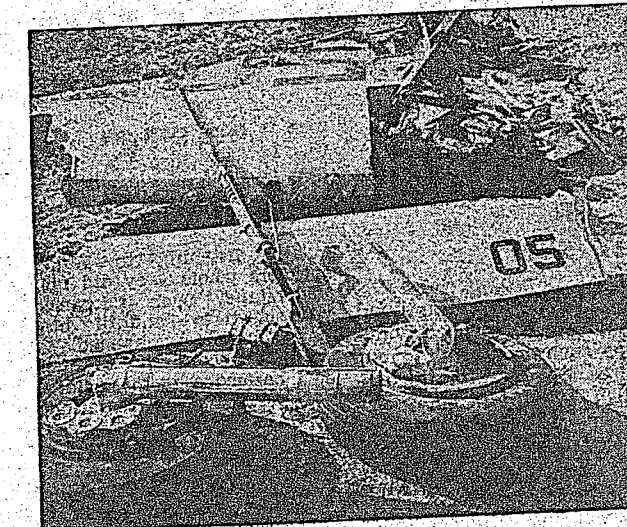
The joint front of the eight left parties has protested against this fare rise and are planning to launch a movement on this along with the movement against high prices and for release of DIR detenus.

INDIA SHOULD ASK US TO QUIT S. VIETNAM

CPI MEMO TO PRIME MINISTER



South Vietnam Guerillas in action



Another US aircraft shot down by South Vietnam Guerillas

SOVIET REACTION TO SHASTRI PROPOSAL

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: The Soviet stand that a political solution by negotiation, instead of war in Indo-China is the only way out, is really the only alternative to a full scale catastrophe.

In this context the latest appeal of Prime Minister Shastri for an early meeting between Kosygin and Johnson to discuss this problem has had a sympathetic reaction here.

In a strongly worded statement issued on Tuesday the Soviet government said: "The Soviet Union resolutely supports the Government of Democratic Republic of Vietnam in its protest against the military actions of the United States against the DRV, against the build-up of United States armed forces

India should take the firm and forthright stand that the United States should get out of South Vietnam; this demand has been made by the Communist Party of India in a memorandum to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri.

The memorandum submitted by a deputation of central secretariat members to the Prime Minister on February 9 dealt with many issues of foreign policy. It said:

We would like to mention, as an example, the attitude taken towards the present aggressive attack by US planes on North Vietnam.

We welcome your call for a meeting between the heads of the US and Soviet governments; as also your call for a conference of the countries which participated in the Geneva Conferences on Indo-China. These are commendable suggestions.

But the crux of the matter is that the present crisis cannot be resolved nor can the danger to peace be averted unless UN military forces are withdrawn from South Vietnam. You have in your own statement to a news agency suggested the withdrawal of all foreign forces; but even this call does not find a place in the official statement issued by the Ministry of External Affairs.

We would earnestly urge you to take the initiative boldly to assert that the US forces must quit South Vietnam, they have no business to be there; and there can be no peace so long as they continue to be there. It is no use talking of withdrawal of foreign forces in general; the only "foreign forces" are the US forces and they must be named.

The Communist Party of India fully supports the policy of not manufacturing nuclear weapons and not accepting the imperialist nuclear "umbrella" or "shield" in any form; We are glad that this policy has been reiterated by

nesia dispute also; we have some criticism: It is quite clear that Malaysia continues to have British troops and bases on its soil. And here again, it is this presence of imperialist military forces which is the essential cause of the tension.

India's policy would appear to amount to siding with Malaysia (which with its British bases, is rightly looked upon by anti-imperialists all over the world as an outpost for British neo-colonialism) against Indonesia. This is an utterly wrong policy which alienates India from anti-imperialist Asia and Africa.

It is argued that our policy in South-East Asia is dictated by our attitude towards China which has committed aggression against India.

In spite of our quarrel with China let us not forget that the aggressor against the freedom of the peoples of Asia is American imperialism which is aided by the British.

We cannot fight Chinese attack against our country by helping American imperialists to enslave Vietnam and Laos or helping British imperialism to keep Singapore and Malaysia in its orbit.

The freedom and solidarity of the Afro-Asian people and our own strength and unity are the real guarantee of our freedom and growth.

We feel that a far more vigorous policy of solidarity with the people fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism should be followed. There are still hesitations in this regard which do great damage to India's image.

This was in principle accepted by you at the Cairo Conference but it suffers from lack of firmness in practice. As everybody knows, foreign policy and economic policy cannot be kept very much apart.

you and other government spokesmen recently.

But we are of the opinion that at times there have been certain vacillations in the pursuit of this policy, such as your statement at Durgapur that the policy is to be pursued "for the present", thus leaving the door open for the reactionary forces, who seek to bring about a change in policy in the future.

We are also alarmed at the manner in which the question of a so-called nuclear guarantee by the nuclear powers is being put forward by certain government spokesmen. Despite your denial that you never asked for any such guarantee or shield when you visited London, the Indian Ambassador in Washington has only last week again stated that India has asked for such a guarantee and is awaiting an answer.

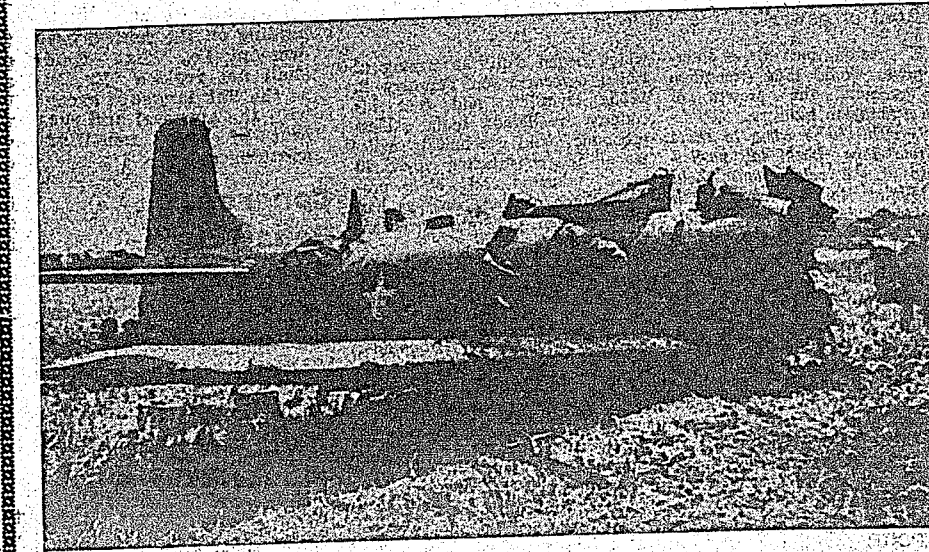
Vacillations Must End

Our Party is of opinion that any vacillations will only help the reactionary forces to pursue the sinister propaganda for the bomb and the umbrella — through which they aim at subverting the policy of non-alignment and thus dragging India into the net of imperialist military pacts.

We would, therefore, suggest that a categorical statement be made once again re-asserting India's policy of using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes, of never manufacturing nuclear weapons and rejecting all proposals for the "umbrella" or "shield".

With regard to your policy towards the Malaysia-Indo-

One of the several US planes shot down in North Vietnam



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LESSONS FROM KAIRON'S MURDER

The foul killing of ex-Chief Minister Kairon and his fellow passengers, in broad daylight on a major trunk route and in the presence of several witnesses, has sent a chill down the spines of most people in this country. The first questions being asked universally are: How could this crime be committed so brazenly, so openly and the culprits get away with it? What about the preservation of law and order? Is there no protection from gangsters? Is India going the way of gang-ridden Chicago?

IRRESPECTIVE of their attitude towards the late Punjab leader, all are united in condemning his murder unequivocally. It is not clear if the crime was "political" in any sense, or only the result of brutal vendetta on a more personal plane. Whatever it was, and only subsequent police investigations may bring further facts to light, the murder must be condemned as the act of barbarians, cold-blooded, cruel, inhuman.

If the government of the land cannot protect the lives of its citizens, even in the middle of the day on a much-used highway, it is a sad commentary on its capacity to run the state.

Sympathy for the bereaved family is also natural. And this is shared by all, again irrespective of their attitude towards the Kairon family's alleged activities, which are today the subject matter of many cases before the law courts of Punjab.

What is, however, to be warned against is the attempt being made, in the wake of this emotion, sorrow and sympathy, to suggest, directly or indirectly, that the late Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon was "hounded to death" by the anti-corruption

No one approves of character assassination. But there is little danger of that. The dominant failing is the condoning of corruption, delay in taking action, yielding to pressures, succumbing to party pulls. This is the main problem, and it would be disastrous if the murders of February 6 are allowed to assist in halting the already slow pace of anti-corruption measures taken by the central and state governments.

drive undertaken by government. Morarji Desai has gone to

Comment

the length of talking about "the poisonous atmosphere of hatred and character assassination", which he alleges was created against Kairon. This is an amazing statement.

And if the logical corollary is that the other cases of alleged corruption are to be carried out with less severity, then it is a most dangerous proposition.

The fact is—and let us not forget all this in the midst of the present rightly-felt sympathy for the victims—that the government has always been tardy in regard to action against Congress leaders and ministers accused of corruption, directly or through their families. Even in the case of the charges against the late Punjab leader, there was a feeling that the matter had been delayed for too long.

DYMSHITS PRAISES PROGRESS IN STEEL

NEW DELHI: Addressing a press conference here on February 5, V. E. Dymshits, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said: "We are happy to know that by the end of India's Third Five-Year Plan, the enterprises constructed with Soviet assistance will produce one-fourth of the total steel output in the country, about a half of oil and oil products and one-fifth of the total output of power."

He stressed that these enterprises would thus strengthen and promote the growth of India's national industry.

Dymshits who came to India a few days back, to participate in the celebrations held at Bhilai in connection with the tenth anniversary of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation, was full of praises for the Indian engineers and technicians and for their high level of technical skill.

Dymshits was the first Soviet Chief Engineer at Bhilai Steel Works, set up with Soviet assistance. He recalled how the site looked like ten years ago. All was wilderness then, he said, and added that today it was agog with activity and life.

Tracing the history of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation

which began with the signing of Bhilai agreement on February 2, 1955, Dymshits said that his country rendered India selfless economic and technical assistance in constructing over 40 major industrial and other projects. Some of these projects had already been put into operation, he added.

The signing of the Bokaro agreement, recently, would be one more important milestone in the progress of Soviet-Indian economic collaboration, Dymshits emphasised.

The common positions held by the Soviet Union and India on such major problems as disarmament, struggle against colonialism, peaceful co-existence and peace, he noted, help to make the peoples of the two countries even closer together.

The murders must be completely dissociated from the question of any action being taken against the Kairon family for alleged improprieties or violations of the law. The crime must be looked upon as a serious blot on the government's capacity to maintain law and order and protect the lives of citizens. Full support should be given to all efforts to bring the culprits to book, and also to prevent the recurrence of this type of gangsterism anywhere in the country.

LOBBY AT LARGE

PRIME Minister Shastri has made a plea for more capital from the developed countries for the developing ones. This plea made to the International Chamber of Commerce's XXth Congress should be seen in the context of the character of this body and its leading members.

The theme of this Congress is said to be "World Progress through Partnership". The basic document distributed to the delegates advocates this "partnership" between the monopolists and big business bosses of the West and their local counterparts. The document openly opposes the idea

of partnership with the state sectors of the developing countries and their governments.

Further, the document demands majority share in joint enterprises for foreign capital, and of course there is a clamour for better conditions, less taxation, more freedom to invest.

Details of the Congress deliberations will not be known till the end of the week. But enough is known of the character of this organisation and its U.S. and British chieftains to realise that the holding of the Congress in India is meant only to facilitate pressures on government policies just before the Budget.

The meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce in New Delhi as guests of the Indian monopolists is part of the full-scale campaign launched by foreign and Indian big business interests to influence the budget in the direction desired by them.

It is for democratic opinion to assert itself vigorously against the tycoons' lobby and put forward the people's demands for a people's budget... the outlines of which can be seen in the points placed before the Prime Minister by the Communist Party this week (see back page).

—ROMESH CHANDRA

SANJIVA REDDY FANS HATE-HINDI FIRES

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The tragic events in Tamilnad have had their impact in Andhra. There is no widespread anti-Hindi sentiment as such in this state but there is certainly no approval of any attempts to hasten the replacement of English by Hindi. There are genuine doubts as to whether this will not give undue advantage to those whose mother-tongue is Hindi.

THERE have been student strikes in Vishakapatnam and Tirupati, as well as hartals, processions and demonstrations, against what is termed the "imposition of Hindi". The Bar Association has also protested against the move of the central government.

A wide consensus seems to have been achieved around the view that Pandit Nehru's assurance should be reiterated in some form that will be binding on the central government, i.e., that Hindi shall not replace English as the link language except with the approval and consent of the non-Hindi speaking states.

Congress Behaviour

The behaviour of the Congress leaders of the state is, however, quite deplorable. This includes Union Steel Minister Sanjeeva Reddy. While on a flying visit here he has struck up an anti-Hindi attitude and begun an open controversy with his colleagues at the centre.

From his public utterances, to say nothing of private talks, it appears as if the de-

quietly listening to Hindi speakers whom they did not understand. Such tolerance was shown to Gandhiji but now times were changed.

Hindi, according to him, had become a factor making for national disintegration; so what use could there be in harping upon it?

In a press conference on February 8, Pillalamari Venkateswarlu, leader of the opposition in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, criticised the policy of trying to push through Hindi without consulting the people of the non-Hindi speaking states.

Form Of Discussion

Answering a question, he said that one form of consultation could be to have the issue thoroughly discussed in the state legislatures.

Venkateswarlu emphasised the point that the real solution of the problem lay in going all out to develop the different regional languages, as they would have to take the place of English. This would create a proper atmosphere where the myth of the so-called indispensability of English would be exploded.

In this connection, he hit out at Sanjeeva Reddy and Brahmananda Reddy who headed ministries in Andhra which systematically refused to accept numerous suggestions made by Communists and other democrats to draw up a programme for accelerating the replacement of English by Telugu.

BOMBAY: Hopes are high in Maharashtra during the past few days about a settlement of the issue of Goa's merger in Maharashtra, especially since Chief Minister Vasant Rao Naik, after his meeting with Union Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda, declared that the day of welcoming Goa into Maharashtra was not far off.

GOA Assembly's resolution commending merger of the territory in Maharashtra had actually touched off a chain reaction in the state.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's remark that the merger of Goa in Maharashtra, of Maharashtra and of Pondicherry in Tamilnad was but natural and it should not take too long helped in boosting the morale of the people.

It was against this background that a huge rally was held at Shivaji Park on February 5 at the initiative of P. K. Atre to demand early action for the merger.

Goa Chief Minister Dayanand Bandodkar, who addressed the meeting, hoped that Goa would merge in Maharashtra without a struggle, but if it did not, he exhorted the people to be ready for a fight.

A note of caution against creating friction among different sections of the people in Goa was sounded by S. G. Sardesai, secretary of the Maharashtra state council of the CPI.

Sardesai said that steps should be taken to win over the Christian and Konkani-speaking peo-

ple in Goa also to the majority opinion of immediate merger with Maharashtra.

The Jan Sangh speaker at the meeting, who sought to question the right of the CPI to participate in the all-Party meeting was heckled by the audience. Later, he was effectively rebuffed by other speakers, among whom were Bombay Mayor Dijoji, Senapati Bapat, Appa Pendse and Anant Kanekar.

India Press Agency adds: The Goa Legislative Assembly's non-official resolution, demanding merger of Goa with Maharashtra and of Daman and Diu with Gujarat had given rise to an apprehension whether this is going to create a new problem. The resolution was adopted in spite of the Congress High Command's advice to Chief Minister Dayanand Bandodkar not to hurry in this matter.

Since the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Dal took over power

IMMEDIATE MERGER OF GOA IN MAHARASHTRA

From SARALA KARKHANIS

in the former Portuguese pocket after the last general elections, it was being felt in political circles that in case the ruling party got any resolution, demanding immediate merger of the territory with the adjacent states, passed in the Assembly, a tussle between the Centre and the Goa government was bound to follow which might even lead to a constitutional crisis.

But two factors that emerge as a result of the resolution have ruled out any such apprehension. Firstly, the resolution was not moved on behalf of the government, though the movers belonged to the ruling party. This, technically speaking, absolves the government of any responsibility for the motion. Secondly the resolution

has not asked the state government to take any action to speed up the merger. It demanded appropriate steps to merge Goa with Maharashtra and Daman and Diu with Gujarat.

There would have been chances of a tussle or constitutional crisis only if the state government had taken up the matter with the Centre and had threatened any action in case the Centre failed to meet the demand. But the resolution, as moved by the four members of the Assembly, is only of a recommendatory nature and as such does not involve any immediate danger of conflict.

But, one thing is very clear. The incident, which is in no way of any lesser importance politically, is bound to gear up the pro-merger agitation inside the union territory as well as in the adjacent states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Mysore.

Though there is no mass movement as such in Mysore for the merger of Goa with that state a tussle between Mysore and Maharashtra is already going on over the issue, both claiming the territory for themselves. The Karnataka Pradesh Congress has publicly condemned the stand taken by Maharashtra government and has gone to the extent of calling it "expansionism".

In Maharashtra, there is already a mass movement in favour of Goa's merger in this state. The ruling party as well as all the opposition parties, even the Christians and social organisations, have made it a common cause on the ground that unless Goa was merged in Maharashtra the task of completing the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra would remain unfulfilled.

The passing of the resolution by the Goa assembly is bound to give a fillip to the pro-merger agitation at least in Maharashtra where all major opposition parties are jointly planning to launch an intensive mass movement on the lines of the Samyukta Maharashtra agitation with the moral support of the Pradesh Congress leaders and the silent blessings of the state government.

Congress Dilemma

But, one pertinent question remains to be answered in this context: what is the official policy of the Congress organisation on such a vital matter? The Congress in Goa, Daman, and Diu has lost even the little influence it had over a section of the population at the time of the last general elections by demanding retention of the status-quo.

This fact was evident when the Congress in Goa recently organised a protest demonstration in front of the Goa Assembly while the house was discussing the merger resolution. The support it received from the people was very poor and the number of the demonstrators led by the President of Goa, Daman and Diu territorial Congress Purushottam Kakodkar was not even one hundred. Even the demonstration organised by the United Goans Party proved to be a very poor show.

As a matter of fact the policy of the Congress with regard to various territorial claims has only helped in creating bad blood among Congressmen hailing from different states.

positions in the country or representing it abroad.

ORDERS FROM BONN

AFTER two weeks in India, the West German delegation of bankers and industrialists has given India an "ultimatum", in the form of "terms", on which they might be kind enough to invest in this country! The leader of the delegation Dr. Hans Kuntze has brazenly put these "terms" before pressmen in the capital, with a take-it-or-leave-it air.

With his nose pointing to the sky, the West German burra sahib demanded tax concessions for foreign personnel, royalty on patents and know-how, no change in the patents law, and generally speaking, freedom to loot on an even bigger scale than foreign capital is able to do now.

The warning was also clear: "you should realise you are competitors with other developing countries for investments by developed nations including West Germany... a proper climate is necessary to attract fresh investment...."

Contrast the attitude of the West German lords with that of the German Democratic Republic, which is assisting India in all possible ways, on terms which are in India's interest.

The reason for the contrast is not difficult to explain: Kuntze and his gangs represent the worst West German imperialist interests; the German Democratic Republic is a socialist state.

—ROMESH CHANDRA

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

Who is the Liar ?

SOMEBODY is guilty of telling a gross lie about India's attitude to the so-called nuclear shield. And the Indian people have a right to know the truth. This nonsense has been sold on the market-places for too long...

Immediately after Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's visit to London last December, the press was full of reports about his asking the nuclear powers for a so-called nuclear shield or guarantee.

This demand was strongly criticised by the democratic forces in the country, all of whom felt that despite the camouflage, the nuclear shield proposal was nothing but the old, rejected imperialist trap of a nuclear umbrella, with a new label and a new mask.

There was therefore a sigh of relief when at last, nearly four weeks after the first shield reports were published, the Prime Minister made a categorical denial that he had ever made any such proposal. This denial was made on December 28 in an interview with BLITZ editor R. K. Karanjia and published in the BLITZ dated January 2, 1965.

To refresh our memories here is the relevant extract from the interview:

KARANJIA: How do you reconcile our stand on the total abolition of the atom-bomb with your request to the nuclear powers for a Joint Nuclear Umbrella or Shield?

SHASTRI: I have made no such request at any time. I HAVE NEVER ASKED ANYBODY FOR A NUCLEAR UMBRELLA OR SHIELD FOR INDIA. In fact, I have never used such a word. It is an invention of somebody else's put into my mouth for what reason I do not know!

KARANJIA: This is extraordinary. Mr. Shastri. According to the press, you have been reported as having asked Prime Minister Wilson for a Joint Nuclear Guarantee by the USA and the USSR by way of a deterrent against a Chinese nuclear attack?

SHASTRI: It is not only extraordinary, but really absurd.—FOR I NEVER ASKED FOR ANY SUCH SHIELD OR UMBRELLA OR GUARANTEE! Nothing could be more categorical than this denial, and it was flashed as big news all over the world. The Prime Minister's word was taken on this issue: he had not asked for any umbrella or shield, any guarantee or deterrent: it was all the imagination of interested people, who had put words into his mouth.

The shield, one would have hoped, had thus been well buried; but no! it refuses to stay in its grave.

On February 4 in Washington, India's Ambassador to the United States of America B. K. Nehru dug out the corpse once again. Speaking at a dinner, given by the American business press, the Ambassador said that "India and other non-nuclear powers

needed security against a nuclear attack".

How could this security be provided? These are the Ambassador's word in quotation marks, as reported in a REUTER despatch published in the TIMES OF INDIA (February 6):

"This can be provided by a nuclear deterrent or through combined and collective security offered by all the present nuclear Powers. The Prime Minister has posed this question to the nuclear Powers and we are waiting for an answer."

But the Prime Minister said he NEVER asked for a deterrent or for the security of a shield. Then what does the Ambassador mean by saying that we are "waiting for an answer" to the Prime Minister's request?

It does not require more than the minimum common sense to see that the Ambassador is openly contradicting the Prime Minister's unequivocal denial of having anything to do with the shield-umbrella-deterrent-guarantee proposal.

In the normal course, one would assume that the Ambassador is mistaken and needs to be pulled up. But the whole tale of the shield has become so utterly dirty, that one does not quite know what to believe and what to dismiss as a simple LIE.

The trouble is that prevarication on issues of such magnitude are far too costly for the nation, to be indulged in by those holding high

ASPECTS OF CPI PROGRAMME-I

Freedom Struggle And Dawn Of Independence

One of the outstanding merits of the new Programme of the CPI is the manner in which it has clinched various controversies that have raged in the Party for almost two decades. Simultaneously, through accurate analysis and the creative application of Marxism, it answers the questions that have been agitating the politically conscious elements among our people, providing them with a clear path of advance. It goes on to give us sure guidelines for further research and creative development.

An attempt will be made in this particular series of articles to stress some aspects of this Programme in the light of the criteria advanced in the preceding paragraph in order to stimulate further study and discussion.

To begin with, let us examine the three main themes of the first chapter which deals with the struggle of our people for freedom and the qualitative change that came in August 1947.

First, the characterisation of our independence. For quite some time the CPI held to the view that what had been achieved in 1947 was a fake "freedom", that the British imperialists continued to rule as before though indirectly, through their puppets.

India was equated with the Egypt of 1936 and the satellite regimes established in South Korea and South Vietnam.

The result of this totally erroneous understanding was the development of a full-fledged left sectarian political line which called for the immediate revolutionary overthrow of the "government of national betrayal", leading to isolation from the masses and costly adventurist mistakes.

Contrary Result

Far from overthrowing the government of the national bourgeoisie, it actually aided the consolidation of the hegemony of this class over the Indian people as well as the strengthening of various reactionary elements.

Another erroneous trend also manifested itself, though of an opposite character. This trend did not understand the new stage of the Indian revolution as a result of the winning of freedom and continued to advocate the line of a general national united front, which was appropriate in the conditions of British imperialist rule, for the winning of independence.

The new position and role of the national bourgeoisie as the new ruling class was missed.

The Programme rejects both these wrong trends. It emphasises the historic importance of the fact that India was freed from imperialist rule on August 15, 1947.

It hails it as opening a new epoch for our people and as a historic event for all mankind.

It also points out that one stage of India's revolution was over with the attainment of national independence from imperialism.

Contrary to this unequivocal and unambiguous stand is the one adopted in the rival Communist Party programme which still clings to the old, wrong concept of a mere "transfer of power".

It refuses to acknowledge the defeat of imperialism and consequently refuses to share the deep joy of our people that after almost two centuries they now live in a free country.

Proof of Experience

Emotions apart, all the developments since 1947 go to confirm the thesis that a new Indian state was born on August 15 of that year and that a qualitative class transformation took place in the ruling power.

Second, how was this freedom won? The imperialists advance the thesis that step by step they enlightened the "ignorant heathens", taught them democracy, trained them to be responsible and when the time was ripe magnanimously "conferred" freedom on them.

The dominant leadership of the Congress spreads the myth that the Indian people did not so much struggle for freedom as come to it through the mystical power of Gandhiji and his doctrine of nonviolence.

Gandhiji's magic morally awoke the Indian people, taught them to be nonviolent and converted the British imperialists by changing their hearts, such is its theory.

Some inveterate "left" sectarians believe that the Congress-led national movement was a big hoax, that its only function was to retard the revolutionary movement and to compromise with as well as come to the rescue of British imperialism.

The Programme demolishes all these myths. It points to the long, bitter struggle that our people waged in various forms and

on a national scale, beginning with the 1857 war of independence and culminating in the unprecedented postwar militant mass upsurge including the glorious revolt of the naval ratings and other sections of the Indian armed forces.

While acknowledging the great role of the Congress-led mass national struggles of the 1920s, 1930s and in 1942, it also points to the armed actions and struggles of the young revolutionaries, to the heroic mass actions and uprisings of the workers and peasants and to the armed struggle of the INA.

Our people fought and bled for their freedom. While this

by
MOHIT SEN

struggle had its specific features, it also partook of features common to all great revolutionary and liberation movements.

It was the mighty river of freedom into which many tributaries converged. Its heritage is the common possession of all who love India and its people.

Above all, it confirmed the great truth enunciated by Marxism that without deep, militant mass struggles, whether armed or unarmed, no people can win through to liberation.

The Programme does not forget to point to the international connections of our freedom struggle, especially in the postwar period.

It accurately acknowledges the great help rendered to our fighting people by the glorious 1917 October Socialist Revolution, by the defeat of fascism in which the Soviet Union played the leading part and by the rout of colonialism in extensive areas of the world through the mass anti-imperialist upsurge in Asia and Africa, especially that of China.

Militant Internationalism

Just as our freedom struggle reinforced the movement for emancipation of the peoples throughout the world, so also was it helped by this movement.

Millions died in this imperialist-provoked fratricidal strife and the country itself was carved up.

India and Pakistan were set against each other, especially through the skillful manipulation of the Kashmir issue following the invasion by the Pakistan forces.

The imperialists further instigated their feudal princely allies to try to carve out "independent" kingdoms for themselves and remain as their strategic strongholds to browbeat the independent Indian government. In Kashmir, Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin particularly, this strategy of imperialism was most nakedly manifested.

They further hoped that the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi immediately after independence, would sow confusion and disrupt the forces of national liberation.

People Fight Back

Through these means the imperialists aimed at reducing India to the position of a satellite state, despite formal freedom.

Ranged against them were the mighty forces of the Indian people determined to smash the imperialists and go forward to the completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and build a new India.

They were determined to implement the platform put forward by the Congress of an independent national economy, of land reforms, certain fundamental rights and wellbeing for the working people and a parliamentary democracy.

The people swept forward against the imperialists in the mightiest upsurge in all of India's history, displaying marvels of militancy and tenacity.

An important feature of this upsurge was the mass movement for the abolition of princely states, especially in Hyderabad, Travancore and Kashmir.

The CPI played a leading

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NEW AGE

FEBRUARY 14, 1965

SAROJINI NAIDU:

Sarojini Naidu was the torch-bearer for the emancipation of women in India and, as a poet and visionary, she knew that the liberation of women, to be full and complete, must be inseparably linked with the political and economic freedom of the country. To women of our generation, that is the reason why Sarojini is an inspiration, a guide.

TEN today, 86 years after this great daughter of India was born, on February 13 our thoughts turn to her—an impassioned fighter for freedom, one who loved life, loved colour, beauty and laughter and above all whose catholicity of outlook is a lasting fragrance amidst the jungle of communal hatred, narrow prejudices, divisions and discussions which putrefy the atmosphere of our national life today.

While essentially a feminine personality, in the grim, dark days of the struggle for independence, she held within herself the glow of an unquenchable fire—a beacon for the freedom fighters along the hard road of travail and sufferings.

Far back in 1925, when British imperialism seemed impregnable, when the Peshwar and Meerut Conspiracy Cases were in full swing, when the boot of John Bull was trying to crush the young national movement for freedom under its heels, as President of the Indian National

Congress her speech was a rallying call to all fighters for freedom:

"As long as I have life, as long as blood flows through this arm of mine, I shall not leave the cause of freedom. Come, my general! Come my soldiers! I am only a woman, only a poet. But as a woman, I give to you the weapon of faith and courage and the shield of fortitude."

The Symbol of Aspirations Of Indian Women

To the last days of her life she remained true to her words and was blessed to see the dawn of freedom break.

One of the most beautiful pieces in Jawaharlal Nehru's "Bunch of Old Letters" is one by Sarojini Naidu who, never having herself flinched in facing jail or hardships or heartbreaks, could write to Nehru in jail on Novem-

ber 13, 1937, on his birthday thus:

"What shall I wish you for the coming year? Happiness? Peace? Triumph? All these things that men hold supremely dear... I will wish you my dear... unflinching faith and unflinching courage in your 'via crucis' (road of crosses) that all must tread to seek freedom, for the deliverance of a nation from bondage. Walk steadfastly along that steep and perilous path... if sorrow and pain and loneliness

company into laughter—and her humane, broad outlook which shunned all prudery and narrow sectarianism and which would make her put herself to many an inconvenience to be gracious and kindly to people whom others would not have bothered much about.

In every session of the All India Women's Conference, of which she was one of the founders, whenever we ran into trouble in passing resolutions demanding independence or con-

In 1931, in her memorandum before the Second Round Table Conference, she pleaded:

"The women of India have no desire to seek any specially favoured treatment for themselves, provided that their full and equal citizenship is recognised in practice and in theory."

Her entire background prevented her from being a feminist. But with her national eminence she never forgot to impress upon her men colleagues that "the work of nation-building must begin from the woman unit".

be your portion. Remember, liberty is the ultimate crown of all your sacrifices... but you will not walk alone."

She personified in herself the strength and vitality the women of the new India would be called upon to impart to the regeneration of our ancient land—shorn of the shackles of narrow prejudices, superstitions, backwardness—equal partners with men, sharing both the responsibilities for building free India, as well as enjoying the prosperity and progress.

Her poetic soul expressed itself in the tremulous and luxuriant vocabulary which became synonymous with the oratory of Sarojini. After Toru Dutt, she was the only woman poet of India who expressed herself in English.

Felicity Of Language

She used the felicity of language to rouse the men and women of her country to fight for independence. Never did she give up her love of beauty, colour, flowers and above all her love of children.

She could chide the Bengali women for their attachment to the white colour of their attire by showing her rich purple and magenta-coloured saris and asking "when there is such splendour, why must you deprive yourself of their beauty?"

One who never failed to draw sustenance from "the bulbuls nesting in the orange trees" of her garden or the "blue kingfisher coming from his noon-day bath in the fountain" even though it be for a fleeting moment snatched from her life of whirlwind activity, when the call came to change the poet's flute to take up the patriot's sword, she could equally easily say:

"...The function of a poet is not merely to be isolated in ivory towers of dreams, set in a garden of roses, but his place is with people in the dust of the highways, in the difficulties of the battle—that is the poet's destiny."

And this destiny she carried out, as has been aptly put, with "the eloquence of a Portia, the tunefulness of an Ariel combined with the impishness and love of a Puck."

To those of us who knew her well, her two most endearing qualities were her sense of humour—her infectious chuckle that could in the most serious situations dissolve the sombre

demning repression of the British government—resolutions which in those days were considered "dangerous" by the toady elements in the AIWC, it was Sarojini Naidu who would advise and help us.

Never did we find any intolerance towards us, although she knew well that we were Communists. Although there might have been differences on many issues, she had that breadth of vision that could welcome the growth of the new.

That is why she could say so truly that the only epitaph she wanted was, "I loved the youth of India."

We found her, from her very first public appearance in 1913 at the Moslem Youth Conference down to the last days of her life, an ardent and indefatigable champion of Hindu-Muslim unity.

She could tell the Muslim youth: "Do not allow anyone to

Pleading eloquently for spreading of education among women, way back in 1908 at the Indian Social Conference in Calcutta, she said to the men gathered there:

Educate Women

"It is not you, but we who are the nation-builders. But, it seems to me that there is not even an unanimous acceptance of the fact that the education of women is an essential factor in the process of nation-building."

We have left 1908 far behind us. But in 1965, have we yet been able to fundamentally change that thinking in our villages where even in primary education, not to speak of secondary and university education, girls trail a long way behind the boys?

by
RENU CHAKRAVARTY

Today in paying homage to Sarojini Naidu, it cannot but be said that the question of women's education has not received the requisite national importance she always strove to impart to it.

Champion Of Equality

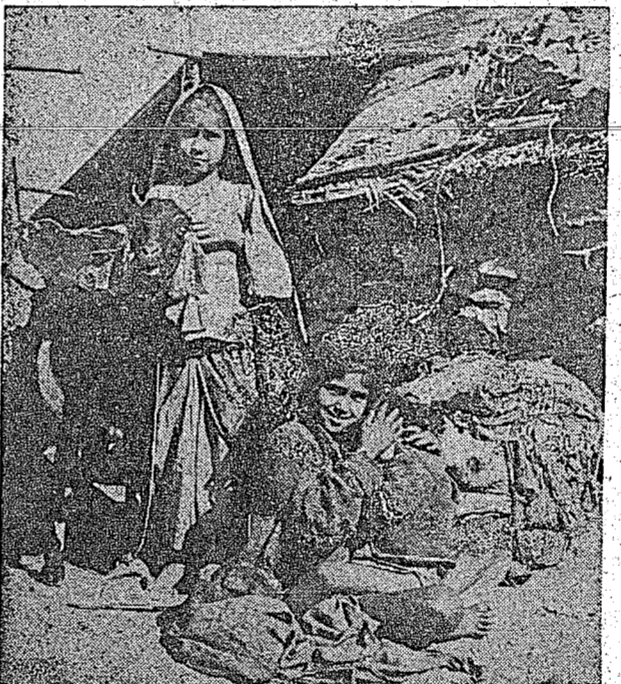
Her broad vision embraced the vast expanses of Asia and Africa, still panting under the oppressor of the British colonial empire.

On the eve of Indian independence, in March 1947, presiding over the Asian Relations Conference, she said: "We have summoned you to a great gathering of the nations of Asia, to make a declaration for the future of Asia."

"We may have our own movements of freedom, but we have come here to take an inextinguishable pledge of the unity of Asia, so that the world in ruin could be redeemed from sorrow, unhappiness, exploitation, misery, poverty, ignorance, disaster, death..."

"I bid you to rise from your graves, I bid you to become part of an eternal springtime. I bid you to rise and say: there is no death, there shall be no death... Who shall hamper us in our ascent to the stars? We do not cry for the moon. We pluck it from the skies and wear it upon the diadems of Asia's freedom."

Such was Sarojini Naidu the symbol of all aspirations of India's women.



TO SEND THEM TO SCHOOLS

THE National Federation of Indian Women is observing February 13, birthday of Sarojini Naidu, as Women's Education Day.

The main demands of the NFIW for promoting women's education in the country are:

1. Serious efforts should be made by the central and state governments to bridge the gap between boys and girls education by offering special incentives to girls to join schools;
2. Girls' education should be made free upto the end of the secondary stage;
3. More girls' schools should be opened, especially in the rural areas and the existing ones should be upgraded;
4. Vocational technical training should be made accessible to girls to enable them to get employment in technical and industrial establishments;

Special measures for girls' education should be included in the Fourth Five Year Plan and effectively implemented.

In Delhi, a public meeting has been scheduled for February 13 and a symposium on women's education on February 14.

Many women's organisations in the capital including the NFIW and the University Women's Association are jointly sponsoring these functions.

FEBRUARY 14, 1965

NEW AGE

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DOWN WITH THE BOMB AND THE UMBRELLA!

Peace Movement Launches Counter-Offensive Against Reaction

From all parts of the country are coming reports of a new round of activities by Indian peace organisations, concentrating on winning informed public support for the policy of using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes, refusing to make an Indian bomb and rejecting all proposals for the so-called nuclear 'umbrella' or 'shield'.

THESE activities are taking the form of preparations for the holding of state conferences for Peace and Afro-Asian Solidarity, jointly convened by the state branches of the All India Peace Council and the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

Broad preparatory committees are being formed in each state, with the participation of representative individuals from the widest sections of political opinion, and covering men and women from the most diverse fields of activity.

During a tour just concluded of the southern states, Romesh Chandra, Chairman of the Organisation and Liaison Commission of the All India Peace Council, addressed

form, today the Right reactionary parties and groups are openly campaigning for an Indian atom bomb and for an alliance with the Western powers for nuclear 'protection'.

Addressing a meeting of nearly four hundred trade-unionists in Hyderabad, Romesh Chandra stressed the necessity for active participation of the organised working-class movement in the campaign against the make-the-Bomb maniacs and their partners—the Umbrella protagonists.

A significant feature of the meetings in all states was the growing interest in the work for peace, and the participation of many who had taken part in the work for peace earlier.

Preparations are on in full swing to secure signatures of representative persons to the Appeal against the nuclear menace, which is being jointly sponsored by several peace organisations in the country. Mass endorsement of the Appeal at public meetings and general body and committee meetings of mass organisa-

tions and other bodies has also begun.

Earlier the Secretariat of the AIPC had decided that the campaign for popularising the "New Delhi Appeal" should be the main campaign during the coming period.

The "New Delhi Appeal" adopted unanimously at the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation held in New Delhi from 14th November to 18th November, 1964, received warm response from the peace workers in many countries.

The Algerian Peace Committee has started collecting signatures to the appeal. The British Peace Committee, in its general council meeting, has endorsed this appeal. Dr. Endicott in his speech at the presidential committee meeting in Berlin declared that the New Delhi Conference was the most successful peace conference in the year 1964.

In a circular to its state units the secretariat said that the appeal has assumed all the more urgency in view of the fact that demand has been raised in some quarters that India should manufacture atom bomb as a reply to the Chinese who have already joined the Nuclear Club.

It is not that only the reactionary circles of the Indian public opinion are raising this demand. Many honest people who usually take sen-

sible and reasonable attitude towards international problems have also started raising this demand. They feel that in the face of the Chinese atomic bomb India's defence potentialities will be weakened unless India starts manufacturing atom bomb.

It is the responsibility of the peace workers to educate public opinion that reply to the Chinese atomic bomb is

not manufacture of atom bomb in India. If India joins the arms race, all our dreams of building an industrialised and prosperous India will be shattered. There cannot be any end to arms race if new nations join it.

India has consistently advocated and demanded general and total disarmament. It is by strengthening the struggle for disarmament, it is by strengthening the popular movement for banning the nuclear weapons that we can help relaxing international tension.

Our policy of nonalignment, abolition of cold war, struggle for disarmament are the effective answers to all attempts of proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Unity Against The Atom-Bomb

THE most representative and important peace organisations in the country have joined hands to launch a nation-wide campaign in support of a powerful Appeal against the nuclear threat. The Appeal pinpoints opposition to the making of nuclear weapons by India, to the nuclear 'umbrella' and extends full support to nonalignment. The appeal incorporates the Appeal adopted by the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation.

A meeting of peace workers was convened in the capital on February 4 by DIWAN CHAMAN LALL M.P. (Continuing Committee of the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation) R. R. DIVAKAR M.P. (Gandhi Peace Foundation), DR. TARA CHAND M.P. (Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity), ROMESH CHANDRA (All India Peace Council), TRISKA SUNDRA (Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation) and ARJUN AROHA M.P. (Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace).

This meeting unanimously decided on conducting the campaign jointly and approved the text of the appeal.

A series of small leaflets, pamphlets and posters is being brought out to help in the campaign. An exhibition is also being prepared to be shown during the many state conferences now being planned for April and May.

New Delhi Appeal

(NEW AGE is happy to publish in full the Appeal issued by six influential Indian peace organisations. Signatures to this Appeal are being collected from MPs, MLAs, members of municipal bodies, panchayats and other representative bodies, as well as leaders of trade unions, kisan sabha and other mass organisations. The appeal is also to be endorsed at public meetings).

THE explosion of an atomic bomb by the People's Republic of China has heightened anxiety regarding the security of our country.

We the undersigned, are convinced that the answer to the Chinese threat and the way to the safeguarding of India's security lie not through our joining in the mad nuclear race, but only through the total banning of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament.

We fully endorse the policy pursued by the Government of India of using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes, of refusing to make nuclear weapons of any sort, and of rejecting all proposals for the acceptance in any form of the so-called nuclear "umbrella."

We firmly believe that nonalignment is in the best interests of our people, of their defence and their well-being and economic advance.

We extend our full support to the following appeal, adopted by the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation, which was attended by representatives of 45 countries and was inaugurated on the 75th birthday of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:

"The steady increase in the production and dissemination of nuclear arms, the continuance of nuclear tests and the additions to the number of nuclear powers have created a grave threat to all mankind. Only united action by the peoples can end this threat. We appeal to all governments not engaged in the atomic race and to all governments willing to join with them, to meet without delay and demand:

- a total ban on all atomic arms and weapons of mass extermination;
- an immediate end to the manufacture of all types of nuclear weapons and to all forms of testing these arms;
- the destruction of existing stocks; and

to study, in conjunction with the peoples, the measures and actions necessary to achieve these aims."



SUBHASH: Bengal's Poet of Revolution

Subhash Mukhopadhyay, this year's recipient of Shahitya Academy award for his poems in Bengali is a person of outstanding qualities. His poetry draws sustenance from the diverse experience of his life—as a newspaper reporter, as a trade union activist, as a political worker and a social thinker. Above all, he is a Marxist and therefore has the insight to understand social and political phenomena in their true perspectives.

HIS keen sense of perception coupled with clarity of expression made his poems stark with realism and yet superb in poetic values. In the use of imagery, he is unique; in theme, he is closest to life. His form is direct and crisp, particularly predominant is his technique of short sentences and words which he adopted in his later compositions. He reminds one very much of Nazim Hikmet, and today his poems are virtually shorn of prosody.

Subhash is wellknown for his poems though he has also written a lot of prose including the adaptation in Bengali of Marx's WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL, for popular reading. His reportage opened up a new vista in Bengali journalism. His study of rural life in Bengal will shortly be brought out in a book titled DAK-BANGLAR DIARY.

Subhash's poems can be broadly classified according to his published collections. PADATIK (INFANTRY) is his earliest collection—1938 to 1940; CHIRKUT (SCRAP OF PAPER)—1941-46; AGNIKONE (SOUTH-EAST)—1948; PHOOL PHUTUK (LET FLOWERS BLOSSOM)—1951-57. The Academy award has been given to Subhash for his collection titled JATA DUREI JAI (NO MATTER HOW FAR I GO) which was published in 1962.

Subhash's deep love for fellow men, his warm sympathy for their sorrows and anxieties, his sense of purpose in dealing with the social problems, his churning out of direction in the struggle against evils, his close contact with the

common man and intimate share of his plights are the main characteristics of his poems.

Truly, Subhash is a poet of the people, a poet 'down to earth'—as Tagore has once visualised of a new poet. He has never let his imagination fly to fantasy and taken recourse to subterfuge in order to hide harsh reality. The man he writes about however is not the one content with cursing his lot and wallowing in despair. It is the man who with clenched fists participates in the struggles for a better life.

Commentary Of Life

Subhash's pre-1951 poems are a lyrical commentary of life, where revolutionary ardour is predominant. What is most striking in these poems is the sharp whiplash of satire interspersed with words of determination, of resistance and of courage. These poems reconstitute the failings and weaknesses of middle-class life and yet at the same time invoke the great spirit of sacrifice.

Socialist realism does not mean slogan-mongering or photographic description of human agony. It must reflect life in totality and that is what Subhash strives for. And that is why during the 1951-57 period when he was in a state of utter despair due to various conflicts and contradictions, he told himself to hold heart; he declared:

Whether flowers blossom or not its spring today.

Subhash's poems are extremely difficult to translate because of the use of typical Bengali phrases and imagery, whose fineness is lost in other language.

Here are some bits from his poems:

Go left, brother to the left—
Driving away the locusts we shall be monarchs of our land
and wrap all around with gold of a ripe harvest.

Subhash describes the grim determination of militant workers in a few words:

Stop—
—No.
If forced—
—No.

Give way we have to go to procession.

His eye does not miss any detail and the naked reality of poverty and hunger is expressed in a unique form:

Over doused oven in falling light
as if in hangman's rope dangles the cooking-pot washed yesterday-noon.

or
Thrashing the darkness the young wife muses
so the oven won't be lighted even tomorrow?

Subhash brings out the contradictions of life, of despondency as well as hope in everyday terms. For example, the bottomless misery of a man which drives him momentarily mad but who, in the nick of time realises his folly, is powerfully depicted in a poem, four lines of which are:

That man who a while back went to hang himself,
by now he has gone to bed wrapping his wife's nap.

Penpictures Of People

These are the penpictures of common people. It is through such poems one gets acquainted with life and particularly through Subhash's poems, one not only gets the touch of life but also becomes active participants in the day to day struggle for existence.

In his poem titled STONE FLOWER, composed in the context of the funeral of author Manik Bandyopadhyay, Subhash exposes the hoax of the show of respect and honour given to a writer after his death. He portrays the agony of a writer's life, his tragic poverty which maims creative ability and his efforts at survival. Subhash says that even flowers turn into stone by this experience. He therefore demands:

Take away the flower it hurts me.

Garlands pile up to a hill.
Flowers turn into stone.

Remove the stone it hurts me.

Subhash's experience of life, of people's struggles, of political developments and social transformations have grown deeper in later stages. His poems no longer smack of bland demagoguery. NO MATTER HOW FAR I GO contains poems which prove the

FOR THE RED ROSE

The colour for me,
for me too,
is red.
The flower for me,
for me too,
is the rose.

I am fighting,
it's fight for the red rose.

Look at our love,
deep in the silence of grief,
stretched from the snowcapped mountains to the edge of the sea,
the brow bent,
rivetted on the flowering earth.

The wounds left by the chains
are yet to heal.
The chords of the heart
are yet to be tuned.
The world is yet to move back for ever
from the brink of the catastrophe.

The time is broken, uneven,
like a furrowed field.
It's strain to walk through.
Yet, I know, the seeds lie hidden in its womb.
Hopes blighted, inconsolable, turbulent,
will shed tears,
and join in the festival of the new harvest.

The colour for me
is red.
The flower for me
is the rose.
It's our fight now
for the red rose,
our hearts steeled in courage.

—SUBHASH MUKHOPADHYAY

maturity of his thoughts, of his confidence in the transition of society to socialism, and of greater determination in the unleashing of popular movements. He is therefore eloquent without hesitation. In his poem titled EVEN DEEPER, he says:

On black round stone overhead
sharpens its claws
lightning
in blind fury.

Ants with tiny feet
running into holes.

Storm will break now.

Fear hovers over meadows
grass tips tremble,
somewhere as if
wings of lost birds
flutter.

If storm comes, let it come
how long to pass away?

Wherever we stand
heads raised to the sky
shall stay put

In soil
even deeper
sending our roots.

He is quite clear about the success of the democratic movement. Describing the liberation-struggle where broad unity of the masses has been achieved; he says that the struggle is now like a game of chess where the knights will vanquish the king.

Not so easy to kill
one is braced
with the other.

Knights play like tigers.

Save your kings,
else
checkmate in this mope!

Knights play like tigers.

In desert could lion
seethe
heated oil—

Be off!

In rubber forests
ropes noose
dangles.

Run away!

No more change in tricks
with whole world at stake
we play.

Let them arrange their board
anyway
we will catch them
in two and a half steps.

Knights play like tigers.

Subhash is acutely aware of the political perspectives and the profound changes that are taking place in the world balance of forces. He says:

Thunder rumbles in the sky
it will pour.
But, nothing much to fear;
war unlikely to break.
Sky already within grip;
moon will be in our hands.

For creation not ruins,
towards light not darkness
the scale is tilting.
Love wrings the hands of hate.
Lighting the house of Earth
look, on Africa's lap
seven kings' treasure, a jewel-
freedom!

No more old maps will do,
must learn geography anew.
Lo, behold,
reined by an immutable law
the course of events
everyday humiliate
astrologers on almanac pages.

Subhash is conscious of the differences that exist in the ideological approaches of political movements, and the ups and downs that swing the balance of forces. But he does not lose heart in reverses. He declares:

Defeated? So what?
One swallow does not
make a summer?
Victory and defeat there is
in every struggle.

* ON PAGE 12

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HELSINKI CALLING

THE World Council of Peace is making rapid progress in its preparations for the World Peace Congress it is convening in Helsinki from July 10 to 17. A meeting of representatives of all national peace committees is being held in Berlin from February 28 to March 3. This meeting will decide on the title, theme and other details of the Congress.

A very large number of other peace organisations—both national and international—have already expressed their desire to participate in the Congress, and they are being actively associated with the preparatory work from the very start.

several meetings of peace supporters in Tamilnad, Karnatak and Andhra Pradesh, on the new responsibilities of the peace movement in the light of the offensive of the reactionary forces following the Chinese atom bomb test, explosion.

"The new in the situation in this country" he said at these meetings "is that whereas before one could say with confidence that no one dares to advocate the manufacture of nuclear weapons in this country or the acceptance of a nuclear umbrella in any shape or



The Left United Front formed to fight the Kerala Assembly elections has pledged in its election manifesto to strive utmost to give to the people of Kerala a stable and good government which will eradicate corruption, work for the all round progress of the state, safeguard the interests of the common people and guarantee them a better life.

SURVEYING the election scene and the past political experience of the people of Kerala who are going to the polls for the third time in eight years to elect an Assembly, the manifesto draws pointed attention to the need for a vigorous effort to defeat both the Congress and the new Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance if the above objective is to be realised; to that end it calls for the broadest popular unity to be achieved through the united front of Left democratic forces in the state.

The manifesto recalls the triple alliance of Congress, PSP and Muslim League which came to power in the state in the 1960 mid-term elections and the squabbles which soon upset this alliance.

First the Muslim League was out, then followed the PSP and the Congress Ministry which tried to remain in power was also toppled when 15 MLAs walked out of the Congress as a result of pulls and clashes within the ruling party and its changing group alignments. The record of the Congress ministry is clearly spelt out:

Communal Threat

"Never before were communal forces able to exert such influence in the political, social and cultural life of the state as during the regime of this ministry. No ministry yielded so much before the interests and pressures of communal forces as this Congress ministry. Even after the fall of the ministry, heinous efforts are afoot to foster communalism within and without the Congress.

"Congress had to go out of power due to its losing support from its own members. The government of the Congress was one which rewrote the Agrarian Relations Act, trampling under foot the interests of the kisans and the state as a whole and advanc-

ing the vested interests of the big landlords. It brought in many anti-people legislative measures against the common people for satisfying the reactionary vested interests.

"The people of the state did not experience an administration as corrupt as this one since the dawn of independence. The ministry was driven out of power through a resolution of no confidence when people's wrath against the corrupt regime was at its height and their expectations and desires for an alternative Left progressive government free of corruption had risen high."

Efforts At Unity

The manifesto then describes the efforts that were made to form a united front of all Left parties and progressive individuals in the state and recounts the now well-known story of how this united front was sabotaged by the rival Communist leader EMS Namboodiripad who would not agree to a categorical declaration of opposition to the reactionary alliance of the Kerala Congress and Muslim League.

"When the rebel Congress-Muslim League axis has entered the political arena with a declaration that they will secure a majority and form a government, we find today the left Communist Party and the SSP standing in collusion with these forces. We are confident that the enlightened people of Kerala will realise fully the significance and gravity of this danger.

"We desire to declare firmly that neither the Congress, which during the past 17 years has failed to advance the interests of the people of Kerala and has become an anti-people force, nor the rebel Congress-League axis which represents an alliance of reactionary forces can safeguard the future of the toiling people of Kerala.

Kerala Left United Front Manifesto

BROADEST POPULAR UNITY TO DEFEAT CONGRESS AND COMMUNAL REACTION

"In today's situation Kerala's advance can be ensured only by strengthening the united front of progressive forces. With this end in view, we have resolved to continue to go forward, strengthening the united front formed by the CPI, the RSP and progressive minded individuals."

The manifesto further enumerates a series of measures which a government of the Left United Front will take in the economy and administration of the state for the development of the state's industry and agriculture, for the solution of the problem of labour and the defence of their rights, for eliminating corruption and for the cultural and educational advance of the people.

The following are some of the measures listed in this comprehensive programme:

The economic and taxation policies followed by the Government of India are endangering the economic development of our country. The biggest proof for this is the present crisis of price rise and food shortage—a crisis that continued during the Second and Third Five Year Plans and has reached its present acute form.

Basic changes in the economic policies have got to be brought about to achieve this. The state government will strive its utmost to get the Union Government accept and implement the proposals for policy changes that have been brought up by the organised working class and kisan movements and the Left parties in the country.

The state government, recognising the reality that Kerala was neglected during the three Plans, will bring pressure on the Government of India to end this policy of discrimination. Similarly, all attempts by Union Government to encroach upon the existing rights and powers of the state governments will be resisted in consonance with other states and peoples.

National Defence

The government of the United Front will render wholehearted support to all measures and steps the Government of India will take to strengthen national defence efforts with a view to safeguarding the sovereignty, freedom and territorial integrity of our country, to oppose and defeat any foreign aggression on our soil, to settle peacefully as far as possible without loss to the prestige of our country the territorial disputes we have with our neighbouring countries; to safeguard our policy of non-alignment and thus strengthen the foundations of our freedom, to eliminate communal conflicts and other fissiparous tendencies.

Earnest endeavour will be made to enter the administration of the state with the cooperation of all elements and above party considerations and with a view to finding a satisfactory solution to the burning and complex problems of the state. Each department of the state's administration will have an all-party committee with representatives from all parties of the legislature, with the respective Minister as chairman to advise from time to time on the problems facing the department.

Effective and immediate steps will be taken to take over wholesale trade in food grains completely. Stringent and prompt measures to curb and prevent blackmarketing and hoarding of food grains will be taken. Consumers and producers' cooperative societies will be set up in all villages with a view to reaching essential articles as well as agricultural implements and materials to the agriculturists by buying at fair price foodgrains from the peasantry and finally with a view to saving the agriculturists in particular and the rural population in general from the clutches of the profiteer.

Steps will be taken to fix fair price for such food articles as rice, tapioca, sugar, coconut oil, chillies, and ce-

reals and such essential articles as firewood, kerosene and cloth and ensure that these articles are available at the fixed prices.

The present informal rationing will be replaced by full and statutory rationing throughout the state and pressure will be brought to bear on the Union Government for necessary supplies; fair price shops will be opened in places where they do not exist; cards will be issued to all people whose income is within a prescribed limit.

The Agrarian Relations Act existing today is most harmful to the peasantry, the small holders and the Kudikidappukars.

Hence the present legislation will be changed suitably to attain the following aims—the rights and privileges that have been bestowed on the big landholders all in the name of the small holder will be removed, rent will be reduced and opportunities for eviction will be limited; special consideration will be given regarding compensation to the small holders in a way that will prove not burdensome to the tenants under them; special legislative measures will be undertaken, if necessary arises to meet regional requirements.

Measures to effect reforms and changes in the socio-economic set up of the rural areas will be undertaken with a view to improving the standard of living of the agricultural labourers and raising their incentive in actual agricultural production.

Permanency Of Tenure

As part of these changes, fixation of their fair wages and hours of work; permanency of rights and fixation of fair rent in the matter of Kudikidappukar and Kudiyarupukar; provision for them to acquire these on payment of just compensation; removal of all social disabilities that the harjans and other backward communities still suffer from; provision of facilities for education and medical aid to these sections of population and improvement of housing facilities also; steps will be vigorously taken in the above regard.

Such government and forest lands as can be put to agricultural use will be distributed among agricultural labourers and those small holders who possess land nominally and financial, technical assistance will be given to these to put these lands to proper use. There can be hope for Ke-

erala only if the policies of the Union Government regarding industrialisation and labour are radically changed. Though the climate and favourable factors for industrialisation exist in our state, Kerala remains backward still in the matter of development of industry compared to other states.

Industrial Development

Steps have to be taken for forcing the Union Government to accept the just case and share of Kerala at least during the Fourth Plan. Simultaneously the state government will undertake the following steps:

1. Steps to develop, reform and reorganise on economic lines such industries which employ the largest number of people and earn foreign exchange as coir, cashew, handloom, bead, fishing and water transport will be undertaken in consultation with parties and interests associated with these industries;

2. Measures to put on sound lines the mineral industries will be taken;

3. Industries for production of coaches, hardboard, match, plywood, and paper utilising the rich resources from forest wealth of our state will be organised;

4. Harmful competition that runs the cashew industry will be put an end to, and a Cashew Trading Corporation, with shares for the management and labour, will be set up for the collection of raw cashew and sale of dried cashew so that the industry can be run on a permanent basis;

5. Similarly a Coir Trading Corporation with shares for the labour and management interests in the coir industry, will be set up to advance the interests of the industry and improve sale of coir goods.

6. Steps to improve the handloom industry and ensure new markets for handloom goods will be undertaken;

7. Efforts to secure the co-operation of the representatives of labour in the efficient and economic running of state-owned industrial units will be undertaken;

8. A comprehensive plan for the development of fishing industry will be drawn up. Steps will be vigorously undertaken to uplift the fishermen from the conditions

of exploitation and backwardness in which they languish today, to raise their standard of living, ensure housing facilities, supply of fresh water etc.,

9. Measures to improve the wage structure and condition of service of plantation labour will be undertaken;

10. Small scale and rural industries will be brought under cooperative sector; Cottage Industries and Handicrafts will be given encouragement.

The standard of living of the working class will be raised by appropriate legislation for safeguarding trade union rights such as trade union recognition and collective bargaining and for ensuring payment of gratuity. Minimum wages will be fixed in all industries where it has not been done and the fixed wage will be raised and standardised. Plantation Act, Shops Act, Beedi Act, Motor Act and similar legislations will be strictly enforced. Steps will be taken to get the recommendations of the Bonus Commission implemented.

Workers' Share

In those industries which are state-owned or where the state has a share, due share for the workers in the running and management of the units will be ensured. Steps will be taken to ensure dearness allowance to all workers linked with the cost of living index. Arrangement will be enforced for sale of daily necessities at fair price in all industrial concerns.

Obstacles and delay in the matter of housing and social insurance to workers will be removed and schemes related to them implemented vigorously. The Housing Board, Provident Fund, Regional Board etc. will be reconstituted with labour representation. Besides, arbitration board with representatives of labour will be constituted for quick settlement of disputes.

The contract system of labour prevalent in many industries will be done away with, and the system of nominal muster roll will be ended ensuring permanency of employment to labour. Equal wage to equal labour, scrapping of conditions in certain services preventing matrimony, hostel facilities for women labour—such and other demands of women labour will be accepted and their interests safeguarded.

Considerable share of administrative power will be

transferred to organs of administration at district, taluk and panchayat levels; effective and live popular cooperation in the matter of Plan implementation and administration at all levels will be secured by democratisation and decentralisation of administration.

Conditions of service and salaries and pay of government personnel will be revised. Simultaneously, practical steps will be taken in consultation with service organisations to reduce wastage and introduce economy.

Resources necessary for our Plan schemes as well as to ensure increased emoluments to service personnel will be tapped from within state as far as possible and from the Centre in the form of Central aid. Service, conduct and discipline rules binding the service personnel will be reformed on democratic lines.

Introduce measures whereby ministers, legislators, members of the Devaswom Board, office bearers of self-governing institutions and public institutions are brought within the purview of the anti-corruption laws.

Appoint a committee to enquire into serious allegations brought against the former ministers. Similarly, enquire into the allegations of leasing out thousands of acres of Devaswom lands to individuals etc.

The corrupt practice of granting new schools will be put an end to and this government will follow the scientific approach of granting new schools according to actual needs of the localities.

Strong steps against managers who accept bribes for appointment of teachers or admission of students in schools will be taken. Amendments to educational Acts and rules for this purpose and for lessening the excessive hold of the management on teachers and for safeguarding the interests of teachers will be introduced.

Parity in Wages

Steps will be taken to bring about parity in the terms of service of private school teachers and non-teaching staff to that of government employees.

Secondary education will be made free throughout the state;

Steps to make Malayalam the medium of instruction at all levels including higher

education and to produce absolutely necessary text books and reference books in Malayalam will be taken. Steps to have all official proceedings of the government in Malayalam will be taken. Recommendations of the Official Language Commission will be implemented step by step.

In the matter of employment and educational facilities necessary protection will be given to backward communities and scheduled castes and tribes and the existing reservation will continue.

Freedom of worship and religion will be safeguarded. Steps will be taken to protect rights of Kannada and Tamil language minorities and religious minorities.

Realising that the present prohibition laws have failed and to avoid the harmful effects of the use of illicit liquor, the existing prohibition laws will be replaced and necessary steps to reduce the evil effects of consumption of liquor to the minimum will be undertaken.

Road transport will be nationalised step to step... On

the event of nationalising the private transport, the workers will be given security by the government.

The fundamental right of workers and other toiling people to agitate and fight in an organised way to safeguard their rights will be respected, equal justice will be given to all people in the maintenance of law and order and the misuse of government machinery in the interest of influential and wealthy persons will be completely put an end to.

The right of officials to suppress popular struggles, to issue prohibitory orders, to order lathicharges and firing will be controlled to the necessary extent.

Freedom of the press and civil rights will be protected.

Police verification which has caused so much of trouble for the people of this state in the name of political consideration will be completely stopped. Steps taken in this regard in the past will be reviewed and utmost efforts made to remedy them.

Left United Front Candidates List

FOLLOWING is the second list of candidates sponsored by the Left United Front to contest the coming elections in Kerala, released on February 4:

TRIVANDRUM DISTRICT	
Trivandrum 1	— K. Karunakaran (CPI)
Trivandrum 11	— K. C. Vamadevan (RSP)
Vilappil	— Vrinadavanam Venugopalan (RSP)
Kilimanoor	— M. Achuthan (CPI)
QUILON DISTRICT	
Karunagappalli	— Prakkulam Bhasi (RSP)
ALLEPPEY DISTRICT	
Kuttanad	— K. C. S. Mani (RSP)
KOTTAYAM DISTRICT	
Akalakunnam	— K. V. Kartha (Ind.)
Vazhoor	— Purushothaman Pillai (CPI)
ERNAKULAM DISTRICT	
Kothamangalam	— P. N. Yusuf (Ind.)
Thodupuzha	— K. C. Zacharia (Ind.)
Perumbavoor	— S. Chitharanjan (Ind.)
Alwaye	— J. T. Kayanad (CPI)
TRICHUR DISTRICT	
Guruvayoor	— P. K. Gopalakrishnan (CPI)
Kunnankulam	— K. N. Karunakaran (CPI)
Chalakkudi	— P. Raghava Menon (Ind.)
Trichur	— K. Balakrishna Menon (Ind.)
Nattika	— Moltheen Kattakath (CPI)
PALGHAT DISTRICT	
Ponnani	— T. K. G. Nair (CPI)
CALICUT DISTRICT	
Tirur	— P. Gopalan (CPI)
Kuttipuram	— Ahmad Karoath (CPI)
Nilambur	— K. M. Abraham (Ind.)
CANNANORE DISTRICT	
Manjeswaram	— U. Ramappa (CPI)
Madayi	— K. V. Moosana Kutty (CPI)

PHQ Branch has Collected Rs. 4,580 to the Kerala Election Fund of the CPI

The amount has been made up of contributions and collections by the comrades working in the central headquarters and allied establishments of the Party. All the comrades contributed their wages for one day to the fund.

The quota taken by the branch at the Seventh CPI Congress in Bombay was Rs. 5,000. By present indications the collections will far exceed this quota.

Rush your contributions and collections to

C. Achutha Menon
Secretary
Kerala State Council of CPI
Trivandrum

Assam Tea Planters On Exploitation Spree

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: Reports from the tea estates of Assam indicate that the tea planters have been taking full advantage of the national emergency to intensify their exploitation of labour. The planters are further emboldened by the government connivance of even open violation of various labour laws by the estate owners.

MAJORITY of the workers in the tea estates are organised under the INTUC. Though the INTUC leadership's link with the estate owners is widely known, local cadres of INTUC could resist some of the gross violations of agreements and other standing labour laws.

But recently the factional fight in the Congress has affected the INTUC also leading to split in the organisation in some places like Darrang district where one group was expelled from the INTUC.

This group has since been functioning "independently". This "independent" group has been

SUBHASH...

*FROM PAGE 9

In Subhash's poems, politics and life are not isolated; it is their exquisite blending that constitutes the keynote of his originality. A master craftsman in his trade, he has composed poems for the people maintaining, and often improving, all recognised values of poetry.

Subhash has reached a higher stage in his creation today as compared to his pre-1951 poems. Today, he calls for the closing of ranks of all militants and to unitedly struggle for the triumph of democratic revolution.

His call rings out:

*Love that was to your compatriots
bring it back,
that cabal
gnawing us from inside,
put it on nail-tip
and smother it.*

Long ago Subhash wrote:

*In the dust-raising crowd in
retreat, brother
I was one; so with all might
today
kicking at the face of cov-
dise, I fly the Red Flag.*

Subhash has held the banner aloft since then and today he eagerly looks forward to the bright morrow of happiness and prosperity which is sure to dawn soon.

Hence he writes with greater confidence. He does not wish any longer to keep himself away in seclusion; he wants to know more closely the people and to take part in their struggle. He tells himself:

*Open up your door
let people enter
Mukerjee, you write.*

We also wish Subhash—you write more; write with flame of your experience and the conviction of a Communist. Reflect life in its myriad manifestations to provide impetus to the people who are striving to build life anew.

PAGE TWELVE

In some of the branch gardens the existing hospitals are being abolished.

An agreement was made as early as in July 1963 that the tea workers would get 16 cft. of firewood or corresponding quantity of coal or kerosene. But in many gardens the planters have now been openly violating this agreement.

Because of the resistance of planters, the tea estate wage board has yet not come to a final decision regarding the minimum wages for the tea workers.

An interim relief of ten paise only is given to the workers. This paltry amount is of little relief to the workers in these days of constantly rising prices.

But repeated appeals to the Labour Department of the government could bring no relief to the workers. The workers now feel that the Labour Department is functioning as a handmaid of the planters against the interest of the workers.

When the workers try to organise any action against the ever-mounting oppression of the planters, the INTUC often stand in the way. This breeds demoralisation in the rank of the workers.

Sometimes, the frustrated workers resort to violence against the planters' tyranny, leading to un-

fortunate incidents. Then the government become quite active in sending police to terrorise the workers.

It is in this background that the Akhil Bharatiya Cha Mazdur Sangh has been trying to unite the workers on the basis of the following demands:

- Prices of all commodities including food stuff must be brought down within the purchasing capacity of workers;
- The fuel agreement should be implemented;
- The AITUC demands regarding bonus must be accepted;
- Amendment of the provident fund rules that militate against the interest of the workers must be dropped and the retrenched workers must be given their due share of provident fund;
- The "extras" in the gardens must be made permanent.

The call of the Sangh has enthused the workers to unite and defend their rights.

No-Marriage Clause Suspended In One Firm

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: Women trade unionists in Bombay have secured a significant victory in the assault against the "no marriage clause" which several pharmaceutical and other concerns had enforced as a promise for employment.

IN one of the concerns (Pharmed) recently, two women workers asserted their right to marry, and by the united action led by the Pharmaceutical Employees Federation, kept their jobs as well.

In the present case, the Federation decided on a direct challenge; when the employer served a dismissal notice on the girls who had married, it was met with a strike notice.

While strike preparations were going on, the State Labour Minister intervened and the management eventually agreed to suspend the enforcement of "no marriage clause" until after the verdict of the Supreme Court.

A petition is pending in the Supreme Court against an award which upheld the right of employers to dispense with services of women employees when they married.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE AND DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE

*FROM PAGE 6

role in the great Punnappa-Vayalar and Telengana struggles and was a significant force in the states peoples movement in general.

Somewhat later the CPI-led liberation struggle of the people of the former French territories in India ended in victory, despite the vacillations of the Government of India.

Compromising Role

The national bourgeoisie, which had headed the independence movement, as represented by the Congress leadership vacillated and compromised at this crucial juncture.

Not only did it fail to give correct leadership to this revolutionary upsurge but it feared that the national liberation movement might get out of its control.

At the same time it felt confident that on the basis of getting hold of state power it could consolidate its class positions vis-a-vis both imperialism and the people.

Hence, it accepted the terms of settlement advanced by the British imperialists some of which were patently aimed at serving imperialist interests and weakening inde-

pendence. Once again its dual role came to the fore.

This was the complicated balance of forces in 1947, as set out in the Programme.

It will not do to forget the aims and strategy pursued by the British imperialists.

It will not do to forget the mass revolutionary heroism displayed by the workers, peasants and urban middle strata.

It will not do to forget the compromising role of the national bourgeoisie as well as its continued determination to carry on the struggle against imperialism on the basis of using its new-won state power.

Our 'left' friends see only the compromise of the national bourgeoisie and refuse to differentiate between the differing objectives of imperialism and the national bourgeoisie, i.e., the antagonism within the compromise.

They are thus at a loss to explain the developments in post-independent India except in terms of ever greater victories for imperialism and ever increasing dependence of our economy which are palpably absurd.

The right deviation completely misses the compromising role of the national bourgeoisie leadership especially its fear of the mass revolutionary upsurge. Hence, it is unable to ex-

plain why the Congress leaders accepted the Mountbatten Award, despite the high-tide of the independence movement and the great confidence the masses had in them.

It is also unable to explain why the freedom that India won has failed to redeem the promise of our long struggle for a better life of our people and social justice.

The mass upsurge and the continuing oppositional role of the national bourgeoisie, combined to defeat the manoeuvres of imperialism. India's independence was established and the basis laid for its further strengthening.

Sovereign Republic

India did not become a satellite state of imperialism but went on to become a sovereign Republic on January 26, 1950 with a parliamentary democratic system.

The compromising role of the national bourgeoisie, its settlement with imperialism as well as its fear of the mass revolutionary movement meant that the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution still remains to be completed.

The people wanted to go forward to this culmination of their freedom struggle and

open up the path to socialism. The dominant Congress leadership pursued the policy of building India as an independent capitalist state in compromise with imperialism and feudalism.

As a result, a conflict developed between the left forces in the national liberation movement and the dominant leadership of the Congress on the issue of the path of advance for independent India.

The democratic mass upsurge continued after 1947 while the dominant Congress leadership drove out the radical elements from the ruling party and commenced to split the united mass organisation of the workers, the AITUC.

The dominant Congress leadership thus split the national united front and moved forward to attempt to consolidate the class position of the national bourgeoisie.

A new stage had opened in the Indian revolution. And that, too, in a new epoch when the world balance of forces has tilted in favour of socialism, when the world capitalism has entered upon a new stage of its general crisis.

The Programme goes on to examine the direction of developments in post independent India against this background in subsequent chapters.

PATNA: The Third All-India Mine Workers' Conference met at Bermo in Bihar on January 31 and February 1. One hundred and seventythree delegates including 19 women attended the conference from all parts of India representing 6.50 lakh miners in coal, iron ore, dolomite, limestone, mica, manganese and gold.

THE conference was presided over by T. B. Vittal Rao, President of the Indian Mine Workers Federation (IMWF).

A delegation from the Soviet Coalmine Workers Union headed by A. Semenov, Secretary of the Central Council, greeted the conference on behalf of the Soviet miners. Greetings were also received from the Miners' Trade Union International. Satish Loomba, Secretary, AITUC, presented greetings on behalf of the AITUC.



In his report, Kalyan Roy, General Secretary of the IMWF, pointed out that production of coal was being curtailed and many mines had already been closed down as there was accumulation of stocks.

The target fixed in the Third Plan (105 million tonnes) had been slashed down officially and even though in 1963, only 66 million tonnes of coal were produced, this had not been consumed.

This had resulted in serious retrenchment in

both the private and public sectors. The employment figures in coalmining fell to less than four lakhs for the first time in July 1964.

The responsibility for this state of affairs, Kalyan Roy pointed out, was that of the bankrupt policy pursued by the government which had succumbed to the pressures put by the coal magnates.

Production in the private sector in 1962 amounted to 78 per cent of the total coal output. What is even more serious is that high grade and metallurgical coal is practically entirely in the hands of a few big monopolists, dominated to a great extent by British capital.

MASSIVE AID

"The private sector," he pointed out, "is waging a bitter, vicious campaign against the public sector, desperately trying to hold up its expansion, modernisation and growth."

The foreign and Indian monopolists are receiving massive aid from the World Bank and other US and British agencies.

While the workers today are faced with retrenchment, closure, increase of workload, and the consumers have to pay heavier

BLUE BLOOD FOR THE PROLETARIAT!

The geni of the Planning Commission have never stopped short of revolutionary schemes to usher in what is called the socialistic pattern of society in this country.

THE latest of this is an amazingly new scheme to confer on workers the ownership of industry. A truly revolutionary shortcut to real socialist ownership over the means of production!

But under the Indian variety of socialism which the present planners visualise; the ownership will be styled "co-ownership" and in their technical jargon, the proposal is for the "extension of co-partnership in management to co-partnership in ownership."

The highlights of the scheme were expounded by V.K.R.V. Rao, member of the Planning Commission while addressing an august gathering of "labour economists" recently in Baroda.

S. D. Pumekar, one of the labour economists, gave the following report on this scheme in the ECONOMIC WEEKLY (January 16):

"For co-ownership, workers can buy shares in their companies with their provident fund accumulations. By the end of the Third Plan period, the workers' provident fund is likely to have an accumulation of about Rs. 700 crores. Thereafter, on the assumption that about 80 per cent of in-

Miners To Observe March 1 As Bonus Day

Bermo Conference Appeals For United Action

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

and heavier prices, profits are rising especially. On the other hand, mining in the public sector is receiving assistance from the USSR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Particular mention must be made in this connection of the setting up of the largest coal washery in India at Bokaro, the development of two underground collieries at Banki and Surakachar and one open cast mine at Korba and the coalmining machinery plant at Durgapur—all with Soviet aid.

NEED FOR FUEL POLICY

Hence a way out of the present man-made crisis could be found by a correct fuel policy, by rapid nationalisation of coalmines, by scientific expansion of the public sector, and by

organising resistance to the pressure of profit-hungry coal barons.

The workers of the IMWF and its affiliated unions have been resisting the attacks on their working and living conditions launched by the mineowners.

Despite largescale goon-dams indulged in by the owners through hired hooligans, despite the police repression, and despite the denial of the most elementary trade union and democratic rights in the coal belt, notable victories have been won.

Since 1956, money wages have gone up by nearly 60 per cent. A uniform national wage and job categorisation has been secured by the coal industry, ending the anarchy which is still a feature of many other industries.

DA has been linked to the cost of living index, providing neutralisation at the rate of Rs. 4.7 for every 10 point rise. Underground workers have secured a payment of an extra 12 per cent of basic wages.

Peace-raters have been guaranteed 75 per cent of wages as a fall-back. Seven paid festival holidays have been secured and earned leave for underground workers has been increased to 21 days.

However, many problems still remain. Although the Industrial Committee on Coalmining had taken a decision to wind up the hated Coalfield Recruiting Organisation which recruits thousands of landless peasants every year and sends them to various mines as bonded labour for a year, this decision has not yet been implemented.

Safety regulations are flagrantly violated and the rate of accidents is rising rapidly. Contract labour continues and is denied even the most elementary rights. Workload is being steadily increased. Housing, sanitary, medical and educational facilities are extremely poor.

Profit-sharing bonus is being denied. Cost of living indices continue to be faulty and linking with 10 points denies adequate neutralisation over long periods.

SUPPORT FOR BHARAT BANDH

The conference decided to coordinate the struggles of the workers on their demands on a national plane in a much better way. It called upon all unions and workers to observe March 1 as "Bonus Day" through demonstrations, mass meetings, processions, etc.

It supported the campaign launched by the Rashtriya

Sangram Samiti, endorsed its resolutions and slogans and appealed to all miners to organise themselves so as to play their due part when the call for "Bharat Bandh" is given.

STRIKE BALLOT IN NCDC MINES

THE Coal Workers Union, representing miners in the NCDC coalfields in Bihar held a vastly attended bonus conference on February 1 and 2 at Bermo.

The conference discussed the question of bonus for the miners. It decided that in view of the recalcitrant attitude of the management, the union will take a strike ballot which will be completed before February 28.

Along with the bonus conference, the annual conference of the Coal Workers' Union was also held.

U. Misra, MP was elected president and Chaturanan Mishra was re-elected general secretary.

T. B. Vittal Rao, president, greeted the conference on behalf of the IMWF and Satish Loomba, secretary, on behalf of the AITUC.

The conference called for immediate steps to relieve the food situation and to bring down prices and suggested that the food trade should be taken over by the state, banks should be nationalised and all necessities should be supplied at controlled prices.

The conference before concluding elected its office-bearers and a working committee of 19 representing all states and fields of mining. T. B. Vittal Rao was unanimously re-elected president and Kalyan Roy general secretary.

The conference concluded in a huge mass rally attended by about ten thousand miners. U. Misra MP, president and Satish Loomba, Vittal Rao, Chaturanan Mishra, Kalyan Roy and Chandrasekhar Singh MLA addressed the gathering.

A. Semenov greeted the workers and presented a painting by a miner as a gift from the Soviet children to the children of Bermo. Cultural squads presented songs, dances and operettas.

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NEW AGE

FEBRUARY 14, 1965

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NEW AGE

In The Capitalist World Automation Means Unemployment ROBOT vs MAN

By L. GRIGORYEV

"Technology bordering on the fantastic"... "Abundance with the help of push buttons"... "Automation—the cure of all social evils" etc., are the phrases with which the super-exploitations of workers in the capitalist countries are hidden.

WHAT does automation actually lead up to? What are the implications of this system of extensive application of the latest achievements of science and engineering in production?

Why is it that in the developed capitalist countries, monopoly associations spend colossal sums on introducing newer and newer methods and machines into production? For example, in the United States, research and improvement expenditure has risen from 2,900 million dollars in 1950 to 16,000 million dollars in 1963. The fact is that it brings in super-profits for the monopolies and industrial tycoons.

The idyllic pictures of automation painted in the flowery phrases of the western economists in no way reflect matter-of-fact reality. Actually, a worker is compelled as formerly to sell his labour power and remain economically dependent upon the owner of the means of production.

Capitalist production relations do not change; on the contrary, they become more strained and come into still sharper conflict with the tempestuously developing productive forces.

The scientific and technological revolution has led to great changes in the structure of industrial employment by sectors during the past decade.

The number of persons employed in the machine-building, chemical and electrical engineering industries has risen sharply. In 1960 it already came to 44.7 per cent and 45.3 per cent of total industrial employment in the United States of America and the German Federal Republic, respectively.

Fall In Employment

At the same time, a sharp drop has been observed in the number of persons engaged in certain branches of the light, coal and steel industries and on railway transportation. Thus, in the USA employment declined over the postwar period by more than 40 per cent on the railways and by nearly as much in the mining industry.

In conditions of capitalism, change in the interindustry structure of employment is a spontaneous process. It gives rise to chronic unemployment, to distress areas where industry has fallen into decay and the position of the working people is disastrous to the extreme.

The press has carried many reports about the life of migratory workers who have travelled all over America in search of a job; about the throngs of desperate unemployed American textile workers in front of the registration bureaus in New England; about the "ghost cities" in the coal areas of Pennsylvania and Illinois; about dramatic episodes in the struggle of the French

and Belgian miners against the shutting down of "unprofitable" pits.

The Army of unemployed in a number of countries does not grow any smaller even in periods of good business conditions. In his report to Congress in January 1964, US President Johnson, while optimistically assessing the country's economic conditions, noted that, as before, 6.5 per cent of all able-bodied citizens (i.e., over 4 million Americans) remained unemployed. According to American trade-union data, however, the figure was put much too low.

In the hands of the monopolies, the latest advances in science and engineering are turned into a means of ensuring maximum profit, into an instrument of competition. The apologists of capitalism contend that, at a modern automated enterprise, exploitation of the worker has disappeared, since, they say, the producing is done by a system of automatic machines, with only insignificant number of workers

taking a hand in the process.

In point of fact, exploitation of the workers intensifies. The cost price of output at automated enterprises is reduced, for the necessary time-labour is sharply cut down, and the share of unpaid labour, increased.

But the monopolies do not lower the prices on the goods. As a result of this gap between cost price and the monopoly price, they rake in huge profits, enough to spare for financing both scientific research and new capital investment (connected, first of all, with replacing equipment that quickly becomes obsolete), which holds new profits in store for them.

Huge Profits

An average of 34 minutes of work per employee at enterprises belonging to the chemical monopolies of Italy today brings the owners a profit equal to that they received from an hour of work per employee in 1953. The nominal wage of these employees increased over the ten year period by about 50 per cent, and their labour productivity, by 173 per cent.

Whereas before automation, production required of the worker the expenditure of a great

amount of muscular energy, after automation, it requires of him the expenditure of a tremendous amount of nervous energy coupled with a great deal of mental activity.

Official medical data on a check-up of the health of workers in the Federal Republic of Germany point to the growth of occupational diseases involving a disturbance of the vegetative nervous system which are chiefly caused by enhanced strain of the nervous system. As a result, many workers become "incapacitated" before they have the right to retire on pension.

Psychic disorders comprise nearly a half of all the registered cases of illness among workers in Canada. A medical check-up in the Province of Saskatchewan testified that the cause of these disorders was fatigue, too heavy a load on the job, and overstrain.

Skilled workers of 40 often prove to be "unprofitable" and frequently find themselves outside the gates of enterprises. The introduction of new machinery and technology leads to the disqualification of a considerable portion of the workers, to the growth of unemployment, which hits hard at the social and material position of the working people and bereaves them of faith in the morrow.

In the socialist countries, scientific and technological progress leads to a rapid rise in the professional and cultural levels of the working people and serves the purpose of increasing public prosperity.

Even AFL-CIO President George Meany, who has earned the title of the apostle of American capitalism, was compelled to declare that automation is not doing any good. It was more and more becoming a real curse for American society, he said.

A striking illustration to what Meany said is the official report of the Council of Economic Experts of the United States of America. It turns out that in a

country which boasts of the wonders of engineering and technology and of putting production on a cybernetic foundation, there are nine million families, that is, some 30 million persons, living in poverty, families which are underfed, housed in slums, deprived of the possibility of getting an education, and without any hope of security for the morrow.

Strike Actions

These arbitrary actions of the monopolies are opposed by the working people in the capitalist countries with unity and solidarity in the struggle for their rights, with stronger and stronger blows at capital using the tried and tested method of mass strikes.

The strike actions of the working class in the capitalist countries are steadily growing in scale and scope. Whereas some 25-27 million working people in the capitalist world as a whole took part in walk-outs in 1958, the figure rose to 56 million in 1962 and to 58 million in 1963. Last year the scope and scale of the strike struggle went on growing.

Strikes are shaking the main citadel of imperialism—the United States of America. One paralyzed Ford conveyers for a period of two weeks in November of last year. Twenty-four of his plants in the states of Alabama and Minnesota were shut down. This was preceded by a walk-out of 260,000 General Motors employees. In September the docks and wharves along the whole East coast were tied up by a strike.

The strike movement is also growing in France, Italy, Western Germany, Japan, Great Britain, Holland, and other capitalist countries. The workers are closing their ranks to fight the scourge of automation.

W. Germany Grants Amnesty To Nazi War Criminals

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: The GDR Parliament adopted an appeal to all governments and Parliaments a few days ago to act immediately to prevent the West German government from granting amnesty to Nazi and war criminals.

THE West German government has recently announced its decision not to prosecute Nazi and war criminals from May 8, 1965.

The decision has been taken through a subterfuge invoking provisions of the German Criminal Code of 1871 which provides limitation of trial for criminal offences which are more than twenty years old. Thus the West German government has identified a war criminal at par with an ordinary criminal.

This is a clear violation of international law and the pledge to world public opinion to prosecute the anti-Hitler coalition. Prominent international jurists have already challenged the right of the West German government to adopt decisions suiting its own ends through application of internal law contrary to norms of international law.

A spokesman of the Supreme Court of GDR told NEW AGE that the Congress of international jurists in 1944 at Ginebra had taken the view that "a war crime cannot be subject to negative prescription."

The allied declaration on war crimes in 1943 stated that "no criminal will be able to escape

punishment he deserves, for the three great allied powers will prosecute them to the ends of the earth and hand them over to their accusers in order that the law may take its course."

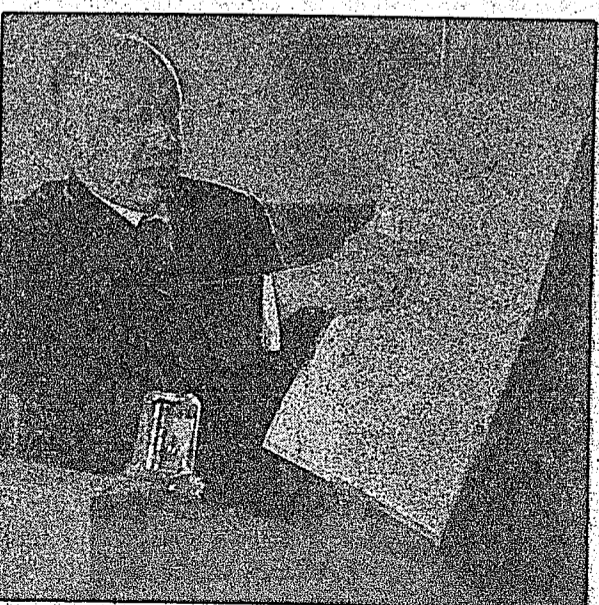
And the most interesting point about this amnesty is that it not only contradicts the norms of international law but is also in violation of West German statute.

The West German government has invoked the Criminal Code of 1871, but it is infructuous in view of the German Reichstag law of 1919 on prosecution for war crimes committed at the time of World War I, supplemented by the special law enacted in 1920 which bars the application of the principle of limitation with regard to war criminals. The West German government as successors to the former German Reich is bound by this law.

Since the end of the Second World War, West Germany has tried only 5,513 war criminals. Compared to that the GDR has already tried and punished 12,807 war criminals. A large number of war criminals have taken refuge in West Germany. According to an estimate their number

will be about twenty thousands and they are not only freely living there but some of them also hold very high government posts including foreign ministry offices.

The West German government has also rejected the demand for setting up a joint jurists' commission proposed by the GDR for examining original documents on Nazi crimes. A few days back, Prof. Albert Norden held in international press



Prof. Norden showing a document on Lubka

NICOSIA: The Cypriot people are today waging a hard, difficult and just struggle for national liberation. The aim of this struggle is to free Cyprus of all kinds of bonds which imperialism imposed upon the Cypriot people through the Zurich-London Agreements.

THE completion of Cyprus independence, the defence of its territorial integrity and winning of the inalienable right of the people to decide their own fate on the basis of the principle of self-determination are the demands of the Cypriot people.

This just struggle met with rabid reaction of Anglo-American imperialists and NATO, who instigated the mutiny of extremist leaders of the Turkish-Cypriot community. They are also responsible for repeated aggression threats of neo-sultan chauvinist rulers of Ankara against Cyprus.

Anglo-American imperialists aim mainly to impose upon Cyprus NATO sovereignty, and make the island their war spring-board and nuclear bridge for the sake of their plunderous interests in the near and middle east countries.

If the Cypriot people survived in spite of hard trials, if Cyprus was able to maintain its independence and sovereignty repulsing all ag-

gressive acts of NATO and Ankara, it is due to the united common and brave struggle of the people, to their fighting spirit, heroism and self-sacrifice, as well as the precious support given by Greece, to the decisive solidarity of true and powerful friends such as the socialist countries headed by Soviet Union, the uncommitted Afro-Asian countries, and finally the support given by all liberal-minded and democratic mankind.

As a result, the Cyprus state still exists in spite of imperialist machinations and Cyprus question is now on the agenda of the present General Assembly of the UN. The Anglo-American imperialist reaction however rabid it may have been with all its intrigues, pressures, threats and blackmail could not prevent the issue being placed on the agenda of the present session of the UN Assembly and avoid discussion by the United Nations.

Noting the accomplishments of the united struggle of the people, the AKEL cen-

LETTER FROM CYPRUS

FEDERATION PLAN DOES NOT CLICK

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

trical council which met on January 26 also pointed out certain negative aspects in projecting and dealing with the Cyprus question.

A recent Statement of Andrei Gromyko, USSR Minister for Foreign Affairs, on Cyprus problem has been interpreted by certain circles in a way that causes confusion and uneasiness among the people. Some of them alleged that Soviet Union had abandoned Cyprus, aligned with Turkey and betrayed the Cypriot people and their national-liberation struggle.

The AKEL CC allayed these doubts and allegations

and pointed out that the Soviet Union stands steadfastly by the side of the fighting Cypriot people.

The main task of the people of Cyprus at the present stage is not simply the maintenance of the state of Cyprus and the securing of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, but the strengthening of the state, which is threatened by the imperialists, in order to be able to exercise its powers without any pressures and blackmail from outside and to play its role locally and internationally in the most effective way.

The essence of the Cyprus national problem lies not in the formations of a separate national entity, but in national rehabilitation of the Cypriot people who in their overwhelming majority are Greek. The AKEL CC underlined that the task for completion of independence, demilitarisation and self-determination remains unchanged. Consequently the federation idea is rejected as a matter of principle, and also because it is wrong and practically inapplicable for the following reasons:

● The Turkish population of Cyprus consisting only 18 per cent of the total is dispersed in all the area of Cyprus amidst the Greek. The AKEL CC underlines impossible the formation of any separate local state organs. Only by uprooting populations, an area with Turkish entity can be formed. But that is not only contrary to the constitutional principles of the UN but could also bring about much suffering to both the Greeks and Turks and it would eventually lead to partition.

Federation Impossible

● By the federation state structure under the Cyprus conditions, prerequisites would be created which might give the chance to the imperialists, applying the known motto "divide and rule", to instigate and promote racial animosity and contradictions, and would thus become the real regulators of the political life of the country and be able to blackmail also the governments of Greece and Turkey.

● The federation state structure, far from doing away with the spirit of mistrust, cultivated by the imperialists through intrigues, will become a constant source of new difficulties and hardships for the people, a source of more intense disturbances and anomalies which would constitute dangers for peace in the Middle East and on international scale.

● The people of Cyprus will be able to secure full sovereign rights and to decide freely their future only when all foreign troops quit Cyprus when the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance and the British "sovereign" military bases are abolished. Only after securing its unfettered independence the people of Cyprus will be able to realise its national rehabilitation, the genuine union with Greece, without any conditions, without any foreign military bases and without any barriers.

LESSONS FROM BURMA

The visit of the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Burma to India this week has been widely welcomed. Interest is naturally focussed on the development of better relations, and also on the possible part Burma might be able to play, in what President Radhakrishnan called at the state banquet on February 5, "mediating in the India-China dispute".

BUT the visit could be really momentous, if it could help in drawing the Indian people's attention to the important anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist reforms which have been carried out in Burma... each of which has a profound lesson for this country. Here are some facts about the Burmese socio-economic reforms:

● During 1962 and particularly in 1963, the Burmese government nationalised the oldest British concern, the Anglo-Burmese oil company, 24 banks, the timber industry and all British-owned tin and tungsten mines.

● By 1964, the entire import and export trade has been nationalised;

● The state and co-operatives have taken over the entire rice trade, and private purchases of rice from the peasants have been banned.

● Income tax of 95 per cent is levied on incomes of over one lakh kyats, and 99 per cent on incomes of over three lakh kyats. The maximum permissible income after taxation is 14,000 kyats, which equals the annual income of a civil servant in the highest wage bracket.

● The closest study of the Burmese experience would

yield valuable material for Indian democrats. The Burmese Party of the Socialist Programme, established by the Revolutionary Council is directing the transition to non-capitalist development. The national revolution, which has done away with imperialist domination, is becoming a social revolution, directed against all forms of exploitation.

CEYLON ELECTION ISSUES

THE election battle in Ceylon is of far-reaching significance for Asia and indeed for the entire nonaligned world. The Ceylon Communist weekly FORWARD describes the election as "the battle to decide Ceylon's future."

The main issue in the election is clear to everyone:

Will Ceylon continue its progressive advance towards full independence, which began with the defeat of the old pro-imperialist reactionary forces in 1956? Or will imperialism and reaction be able to reverse the process and come back into power?

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

The progressive and patriotic forces are headed by the alliance of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (headed by Sirimavo Bandaranaike), the Lanka Sama Samaj Party (which had formed a coalition with the SLFP) and the Communist Party.

They are opposed by the old pro-imperialist United National Party, the split-away Rightwing of the SLFP and the opportunist "left" elements, including the small band of "revolutionaries" who broke from the Communist Party at the behests of the Chinese leadership—the Shanmugasathan group. As in India, the extreme Right and the splitters have joined hands!

The struggle is tough. The reactionary forces are backed by unlimited funds and resources. What they lack is the peoples support. The key to victory for the forces of progress is the unity of the SLFP, LSSP and CP.

The nine Communist candidates include Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe and Pieter Kenemann, Chairman and General Secretary of the Communist Party.

S. RHODESIA: FACTS AND FIGURES

IAN Smith is asking to be invited to the next Commonwealth Prime

Ministers' Conference. The new Labour Government has done well to warn him that any unilateral declaration of "independence" will be considered an act of treason.

What are Ian Smith and his white settlers fighting to retain? The "independence" Smith and Co want would mean:

● That four million Africans would continue under the rule of 270,000 Europeans.

● That six per cent of the populations (the Europeans) would continue in possession of 48 per cent of the land—the best land!

● That Africans would continue to live on an average wage of £6 a month (compared to £96 for Europeans) and a per capita income PER YEAR of only £ 3 in the African indigenous agriculture.

● That 5,000 political prisoners and detainees would continue in jail.

The African people want the scrapping of the present constitution, release of all political prisoners and the calling of a conference, with the participation of all political parties to prepare a new constitution on the democratic basis of one man, one vote.

Will the Labour government intervene and end this hell in Rhodesia?

—AFRASI

INDIGNATION OVER MURDER OF PRESSMAN: COP ENTERS ASSEMBLY ELECTION FRAY

DACCA: Events in Pakistan during the last fortnight have centred mainly on two issues—the murderous assault by armed hooligans in Lahore leading to the death of a prominent journalist of West Pakistan and serious injury to a leading member of the Opposition in the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly, and the controversy among the parties of the Combined Opposition over contesting the last and final round of the elections.

CHRONOLOGICALLY the assault came later but considering the tremendous impact it has had in the country it might be better to deal with it first. In a sense there is of course nothing unusual about the assault. The assassin's bullet might almost be considered the country's insignia so often has the history of Pakistan been determined by its use.

Shortly after the establishment of Pakistan its Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali, was shot dead by an assassin. This was the first turning point in the history of the country. Later too methods of terror have been used. But it was with the establishment of Martial Law under Field Marshal Ayub that mass murder combined with individual assaults became a regular part of the administrative machinery and was reduced to a fine art.

Murders Galore

To mention only a few recent instances, shortly before the "basic democrats" elections that took place in November last a general massacre of jute workers in East Pakistan was organised by the armed gangs in plain dress maintained by the ruling party. As many as four hundred workers are believed to have lost their lives in the carnage that was organised not to speak of the loss of property involved as a result of the burning down of workers' huts.

During the course of the elections murderous assaults on members of the Opposition were organised and this continued till after the basic democrats elections. A government spokesman in the Pakistan Provincial Assembly recently admitted that as many as eighteen chairmen of Union Councils—bodies formed with elected basic democrats in a region—had been murdered since the inception of basic democracy.

The climax was reached after the results of the presidential election were announced. In Karachi, the centre of commercial life in Pakistan, a huge procession was organised to celebrate the election victory of Ayub Khan.

The triumphal march soon degenerated into an orgy of

loot and murder reminiscent of the vandalism of Tamberlane's bands. The behaviour of these modern vandals was of course far more reprehensible because while the Moghul raiders had at least the excuse that they were attacking alien territory with a hostile population that had put up armed resistance to the invaders, in Karachi the armed hooligans of the Conventionist Muslim League were attacking their own people whose only crime was that they had dared to campaign against or cast their votes against the President. No less a person than the son of the President, Gauhar Ayub, was involved in these incidents.

The latest in the series was the attack on the night of January 28 on Baqir Ahmed Baluch, an opposition member of the West Pakistan Assembly, and Zamir Ahmed Qureshi, News Manager of the Pakistan Press Association in Lahore by unknown assailants which led to the death of the latter and serious injuries to the former.

The attack took place when Baluch was escorting the journalist out of the house of Ghulam Jilani. Qureshi had been visiting the place in the course of his professional duties as a newsman. It is clear that the objective of the assailants was to kill Baluch and Jilani, who are both leaders of the Opposition, the former being in the Provincial and the latter in the National Assembly and the death of Qureshi was probably due to his being mistaken for Jilani.

Pakhtoon Resistance

Baluchi is one of the few leaders of the Opposition from the frontier region out of jail. Years of terror have failed to crush the spirit of the tribesmen who have till this day refused to acknowledge the overlordship of the central government of Pakistan. The assault organised on January 28 was thus a part of the campaign of repression that has been unleashed against them.

Coming in the wake of the Karachi massacre the event has aroused wide indignation throughout the country espe-

cially as it has resulted in the death of an innocent journalist. The incident has revealed in a flash the peculiar character of the present regime with its rough and ready methods which have little to do with the code of any civilised country.

The funeral of Zamir Ahmed Qureshi became an occasion for a popular demonstration where feelings of grief and indignation were given expression to by all sections of the people. The Speaker of the West Pakistan Assembly sent wreaths on the occasion and even ministers sent messages of sympathy and condolence to cover up their guilt.

Journalists Protest

To record their protest against the murder of a fellow journalist pressman throughout the country ab-

stained from work on Sunday and Pakistan consequently went without newspapers on Monday February 1. The Combined Opposition Party has demanded that the culprits be brought to book immediately and it has protested against the lawlessness that is prevailing in the country.

The other big event of the period has been the decision by the Combined Opposition to contest the elections to the national and provincial assemblies which will be held in March and will mark the conclusion of the current elections in the country which began in November last year with the election of Basic Democrats.

The large majority which President Ayub got in West Pakistan seems to have discouraged parties which are mainly based on the west wing. The open interference by government officials, the campaign of terror and inti-

W. GERMANY'S WORSENING RELATIONS WITH UAR

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: Last week the West German Foreign Ministry called its Cairo Ambassador home to "report" on Bonn's rapidly deteriorating relations with United Arab Republic.

PRESIDENT Nasser, by his invitation to Walter Ulbricht, head of state of German Democratic Republic to pay an official visit to UAR, has put the West Germans in a predicament. Ulbricht accepted this invitation and the six-day good will visit will take place in the last week of February. He is the first German head of state to visit Cairo.

West Germany pretends to be the only state to represent the whole of Germany and a reception to Ulbricht in Cairo is very sore matter with Bonn bigwigs.

According to the ten-year old Halstein doctrine which has been an instrument of interference in the independent foreign policy decisions of other states, Bonn is threatening to break diplomatic relations with any country (except the Soviet Union) that recognises the German Democratic Republic.

However UAR has long since recognised the fact that two separate states and governments exist in Germany. GDR has a general consulate in Cairo and UAR has a trade representation in Berlin. Political and trade relations between two countries were improving constantly.

Governments of these two states are friendly and take similar positions in international relations. Like support to peaceful

midation unleashed by the ruling party, all seem to have given rise to a feeling among some of the parties that it was a waste of energy to contest the elections.

This was the stand of the Nizam-i-Islam, the Council Muslim League and the Jamat-i-Islami. Parties based mainly on the east wing, however, took a different view. There the presidential election had revealed that despite all the terror and the bribery nearly half of the basic democrats had stood solidly with the Opposition and in certain districts they comprised the absolute majority. In the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly the possibility of the Opposition being returned in large number is quite on the cards.

Ayub In The Wrong

In view of the marked difference in the situation in the two wings there was a sharp controversy among the parties of the Opposition. The Awami League and the National Awami Party were from the beginning strongly in favour of contesting the elections. The first round of the meeting of the Opposition parties held in Karachi failed to arrive at any conclusion. The second round held in Dacca finally tilted the scales in favour of the pro-election trend and the two Awami parties thus succeeded in having their way.

This controversy had a added significance because it

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From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

long-term deliveries of cotton and other home products. The West German government has been trying its best to thwart the development of friendly relations between UAR and GDR. West German Ambassador in Cairo is reported to have tried in vain to persuade Nasser to call off his invitation to Ulbricht, or at least to persuade Nasser to pay a visit to Bonn before Ulbricht goes to Cairo as a first resort to save their prestige. Nasser has refused to yield to West German pressures.

Meanwhile West Germans are strengthening their ties with Israel. Israel received so far from West Germany weapons and other war materials worth 300 million marks. Two warmongering partners have agreements for cooperation also in the atomic field.

There is great pressure on West German government to give formal diplomatic recognition to Tel Aviv. Recently in Brussels, West German Economic Minister and Israeli Minister for Finance discussed Israel's economic safeguards in the European Common Market against the economic interest of Arab countries.

In this background Ulbricht's visit to Cairo is considered a forerunner of new developments. International press has given this visit much importance. The question posed is: would West Germany apply the Halstein doctrine and break off diplomatic relations with UAR or would it give full diplomatic recognition to Israel to hit harder against Nasser?

NO MORE TAXES ON THE COMMON MAN

FROM BACK PAGE

anger and discontent that follows among the people.

To give but one instance of how the government helps this tendency directly, you have only to refer to the most unpopular measures you took recently in raising the rate of return on capital for the big employers in opposition to the recommendation of the Bonus Commission.

It was a surrender to the blackmail of the monopolists and a totally unnecessary gift to them at the cost of the working class.

THEREFORE, WE WOULD URGE UPON YOU TO CHANGE YOUR POLICY ON PROFITS, WAGES AND LABOUR, IN FAVOUR OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND AGAINST THE MONOPOLISTS.

The government's prolonged delay in enhancing the DA to government employees and limiting it at Rs. 600 only is another instance.

It has been proved that the government cost of living indices are wrong and yet their correction is not accepted without strike and struggles by the workers.

We need not dilate on this by giving more instances of your policy, which, while intending to build the economy of the country to a prosperous level, does

in such a way, that is the capitalist way, that it is bound to hit that vital force which is the very basis of growth, that is the working man.

Is it not a sad commentary that while the country needs doctors and government also wants to educate more people in medicine, your ministry cannot even provide for a decent stipend to the young trainees and aspirants and forces them into strikes?

It is such an approach that drives our intellectuals, brilliant scholars and scientists to seek fame and fortune in foreign countries. We do not agree with this behaviour of theirs but we can understand their difficulties.

We, as a responsible political party, while seeking that the taxes on the people be reduced, that the monopolies be broken up and the labour, wages and agricultural policy be made progressive, also pledge all our efforts to see that the working class, peasantry and the intelligentsia do all they can to utilise the productive forces of the country to the fullest extent for the benefit of the country and the people, in so far as it lies in our power to help this development forward.

The workers and their trade unions, while fighting for their rights and dues are not at all averse to fulfilling their duty

in giving production, in preventing sabotage in our vital projects, in exposing corruption and helping to set up democracy in management, particularly in the state sector.

But we have to state most regretfully that government and management do not reciprocate this feeling by a proper policy towards the trade unions. Your ministers are aware of the problems in this field and we need not go into details here.

We are apprehensive that the grave situation in the field of economy and particularly the problem of prices and supplies is still sought to be corrected by most ineffective, half-hearted and even anti-national measures and proposals. Hence there is a feeling of intense anger, mixed with frustration, among the masses which breaks out in diverse forms.

We wish to draw your attention particularly to your recent pronouncements and those of your Finance Ministry in which you are proposing to give unheard of concessions in taxes and profits to foreign private

capital, from the imperialist countries, particularly from America, in order to tempt them to invest in India.

If this policy is pursued it will only breed bigger monopolies here, weaken the normal growth of our own entrepreneurs and build a base for reactionary Anglo-American reactions in our country and drain on our present and future wealth. This trend is an alarming one and must be checked. It will affect adversely not only our economy but also reflect on our foreign policy of nonalignment and peace.

Not only in industrial development, but even in the most vital sector of food and raw materials, the government still wants to be guided by the dictates of the big monopolists and bankers.

It was well known to government that even the available food stocks in the country were being hoarded, that the big rice-millers and roller-flour mills were one of the biggest centres of black operations.

The government, instead of taking over the biggest groups of these mills in the state sector and the stocks of the big-wholesalers, only gave them empty threats or moral homilies. These enemies of people's food, who in reality should be charged of genocide, were let off even when found violating laws.

Industrialisation of the country and the success of the plans of economic development cannot be assured unless the stagnation of this vital sector, i.e. of agriculture, is broken, the country is made self-sufficient in food for its rising population and in raw materials for its growing industries. This requires in the main two things.

FIRSTLY, AGRARIAN REFORMS MUST BE COMPLETED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE OPT-PROPOSED SLOGAN OF LAND TO THE TILLER MUST BE REALISED IN PRACTICE BY ABOLISHING THE REMNANTS OF TENANT AND SHARE-CROPPER EXPLOITATION AND BY RIGOROUSLY IMPLEMENTING PROPER LAND CEILING LAWS.

Secondly, the cultivator thus freed must be given the incentive to increase production by ensuring him remunerative prices for his produce, and fair and stable prices for the industrial goods he needs.

This latter can be achieved only when trade in foodgrains and other agricultural produce is firmly taken over by the state and not left in the hands of big monopoly traders.

State-trading in foodgrains would be a success only with the cooperation of the mass of the cultivators. This can be secured only when the state not only pays him remunerative prices for his own produce but also supplies him the industrial goods he needs such as cloth, oil, cement, iron, fertilisers, etc. at fair and stable prices through a chain of government and co-operative shops.

But the government which has now agreed to set up state-trading in foodgrains is not going the right way about to make it a success. It is relying on the wholesale

trader instead of seeking the cooperation of the cultivator.

It is averse to taking vigorous action against hoarders and speculators. It is averse to taking up firm measures to stabilise prices of consumer goods by setting up countrywide chain of state and co-operative shops supplying consumer goods required by the peasant at stable and reasonable prices.

Government Divided

This policy is due to the fact that your government is totally divided in the matter of vital policies. One wing, it seems, wants unrestricted imports of American wheat and unrestricted free trade and a free market, while another wing wants only a controlled market and a sort of morally controlled capitalism which is an impossibility.

The result is confusion. Finally, the strong monopolist prevails unless the people's misery and anger come out in open action to stop the drift to reaction.

The democratic and genuinely socialist forces in the working class and the toiling people are, therefore, moving towards uniting the workers and all democratic masses to give an effective resistance to these policies. As you are aware, this effort is finding expression in the formation of united national sangram committees in all parts of the country.

We wish to urge upon you to understand the mood of the masses, not from the reports of your information and police agencies, but from the action to which the masses are forced to resort in defence of their interests.

Your policy of indiscriminate mass arrests or detention, without trial of political workers and trade union functionaries leads us to say that the government policy is losing its anchor and direction.

A study of the big satyagraha movements launched by our Party or by the Republican Party and others, the zeal with which millions went into it, the upsurge of the students in Orissa last year, the vast demonstrations on food-question, show how the masses are moving.

It is regrettable to see that the first reactions of the government to the demands of the masses is arrests, repression, firing and then an appeal to sit down and negotiate. Then some concessions are made or even policy decisions are subsequently changed in some parts. But all that comes after initial wave of repression against the masses.

There is no intelligent anticipation of things and a sympathetic response from the very beginning. This follows not only from wrong reading of the situation or wrong policies but also from refusal to heed to democratic opinion and the insistence to abide by bureaucratic advice.

We would urge upon you to change this manner of functioning, and lift the state of emergency, which is no longer required in the interest of national security and is more often used as a handy weapon of repression against political workers and trade union functionaries.

KERALA: Rival CP Is Not Prepared Even For Adjustment

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM Feb. 9: With nominations over, as many as 350 candidates including a number of independents, are in the field to contest the elections for 133 seats in the Kerala, Assembly. The last date for withdrawal is February 11.

BUT of the 14 parties that have sponsored candidates, only five, the Congress, CPI, SSP, the rival CP and the Muslim League are recognised by the Election Commission and been allotted symbols.

While the Congress for outward purposes is, contesting the election alone and has put up candidates for all the 133 seats, the Left United Front comprising of the CPI, the RSP and independents has nominated 107 candidates.

CPI's Candidates

Eighty of these are CPI candidates, a dozen belong to the RSP and the rest are independents supported by the United Front.

There are 72 candidates who belong to the rival Communist Party of these 39 are detenus. The rival CP has announced its support to 35 SSP candidates and 26 independents. Of these independents five belong to KTP, some belong to no party, but 15 are actually sponsored by the Muslim League.

These Muslim League "independents" are independents only in name because some of

them are district secretaries of the Muslim League while others are members of the League's state executive. Besides there are 15 official candidates of the League.

The PSP that has been revived after the break up at Varanasi is putting up seven candidates in Trichur district.

In pursuance of the resolution and appeal of the Left United Front, following the walk out of rival CP from the Front, serious efforts to establish contacts at district level and evolve principled adjustments regarding seats between parties of Left United Front and the rival CP, with the sole view of defeating the Congress, were initiated but have so far proved of no avail.

EMS Namboodiripad had turned down the approach from the beginning and justified it by saying that his commitments with the SSP and the Muslim League were sacrosanct and therefore nothing could be done at state level. As far district level adjustments, the district units of the rival CP have exhibited only an attitude of trying to reduce the seats of the CPI rather than that of the Congress.

The crassest example of this attitude of the rival Communist is exhibited in their

KOSYGIN AFFIRMS SOVIET SUPPORT TO NORTH VIETNAM

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: The visit of Premier Kosygin to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has focussed the attention of the world to the war ravaged regions of South-East Asia.

THE latest dangerous provocations of the United States in that region—the air attacks on the territory of North Vietnam and the attempts to spread the war in South-East Asia, by involving other countries—factors which have created an explosive situation.



Minister to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in such a situation is a welcome event which will have far reaching consequences and will play a decisive role in the ultimate unravelling of the complicated situation in South-East Asia, and constitute a positive factor influencing developments in a healthier direction.

The visit has not only highlighted the fact that anti-imperialism in South-East Asia and the liberation struggles there are a matter of close interest for the Soviet Union and that it is prepared to render help and support on a greater scale, but that this Soviet interest, help and assistance may also defeat the imperialist game and prepare the way out for a just and peaceful solution.

Soviet statements and Soviet press have made it quite clear that democratic Republic of Vietnam shall not be left

alone to face the aggressive attacks of American imperialism.

Speaking in Hanoi on Sunday Kosygin declared in no uncertain terms: "The Soviet Union has served a firm warning to the United States in connection with its attempts to start military operations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

"We firmly stated that the Soviet Union could not remain indifferent to the fate of the fraternal socialist country and is ready to render necessary assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, if aggressors dare to encroach on its independence and sovereignty."

"The Soviet people firmly support the just struggle of their Vietnamese brothers. We are sure that they will win. Their gallantry evokes sentiments of sympathy and admiration on the part of the Soviet people and

all progressive minded men and women in the world". "The predatory nature of imperialism, its parasitic essence are now clearly manifest in South-East Asia," he said. "The American aggressive circles had started a disgraceful war in South Vietnam in order to suppress the lawful striving of the people for independent and free life in order to make South Vietnam a military base and stronghold of colonialism."

Kosygin demanded the withdrawal of American troops and armaments from South Vietnam and said that the people should be given the possibility to settle their internal affairs themselves. The Soviet Premier also called for a discontinuation of the American interference in Laos, withdrawal of American servicemen and the establishment of an independent and neutral Laos.

Earlier a Soviet statement had condemned the bombings of Laotian territory and the dangerous plans of extension of war in Indo-China.

It called for an adherence to the decisions of the 1962 Geneva Conference on Laos and for the convocation of a new international conference without any preliminary conditions to ensure a peaceful settlement in that country.

SOCIALIST ECONOMIC COOPERATION REACHES NEW HEIGHTS

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: The economic cooperation and mutual assistance of fraternal socialist countries have reached a new stage as a result of the 19th conference of the COMECON (Council for mutual economic assistance), which concluded in Prague on February 2.

COMECON is organised for international socialist division of labour, to build the structure of world socialist production, to ensure maximum economic effect with minimum expenditure, to create optimal national economic complexes in every socialist country eliminating the danger of repetition and over-production and to coordinate development of economic branches, which are of common interest to all or several socialist countries.

The capitalist press calls COMECON a counter-part of European Common Market, but these two have nothing much in common.

The Prague meeting adopted a number of recommendations for development of international specialisation and cooperation, of production of important industrial goods and for reciprocal deliveries.

These specialisation and deliveries are to bring about significant results in foreign trade and are of great importance to national reconstruction programmes of newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa.

pendent countries of Asia and Africa.

The final communique of the Prague meeting contained the announcement that Rumanian electro-energy system has now been linked up with the joint grid system of Hungary, GDR, Poland, west Ukraine part of USSR and Czechoslovakia. This is considered as significant as it is wellknown that Rumanian relations with COMECON had been strained during the past two years.

The conference also worked out the details of tasks for further improvement of economic, scientific and technical cooperation of COMECON countries.

The council meeting confirmed the agreement concluded between COMECON and Yugoslavia on the latter's participation in the work of COMECON bodies. This is yet another advance. All the COMECON countries are active buyers and sellers in the Leipzig fair organised by the German Democratic Republic.

Pak Letter Soviet Leaders Discuss Unity Issue with Fraternal Parties

★FROM PAGE 16

had a bearing on the future of the Combined Opposition. President Ayub had "during his campaign repeatedly harped on the theme of the different ideologies that were to be found in the Combined Opposition and had prophesied that the unity would not last a day after the Presidential Election since it was a negative unity based on a common antipathy to an individual."

It has now become clear that Ayub Khan's assessment of the situation was incorrect. While the sharp differences that characterise the ideologies of the various parties in the Opposition cannot be gainsaid, there is one common point which has a positive element and is not based merely on hatred of the ruling party.

This is a common determination to work for the restoration of a system of parliamentary democracy and the winning of certain fundamental rights amongst all of them. The Combined Opposition has clearly still a role to play in the present phase of the history of Pakistan and Ayub Khan can just not wish it away.

Soviet Leaders Discuss Unity Issue with Fraternal Parties

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: The questions of the unity of the world Communist movement, the Soviet-Chinese differences and their dissolution as the important international task were posed at the meetings in Hanoi by Vietnamese leaders.

KOSYGIN declared that the Soviet Union believed in the strength of the unity of the socialist countries and will fight for it. The enemies of communism were putting their hopes on the disunity of the socialist countries.

"The consolidation of the relations of fraternal cooperation between members of the single socialist family, the increasing closeness between them, constitute a historical process and although this process develops in complicated conditions and involves the overcoming of serious difficulties, in the final count it will lead to the victory of the Leninist principles of internationalism."

"Our Party and the Soviet government see their primary task in consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist

community in every way". In Ulan Bator on February 5, at a meeting in honour of the CPSU delegation to Mongolia led by Alexander Shelepin, the Mongolian leader Tsedenbal also spoke of the importance of the unity of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement.

"Our Party attaches great importance to the meeting of the Drafting Commission of fraternal parties which is to meet on March 1 of this year. Such a consultation held by Marxist-Leninist Parties by mutual consent and on the basis of the principles of the Moscow declaration and the Moscow Statement without question will help to overcome the existing differences and to restore and strengthen the unity of our great movement for socialism and communism."

The by-election results on February 5 in three more constituencies in England—Salisbury, East Grinstead and Altrincham—have confirmed that the Labour government is steadily heading towards an abyss of disaster.

It has failed to react to the danger signal shown at the Leyton and Nunneaton by-elections; and now the victory of the Tories in three more constituencies definitely portends further deterioration in the situation.

The strength of the Labour Party in the 630-seat House of Commons is only 315, that of the Tory Party is 302. The Liberals hold nine seats and with one seat of Speaker and three vacant seats (two conservatives and one Labour) the Labour Party only has a precarious majority of four seats.

The Labour Party appears to have become impervious to the gradual decline of its influence among the British electorate. It was expedient for the Labour Party to decisively break away from the policies pursued by the Tories to regain the confidence of the British people. But the present government has not only failed to do so but continues to follow the suicidal track with greater vigour.

Alec Douglas-Home of the Tory Party demanded a few days back greater restriction on immigrant inflow into Britain "to keep the country 'pure'". Next day the Home Secretary of the Labour government announced in the House of Commons "tougher measures" under the Tory-introduced Immigrants Act, an out-and-out piece of racialist legislation.

That the Labour government has not only failed to repeal this Act but has taken measures in furtherance of this hated law, has come as a rude shock to all progressive people.

The entry permits granted by the government show that while 91 per cent of the white immigrants have been taken in, about 53 per cent of the coloured applicants have been refused entry into Britain.

This is just one of the series of misdoings of the Labour government. A number of measures taken by this government, which we have detailed in this column on earlier occasions, have gone against the interests of the British people and help-



By Sadhan Mukherjee

Labour Party Betrays People's Confidence

ration movements, is being made easy by Australia through invoking the terms of ANZUS Pact.

The ANZUS Pact, of which US is a member, provides for assistance by member countries in the event of Australian troops being subjected to enemy attacks.

Since the Australian troops are on defence duty of Malaysian territory the Australian Defence Minister explained in Tokyo on February 8, the members of the ANZUS Pact could be involved if the Australian troops came under fire.

This poor explanation cannot hide the fact that the Australian government is act-

Bonn government sought to put pressure for the withdrawal of the invitation.

Bonn threatened to apply Halstein doctrine to sever its ties with UAR and call off its 'aid' programmes. Nasser has not only refused to kowtow the Bonn line, but also paid back the 'intransigents' in their own coin.

The Supreme Executive Committee of UAR Socialist Union decided on February 7 that not only the invitation to Ulbricht stands, but that unless the Bonn government forthwith stops all arms supply to Israel, the UAR at its own initiative would break all diplo-

freedom-loving countries. By refusing to be browbeaten by the West German revanchists and taking a firm and principled stand refuting a sovereign country, Nasser has busted the blackmail of Bonn.

At the same time he has shown an example of courage to all developing nations where imperialists often secure concessions on the threat of tightening the purse-strings.

US Gets A Jolt

THE three-point proposal of French President de Gaulle disclosed on February 4 is yet another indication of his efforts at showing the Americans their place in Europe.

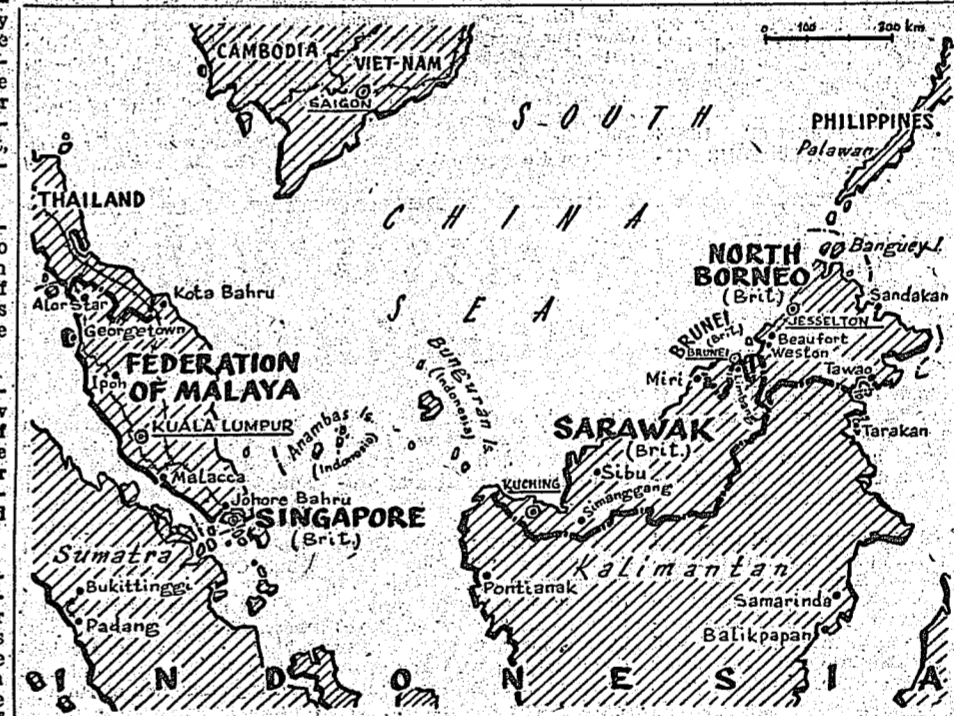
His three-point proposal envisages a five-power conference (France, Britain, USA, USSR and China) to examine and revise the UN Charter; reunification of Germany "by Europe itself"; and a return to the gold standard—a change in the international monetary system which will reduce the present reliance on dollars and pound sterling.

Whatever be the merits or demerits of President de Gaulle's proposal, it has given a jolt to the US. NEW YORK TIMES immediately commented: All three of President de Gaulle's proposals cut across accepted United States policies.

This, however, is really the correct position: All that de Gaulle is suggesting spring from his basic desire to make France the leading European nation. His theory of European deterrent, his refusal to sign the Moscow test ban treaty and so on, provide ample proof of this ambition.

But this also leads de Gaulle to make fantastic proposals; for example, his idea of reunification of Germany "by Europe itself" is just a wishful thinking.

Reunification of Germany is essentially an issue that the German people will have to decide for themselves, both in terms of time and manner. Secondly, taking into account the situation as it exists today, such a unification can only take place with the active support and under the aegis of the four allied powers. This is a fact of history; de Gaulle cannot change it by his whims.



Malaysia : US Also In ?

It now seems to be clear that US is being provided a berth in the Malaysian imbroglio at the initiative of the Australian government.

The Australian Defence Minister Shane Faltridge is already in Washington straightening the jumbled lines to ensure US entry into Malaysia in the name of 'defence from the attack of Indonesia'.

The US entry into this theatre of war, which is so essential for the imperialists to stage a last ditch battle against the national-libe-

ing not only as the stooge of US government but also intensifying tension in this area.

The offers seeking solution of the dispute over Malaysia through peaceful negotiations have been spurned by Britain and Malaysia. And now if the US enters the fray through the subterfuge of the ANZUS Pact, it will only escalate the explosive situation.

UAR Takes Firm Stand

THE Federal Republic of Germany has received a vigorous rebuff from UAR. Cut up by President Nasser's invitation to the GDR Head of State, Walter Ulbricht, to visit UAR, the

matic relations with West Germany.

The meeting also decided that if the West German government does not accept this position, the UAR would accord formal diplomatic recognition to GDR.

West Germany is believed to have sold Israel arms worth some 80 million dollars, including medium tanks and jet bombers. These arms are used against the Arabs. A part of these arms are US products and it is clear that the arms deal has the tacit support of US State Department also.

The firm counter-measure of Cairo is fully in keeping with the dignity of an independent country and will be welcomed by all Afro-Asian and other

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NO MORE TAXES ON

COMMON MAN

CPI ASKS SHASTRI TO CUT LEVIES ON FOOD, CLOTH, SUGAR, OILS

Communist Party of India has demanded that there should be no new taxes in the coming budget which would in any way hit the common man. On the other hand, the existing taxes on food articles, cloth, sugar, edible oils and such other daily necessities should be positively reduced.

THE demand was made in a memorandum submitted to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri by the Party central secretariat on February 9.

A deputation consisting of S. A. Dange, C. Rajeswar Rao, Romesh Chandra and Yogindra Sharma met the Prime Minister to submit the memorandum, which put forth the CPI's views on many problems facing the country today.

The portion dealing with the economic problems said:

In a week's time, your government will be presenting the budget to Parliament and people are looking anxiously as to what is in store for them in that budget.

In all the last fifteen years or more no budget has gone by without hitting the people with higher and higher taxes in the name of developing the country's economy and the Five-Year Plans.

We certainly want the economy to develop and develop at a faster rate and in a planned way. Much development has taken place and is proceeding apace. It has laid the basis to strengthen the economic base of our independence.

Concentration of Economic Power

But as everyone knows and admits, this development, which mainly arose out of the sacrifices of the people, out of the money raised by taxes and loans, basically payable by the vast masses of our toiling people, has led to the concentration of vast wealth and economic power in the hands of a few monopoly houses who, according to official and unofficial reports, constitute not more than twenty giant combines.

At the other end, the living of the people has become ever more costly and burdened with rising prices and falling real wages.

Even the food that is on hand in the country has become subject of speculation, hoarding and profiteering, leading to scarcity and starvation.

You are aware of the people's protests which took place last year due to this.

The discussions that are currently taking place on the Fourth Plan, the proposals of new taxation in the forthcoming budget,

have raised further apprehensions in the mind of the people that once again the new year and the new budget will start a new and bigger attack on the common man's living and allow the biggest of the monopolists, bankers and landlords, to enrich themselves further and hold society to ransom by their anti-social hoarding and profiteering activities.

WE, THEREFORE, URGE UPON YOU AND YOUR GO-

VERNMENT TO SEE THAT NO MORE INDIRECT OR DIRECT TAXES ARE IMPOSED ON THE COMMON MAN'S NECESSITIES OR SUCH TAXES AS WILL REFLECT ON HIS LIVING COSTS. WE WOULD LIKE THE EXISTING TAXES WHICH AFFECT ADVERSELY THE PRICES OF FOOD ARTICLES, CLOTH, SUGAR, EDIBLE OILS, ETC. TO BE REDUCED IN A POSITIVE WAY.

In this respect, we would draw your attention to the high cost of medicines which are charged by the foreign pharmaceutical firms in India to the detriment of our people's health and the enormous monopoly profits which they make.

WHAT is Kamaraj's standing today? This question is being asked very widely in the capital.

The strident utterances of the Congress President against Hindi have shocked many of the veterans of the Congress in the north, not all of whom could be lumped with Seth Govind Das or lesser luminaries like Bhakt Darshan.

Kamaraj's refusal to attend a Hindi Frachar Samiti function in Kerala and his non-challant observation that he would not mind Madras government throwing a Hindi circular into the waste paper basket have surprised many.

What is being asked here is, what did Kamaraj say when the Congress High Command discussed Hindi in the past? It appears that at the last Chief Ministers' conference even Bhaktavatsalam did not open his mouth to say that Hindi would not be accepted in Madras.

Of course, Kamaraj's case is slightly different because neither of the two all-India languages is he interested in recognising.

From all available indications it is clear that the government is practically at its wit's end how to tackle the Congress MPs over the question of Hindi. The storm is brewing on both sides.

While many of the southern MPs, scared by the DMK frenzy, are already feeling nervous about how to retain their seats, they will perhaps make the biggest noise inside

KAMARAJ SLUMP, MORARJI PROD

the Party and also in the House for scrapping Hindi altogether and they would naturally quote Kamaraj profusely.

On the other side, the Hindi enthusiasts will not take things lying down. One of them commented in private this week, "we have not yet opened our guns, and all sorts of allegations are being made as if we are the most backward people on earth".

The cabinet itself is divided over the issue. Both Sanjiva Reddy and Subramanian are taking up the cudgel on behalf of the anti-Hindi lobby while Satyanarain Sinha along with others is fighting the battle for Hindi. The target of attack of the anti-Hindi lobby is Shastri.

It is interesting however, that in the height of the Madras crisis when Nanda had decided to fly there to have on-the-spot settlement, it was Kamaraj who rang up Shastri and asked that Nanda should not go to Madras.

In other words, Kamaraj was perhaps interested in showing to his flock in Tamilnad that he alone was protecting their interest against the stubbornness of the northerners.

Two months ago whenever Shastri used to be attacked,

In this matter, the report that you are modifying your earlier decision to amend the Patent Laws in our country under the pressure of the foreign monopolies has caused serious discontent not only among the people but also among our indigenous manufacturers.

We would also like the government to take steps to reduce the cost of city transport, domestic kerosene, gas and electricity and fuel.

We would urge that the resources and the finances for the new Plan be raised—(i) by direct taxes on the monopolies; (ii) by enhancing the surplus from state-sector industries; (iii) by extension of the state-sector to the more profitable fields of consumer industries which today are almost wholly left to the private monopoly profiteering interests; (iv) by nationalising banking, general insurance and export-import trade in major commodities; (v) by taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains; and (vi) by cutting out waste seen in certain schemes of what are called social overheads.

Government should also take measures to break up the monopolies and giant inner-circle trusts and cartels, which are responsible for the crisis in the economy and which hinder its further development in key lines by various methods of sabotage.

It is now known, for example, that the vast shroff and

hundi market, aided indirectly by bankers, acted as the financiers of hoarding and cover for black money. The government had so long refused to admit this one big source of the price rise and hoarding evil.

Even the few recent raids against these centres of black finance resulting in some price falls has shown how right were the people and how wrong were the theories of government on the so-called inevitability of price rise in a developing economy.

But the recent outburst by the big monopolists against these raids shows how these well-known millionaire gentlemen who, of course, have not been touched anywhere by these raids, are the real fountainheads of the great attack on people's living by the price racketeers and hoarders.

Real Source Of Black Money

The real source of black money and hoarding, apart from the evader of taxes, is unimaginable rate of profits that all the monopolists and big bankers make out of the developing capitalist economy of our country, and the low wages and salary on which people are forced to labour and live, the vast unearned incomes that big landlords make out of land rent and tenants' labour, the failure of the state machinery a large part of which helps and furthers this capitalist expropriation of the country's wealth and toilers' labour.

That is the real source of black profits, black money, black prices and all the frustration,

* ON PAGE 17



base in the north. He is trying to woo the Kairon faction in Punjab; hence the rather interesting statement on Kairon's murder. Through his Hindi championship he expects to stabilise his position in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

How this would be reflected in the coming session of Parliament is one of the points of interest for all observers in the capital.

★

HOW much will the Kerala elections cost the Congress High Command?

Many guesses are floating about in the capital. One who is in the know, says that the High Command will have to fork out between Rs. 25 to 27 lakhs. Of course, this does not include the money that the Kerala Congress candidates will have to raise on their own.

Another gossip says that a top Congress leader has been assigned to raise somewhere between Rs. 15 to 20 lakhs.

The poor chap is just now having a rather uncomfortable brush with a Calcutta daily over the lavish spending at the Durgapur Congress!

—DIARIST