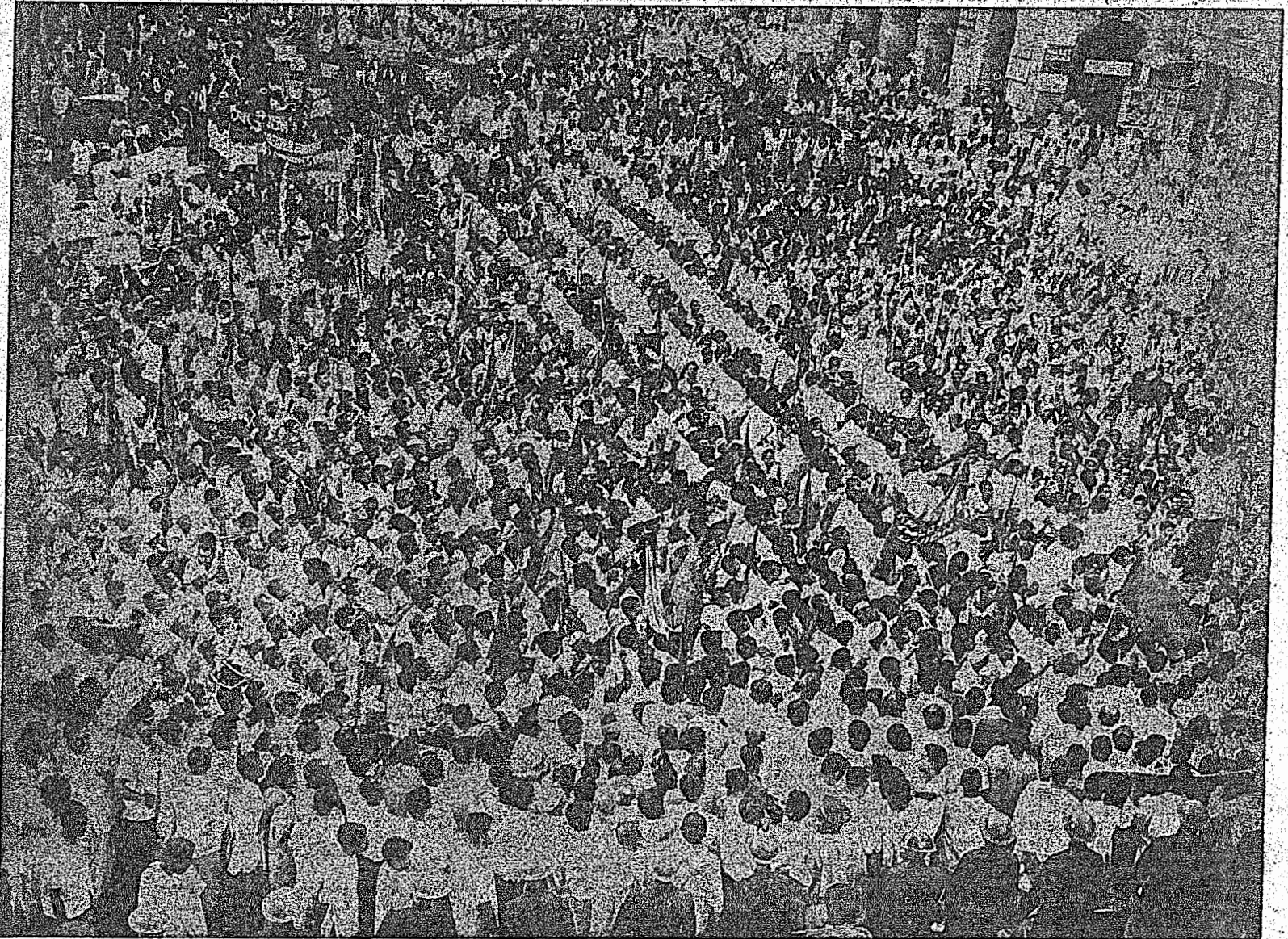


SANGRAM SAMITI ORGANISES HUGE RALLY IN BOMBAY

About one and a half lakh workers of Bombay marched to the Maharashtra Assembly on March 5 to present the charter of demands formulated by the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti. They were barred from proceeding further by policemen at Kala Ghoda (Photo: Sharad Pawar)



Kerala: Reaction's Dangerous Move

WHICH way Kerala? This is the question to which the whole country is seeking an answer.

Will democracy be thrown to the winds, and the hated presidential rule forced once again on the people of Kerala?

Can a really democratic coalition government emerge, which can carry out the will of Kerala's millions for an end to the reactionary policies pursued by the Congress government, and the carrying out of positive progressive policies in the interests of the masses?

Or will the reactionary forces succeed in arriving at a dirty deal to form a government, whose policies will be ever further to the right, even more against the people and in favour of the exploiting vested interests than the policies of the previous hated Congress regime?

While the gods in high places in New Delhi sit on their tottering thrones, confident that their prison-bars can cage the democratic upheaval, reaction is on the move in Kerala in a desperate conspiracy to defy the wishes of the electorate and instal in power a government of rightwing forces, pledged to carry out extreme rightwing policies.

The Kerala Congress (the creation of the worst Catholic and Nair communalists) has openly declared its determination to establish an anti-Communist government. It has offered to support the Congress Party if it decides to form a government: if the Congress is not prepared for this responsibility, the Kerala Congress reactionaries say, they are ready to form a government themselves with

by

THE EDITOR

the assistance of the Muslim League, and request the support of the Congress Party.

It is not clear at this moment what the Congress High Command will decide to do. The Parliamentary Board is to meet. The Working Committee may be summoned. But it is apparent that there is a section—and it is a growing section—within the Congress leadership both at the centre and in the state, which is not averse to striking some sort of a deal with the "rebel" Kerala Congress.

Any government formed by or having the support of the reactionary Kerala Congress-Muslim League axis will be a government more to the right, more reactionary in its policies than even the ousted Santhar Ministry.

The danger of the formation of such a reactionary ministry should not be underestimated. The difficulties in the way of the Congress High Command agreeing to have any truck with the "rebels" are obvious. But the anti-communism of the right syndicates and lobbies in the Congress may overcome the so-called "moral" objections to lining up with open communalists.

Is there no possibility of defeating this perilous plot which seeks to suggest only two alternatives for Kerala—presidential rule or a rightwing communal coalition or accord?

Let every democrat in the country know and understand: a progressive government of the united left forces could have been formed

* ON BACK PAGE

CBI REPORT AND ITS AFTERMATH

With the admission of the no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha and of the motion on the CBI report in the Rajya Sabha, the stage is now set for a full-scale discussion of the rampant corruption of which the Orissa affair is only one manifestation. This for the time being cuts short the disgusting spectacle that the people have had to witness all these days of endless evasions and quibblings indulged in by government spokesmen.

ACCORDING to these gentlemen literally nothing had happened, there had been no investigation, and there was nothing that had to be done by them about anything! The people and their elected representatives were expected to take things as they were; they were to see no evil, hear no evil, and above all, speak no evil.

Like the inconvenient beings (1) elected to the Kerala Assembly and whom government has decided to continue to treat as unpersons, what the CBI had produced was now an "un-report." In both instances the logic of the powers that be was the same—wish a thing away and it will not be there.

And when somebody recalled that things had started going the way they had done during the last days of the Mughal Empire, Shastriji could only feel indignant; he would not see the element of truth in that assertion.

The Report of the Central Bureau of Investigation was laid on the table of the Lok Sabha after the speaker had given his historic ruling upholding the members' right to quote from documents declared by government, in its own interests, to be secret and confidential. The day after, all the papers carried a summary of it and copious extracts from it.

In brief, the report had come to the conclusion that the "available material shows that a few concerns in which Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Biren Mitra have or had interests made large financial gains. It is also clear that big losses were caused to public funds."

Even the Cabinet sub-committee which went into the

matter could not help recording its "profound concern at the picture emerging as a whole from the series of such individual transactions in many fields of activity of the state government, of improper use of authority by leaders of the government." It was constrained to place on record that the manner in which the two former chief ministers of Orissa had conducted government transactions was "definitely not in keeping with the normal standards of public conduct."

Parliament will now debate the whole affair early next week and the entire range of reprehensible conduct of the government, not only in regard to this matter, but also in relation to the other glaring instances of injustice and iniquity that go to weaken and restrict Indian democracy—like the detention of "Left" Communists on the basis of a phoney "White Paper" and the refusal of release even those elected by the people and letting the democratic processes have their course in Kerala.

Unsparring and sharp whiplashes from public opinion and Parliament, notwithstanding the known fate of the no-confidence motion, cannot but have a measure of salutary effect in restraining the unchecked authoritarianism that is sought to be imposed on this country.

Sheikh's Game In Kashmir

THE amount of attention that organised democratic movement bestows on Kashmir and the

sustained solidarity that it brings to it need definitely to be watched and stepped up.

In the year that has passed since G. M. Sadiq took over as Prime Minister, the situation in that part of our country has shown distinct, all-round improvement. The corruption that had become proverbial, the suppression of civil liberties that had made life impossible, the atmosphere of a medieval court that had been built up around one person (whether it was Sheikh Abdullah earlier or Bakshi Gulam Mohammed later)—all these are today substantially things of the past. The people of Kashmir have during the last one year breathed in a freer atmosphere than they had done for many years.

This very improvement in the situation has made certain elements desperate. They have let loose, a fresh wave of bomb-throwing, sabotage and incendiarism. The Home Minister of Kashmir has indicated their source of inspiration and sustenance, and the government there has had to take certain measures which it normally would not have done.

Sheikh Abdullah, now on a tour abroad, has chosen to present these measures in a light of his own choice which conveniently slurs over many aspects of reality. His friends in the capital—Hindustan

Times, for instance—have faithfully repeated the cry raised by him.

Thoroughly disagreeing with those bigwigs of the ruling Congress Party at the Centre, we demand that the acts that have necessitated the latest measures to be taken by the Kashmir government should be more extensively made known, both inside the country as well as abroad.

It is heartening to note that India has joined Poland in the International Control Commission—according to press reports—in sharp criticism of these barbarous bombings.

It is heartening to note that India has joined Poland in the International Control Commission—according to press reports—in sharp criticism of these barbarous bombings.

Comment

Progressive and democratic forces outside Kashmir should rally now to raise powerfully their voice in order to expose the game of those who organise incendiarism and sabotage and of those others who bring support and succour to them.

US-Paid Hooligans

THE band of mercenaries, hooligans and plain dupes who gathered in front of the Consulate-General of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Delhi on March 1 and indulged in burning the effigy of the most venerated living Asian leader who is also the head of that friendly state, deserves the strongest condemnation of all decent people.

The fantastic nonsense trotted out as excuse in calling for this exhibition of unbridled vulgarity cannot take away from the fact that US imperialism in its despe-

Quoting the British Foreign Secretary and the British Foreign Office these reports say that in the ICC report dated February 13 India and Poland, in test of opposition from the third member, Canada, have given the verdict that there was no evidence to support the justifications offered by Americans for ordering the bombings of North Vietnam—the allegations of "continuing infiltration of personnel and equipment" into South Vietnam from the North.

The majority report has pinpointed thus the grave violation by the USA of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

The sweet-tongued Mr. Averell Harriman who descended upon New Delhi to sell the US White Paper was told these home truths in the most unmissable terms. The sooner the US stops its brigandage over Vietnam the better it will be for the world, and for the US itself.

For India to effectively play her role in the Vietnam imbroglio it is necessary now to come out in open and sharper condemnation of US stand.

—Zia-ul Haq

Mysore: Protest Against Increase in Land Levy

From C. R. KRISHNA RAO

BANGALORE: Over sixty thousand objections have been filed by peasants all over Mysore against the increase in land revenue proposed by state government.

THE government took the decision to enhance land revenue in the state some time back.

The report of settlement officers laid on table of the house last week showed that the government expects to get a revenue of nearly Rs. four crores by the enhancement.

The present income to the state by way of land revenue is about Rs. 3.5 crores.

Revision of settlement as is proposed increases land revenue from 50 per cent to 500 per cent. The only justification which the Revenue Minister had for this is that it is more scientific and rational.

In the two-day debate in the Assembly last

conclusive. It is expected to come up for further consideration next week.

As there is considerable opposition in the Congress Party itself to the enhancement in land revenue, it is doubtful whether it will get through during this current session.

Even though the Revenue Minister announced in the Assembly recently that the Land Reforms Act will be implemented from July this year, doubts are expressed in all quarters about this.

The Chief Minister himself, it is learnt, is not sure whether the land reforms will be implemented, since the Congress Party is heavily biased in favour of the landlords.

The amending bill is yet to be drafted and introduced in the Assembly.

Progressive circles in the state are expressing concern over the enormous delay in effecting land reforms in the state.

The verdict of the Kerala electorate has gone unequivocally against the Congress and its policies including the use of Defence of India Rules and it is the elementary duty of the Union Government to respect this verdict, set free all Marxist Communists and enable their leader to explore possibilities of forming a non-Congress progressive government.

THE party position as it has emerged from the election is: Communist (Marxists) together with independents supported by them 45; Congress 38; Kerala Congress 23; SSP 13; League and Muslim League independents 11; CPI 3; KTP 1; Swatantra 1.

The election results are thus a clear verdict against the Congress. It has disproved the loud

declarations of Kamraj and other leaders of the Congress that even if the Congress did not secure a majority, it would emerge as the largest party. The Congress has not been able to reach that aim despite all its efforts.

On the other hand, it suffered a crushing defeat with the rout of all ministers of the former Cabinet including Chief Mini-

NO STAR-SPANGLED DIPLOMAT

THERE was semi-hush over the quiet visit of the American VIP to New Delhi last week. He was on a roving mission to sell the Washington line on Vietnam, not a very easy job indeed.

Harriman came to New Delhi with hopes—hopes of getting a foreign-policy dividend on the massive political investments by way of P.L. 480 and the dollar aids. And he was rather optimistic in view of the fact that New Delhi has so long avoided condemning U.S. bombing of North Vietnam despite the almost universal condemnation of the act in the Indian press.

Only the very definite minority of the true-blue Swatantra-cum-American scribes spoke the Taiwan style.

One of Harriman's major worries was that Pakistan which could so long be depended upon to ditto America's civilising missions in Asia is misbehaving nowadays. Ayub has turned out to be growing a mind of his own, and has chosen to visit China to dine and wine with the Peking leaders when the US jet bombers are attacking North Vietnam. How cheeky on the part of a SEATO partner!

So, naturally Harriman thought he would be able to console his soul in the bracing spring of New Delhi, particularly now that the intractable Nehru is no longer there. But he was disappointed. He could not get even the mild-mannered Shastri to agree to the American view of things. China is no doubt a menace to South Asia, New Delhi agrees. But that does not warrant the spreading of war by the US Air Force bombing North Vietnam.

Washington seems to have retained the Dullesian allergy to a Geneva-type conference. But on this issue Harriman found New Delhi inflexible. Nor was Shastri ready to go back upon his interview to the AFP that all foreign powers should pull out of Vietnam.

What has worried Harriman most was what was left unsaid in his New Delhi talks—perhaps out of deference to a senior and impeccably polite diplomat. And this is the un-concealed feeling that Washington is engaged in a losing battle in South Vietnam.

Even the far-from-leftist All India Radio in one of its recent broadcast talks mentioned about the growing urge inside America—right from the Capitol Hill downward—for pulling out of the quicksand morass of South Vietnam.

Although little publicised in this country, the U.N. Secretary General U Thant's outspoken appeal for U.S. withdrawal from South Vietnam has not gone unnoticed in the External Affairs Ministry. And the more widely-noted suggestion of Canada's, Lester Pearson for an international peace-keeping force in Vietnam hardly made Harriman's job easy in New Delhi.

There are reports that President Johnson's emissary found the New Delhi weather quite chilly after the educative session. Prime Minister Shastri had with Premier Pompidou. In fact, the De Gaulle proposal for the neutralisation of Vietnam has had a distinct impress here.

With all these rather embarrassing developments, it was but natural that Harriman was disappointed that the great American White Book on the Vietnamese war has proved to be a damp squib in New Delhi. Nobody worth the name has even taken the trouble of commenting on it, and most of the USIS subscribers have used the blank reverse of the mimeographed White Book as good stationery.

Although bereft of the initiative that this country had taken in such international crises under Nehru in the past, Shastri has not failed to keep pace with the other non-aligned leaders in pressing for an early settlement of the Vietnamese war. Quite a lot of silent diplomacy has been going on at the time, and New Delhi has not been left out of it.

The awareness has dawned in the External Affairs Ministry that in the Afro-Asian world, the US policy in South Vietnam has lost all support and that there is need of speaking up against it if one has to keep company with those who signed the Cairo Summit Declaration along with Shastri.

With his air of polished respectability, Averell Harriman flew out of Palam a rather dispirited man. The spirit of Nehruism hovers over this land, despite B. K. Nehru sticking on in Washington.

—Dhark

Post-Election Picture In Kerala

What 'Marxist' Communists Bargained For & What They Got

By C. ACHUTHA MENON

ster Sankar, barring one minister K. T. Achuthan. It is clear beyond doubt that the people have voted for a non-Congress government but the trouble starts when one poses the question: a non-Congress government of what type?

Reports are appearing that attempts at rapprochement between the Congress and the Kerala Congress under the inspiration of Mamath Padmanabhan and the heads of the Christian Church are afoot. If these reports are true and attempts succeed, that will be the biggest crime against the people and flouting of their verdict.

Though statements by leaders of both the Congress and the rebel Kerala Congress are so far contrary to this development, one cannot rule out that possibility. For, neither the Congress nor the Kerala Congress have been noted for their fidelity to democratic principles and political and moral norms.

Out of 40 Marxist Communists elected, 28 are detenus. It has been reported that the Union Government and Congress High Command are considering possibilities and prospects of the formation of a government keeping these elected detenus in prison. That will be another anti-democratic action on the part of the Congress.

The Communist Party of India demands that they should be set at liberty and the first largest single party, the Marxist Communists, should be invited to form a government in the state.

The situation that has emerged in the state is such that no government can be formed without the support of either the Marxist Communist Party or the Congress. We are of the view that the Governor should lose no time to invite the leaders of the

Marxist Communists as the single largest party and request them to form a government on their own or in cooperation with others. It is entirely a different matter whether they will be able to form a government of a stable and progressive character.

The parties that have been their electoral allies are the SSP and the KTP, to a lesser degree. But the SSP's attitude is not clear as to whether they will jointly share governmental power with the Marxist Com-



munists. Leave alone that, together they are only 58, which is not an adequate number for forming the government. Even the latest statement of S. M. Joshi does not go beyond saying that they will support a non-Congress government.

Another combination which can seek to form a non-Congress government is the Kerala Congress-League axis with SSP but then they are only 47. The Marxist Communists' support is necessary for them to form a government. Will and can the Marxist Communists offer them their support and if so on what terms?

The question of a coalition government of Marxist Communists together with the Ke-

erala Congress-League axis does not and cannot arise. For, in open categorisation made by the Marxist Communists, they have branded the Kerala Congress as a reactionary party. But it is possible that the Marxist Communists may justify their support to such a government provided the SSP heads it or is in a leading position, for is not the SSP a progressive Left party?

It is here that one sees the tragic results of the suicidal policy which the Marxist Communists adopted in this election when the Left United Front and CPI insisted that it is not enough if we rout the Congress but it is necessary to create conditions for the victory of progressive democratic forces sufficiently strong to form a government of their own.

The Marxist Communists walked out of the Left United Front and waged a crusade against the United Front with a view to rout the "Dangeites" and the RSP. An analysis of as many as 30 seats in Quilon, Alleppey and Trichur districts shows that had the Marxist Communist at least support the candidates of the LUF, those 30 seats which now have gone to the Congress or the Kerala Congress could have been annexed by the Left United Front, making the Communist-LUF strength as much as 80.

But cut the nose to spite the face was the slogan of EMS. The Marxist Communists can pride themselves in the fact that they have achieved their objective in routing the LUF. But what next? To them the alternative is either political instability or the prospect of having to support a government of reactionaries. This was not what EMS, the Marxist Communists and their allies promised the electorate.

(March 6)

CPI Demands—Release Detenus

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India in a statement issued on March 6 demanded the immediate release of all detenus and urged that every constructive effort be made to ensure the restoration of constitutional rule in Kerala.

THE statement noted that the Kerala elections have given "a clear verdict against the growing mis-rule and anti-democratic and anti-people policies of the Congress regime." But the statement warned:

"The Central Secretariat of the CPI notes with great concern the reported reactions of the Congress High Command and the Central Government to the results of the Kerala elections.

"It appears that under one pretext or another and by taking advantage of the fact that no single party has won a decisive majority of seats they want to perpetuate the President's rule in the state without giving its people a fair and reasonable chance to work the normal provisions of the Constitution and to run the state administration through a responsible government.

"The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India demands the immediate release not only of those detenus who have been elected but also all other political detenus in Kerala and other states.

"The release of the detenus in Kerala should be the first step to usher in the new Assembly. The Central Secretariat of the CPI further demands that the DIR be forthwith scrapped."

In a statement issued in Vijayawada on March 6, Rajeswara Rao, General Secretary of the CPI declared that it was a matter of democratic right that the Communist Party (Marxist) which has been elected as the single biggest party in Kerala be called upon to form a ministry.

He demanded immediate release of all those who have been elected and other detenus so as to give them an opportunity to form the ministry.

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Will India Learn the Lesson?

Editorial

THE WEST GERMAN government's bluff and bluster appears to have received the answer it deserves from anti-imperialist Africa. The resounding success of the visit of President Ulbricht of the German Democratic Republic to the United Arab Republic has given a telling blow to the so-called Hallstein doctrine, if it has not sounded its death knell.

Again and again the militarist rulers of the Federal Republic of Germany threatened that they would break off diplomatic relations with any state which gave any sort of official recognition to the German Democratic Republic. With this rupture of diplomatic relations would also go all West German "aid", so the developing countries of Asia and Africa were warned.

For some years, these threats and pressures succeeded in preventing the Afro-Asian countries from giving recognition to the German Democratic Republic, despite the fact that the GDR's policies on all international issues were far nearer than Bonn's to the policies of the nonaligned Afro-Asian nations.

The Hallstein doctrine appeared to continue to hold sway, despite the growing realisation that the so-called "aid" of the West German monopolists was double-edged and really not in the interests of the independent economic development of the Afro-Asian

states, while the economic cooperation between the GDR and these states was truly beneficial for their development.

At last, the fortress has been breached. The Bonn government knows that if it dares to act against Cairo, other Arab countries and probably many more Afro-Asian states will follow the UAR's lead. Recognition of the GDR will then only be a matter of time.

In this context, it is worthwhile to remember India's own relations with the German Democratic Republic. In complete contrast with the latest developments in Africa (Tanzania has gone ahead in this very period, and established relations at consulate level with the GDR, ignoring the West German withdrawal of "aid"), India has still not even established an official trade agency in the German Democratic Republic.

It is good to read that the chairman of the State Trading Corporation has declared at the Leipzig Fair that such an agency should be set up. The need for it is obvious: trade between India and the GDR is going up by leaps and bounds.

But is it not time to reconsider India's entire attitude to the question of recognition of the GDR? The arguments in favour of recognition are well-known: the GDR's existence cannot be denied and to do so would only strengthen the Bonn revanchists, intensify tension and the danger of war; the policy of nonalignment should mean recognition of both Germans; the interests of a peaceful

solution of the German problem also demand such recognition.

The only argument advanced till now by government spokesmen against recognition of the GDR has been that the Hallstein doctrine would come into operation, and West Germany would break off diplomatic relations and cut its aid, if we recognised the GDR.

The Hallstein doctrine appears to be on its death-bed. Anti-imperialist Africa has accepted its challenge and thrown its exponents into disarray.

If India could join the African challengers, the Hallstein doctrine would be finished off for all time.

But will the Government of India do this? The fact that the Indian Ambassador to the UAR was missing from the line of Afro-Asian ambassadors which greeted Ulbricht on his arrival in Cairo, has been interpreted by Afro-Asian commentators as indicating that the Government of India has committed itself to the Bonn revanchists and will not join the militant Afro-Asian nations in defying the Hallstein doctrine.

It is to be hoped that this is not true. India should be giving the lead on such matters. It did once. Now at last, may we hope the Government of India will be willing to follow the lead given by President Nasser and others on this urgent and vital matter?

(March 9)

ASSAM: Rice Disappears From The Market

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: A widespread rumour in the grain markets in Assam has become a reality within the matter of days: rice has just disappeared from the market.

It was in the last week of February that rumour had it that there were no rice stocks available and therefore rice would become scarce soon.

At present most of the dealers in rice here declare that they have had no stock of rice. In some shops small quantities of rice are available.

The quality of rice that is available is a mixture of new and old rice of the most inferior type, heavily mixed with dust, paddy, stone and other inedibles. And for all that the lowest price is Rs. 29 a maund.

Right in November, on the eve of the last harvest of winter paddy, the state government had declared that there would be a "bumper crop" this year. After the harvest also the same claim was made.

Government's Smugness

Even in the address of the Governor, inaugurating the current budget session of the Assembly, it has been maintained that "on the whole, the supply position in regard to rice and paddy continues to be satisfactory".

One little suspected this claim to be exposed as a myth so soon, hardly three months after the last harvest and within a week or so of the inauguration of the Assembly session.

It is true that in principle there is state trading in rice

and thus the government progresses at snail's pace while the private traders corner people's food.

This is what is believed to have created the present scarcity of rice in spite of the "bumper crop" claimed to have been produced this year. Along with that the scarcity of wheat products like atta and flour has been continuing, with consequent high prices.

Congressmen Critical

It is noted here that during the debate on the Governor's address this year, though the familiar topics of Pakistan infiltration and the problem of internal security and some other local problems were often raised by members on both sides of the house, the one topic that dominated the debate was the problem of scarcity of essential commodities, including food articles.

Even members of the ruling party wondered why in spite of the blanket powers with the government under the provisions of the Defence of India Act, the private wholesalers who are responsible for the creation of the artificial scarcity in the state could not be curbed.

The consensus in the house appeared to be that the failure of the government to curb the power of the monopolist wholesalers was responsible for the scarcity condition in the state.

The government spokesmen had little answer to the critics. They argued about transport bottleneck leading to supply difficulties. But this, convinced none

of those who are generally supporters of the government was made amply clear by even the pro-government ASSAM TRIBUNE which editorially commented: "The government's reply... is far from convincing".

In the face of the almost unanimous view that the malady was in the internal distribution system and machinery, the Chief Minister sought to disarm the critics by admitting that there were administrative lapses. He also admitted that there were high prices causing misery to the poor people.

That this reply of the Chief

Minister could not convince even those who are generally supporters of the government was made amply clear by even the pro-government ASSAM TRIBUNE which editorially commented: "The government's reply... is far from convincing".

Characterising the government's reply regarding the high prices and scarcity as "tenuous", the paper observed: "An irresistible inference is that it is the trading sections that are frequently holding the consumers to ransom".

And this reflects the popular feelings, although in a very mild term.

ANTI-MARRIAGE CLAUSE ON THE WAY OUT?

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: A dash of colour was provided to the otherwise dull and drab surroundings of the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly on March 5 when hundreds of working girls from the pharmaceutical concerns in the city came to the house to listen to a debate.

The debate was on the non-official bill introduced by S.G. Patkar to amend the Industrial Contract Act to allow the working girls to marry and yet retain their jobs.

As if responding to the presence of the girls, the debate turned into one of the most lively ones recently heard in the Assembly.

All the parties supported the bill in principle, the rul-

ing party's spokesmen only taking exception to it because a case was just now pending before the Supreme Court involving the very same issue.

State Labour Minister N. M. Tidke, while requesting Patkar to withdraw the bill, assured that the government was ready to protect not only the right of working women to marry but also of married women to work.

He promised a suitable legislation in this regard immediately after the Supreme Court decision was known.

He also made it known that the government had requested the Pharmaceutical Employers' Association to keep the "marriage clause" in suspension.

Patkar withdrew his bill in view of the assurances given by the Minister and the all-round support which the working girls' cause received in the Assembly.

HYDERABAD: The Budget session of the legislature got off to an exciting start despite the utterly dull and drab budget presented by Finance Minister Chenna Reddy. Despite tall talk about the step-up in the last year of the Third Plan there was nothing to indicate that some sort of climax was sought to be achieved.

THE budget estimates envisage a total outlay of Rs. 154.53 crores—an increase of Rs. 11.84 crores over last year's revised estimate.

The expenditure budget provides for a total outlay of Rs. 181.23 crores on revenue account, leaving a deficit of Rs. 6.70 crores as against a revised estimate of Rs. 7.54 crores as last year's deficit.

The increase in revenue is to come, apart from grants-in-aid from the Centre, from an increase in the Entertainment Tax and readjustment of the sales tax.

There are no noteworthy features of the pattern of expenditure, no signs that the Congress Ministry is in the least interested in advancing Andhra from its present shameful position of one of the most backward states of the Indian Union.

Pillamarri Venkateswarlu, leader of the opposition, opened the budget debate with a fine speech delivered in chaste Telugu and which drew approval from all sections.

Its flaying criticism was accompanied by constructive suggestions, making a good case for the national-democratic standpoint of the Communists of Andhra.

He pointed out that the language problem should have received much greater attention from a long time ago as the CPI had been advocating.

Even now no proper measures were envisaged for the most rapid advance of Telugu as the state language in the shape of phased programmes. Yet this was the point on which all energies should be concentrated.

LANGUAGE ISSUE

He commended the approach adopted by Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy on the language issue although vigilance on the part of the people was essential to guarantee the quick implementation of this approach.

At the same time the obnoxious stand taken by Sanjeeva Reddy was attacked as

Chenna Reddy Presents A Lack-Lustre Budget Andhra Government Flayed By Communist Leader Of Opposition

an expression of anti-national servility.

He sharply criticised the so-called statement by the Home Minister on the arrests of the cadres and leaders of the rival CP.

He could not understand why the government was not considering their release even on parole and hoped that a liberal attitude would be displayed on the question of adequate allowances and proper facilities.

He mentioned the memorandum that had been presented by Makhdoom Mohiuddin and himself in this connection on behalf of the CPI to the Chief Minister.

Turning to the budget proper he termed it an administrative, stagnant budget completely lacking a developmental orientation, to say nothing of a people's approach. This

was certainly not a budget which would meet the aspirations of the people of Andhra Pradesh.

He felt that the government here was simply not trying hard enough to get what was the state's due from the centre.

It is true that the state government had tried to get some relief with regard to the Nagarjunasagar project and had also submitted a fairly good Memorandum to the Finance Commission. But an insufficient case was being somewhat weakly presented.

Criticising the enhanced entertainment tax and the adjustments of the sales tax which put further burdens on the people as well as the increase in the land revenue rates on sugarcane in the Andhra regions, he suggested the imposition of a graded agricultural in-

From MOHIT SEN

come-tax, with exemption for the smaller holdings.

He pointed out that the Birias and other magnates had started investing in vineyards on a big scale in the environs of Hyderabad as there was no agricultural income tax and as a means of investing their "black money".

Citing official figures Pillamarri showed the scant and decreasing attention that the government was paying to meeting the needs of the Harijans, especially with regard to sites for houses.

This callous approach to an important segment of our submerged humanity was itself a big indictment of the pretensions of the government.

Coming to the problem of the NGOs he said that the appointment of a one-man Pay Commission, without any representation from the employees and without consultation as to the terms of reference, was thoroughly unsatisfactory.

SHARP ATTACK

He launched a sharp attack here against the McCarthyite slanders against the NGOs Association by APCC president Thimma Reddy, who is reported to have said that adult suffrage in India was a big mistake.

He felt that the problem of rising prices was being filippanly treated by the Finance Minister. No steps had been taken to break the power of syndicates of wholesalers who were holding the people to ransom. Instead some insinuations were being made against trade union activities.

He felt that the Andhra Assembly could well emulate the example of the West Bengal Assembly which had passed unanimously a resolution calling for the nationalisation of banks, which was so necessary for Andhra's agricultural progress.

Pointing to the lack of a proper industrial orientation he said that there were grave defects in the licensing policy.

In the case of textiles, for example, even the Minister had admitted this but he had omitted to mention that some of the licences were simply being sold for large profits by those to whom they had been given.

This deplorable practice must be stopped at once and punishment meted out to the offenders.

A running thread of the speech of Andhra's leader of the opposition was the passionate plea to see that everything was done to move this backward state out of the rut.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

HOUSING PROJECT —FOR RELATIVES

CASES of corruption involving ministers and their relatives are common feature of Congress administration in the states today so that there is no end to what one can find out in the dealings of government departments.

Those who have been in power and enjoyed it too long have certainly no qualms about it, even serious misdeeds are just "certain improprieties" in their latest parlance.

The public are fed sermons and *satyagrah*, while the merry-making ministers weave patterns of piling up riches and comforts using their position and influence.

Here before me are some details sent by Makhdoom Mohiuddin, leader of the Communist Group in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly concerning, among others, the Chief Minister of the state and a Union Minister, a pillar of the "syndicate".

In August last year, on receiving alarming reports about irregularities in the allotment of houses by the Housing Board in the middle-income group, Makhdoom wrote to the Chairman of the Housing Board. For about five months he did not receive any reply, and after a reminder, he got a

reply this February. And what does it show?

It is now officially admitted that the Housing Board in its meeting of May 29, 1964 allotted six houses at Sanjeeva Reddy Nagar (1) to the following persons:

N. Nagaratnamma, wife of Union Steel Minister Sanjeeva Reddy.

K. Raghavamma, wife of Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy.

D. L. N. Prasad, son-in-law of Housing Minister Alapati Venkatramalal.

K. S. Sandhyarani, daughter of a film star.

Jalagam Vengala Rao, an important Congress leader.

Seelam Sidda Reddy, secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee.

One does not know how all these people come under the "middle-income group". What is worse is that this allotment was made without any public notification which has always been the procedure. And we are told that no lottery was taken, which Congress leaders had always insisted upon.

"My further information is that the amount of land granted, the buildings being erected and the facilities provided are going to take the total cost well above

the Rs. 25,000 ceiling. I wrote to the Chairman of the Housing Board about this but his only reply was that the final cost was not known," writes Makhdoom.

Would Nandaji look into this? But perhaps he does not see well these days, after Kamath exploded the CBI bomb on Orissa in Parliament. We are sure the Andhra people would welcome an "enquiry" at least, if not an "investigation".

PROFITS OF TYCOONS

EVERY Union budget is an occasion for a renewed howl from the monopolies against taxes and for more "incentives". This time is no exception.

That defender of the freedom of monopolies, C. Rajagopalachari, has given a treatise on the "motive of profit", a fundamental "law of nature" whose violation under the "socialist" planning of Congress government has resulted in setbacks in production and investments. Here is Rajaji's absolute truth:

"Be it agriculture or industry or anything else, which calls for sustained labour, attention, good management, sacrifice of immediate pleasure in favour of investment for future advantage, etc., unless the notice of profit operates, the law of na-

ture goes contrary and production falls."

And so the complaint is that Indian tycoons are not today able to make enough profits.

For a theme this is nothing new and it has been exposed many times before in this paper. Only a fortnight before *New Age* gave details of how huge profits have been amassed by powerful concerns in the private sector.

To quote again only a few items, the TISCO showed a net profit of Rs. 608.86 in 1962 which went up to Rs. 1055.68 lakhs in 1963 and again to Rs. 1647.12 lakhs in 1964. In other words profits almost trebled in three years.

The IISCO profits increased from Rs. 911.89 lakhs in 1963 to Rs. 1151.21 lakhs in 1963 and Rs. 1151.21 lakhs in 1964.

Martin Burn improved its profits from Rs. 78.17 lakhs in 1962 to Rs. 91.60 lakhs in 1963.

The Birla Jute Company raised its profits from Rs. 98.65 lakhs in 1962 to Rs. 139.85 lakhs in 1963. Guest Keen and Williams almost doubled their profits in one year, from Rs. 127.55 lakhs in 1962 to Rs. 217.43 lakhs in 1963. And so the list continues. All this is said to be without "adequate profit incentive".

A look at the profitability rates of some of the industrial giants in 1963-64 which was published in the *Economic Times* would show how much "incentive" is there:

Profits after tax as percent of net worth in the case of Birla Jute was 10.4, of Burmah Shell, 10.5, Tata Steel 18.4, Jessop & Co. 13.5, Hindustan Lever 13.5, Goadlor Rayon 14.3, Dunlop Rubber 14.8, Union Carbide 15.6, Texmaco 19.5, New Central Jute 21.5 and Burn & Co. 24.61

The fact is that there is too much incentive and too liberal a treatment for the private sector that the powerful monopolies are able to subvert planning and prevent all effective controls for the good of the community at large.

—K. U. WARIER

Gouberite Goondas Led Attacks On Ashram

From V. SUBBIAH

PONDICHERRY: The language agitation served as a powerful weapon in the hands of all reactionary political forces, factionalist groups inside the Congress ruling party and the secessionist fanatics, Particularly the DMK in Tamilnad.

IN the Union territories of Pondicherry the DMK is considerably weak as compared to its strength in the adjoining Madras State. However, the DMK exploited the language issue by joining the students' agitation and giving it a mass character.

Even with this backing by the DMK, the students' agitation would not have assumed such a monstrous shape as it did ultimately, causing colossal damage to public properties and private institutions, but for the fact that the caucuses inside the Congress party played the treacherous role.

Edward Goubert who was removed from the leadership of the Congress during the last general election in Pondicherry in August 1964, was lying low watching for an opportunity to discredit the present leadership of the Congress holding the reins of the administration in Pondicherry and to show it as inefficient and unfit to rule.

Also Goubert who has regarded Kamaraj as his sworn enemy since the days before the liberation of Pondicherry, found this anti-Hindi agitation the best weapon to settle scores with Kamaraj and his group in the Congress.

PRO-FRENCH ELEMENTS

It is reported that immediately after the Trichy language conference of January 17, Goubert came into contact at Madras with the secret organisers of anti-Kamaraj group led by big financiers and industrialists and set himself to the task of organising from behind the scene the anti-Hindi agitation at Pondicherry.

Goubert is neither a lover of Tamil language nor of English, but a great protagonist of French language, culture and everything French. One can to some extent understand his love for French as he is a Franco-Indian by birth. But more than that he is allergic to everything Indian.

One will be eager to know how it was possible for any one to unleash such an agitation as to cause enormous loss to properties and paralyse the government for quite some hours.

The Congress at Pondicherry is by and large composed of the old supporters of Goubert, the pro-French goondas and anti-social elements, who joined en bloc along with Goubert the Congress Party on the eve of liberation. Even after liberation, he has meticu-

lously kept up his loyal cadres in key positions in the Congress organisation and constantly helped them by providing them fertile sources of income through contracts, import licences, bus route permits, etc.

Thus he got himself strongly entrenched inside the Congress organisation and elbowed out from key positions of the party all those real Congressmen who had stood in the forefront of the liberation struggle. Notwithstanding his unchallenged position, it was possible to throw Goubert out of power only through the direct intervention of Kamaraj.

Kamaraj charge-sheeted him and questioned him why disciplinary action should not be taken against him for having supported candidates against those put up by Congress during 1964 general election. Edward Goubert retaliated by counter-charging Kamaraj as an arch factionalist responsible for disruption of Congress in Pondicherry.

The matter stood there till recently, Goubert, in anticipation of his expulsion from the Congress was actively but covertly organising the DMK cadres at Pondicherry ever since the election. The anti-Hindi agitation came like a boon to Goubert who used it deligently.

The DMK-minded teachers, his former employees in the Cabinet and in the government services who were removed from service after the 1964 election as they were not qualified for such jobs, secretaries and staff of the municipality of which he is still Mayor and his large number of goonda elements who are scattered around Pondicherry, it is alleged, made to get mingled in the agitation and to give the mass tempo of violent outbursts.

To add to this was the fact that the present leadership of the Congress lacked the imagination, ability and courage to understand and outmanoeuvre this action.

At the early stage of the agitation, the missionaries seem to have given a fillip to it by allowing their school boys to take active participation in it. It is to be noted here that the textile workers of Pondicherry and other organised labour, except a few INTUC workers, kept away from this agitation as they were warned in advance by their leadership of the dirty game played by Goubert and DMK in this language issue.

However, Goubert succeeded in giving the agitation the militant character that it assumed later through

mobilisation of his municipal employees, pro-French and anti-national professional goondas and the rickshaw pullers who are, by and large, DMK-minded men imported from Madras and of whose trade union organisation in Pondicherry, Edward Goubert is the President.

On February 10, it is alleged that Goubert openly told some members of the Municipal Council that the government was going to crumble to pieces in a couple of days. The day of operation dawned on 11th morning. Up to 2 O'clock in the afternoon, the students went about from Villianur to Pondicherry setting fire to railway compartments.

From 2-30 P.M. the lieutenants of Goubert seized the situation in their hands. It is reported that he pumped courage into their hearts by telling them that the police force is very meagre with not enough bullets and above all, the police could not resort to shooting without getting his permission as he was the Mayor, the first magistrate of the town.

His followers believed it as there was a provision in the old Municipal Act that the Mayor was the first magistrate, whose presence at

least, was necessary when government resorted to any military action in that commune.

The failure of the police to intervene and stop the goondagiri till 9-30 P.M. confirmed Goubert's supreme authority over the government. Unbridled and unchecked by any action of law and order, the goondas were the sovereign rulers of the state and the people and property were left unprotected in their hands.

The public could not comprehend and the government have yet to give an explanation as to why they did not intervene in time. The weekly journal Swadanthram, the organ of the Communist Party, sounded a note of warning to the government as early as February 3 about the evil political forces which were working from behind the screen and how an unfortunate situation might develop.

The smug and impotent attitude of the local government was largely responsible for the disaster that followed. Had the government smelt the danger and acted in time, the loss to life and property could have been averted.

The Pondicherry railway buildings were reduced to

ashes, besides about eight wagons, compartments and a locomotive. The provision stores of the Shri Aurobindo Ashram which was catering quality goods at controlled prices, thereby doing yeoman service to the people during recent rice crisis, was looted and burnt.

A number of other enterprises like the hotel, restaurants, soda factory, hand paper factory and the central Ashram building, where the Mother of the Ashram lives, the Post Office and a few more buildings were subjected to pillage, arson and bestial acts of attack.

At a later stage, the Ashramites mobilised themselves and defended their other properties and made the goondas take to flight. The MSP platoons started shooting at this unruly and barbarous gangsters from about 9-30 P.M. and this went on in different areas till about 11 P.M.

The whole town looked almost ablaze and the people were anxious with agony and distress, afraid every minute that their properties would be subjected to acts of vandalism. This barbarous orgy vividly brought to the minds of the people a similar operation conducted by the same goondas of Goubert on January 14, 1950 against those who fought for national liberation.

The government has now rounded up a large number of municipal employees, maistries and rickshaw pullers. But the real culprit remains scot-free.

It still remains to be seen what the government propose to do as regards the anti-national reactionary forces in the country.

RSS Mouthpiece Talks Incendiarism

IT is good that the RSS-Jan Sangh tar campaign against signboards in the capital misfired.

The people in the capital saw the retaliatory spirit in which the move was undertaken although the Sangh provocateurs mouthed patriotic slogans ("English Never") to cover their real motive.

The public disapproval was sensed and the vandals beat a hasty retreat.

The real motive of the Sangh move was to strike a blow at national unity and sow disruption on a new front which they feel is pregnant with new possibilities for them.

That is why while every patriot in the country felt the need to do sober rethinking on the language issue after the deeply disturbing events in the South and elsewhere, the Sangh clamoured for overt action.

Now, when the people see the tarred signs on the roads in the capital, they remark: "There, see the blackened faces of the Jan Sanghis!"

But the danger from these rowdy elements has not passed. They continue to speak in the most intemperate language on an issue involving the patriotic unity of all Indians.

Typical is an editorial of the PANCHJANYA, their Hindi mouthpiece in Lucknow. Titled: Do not miscon-

strue our patience for weakness, it opens with the following words:

"There should be a limit to truculence. If an attempt is made to cross this limit, it can exhaust the patience of even the most thoughtful people. And their popular anger assumes the proportions of such a mighty deluge that it sweeps all things—good or bad—before it."

After referring to the events in Tamilnad, the editorial says:

"The nationalist elements (11) could also reply in the same terms. They could have gone even one better in their fit for fat. If a demonstration of 20,000 people can be engineered in Madras, then a counter-demonstration of 20 lakhs people could also be staged in other parts of the country."

"If terror and goondaim are the measure of strength, then there could be such a violent demonstration, of that too which could burn to ashes the selfish anti-national elements so that they could never rise again."

The editorial ends with a warning to the government not to yield to "rowdism".

If the Congress rulers show weakness "and wish to try the restraint of the nationalist elements then they should know once for all that our restraint and patience are bound to assume dauntless militancy".

-GARUDA



BOMBAY TEXTILE WORKERS GIVE STRIKE NOTICE

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: The Mumbai Gimi Kamgar Union has served notice on the textile millowners that unless the workers received the remaining part of their bonus for 1963 by March 11, they would resort to a token one-day strike on March 12.

THE token strike will be only the beginning. The struggle for bonus will be continued till the workers get their due share, the MGKU leaders have warned the millowners.

The MGKU had demanded bonus equivalent to 25 per cent of the wages for the year 1963. An agitation was launched in the second half of 1964 and the workers were preparing for a strike.

On the intervention of the state government the millowners paid a first instalment of bonus at four per cent of the wages including dearness allowance on the eve of Diwali and thereby averted the strike.

The workers are now demanding the remaining bonus for the year 1963. The government had then promised to settle the issue "immediately thereafter" but has not done anything in the matter.

The role of the INTUC is quite dubious on the bonus issue. The INTUC union, Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh

is still preaching the Prime Minister's 'assurance' that even while the Bonus Commission report is implemented, the old dispensation will continue.

However, when the RMMS leaders sought negotiations with the millowners, they were curtly refused. The millowners are awaiting the parliamentary decision on the Bonus Commission recommendations.

It is in this background that the workers have moved into action under the leadership of the Gimi Kamgar Union, which was the pioneer force behind the realisation of the first instalment of bonus in November last.

The executive committee of the MGKU gave an ultimatum to the millowners on February 21 that the workers should get the remaining bonus before the Holi celebrations.

Workers are preparing for the strike enthusiastically. Already several meetings and rallies have been held.

SERIOUS BUNGLING IN COALMINES PF SCHEME

Vittal Rao Demands Thorough Enquiry

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: T. B. Vittal Rao, president of the All India Mine Workers Federation has demanded a thorough enquiry into the working of the Coal Mines Provident Fund Scheme which covers more than four lakh workers employed in the 1258 collieries in the country.

HE has accused the employers of violating many of provisions of the scheme and of delaying payments to the workers under the scheme.

In a statement, Vittal Rao says:

Under the scheme provident fund is recovered at eight per cent on the total emoluments. During 1963-64 total contributions recovered from the members amounted to Rs. 6.68 crores.

The investment of the fund stood at Rs. 42.31 crores on March 31, 1964.

The work in the central office at Dhanbad was decentralised and three regional offices were opened at Asansol, Chindus and Kothagudem. Opening of more offices in different regions is under consideration.

The decentralisation scheme has helped in reducing the strain on the central office at Dhanbad and also helped to maintain closer contacts with the workers employed in coal mines of different regions.

This organisation, dealing with

Mysore NGOs Stage Massive Protest March

From G. S. SATYANARAYANA

BANGALORE: The Mysore government employees staged a mammoth demonstration on February 26 in support of their demand for appointment of a pay commission and enhancement of dearness allowance to bring it on par with the central government employees.

It was the biggest ever demonstration that Bangalore has seen. More than 25 thousand government and semi-government employees took part in the procession which wound through a two-mile route in the city.

A view of the massive demonstration of NGOs in Bangalore on February 26



Earlier for three days the NGOs wore badges with the inscription "Joint Council of Action of NGOs—Demands Day February 25, 26 and 27."

Second Stage

The next stage of the campaign was the silent demonstration by the NGOs on March 4 and 5 during lunch hours before their offices.

The demonstration took the NGOs' struggle in Mysore for better conditions to a still higher stage, signifying the second stage of the campaign.

The demonstration on February 26 was rounded off by a public meeting addressed by the NGO leaders.

Speaking at the meeting, Mary Devasia, president of the NGOs Association, asked the government to stop talking about "sympathy" to its employees. "Mere sympathy will not do because it would not quieten our crying children; it will not fill our empty stomachs", she said.

The demonstration was an expression of supreme confidence in the NGOs Association leadership by the employees. Only a few days back the government had conspired to effect a coup d'etat against Mary Devasia but miserably failed in its ignominious plans.

Sinister Move

The secretary of the Association has since handed over the charge of office to Mary Devasia and quit the place.

Reports from all parts of the state show that as many as 1,50,000 "protest money orders" were sent to the Chief Minister. The employees had returned, on the call of the Association, the paltry amount which the government conceded to them in the face of the joint struggle of the NGOs.

However, nothing came out of the deputation except that a decision of the action council that it would not initiate any talks with the government on its own was flouted.

The government fulfilled its own role in the conspiracy too. Health Minister Nagappa Alva took upon himself to accuse Mary Devasia of being a Communist and trade unionist.

Basing themselves on this charge, nine members of the executive committee (total strength 31) asked her to resign from presidentship of the Association.

Then on February 14, the secretary of the Association,

But all the plots of the anti-employee elements misfired when Mary Devasia issued a statement denying that she had resigned from Presidentship and that the executive committee had elected another gentleman as president.

The sumtotal result of all this was the loss of face suffered by the nine members of the executive who wanted Mary Devasia to resign. They are still enjoying holidays, being unable to show their face to the colleagues in office.

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ASPECTS OF CPI PROGRAMME—IV

CLASS CHARACTER OF INDIAN STATE POWER

One of the crucial problems confronting the revolutionary movement in any country is the question of the class character of the state, the problem of which class or section of a class is in power. This is not an academic question though an answer to it requires deep study and analysis.

A correct solution of this problem is essential for the proper orientation of the revolutionary movement, for a proper perspective for its advance and for a proper anticipation of basic trends of economic and political trends.

Hence, the CPI had long engaged in study and debate of this question and the present formulations of the Programme represent the conclusion of long collective discussion.

It holds that the present Indian state is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole. The term national bourgeoisie covers all sections of the capitalist class in India. It includes all strata of the

bourgeoisie—big, middle and small; monopoly as well as non-monopoly. It covers both the urban and the rural bourgeois groups.

It is this heterogeneous class which is in power and which upholds the capitalist path of development for the Indian economy.

This formation of the Programme is opposed to certain other appraisals.

For example, there is the view that the Indian state is a bourgeois-landlord state. Such a view would imply a sharing of power between the bourgeoisie and the feudal and semi-feudal landlords.

This consequently would mean that the basic policy of the Indian state would be aimed at preserving and ex-

ence on the policies of the state as a whole, especially in the field of agrarian relations.

Another controversy clinched by the Programme is whether the big or the monopoly bourgeoisie dominates the state or, at least, plays the leading role in it. The Programme gives an unequivocal answer in the negative.

It cannot be said, at the present time, that the Indian state is a state of the monopoly bourgeoisie or led by it. But this section of the bourgeoisie exerts considerable influence in the formation and exercise of governmental power, while being a component part of the ruling class as a whole.

As we shall see towards the end of this article, the fact that the state power is in the hands of the national bourgeoisie as a whole and that its mono-

So also is the vacillating ally of the working class in this stage of the revolution i.e., the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie.

This is a specific feature of the Indian situation to which the Programme of the CPI draws attention.

Form of Class Rule

The form of state power is another important question into which the Programme goes. This again is a highly specific feature of the Indian scene which any serious revolutionary has to take note of.

The form of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie is that of a parliamentary democracy.

The working class is far from indifferent to the ques-

by MOHIT SEN

tion of the form of state power. An authoritarian, fascist or semi-fascist, militarist regime could also be the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie.

But such a form of state power places far bigger obstacles and difficulties in the way of the working class as it goes ahead to mobilise the forces of the national democratic revolution.

The existence of a parliamentary democracy and civil liberties makes the fulfilment of this task somewhat less difficult.

The right to organise unions, to hold meetings and demonstrations, to go on strike, to publish papers, to send representatives to the assemblies and Parliament, to intervene in matters of policy, to mobilise to change policies in favour of the people—all these are part and parcel of the advantages of parliamentary democracy for the mass revolutionary movement.

It is for these reasons that the CPI Programme considers that the present form of state power represents a historic advance for the people of India.

It considers that new possibilities exist for popular intervention in matters of state policy.

Public Sector

Simultaneously however, certain developments have taken place contrary to the desire of the monopolists with their policy of collaboration with the western imperialists.

The public sector has developed in the field of industry and trade and finance, not merely in the field of transport and power. It has developed largely through collaboration with the socialist countries, with whom trade relations have also expanded considerably.

It cannot be precluded that, under heavy mass pressure, there will be further extension of the state sector more directly in the fields which are the exclusive preserve of the monopolists.

The non-monopoly bourgeoisie has also grown in this period in the field of industry, apart from trade and commerce. It has expanded both quantitatively and qualitatively, partially assisted by the public sector and socialist aid.

At the same time, all its needs have been far from met and its conflict with the monopoly bourgeoisie has begun to sharpen.

Thus, the state power in India today is that of a heterogeneous bourgeoisie. The enemy of the national democratic revolution i.e., the monopoly bourgeoisie, is an important part of the class in power.

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HOUSING : 74 Million Families Live in Slums and Huts

THE Union Works and Housing Minister, Meher Chand Khanna is a dynamic person. And his dynamism is fully reflected in the government building boom currently on in the capital.

The capital's skyline is changing at such a rapid pace that people visiting New Delhi with a gap of some months might even find it hard to recognise. Huge multi-storied buildings are coming up almost like mushrooms in and around New Delhi.

But what are these buildings? Do they ease the housing shortage in the capital in any appreciable manner? Do they give some relief to the hardpressed middle income groups in finding out a roof to sleep under?

The answer is a definite "no".

These huge structures are meant mostly to house government offices, which are expanding directly in proportion to the growth in bureaucracy.

The government is also building mansions to house the privileged. Only last month, the hostel for Members of Parliament, Vithalbat Patel House, was opened by the President. The hostel, built at a cost of Rs. 80 lakhs even boasts of the largest club building in the capital.

It was a few weeks back that a luxurious hostel for the External Affairs Ministry was completed. And a few months earlier, a whole row of ITALIAN-STYLE bungalows had come up on Shahjahan Road to house the high-paid IAS bureaucrats in the government.

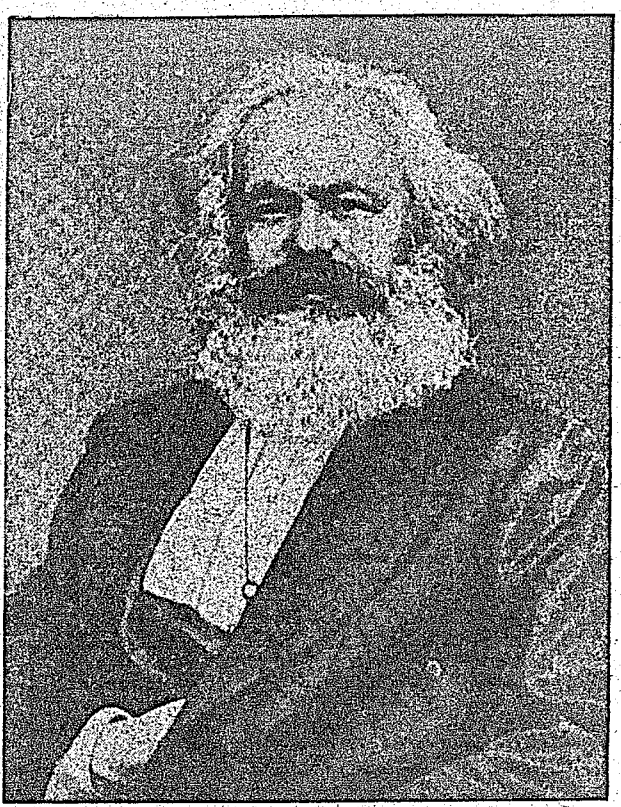
Compared to this, the low-paid employees of the government have to go hunting for a house. Even if they are lucky enough to locate some dwelling place they are com-

families in urban areas live in slum conditions or in ramshackle structures or in overcrowded dwellings. This constitutes as much as 61 per cent of the urban population in the country.

But worse still are the conditions in which people in the rural areas live. As many as 62.5 million families in the rural areas live in substandard huts and mudholes. This constitutes 82 per cent of the rural population.

The growing trend of urbanisation in the country has put high pressure on the limited housing facilities in the towns. The fast pace at which industrialisation is taking place makes the problem more acute.

The result is that not only is there overcrowding in the towns but the rents of whatever housing units are available have risen sharply, particularly in metropolitan cities like Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta.



March 14—82nd anniversary of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, the great genius of mankind.

By Pauly V. Parakal

pelled to shell out a large part of their earnings as rent.

A recent survey had shown that while there were hardly any IAS, Class I and II officers who have not got government accommodation at cheap rents, there were as many as 60 thousand low-paid government employees still on the waiting lists for two-room tenements to live in.

What is the state of housing in the country as a whole? How do our people live and what is the progress of housing in the Five Year Plans?

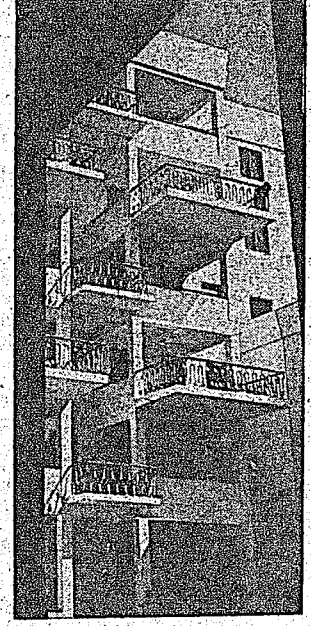
Even official estimates have admitted that about 11.5 million

The performance on the housing front in the Third Plan has been dismal. Even official circles do not claim that more than 60 per cent of the targets would be realised.

Out of an allocation of Rs. 122 crores in the Third Plan, the estimates are that only about Rs. 96 crores would be spent. Even this spending is not uniform throughout the country.

The states sector had an allocation of Rs. 80 crores out of which only Rs. 48 crores would be spent by the end of the Third Plan period.

This huge gap even in the



The newly-built luxury hostel for MPs looms high above while below a slum clearance operation is in progress. The slum dwellers get just 25 square yards of land in far outlying areas, but no other assistance in putting up a house when they are thrown out.



spending target in the states sector is offset to a certain extent by the higher spending rate in the central sector. There, against a provision of Rs. 42 crores, the expenditure is expected to be of the order of Rs. 48 crores.

The allocation in the central sector is claimed to be mainly for slum clearance, but the actual performance is certainly not something about which the government can be proud of. Most of the money is being spent on the luxury hostels and hotels which the Housing Ministry seems to be currently fascinated in.

Progress in the subsidised industrial housing scheme has also been very slack. So far only about one-and-a-half lakh housing units have been built under the scheme.

The employers have been seeking to avoid the responsibility of building houses for their employees under various pretexts, the chief among them being scarcity of building materials. This may sound plausible but not convincing enough to the workers.

The government, instead of bringing forward legislation for compulsory provision of housing for workers, is bent on giving more and more incentives to the

employers to build houses though all these have so far proved futile.

Even at the last conference of housing ministers (held at Chandigarh in December) the stress was on giving more grants and loans to the employers for housing projects.

With all these, the government's plans are only for building about one-and-a-half lakh housing units more during the Fourth Plan—a very low target compared to the nature of the problem.

The Housing Ministry had asked for an allocation of Rs. 700 crores for housing in the Fourth Plan, but by present indications it is likely to get only about Rs. 500 crores. This is three times the outlay in the Third Plan.

Spending more money however is not going to improve the situation. It needs a complete reorientation in the government's policies. Stress should be on building low-cost houses and making them available to the workers and middle class employees.

The government must put a full stop to building of offices and houses for officers with a salary above, say, Rs. 1,000 a month.

ANOTHER PPH TITLE

By K. P. Karumakaran

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN INDIAN POLITICS

(Price: Rs. 12.50)

Write To
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi

U.P. TEACHERS TO BOYCOTT EXAMS

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: With the return of the teachers representatives from New Delhi empty-handed, all is set for the trial of strength between teachers and the government in Uttar Pradesh.

On March 11 begin the high school and intermediate board examinations in the state which the teachers are refusing to supervise as a form of struggle in support of their demands.

The government has announced its decision to conduct the examinations "come what may". Elaborate police precautions are also being made by the government.

The teachers' cause has received wide support in the state. Not only the secondary teachers, but college teachers as well have announced their decision to boycott the examinations.

The teachers of the affiliated colleges of the Lucknow University announced their decision to boycott the university examinations. The teachers of the affiliated and associated colleges of the Agra University have already declared their intention to do so.

The teachers are still prepared to call off their agitation if the government were prepared to concede their eminently just demands. They have called for a meeting of the action committee on March 9 to discuss the Prime Minister's appeal.

The state government has been expressing helplessness

in meeting their demand for pay revision on the plea of lack of funds. It is for the centre to help it in meeting the teachers' demands, according to the state government.

It is to pursue this angle of the issue that the teachers' representatives went to Delhi. But they could not get any firm answer from the central authorities either regarding their demand for pay revision.

Meanwhile preparations are going ahead for the boycott. The movement of the fifty thousand teachers has spread to every nook and corner of the state.

In various places the teachers, both men and women, have come out in local demonstrations in support of their demands. Never before the teachers of the state moved on this scale and with such depth of feeling.

It must be considered as a measure of their success and the justness of their demands that the teachers are getting support of all sections of the people and practically all the political parties of the state, barring the ruling party.

Quite a few Congressmen too have spoken out in support of the utter justice of the teachers' demands. Some

of them have even criticised the handling of the situation by Education Minister Kalash Prakash who is a key Gupta-man.

The students and their various organisations, including the UP Students Federation, have declared whole-hearted support to the teachers.

The Communist Party has urged the government to avert the "unprecedented educational crisis" and said that there is still time for the government to abandon its misguided and misdirected obduracy and to save the state from the grim crisis which, if it comes, may not be confined to teachers, as things are.

The PSP and the SP have also backed up the just cause of the teachers. The Jan Sangh too is supporting, while trying to take advantage of the unhappy crisis for its own nefarious ends.

The government's reply to these counsels of good sense was to enlist the support of the principals and heads of educational institutions to act as "blacklegs" as the UPTUC has described the move.

Now the principals and heads of educational institutions have also, after holding their meetings, notified the government that, without the support of their staff, they will not be able to conduct the examinations.

Under instructions from the government, the District Magistrates have called meet-

ings of the Principals, heads of institutions and at many places, of managers of these bodies and tried to bring pressure on them to fight the teachers' strike.

There are reports that at several places teachers were sought to be intimidated by the authorities. But, the government's move has met with dismal failure. Their attempt to create bad blood between the teachers of the primary and secondary schools has also ignominiously failed.

In fact, in places like Lucknow there have been noisy scenes in these meetings called by the authorities and the irate heads of institutions have asked the authorities to take back the examination papers which they had been given.

The result is that the district magistrates have now taken back the examination papers in a large number of districts from the principals and sealed them in the local treasuries!

The government, led by the nose by the most incompetent bureaucracy, is oblivious of the gravity of the situation. With perfect non-chalance official spokesmen recently declared that whatever the teachers did, the examinations would be held exactly as planned!

When asked by pressmen what arrangements they had made for them, the spokesmen declared that they could not divulge them at the moment! Pressmen naturally wondered and asked whether the services of the DIR and the Provincial Armed Constabulary would be employed for the purpose.

Large number of policemen are already posted in the school compounds, but the government claims that it has taken "only the normal precautions" at the time of examinations!

Nationwide Struggle of LIC Staff

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: Eleven thousand Class I and Class II officers of the Life Insurance Corporation are currently engaged in an agitation to realise their very just demands.

The first part of their agitation consisted of demonstrations and squatting in front of the LIC offices all over the country.

The second stage was reached when mass hunger strikes were held in front of the LIC offices on March 6.

The struggle will enter the third stage on March 9 when the Class I officers will observe a pen-down strike and the Class II development officers will go on a "No New Business Campaign".

This campaign means that the development officers will cease canvassing for new business and will not sell any policies from that date.

The grievances of the officers of the LIC are just ordinary demands voiced everywhere by the toiling masses. The designation of Class I and Class II are only nominal in their case.

Even the Class I officers of the LIC begin with a salary scale starting from Rs. 300 or so. Many of them have been promoted from lower grades.

As for the Class II development officers, the present rule is that increment in their salaries is dependent solely on their individual performance in bringing in new business.

The movement of the LIC officers is led by the two organisations of the employees: the All India Federation of Class I officers Associations and the National Federation of Insurance Field Workers of India.

The demands of the LIC officers are:

- ★ Revision of pay scales to meet the high cost of living;
- ★ Linking dearness allowance with a correct consumer price index;
- ★ Housing facilities or grant of house rent allowance in lieu thereof;
- ★ Cash bonus every year to the employees.

The Class I employees demand implementation of the decision of the board of directors of the LIC to revise their service conditions.

The Class II development officers also demand that they should get regular increments irrespective of the

individual performance of the development officers.

The great success of the LIC officers' movement has caused some anxiety in official circles who are also worried over the impact of the "No New Business Campaign" being launched by the development officers.

To a certain extent, a reflection of this was to be seen in the statement which Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari made in Parliament on March 5, that is, on the eve of the countrywide hungerstrike action.

TTK's Statement

Krishnamachari wanted the employees to withdraw their agitation, but he had nothing concrete to offer them.

As far as the Class I officers were concerned, the question of giving them facilities like higher medical benefits, "is engaging the Corporation's attention", he said.

And as for the development officers' demand for regular increments, its acceptance "would not be in the interests of the Corporation and its policy holders".

The best that Krishnamachari offered was that the employees should discuss their demands with C.D. Pande, the newly appointed chairman of the LIC, who "would be sympathetic and appreciate the point of view of the employees".

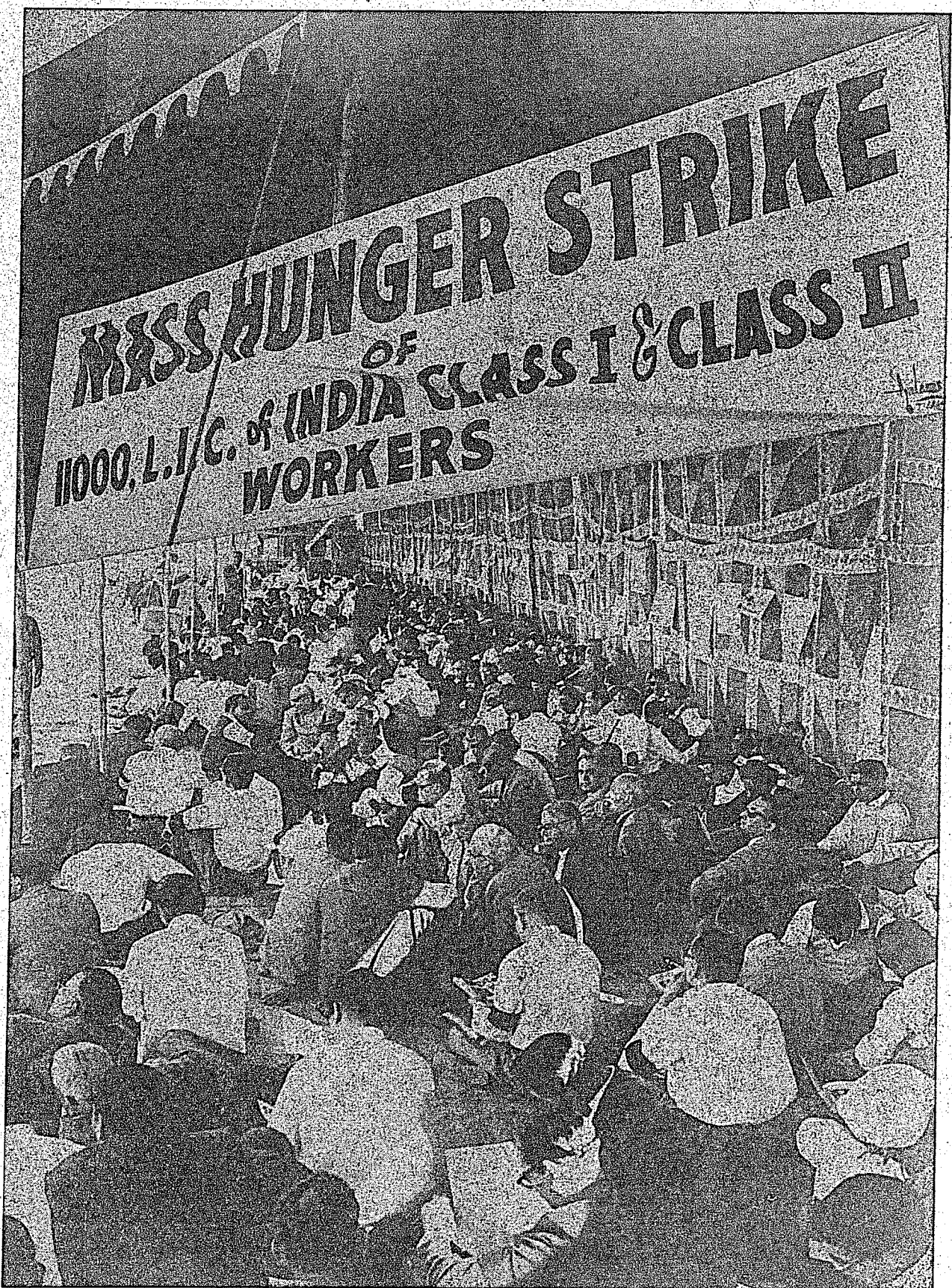
That, interestingly, is an admission of the fact that the LIC authorities had not been appreciative of the employees' point of view till now. What is in store is yet to be seen.

Meanwhile, the hungerstrike action of the LIC employees was a great success all over the country. Following are reports from the main centres:

IN DELHI

IN DELHI about five hundred officials of the Life Insurance Corporation went on a 24-hour mass fast in front of the LIC zonal offices on Asaf Ali Road in New Delhi.

Both the development officers and the Class I officers took part in the mass satyagraha which began on Saturday afternoon and ended on Sunday afternoon.



LIC Staff in Delhi on Hungerstrike (Photo: VIRENDRA, KUMAR)

Earlier, the development officers had observed a sit-down strike in front of the LIC offices for four days beginning March 2.

On March 8 the LIC employees took out a procession to the house of Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari to present a memorandum on their demands.

The next stage of the struggle begins on March 9 when the development officers will stop bringing in new business for the Life Insurance Corporation.

Simultaneously, the Class I officers will begin a pen-down strike in support of their demands.

IN BOMBAY

IN BOMBAY the agitation of the Life Insur-

ance Corporation began on March 4 with about 350 development officers squatting before the LIC's head offices for three hours.

The employees repeated this sit-down strike on March 5 before the LIC headquarters.

On March 6, they were joined by the Class I officers in the struggle. They observed a 24-hour mass hunger strike in front of the Yagashkema.

About 600 employees of the LIC, stationed in Bombay and belonging to these two categories participated in the hungerstrike action.

On March 9, the Class I officers are to begin a pen-down strike while the development officers will cease selling policies, thereby

bringing about a suspension of all business for the LIC.

Despite the prospect of all its activities coming to a standstill, it is intriguing to note that the LIC authorities have still not shown any inclination to bring about a settlement of the issue.

IN CALCUTTA

IN CALCUTTA the agitation programme of the Life Insurance Corporation employees was elaborately drawn up.

The programme began on March 1 and will continue till a satisfactory settlement is reached in the dispute between the officers of the LIC and the authorities.

For the first three days the programme consisted of demonstrations before the zonal and divisional offices of the Corporation.

Then followed a whole-day squatting before all the branch offices of the LIC in the city on March 5.

On March 6 there was mass hunger strike in front of the Hindustan Buildings.

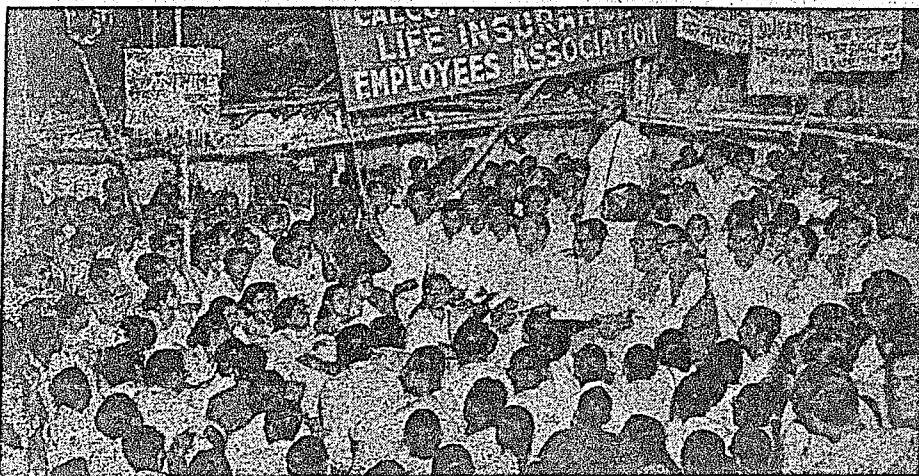
In the mass fasting, the Class I officers of the LIC also joined in. These officers are also agitating for their separate demands. The earlier programme was conducted by the development officers.

There was a trade union convention in Calcutta on March 8 to express solidarity with the LIC employees and their struggle.

This was only natural since only a week back the LIC employees themselves had expressed solidarity with another section of the people who were struggling to realise their demands—the teachers.



Support to the West Bengal teachers' struggle was expressed by workers and other employees. (Photos: SHAMBHU BANERJEE)



W. Bengal Teachers Call Off Agitation

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA: The seventeen-day cease-work and squatting agitation of the secondary teachers of West Bengal was called off by the executive committee of the All Bengal Teachers' Association on March 7 following talks between teachers' representatives and the Education Minister.

A resolution passed by the executive committee said that the cease-work movement had forced the government to

sanction equal and unconditional dearness allowance to all employees of secondary schools at a flat rate of Rs. 10 with effect from April 1965.

The movement had created sufficient impact on the government and made it assure that the question of increments to experienced teachers, revision of pay scales of non-teaching staff and grants to unaided schools would be examined, the resolution said.

The teachers are not fully satisfied with the government's attitude, but they were withdrawing the agitation so that the examinations could be held on the scheduled date.

The teachers could not forget their responsibility to the students: thousands of whom are to appear for their school final examinations on March 15, and hence they are withdrawing the agitation.

It accused the government of not having done what it had actually promised to do when the negotiations were held.

It also accused the government of following an anti-educational policy by closing down the schools for a fortnight just because the teachers had started an agitation.

FROM LITTLE GROUPS TO A VAST MOVEMENT

The city of Ludhiana in Punjab is bustling with excitement: it is to play host to the Seventh National Conference of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society (ISCUS), which takes place this weekend from March 12 to 14. The organisers are confident—and they have every reason for their confidence—that this conference will be several times as big as any previous conference of the society.

BIG in what sense? The answer is: big in every sense.

There will be many times more delegates and observers than at any previous conference; the support and participation of the masses will be much greater; the association of nationally known personalities is on a scale which is considerably higher than ever before; the entire conference is far, far broader than any previous ISCUS conference.

Where there were a hundred delegates and observers at the last conference, there will be at least five hundred this time. This one fact speaks volumes.

Growth of ISCUS

In the secretary's report, an indication of the growth of the society is given:

★ Sixty new branches have been opened since the last conference in April 1963—an increase of nearly 40 per cent over the last figure.

★ Between 1961 and 1965, the number of branches has grown from 80 to 215, an increase of nearly 180 per cent.

But these figures do not by any means give a real picture of the qualitative change which has come about in the work for Indo-Soviet friendship.

This is a story which cannot be told in dull statistics: for it is the story of a stream which has flown steadily onward, becoming at each stage not merely larger, but changing its character from a stream to a river and then from a river to an ocean.

You cannot say the stream has become 'bigger', for it has changed its entire character and is no longer a stream, but an ocean.

Yes, this is the story of the Indo-Soviet friendship organisation in this country. The ISCUS is no longer the sum-total of a number of groups, some small, some larger, that it has been till now.

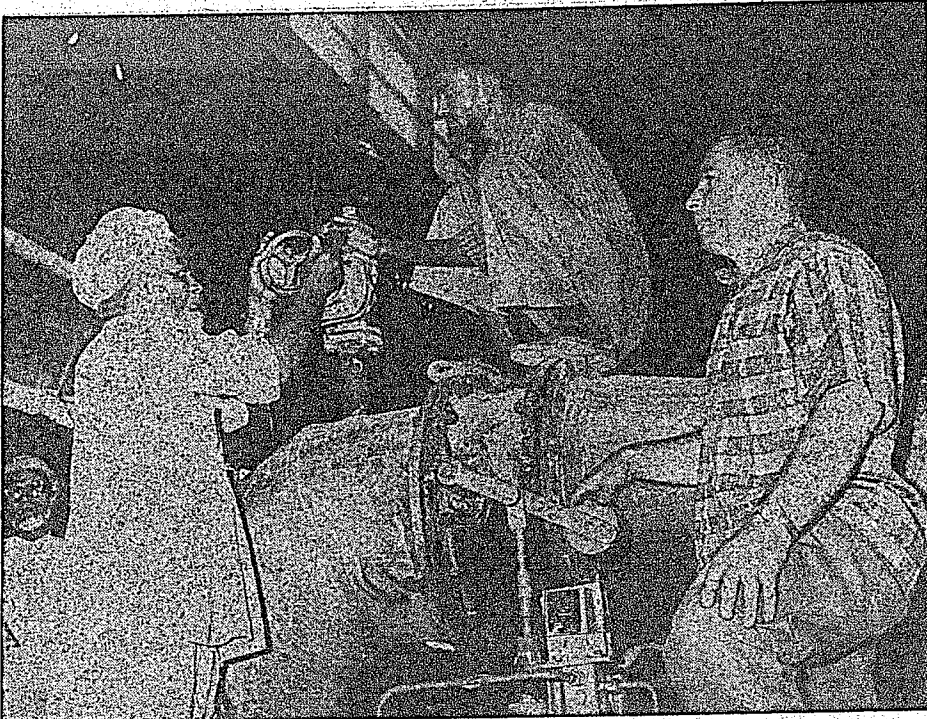
And it is no longer possible to go on measuring its strength merely by adding together these groups or branches.

ISCUS has become a MOVEMENT—a movement whose influence and significance goes far beyond that of the few thousand who pay its one rupee annual membership fee, or that of the few lakhs who attend the film shows or exhibitions or other functions organised by it every year.

This is a reality, which the coming national conference in Ludhiana must recognise, and having recognised it, take steps to reorientate its organisation

and pattern of work as to be able to discharge the responsibilities which fall on it as a consequence.

Prime Minister Nehru in his message to the last ISCUS na-



A Soviet technician helping Indian technicians with know-how in setting up an industrial plant.

tional conference in 1963 had said:

"I think that it is highly important from the point of view of India and the Soviet Union that our contacts and relations should be close, friendly and co-operative. I am also convinced that from the larger point of view of international affairs, this is necessary."

By this time (1963) Indo-Soviet friendship had come to be recognised by the widest national

democratic forces in the country, as being a national (and international) necessity.

Indo-Soviet friendship had become an essential plank of India's foreign policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. Indo-Soviet friendship had become a vital sine qua non of the policy of planned economic independence.

The right reactionary forces in the country understand fully well that Indo-Soviet friendship is a

support for Indo-Soviet friendship and therefore, they must be as much part of the friendship movement as those who are champions of the socialist system itself.

There are a multitude of organisations and forces in the country who act for Indo-Soviet friendship in their own way, outside the ISCUS activities.

Quite obviously the friendship movement, being a movement, will work in a vast number of

Tempestuous Growth Of The Indo-Soviet Cultural Society



shield for the positive basic policies of the country, which they wish to subvert. That is why this friendship is constantly under attack by reaction and its imperialist patrons.

ISCUS has now to bring together under and round its banner the hundreds of millions in this country, who understand the necessity for Indo-Soviet friendship for India's progress and the defence of India's sovereignty.

New Tasks

In their approach to the Soviet Union, these supporters of Indo-Soviet friendship have a multitude of differences: there are a very large number who have doubts and criticisms about one or other aspect of Soviet policy.

But these doubts and criticisms do not make them any the less passionate in their

ways, through a large number of different platforms and mass organisations, of cultural bodies etc.

ISCUS in 1965 has no longer to "make a case" for Indo-Soviet friendship. That case is already made. It has to demonstrate in all possible ways the urgent necessity of this friendship for India's own national interests in all fields.

It has to act as the inspirer of actions for friendship, the builders of closer personal bridges between different sections of our people and their opposite members in the Soviet Union.

The national conference at Ludhiana must give flesh and blood to the simple slogan—ISCUS HAS BECOME A MOVEMENT—and work out new organisational methods, new programmes of work consonant with the new character, duties and tasks of the friendship organisation.

by
ROMESH CHANDRA

LETTERS

Hoyle-Narlikar Theory

THE new theory of gravitation propounded jointly by Fred Hoyle and Jayant Vishnu Narlikar has created a great stir in the scientific world.

Narlikar is now on a visit to India and the new theory has evinced much interest in the scientific circles in this country at present.

In order to understand the significance of the new theory, it is necessary to compare this theory with Newtonian law of gravitation and Einstein's general theory of relativity.

According to the Newtonian concept, two objects attract each other with a force directly proportional to their masses and inversely proportional to the square of their distance.

In the well-known story of the falling apple, Newton explained that the fall of the apple is due to the great force exerted by the huge mass of the earth on the mass of the apple.

It was also thought that the weight of an object decreases as it is removed farther from the earth, but its mass remains constant and the mass of an object is its intrinsic property. But Einstein changed this notion.

According to the law of inter-connection of mass and energy advanced by the great physicist, the mass of a body is always connected with a corresponding quantity of energy.

This dependence can be established when a body travels at a velocity close to that of light (elementary particles possess such velocities during nuclear transformations), when the increase of its mass becomes appreciable.

That the mass changes depending on velocity has been corroborated experimentally. It has been established that mass is a measure of motion. The above law of Einstein reveals the direct connection and unity of matter and motion.

Einstein's theory of relativity is the modern theory of space and time in natural science, which proves that gravitational force is not the property of matter, and that this force is due to change or "tension" produced in space and time arising out of presence of matter.

The theory unravels the organic connection of space and time both with each other as well as with matter in motion.

It shows that at speeds close to that of light, the length of a moving body compared to a body in a state of rest decreases as the speed increases.

Time also does not remain invariable. With the increase in speed the course of time is slowed down.

These conclusions which follow from the theory of relativity have been verified experimentally. For example, the life of the 'meson' (an elementary particle arising during the fission of an atomic nucleus) is very short, but if its speed is increased, the life-time of the 'meson' is lengthened.

According to the theory of relativity, space and time change not by themselves but in inseparable interconnection. This connection is so firm that they form an unbreakable whole and time acquires the role of a fourth dimension of space.

The organic connection of space and time has been expressed

mathematically by the theory of relativity.

It has been demonstrated by the 'general theory of relativity' that the properties of space and time also depend on the presence of masses of matter. Bodies possessing a huge mass and great force of gravity produce a change, or what physics calls a 'curvature' in space near them. Time also changes correspondingly and it slows down.

The conclusions of the theory of relativity may at first appear to be opposed to our customary notions about the properties of space and time. But they are true as they have been confirmed by scientific experiments.

The Hoyle-Narlikar theory of gravitation calculates the force exerted on a body not only by the other nearest body, but by all bodies of the universe.

The theory explains that when an apple falls from the tree, it is acted upon not only by the force of attraction of the earth, but also by the sun, other planets and other bodies of the universe. So there was as much possibility of the apple moving away from the earth as its falling towards the earth.

Newton did not take into consideration the force exerted by the bodies other than the earth and so he did not explain why the apple should not move away from the earth.

Hoyle-Narlikar theory rectifies this defect of calculation, basing their theory on the 'doctrine of universal connection', consciously or unconsciously.

The doctrine of universal connection follows from the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism.

According to this doctrine, the material universe is not only a developing, but also a connected, integrated whole.

All its objects and phenomena develop not of themselves, not in isolation, but in inseparable connection or unity with other objects and phenomena. Each of them acts on other objects and phenomena and itself is subjected to reciprocal influence.

In science, we find innumerable data, proving the interconnection and interconditioning of objects and phenomena.

For example, some elementary particles—for example, electrons, protons, neutrons—interacting with each other form atoms. But atoms also are not isolated; they enter into connections and form molecules and the latter in turn, form visible bodies.

The interaction of visible bodies has been proved by science.

Universal connection and interconditioning of objects and phenomena comprise an essential distinctive feature of the material universe.

Therefore, to gain real knowledge of an object, it is necessary to study all its aspects and conditions. Study of the world as an integral connected whole, examination of the universal connections of things is an important task of scientists and philosophers.

As dialectical materialism has been found to be true in theory and practice and as the Hoyle-Narlikar theory is in accordance with the correct philosophy of dialectical materialism, there is no doubt that the theory will be found to be true and accepted by all the scientists of the world.

A. K. NANDY

Jhumsri-Telavai

Patil's Inverted Logic To Raise Rail Fares

By Our Special Correspondent

S. K. Patil's imposition of a levy of Rs. 13.5 crores on passenger fares and Rs. 6.9 crores on freight rates in order to ensure a budget surplus of Rs. 29.24 crores has hardly a credible argument in its support.

THAT this was a wholly unnecessary exaction was pointed out by many members when the Railway budget was discussed in the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha recently.

Patil had argued that these impositions were necessary to meet at least in part the additional commitments arising out of the wage bill of railwaymen, educational concessions and other expenses.

This was, indeed, a stale argument. The fact is that the railways had "prepared themselves to move 17 million tonnes of more goods traffic in 1964-65 than in the previous year" but the extra traffic did not materialise to that extent owing to the "slackening of demand for transport". A fall of Rs. 24.50 crores is now estimated in goods traffic earnings which were placed at Rs. 432 crores in the last budget.

GAP IS SMALL

The passenger traffic, however, had shown a substantial rise and it is now estimated that this would fetch Rs. 200 crores as against the budgeted Rs. 184 crores. Thus the overall gap in the estimates would be about Rs. 8 crores.

The question that was asked was why the high-rated traffic is declining on the

profitability of the railway undertaking, it has also to be noted that the "net railway revenue" would be Rs. 145.14 crores in the budget estimates and this would have been Rs. 124.14 crores even if the new levies were not imposed.

Although the large allocations out of the net revenues to the general exchequer are made as per the recommendations of the Railway Convention Committee and approved by Parliament, it is open to question whether even when earnings are low for reasons beyond control, the contribution should remain at such high levels.

UNHEALTHY RIVALRY

A point which was stressed by several MPs in the course of the debate was that there should be proper coordination of various forms of inland transport.

The railways and the road transport services should, in fact, be complementary. But the situation as it exists today is that the goods transport on road which is almost exclusively in the private sector has an edge over the railways in the bid to get maximum high-rated traffic.

The low wages in the road transport sector is a factor which helps the unfair competition. Wage standardisation in road transport industry through a wage board would go a long way to end this unhealthy trend.

Railway Budget X'Rayed

railways and people prefer the road transport instead. Patil has now adjusted the freight rates to lure the high-rated traffic back to the railways and it is to be hoped that the situation may improve.

Again, the declining production in coal mines, with even the NCCD planning to close down mines, has affected the railway earnings considerably. The fault of the planners to realise the target of coal production led to under-utilisation of capacity of the railways. In September 1964, nearly 20,000 BG and 5,000 MG wagons a day remained unutilised.

The pertinent question that arises is: why the passengers and other railway users should be penalised because railway earnings have slackened by adverse economic conditions?

The Railway Minister's claim that the higher DA and cost of amenities for railwaymen have caused a rise in operational costs also lacks substance on another count.

S. K. Patil admitted in his budget speech that the productivity of the railwaymen has increased considerably and the number of workers employed on repair work in major workshops has come

greater hoax cannot be imagined.

The gross traffic receipts estimated for 1965-66 is Rs. 716 crores which is higher than the revised estimates by Rs. 76 crores. Minus the new imposition, the gross receipts would have been Rs. 695 crores—a rise of Rs. 19 crores over the previous year. The situation is therefore not so gloomy as to cause a major disaster if the fares and freights were not revised.

Moreover, it requires to be noted that the provision for depreciation is a highly notional figure, that this has gone up from Rs. 65 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 83 crores last year and Rs. 85 crores in the new budget.

REVENUE SURPLUS

The rationale behind this allocation requires to be more closely examined and as Ranen Sen (CPI) pointed out in the Lok Sabha, with the growing disinvestment and electrification, the incidence of depreciation as was on steam locomotives should now be much less. Again, when considering

Another point, on which considerable emphasis was laid by Members of Parliament was on railway safety. P. K. Kumaran (CPI) asked in the Rajya Sabha why a judicial probe into the Pamban bridge disaster was not ordered.

Kumarar cited instances of the callous disregard of railway bureaucracy to questions of safety and the overstrain put on employees, in gross violation of statutory enactments on hours of work, etc.

The unjust exploitation of casual labour on the railway was criticised by several MPs. These workers are paid less than half, and even one-third, of the minimum scales prescribed by the Pay Commission. In order to deny them security of employment, they are terminated from service a day before six months are completed and re-employed later. There are about five lakhs of them.

As for labour relations, as S. M. Banerjee pointed out, the railway workers who were victimised in connection with the 1960 strike are yet to be reinstated.

Pakistan Letter

PEKING GROOMS AYUB KHAN FOR 'ASIAN LEADERSHIP'

President Ayub Khan has started the current series of his foreign visits by a visit to Peking. He is the first head of state of Pakistan to tour that country, and according to Dawn a memorable and tumultuous welcome was accorded to him in Peking when he arrived there on March 2.

AYUB'S visit, the tumultuous welcome, his talks with the Chinese leaders and increasing trade and economic cooperation between the two countries—all this goes to show, that Pakistan and China have come much closer during the last two years, than they had ever been during the preceding ten years.

This Peking visit, is also significant, because after this Ayub Khan will be going to the Soviet Union and the United States. Pakistan's official circles and its press are not so enthusiastic however about the visit to Soviet Union. Dawn wrote on the eve of the President's departure for Peking:

"President Ayub's forthcoming visit to Peking will further consolidate the friendship between the two countries and at the same time, provide a practical illustration of the soundness of the basis of Pakistan's foreign policy. President Ayub's coming visit to China will also have an impact on the evolution of Asian unity and prosperity."

After emphasising the importance and far-reaching effects of this Peking visit Dawn is very cautious in its comments on Ayub's forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union. "Pakistan" it writes, "is also anxious to improve her relationship with the USSR and increase Soviet-Pakistan cooperation in as many fields as possible. However, the omens were none too propitious during the Khrushchov era, and it still remains to be seen, what the attitude and policies of his successors are where Pakistan is concerned."

In Peking, Ayub Khan and the Chinese leaders both emphasised that friendship between their two countries is not born of any expediency but constitutes their long-term policy. The visit is being presented to the people of Pakistan and to the countries of Asia and Africa as signifying a basic change in the foreign policy of Pakistan. But whether the growing friendship between these two countries is really the result of any change in Pakistan's foreign policy is to be decided on the basis of certain other important facts also.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, she is still a member of some of imperialism's aggressive military pacts, like the Seato and the Cento.

Pakistan has not officially condemned so far the recent air raids of the US against North Vietnam, though the people of Pakistan have voiced their strong protest against this aggression by holding meetings and demonstrations throughout the country.

Pakistan has never demanded the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam or Southeast Asia; on the other hand, whenever Pakistan has expressed her concern over the explosive situation in Southeast Asia, she has tried to raise the problem of "other areas of tension" and of "military assistance to India."

This seems to be an impor-

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

dollars during the next five years.

One more point to be noted is the recently developed economic cooperation between Pakistan and the other two Muslim members of the Cento Pact, Turkey and Iran. They have formed an organisation called "Regional Co-operation for Development (RCD)". Pakistan is trying to form such an organisation in Southeast Asia also and negotiations with Indonesia in this connection have advanced considerably. A delegation of Indonesian officials has visited Pakistan recently to finalise the collaboration treaty between the two countries. Pakistan is expecting the support and blessings of Peking for this and if possible she will try to bring Peking also in this collaboration.

Thus the growing friendship with China is becoming much more fruitful for Pakistan economically.

President Ayub is taking advantage of this to project himself as "the leader of the emerging forces of Asia and Africa", and to blackmail the West in order to

get more concessions from those quarters also.

In this context Dawn's comment is very significant that "the day is not far distant when, the bridge that has been built between Peking and Rawalpindi—on which the traffic of amity continues to grow—will be found helpful by even those who take a somewhat perverse and even derisive view now".

Thus this bridge of amity is not only bringing economic advantages to Pakistan but also giving an opportunity to Ayub to claim before his countrymen that he has become a "mediator and world leader".

Pakistan's success in these efforts can be gauged from a recent broadcast of the BBC in which it was said that Ayub Khan has taken over Mr. Nehru's role as Asia's leading neutralist!

The commentator, Richard Harris of the Times, said, "The visit of Pakistan's head of the state to the People's Republic of China vividly emphasised the almost complete turnabout that

has happened during the last two years".

Richard Harris went on to say that "there is no reason to doubt that Pakistan would maintain her ties with the West. But there is also no reason not to see that the wheel has turned in Asia and Ayub Khan has taken over the mantle of the late Indian leader".

Despite all this propaganda and loud proclamations of Pakistan's neutrality it is not very difficult to know in which direction the wheel has turned.

Elections—Third Phase

The third phase of Pakistan's so-called general elections will be completed on March 21, when, polling will take place for the elections to the National Assembly. Thirteen candidates have been elected unopposed and they all belong to the ruling party. This was brought about mostly by arbitrary rejection of opposition candidates' nomination papers.

For the remaining 143 seats there are 453 candidates of which 133 belong to ruling party. The number of COP (Combined Opposition Parties) and independent candidates is about 320. The election campaign is in full swing in both the wings and candidates are addressing meetings of the members of the electoral college, explaining their policy and programme.

The ruling party is again playing all the dirty tricks to

* ON PAGE 18

IMPERIALIST PLOT AGAINST CONGO

AS the struggle in the Congo becomes increasingly bitter with more and more Congolese patriots working and taking to arms against the hated regime of the puppet Tshombe, the Congolese central government in power entirely on the strength of imperialist aid and the open military intervention by its white mercenaries recruited from the United States, South Africa, Portuguese colonies, Belgium, West Germany etc.

While this illegal military intervention by foreign mercenaries with open participation of US, South African and South Rhodesian military planes using British, South African and Portuguese bases has been going on openly within the Congo for long in the past, this is now spilling over to territories outside the Congo as well.

In the adjacent Congo (Brazzaville) as long as the country was ruled by the imperialist stooge Fulbert Youlou, the country was regarded as a safe base for imperialism and the regime was patronised. However when in 1963 the Congolese patriots threw out the Youlou regime and established a government that took its natural place in the Organisation of African Unity the neo-colonialists and the monopolies flew into

rage and started calling it a "pro-Communist" regime.

The US and Belgian colonialists do not like the existence of a genuinely independent state so close to Tshombe's Leopoldville.

Similarly the Portuguese fascists do not wish to part with Kabinda which is wedged in between the two Congos and is a base of colonialism in that area.

The big monopolies which exploit the wealth of Katanga have drawn up a plan for an industrial complex in the seaport of Pointe-Noire to work the ore deposits of Katanga on the basis of the hydro-power resources of the Brazzaville Congo.

This is because it is becoming ever more difficult to take the plundered wealth of Katanga out of there in view of the growth of the insurrectionary movement in Angola and the establishment of the Republic of Zambia, through whose territory lies the way from Katanga to the Mozambique ports.

The Prime Minister of the Congo (Brazzaville) Pascal Lissouba, alleged recently that an agreement was reached between certain circles in Brussels, London and Lisbon during Tshombe's visit to Europe last November on "committing the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) to flame and sword".

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

A plan was afoot of liquidating the republic and making it an integral part of the Congo (Leopoldville), reorganised on a federal basis.

Since then plots have been engineered against the government, its leaders have been murdered and kidnapped and its territorial integrity constantly violated by military planes and armed gangs from Leopoldville.

Similarly in the other independent neighbouring country, Uganda, United States planes flown by Cuban counter-revolutionary pilots from Leopoldville bases have been bombing the border villages there.

All this has a sinister resemblance to the pattern of US activity in Southeast Asia where similar things have been happening in Cambodia for long.

PAKISTAN'S "LOVE" FOR ARAB WORLD

A so-called "argument" frequently resorted to by Pakistan to malign India among the Arab states is the alleged softness of the latter for Israel.

Indo-Arab solidarity rests firmly on the common policy of the two peoples of peace, non-

alignment and the struggle against colonialism and India's support for the Arab people's just struggle against the imperialist-created pocket of Israel.

It is interesting to note that Pakistan which claims to champion solidarity with the Arabs happens to be a member of military and other pacts with Iran and Turkey, both of whom not only have diplomatic relations with Israel but have flourishing trade and other relations with it as well.

Both politically and militarily both these countries have aligned themselves against the Arab countries on most of the vital issues affecting the area. The recent outburst of the Shah of Iran against President Nasser and the UAR has drawn justified protests from Arab quarters.

Be it the question of Israel or Cyprus or the politics of oil and the struggle against the western monopolies or the struggle for modernisation and against the relics of feudalism in their societies, these countries are certainly out of tune with the resurgence of Arab nationalism.

No wonder the Ayub dictatorship has found its natural allies in these countries.

—Baren Ray

Socialist World

Profit Motive In Socialist Economy

Bourgeois newspapers and various other agencies are carrying on a campaign for the last couple of years that socialist economy has failed and therefore the socialist countries are increasingly taking to the path of capitalist relations of production.

THEY particularly refer to the question of "profit"—a term now under use as an index in various industrial enterprises in the socialist countries.

Does this mean that in the Soviet Union capitalism is returning? Yes, according to the bourgeois propagandists, and also according to some ultra-revolutionary theoreticians of Marxist ideology.

But an analysis of genesis of the whole campaign will show that this is not the case and nothing of the kind of capitalism is being resurrected in the socialist countries.

The whole propaganda was touched off when an eminent Soviet economist, Prof. Liberman of Kharkov University of USSR in an article in PRAVDA (September 9, 1962) under the title "PLAN, PROFIT AND BONUSES" proposed a new method of calculating the progress of economic activity in the Soviet Union.

Later in November 1962 and also subsequently certain decisions were taken by the CPSU central committee making certain changes in management of national economy and for intensifying the

role of economic methods of influencing production.

Profit constitutes one of the planks of measurement for wage determination as well as planning of production, according to Prof. Liberman. It is not a new concept in the socialist economy. He pointed out that in the USSR the funds and the industrial growth resulted from the profits the national economy made. The growth of national economy in the USSR which today is 60 times larger compared to Czarist Russia became possible only by ploughing back the profits.

He added that denial of profit by socialism and recognition of profit by capitalism has never served as the feature distinguishing socialism from capitalism. The difference is in the way profit is formed, appropriated and used.

Prof. Liberman's view, which has since been debated in its implications, has been put on experimental basis already in many an enterprise. It has been held that profit—like money, wages and prices—is an essential part of any economy based on commodity production.

"OPERATION AYACUCHO"

IT was December 6, 1964. The still night was suddenly rent by an alarm signal all along the 29th kilometre on the southern part of the Pan-American highway, near Lima, capital of Peru.

A few minutes later, guns boomed, jet fighters whistled overhead, armoured cars sped along the highway and the area became the scene of a military exercise.

For three days and nights the joint forces of the United States, Peru, Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia and Paraguay practised along the pattern detailed out by the Pentagon bosses of a military manoeuvre under the code name "Operation Ayacucho."

The exercise had one basic aim: to bring into action the biggest concentration of land, sea and air forces ever seen in Latin America.

But what was the reason for this exercise? Though Pentagon hedged the issue, the army officials of other connected countries were more specific. General Ongania of Argentina described the exercise as elaboration of the method "of combating subversive activities." Colombia's General Fajardo said that it was largely concerned with "plans for fighting revolutionary uprisings," and so on.

The whole show of armed might and practice to perfect the assault drive of

combined forces were directed against the liberation movements now raging in these countries.

The local regimes at the instance of the Pentagon are coming down heavily against any sort of expression for democratic liberties.

For example, a few days ago, two students were shot dead in Peru when the students protested against the 50 per cent bus fare rise. Similar mass-scale attacks are being carried out against trade unions, democratic organisations and all forms of political bodies.

Tied to the apron-strings of the United States, the economy of these countries is slumping and internal strife is growing. The Colombian peso now has reached a new low level—14.03 pesos to one US dollar. Only two years' back one dollar was equivalent to only 6.70 pesos.

The penetration of American finance in these countries is also complete and the exploitation of the natural resources is solely in the hands of the Americans.

People are rising against such abominable conditions and, taking to arms to rid themselves of the US suckers. It is this rising mass struggle that the US is jointly endeavouring with stooge-governments in these countries to stem.

The enemy, according to US Pentagon, are the people, who are seeking to overthrow

That being so, Prof. Liberman argued, why cannot profit be used as an index of the efficiency of an enterprise. What is most distinct under this concept is the fact that the profit motive which is the drive force behind creating surplus product remains completely different as between capitalism and socialism.

Socialist profit is entirely different from capitalist profit, both in its origin and in its designation. In a socialist society it arises solely from better and more efficient production, production of more goods and services with less expenditure of time, power, raw materials etc.

Capitalist Profit

But capitalist profit arises out of exploitation of labour, reduction of wages, raising prices, unequal exchange with colonies and under-developed countries and so on.

Profit under a capitalist society belongs to the investor while under socialist system it belongs to the society. No private individual or even an enterprise can buy up any means

of production through the profit generated. This is precisely the idea that governs the direction of economic planning in a socialist society.

Prof. Liberman's idea which has found very wide support in the Soviet Union as well as other socialist countries envisages that enterprises which had hitherto only been concerned with fulfilling their plan according to certain formal indices—such as gross output in tons or roubles—fixed by higher planning organs, would now be morally and materially rewarded on the basis of the quality of the goods and profit earned by them.

The enterprises can under such a situation plan their production on the basis of consumer needs and profitability of the goods produced. Demand would therefore constitute one of the main planks to plan production and each individual enterprise would be able to contract with distribution organisation independently and thereby to stick to its own schedules.

However, this does not mean that the state would relinquish its centralised planning management, which would suffer no harm from the improvement of assessment and encouragement of the work of the enterprise, but on the contrary would grow stronger.

Consumer Needs

The contracts which the enterprises would be making with the distribution machinery would not be based on sporadic market fluctuations, as under capitalism, but directly related to the consumer needs and efficiency of production.

But even there, the question of "highest profit" would not be the aim of the contracting enterprise. The main aim would be to meet the need of the consumer in terms of quality of produce, efficacy of supply and output of volume.

The workers employed by the enterprises would have direct share in the profits in the form of bonuses varying in size in terms of the profit made. This

will provide material incentive to the workers not only for the quantity but also for the quality. There will be no bonus for workers producing non-selling or non-profit-making goods.

Prof. Liberman is of the opinion that only by pursuing a flexible price policy and providing worthwhile incentives for profitable operation can the enterprises be made to make more efficient use of fixed and floating assets, continually perfecting production methods, renewing commodity nomenclature and raising quality of the produce.

Workers' Initiative

In propounding his theory, Prof. Liberman pointed out that he proposed not a reform of indices but actually a reform of the relations between the enterprises and the national economy as a whole.

He suggested that "anything that brings advantage to the society as a whole, as embodied in the state, should be advantageous to the body of employees at each enterprise and to each of the employees individually. The machine should work in the following manner: each step forward should bring in big returns to the society, but at the same time the members of a given body of employees should always be assured of a share in these returns."

Prof. Liberman explained that the aim "is not to introduce capitalist enterprise, but to promote the initiative of our workers, engineers and managers and to encourage such initiative on the basis of the socialist law: 'higher pay for better work'."

"We only want to improve planning by removing from it the details of unnecessary control over the enterprises and by incorporating in the process of planning the levers of the Leninist principle of material incentive."

In this process, profit of enterprise constitutes a measure of industrial efficiency. This is the concept of profit in a socialist society.

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—CHARVAK

Pio Pinto, Son of India, Son of Africa

By ROMESH CHANDRA

There is mourning in Kenya. One of the bravest of her sons is no more, one of the fighters who helped to win independence for Kenya lies buried under the soil he loved so dearly.

YES, Pio Pinto was a son of Africa. Elected to Parliament of Kenya, he was loved and respected by vast masses of Kenyan patriots. One of the staunchest leaders of the Kenyan African National Union (KANU)—the party of freedom built by Jomo Kenyatta and Oginga Odinga—Pio had spent many years in British prisons for the cause of Kenya's emancipation.

He died too for Africa: he was shot dead by the agents of imperialism—the imperialism, to vanquish which Pio dedicated his entire life.

* * *

There is mourning in India too. For in Pio's veins ran Indian blood. A Goan by birth, this martyr for Africa's liberation, had his education in Bombay. Pio found no difficulty in identifying himself completely with the African cause: an anti-imperialist fighter for the same cause, wherever he may be. And the African fighters took Pio to their hearts, and with Pio, they took to their hearts, the real India, the staunchly anti-imperialist India, the India of our courageous workers and peasants.

Pio was a bridge between India and Africa. Pio, by his every act, demonstrated the oneness of the anti-imperialist

list battle, the solidarity of Asia and Africa, of India and Africa.

I am proud that I knew Pio, that I had shaken his hand, that I had sat and listened to him, talked to him, for hours and hours at a time...

Uncompromising Fighter

President Kenyatta has paid Pio the finest tributes that can be paid to any man. And in his statement of homage to the memory of this son of Kenya, the President has referred to the years Pio suffered in prison "for his uncompromising line in politics".

It is indeed this that impressed one most about Pio. And the impression grew with every meeting.

It was in India that I met Pio first. Those were the days of the intensification of the Goan freedom struggle, and I was one of the secretaries of the National Campaign Committee for the Liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. Pio was here twice during that period, if I remember correctly.

How impatient he was for the liberation of his beloved Goa. And I have little doubt that his inspiring words and pledges roused the Goan free-

dom fighters to regroup themselves, and give that last magnificent push, which compelled the Government of India to act.

The last time I met Pio was in Nairobi, in his own Kenya, in 1963. I had gone as a member of the Indian delegation to the Third Afro Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference in Moshi (Tanganyika), and we passed through Nairobi on our way to and from Moshi.

Pio was there to greet our delegation when we arrived. He was there to see us off. And in between he was with us, to help us meet the leaders of Kenya, to understand the situation there, the problems, the hopes and aspirations.

Pio was himself part of the Kenya group which attended the Moshi conference, under the leadership of that resolute African patriot Oginga Odinga.

Every time we talked, Pio spoke of the need for solidarity against the imperialists.

Yes, he would say, we are marching forward, more and more countries are becoming independent, but be vigilant, for the imperialists have not yet been liquidated—they are here, striving to come back, to divide us.

Assault on Neo-Colonialism

I know that it was he who was among the first in Kenya to launch a fullscale assault on the dangers of neo-colonialism. Not for him the ending of struggle with the ringing of the bells of independence. Not for him any sitting back in his chair, after he became an MP.

Always a powerful journal-

Bridges Of Amity

A NEW CHAPTER IN INDO-ARAB FRIENDSHIP

A new leaf was added in the history of Indo-Arab solidarity through the recent visit of Abdel Khalek Hassouna, secretary-general of the Arab League.

Hassouna toured various parts of our country and explained at length the Arab view of problems and issues which are of mutual concern to the Arab and Indian nations.

He drew pointed attention of the people of India to the pockets of colonialism which still exist in Palestine, Oman, Aden and parts of Arabian Gulf which are used as bridgeheads for provocations and subversion against Arab freedom.

Indo-Arab solidarity dates back to hoary past; pages of history are replete with examples of close relations that existed between India and the Arab world. Since a long time, there have been exchanges between India and the Arab world, of knowledge and learning, of trade and so on.

On the solid foundations of these old contacts, the present relations between India and the Arab world have grown manifold; the basic reason of this growth is our common aspirations and common world outlook. On the forefront of the new social transformations that are currently taking place in the newly-developing countries, stands the Indo-Arab friendship. This is the corner-stone of Afro-Asian resurgence.

list, he organised the KANU press. He brought out a militant journal titled PAN AFRICA and organised the progressive PAN AFRICA Publishers. As throughout his life, now too there was no compromise. The fight went on. No abandonment of principles, no weakening of resolve.

And precisely because of this tireless exposure of imperialism, this passionate crusade against neo-colonialism—the imperialists killed Pio Pinto. They shot him dead at point blank range near his home. The cowards who killed, fired in the dark and then ran away.

But Pio's indomitable spirit lives. It lives in the work of the many brave young Africans, who had been inspired by his work, by the enthusiasm for the building of a socialist Africa which he always had.

Pio lives too in the mighty movement of Afro-Asian solidarity, which grows with every day.

AFRICA STRIVES TO SOLVE MANY BIG PROBLEMS

By M. DOMOGATSIKH

NAIROBI: February 27. Political life in Africa was, perhaps, never so busy as towards the close of the last and the beginning of the current year.

VARIOUS meetings, conferences and other get-togethers are held in the African countries, which set themselves the lofty and noble aims: to achieve the unity of the peoples of the continent, to ensure peace to them and to find ways and means for a quicker development of the newly-free countries.

On February 25 a meeting of the special committee of the Organisation of African Unity for the Congo was held in Nairobi under the chairmanship of Jomo Kenyatta. The Fourth Session of the OAU Council of Ministers was opened here on February 26.

Complex Situation

The Council of Ministers is actually an executive body of the Organisation of African Unity, which deals with questions referred to it by the heads of state

and coordinates African cooperation.

The current session of the OAU Council of Ministers is working under the conditions of a very complex political atmosphere in many parts of Africa. The main thing today is the growing demand of the peoples to do away with colonialism, to settle the Congolese problem and to strengthen the anti-imperialist unity of the African countries.

While starting the discussion of a report of the special committee for the Congo, the session will assess the situation in that country in the light of the new events caused by the real acts of aggression committed by the Tshombe puppet regime against Uganda.

The whole of East Africa has supported Uganda. However, the US government, inciting Tshombe and delivering aircraft and bombs to him, pretended it had nothing to do with the criminal actions

of its puppet and ignored the protests.

This caused a fresh wave of indignation. Speaking at a press conference, Prime Minister Obote again accused the United States of an act of unprovoked aggression against Uganda.

Then in a letter addressed to M. Obote, the US State Department grudgingly admitted that the helicopters and aircraft used in the Congo were US made. And this was done after the Americans had been exerting every effort up until the last day towards refusing even to admit this fact!

The US Ambassador in Uganda has made the following naive statement: The anti-American demonstrations in Uganda and the tearing off of the US flag from the Embassy have shocked the American people!

However, he did not mention how shocked were the people of Uganda, the peoples of other countries in East Africa, when the United States, posing as a friend of the Africans, was assisting in killing the very same Africans in the Congo, Angola, South Africa and Mozambique.

(APN)

SDO THREATENS MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

JAMSHEDPUR: Most of the common people know it for a fact that it would be inviting trouble to lodge complaints with the police and one would be lucky indeed if he can escape unscathed from any contact with the guardians of law and order, especially at the lower echelons.

Instead of helping the people, the law and order machinery has become something from which the people can find only inverted benevolence. But could this happen to a member of Parliament?

On March 4, Dr. U. Misra, member of the Lok Sabha from Janshedpur visited the villages in his constituency and went with a huge catalogue of villagers' complaints to the sub-divisional authorities in Dhalbhum.

The presiding deity, the S.D.O. was not apparently very pleased that a Member of Parliament should look into

such petty questions as police harassment, lack of approach roads or irrigation facilities or for that matter the poor state of the building in which a primary school is located.

The S.D.O. is reported to have told the Member of Parliament that he was "interfering" with the important work of administering the sub-division and unless the MP withdrew from the S.D.O.'s Court, a proceeding would be drawn up against him!

The local deity kindly observed that if the MP had anything to represent on behalf of the people of his constituency, the same may be put up in writing!

Dr. Misra is understood to have informed the Chief Minister of Bihar of the remarkable progress which his government has made in transforming the administration into a "popular" administration—endowed with the task of enthusing the common people for developmental effort!

Simultaneously, the Programme draws pointed attention to the serious limitations of this system of state power and to the dangers inherent in its bourgeois class content.

There are draconian laws on the statute book. The DIR poses a serious menace to all democratic sections of the people.

Regional imbalances, lack of a wholehearted acceptance of the principle of

linguistic states, caste discrimination, the depredations encouraged against the tribal peoples, the difficulties faced by the religious minorities, are all indications of the incomplete and partial nature of the democracy that exists.

Then there is the bureaucracy, the top officers of the army and judiciary are all drawn from the higher social strata, out of touch with and hostile to the democratic aspirations of the people.

They are organised in a system that is quite unsuited even for the limited developmental efforts pursued by the ruling class, to say nothing of any extension of democracy and progress towards socialism.

KERALA: VERDICT AGAINST CONGRESS

FROM BACK PAGE

and rallied in the Left United Front. The answer is yes. A look at some of the results where the Marxist Communists or independents won and where the LUF supported ones, such as in Atingal, Deviculam, Vadakkera, Palluruthi, Nattika, Trithala, Mankada, Perintalmanna, Meppayur, Malampuzha, Basseril, Kalpetta, S. Wynad, Neelieswar, Edakkad, Madayi and N. Wynad would show this. The lesson of unity is clear as daylight.

In constituencies like Kaduthuruthi, Alwaye, Kothamangalam, Thodupuzha, Tanur, Kuttipuram, Konda-tti, Tirurangadi and Malappuram, the strongholds of the Congress, Kerala or Muslim League, the united assault of all the Left forces meant considerable votes, though not success.

On the other hand what is the picture in constituencies where out of blind

prejudice against the CPI the Marxist Communists fought the LUF candidates with their own candidates or with SSP or even with League independents? As many as 27 seats were lost to the Congress or Kerala Congress in the Travancore-Cochin area due to this fratricidal war.

Some of these are Varkala, Vamanapuram, Aryanad, Tri-vandrum II, Neyattinkara, Punalur, Kunnathur, Adoor, Krishnapuram, Karunagapalli, Quilon, Iravipuram, Kundra, Chathanur, Sertalal, Alleppey, Ambalapuzha, Haripad, Konni, Kanjirapalli, Valkom, Chelakkara, Cranganore, Trichur, Manalur, Irijalakuda, Ponani, Kazhakkuttam, Kunnathunad.

It is in these seats that prominent leaders of the working class movement were defeated by splitting of votes and a present made of them to the Congress or Kerala Congress. This was only due to the blind prejudice and

hatred of the Marxist Communists against the CPI and RSP.

The Kerala Congress which contested 61 seats has been able to annex 23 seats defeating both the Congress and the Marxist Communists and other Left forces. This is a dangerous development for the state. In this, Mannath Padmanabhan, the Nair communal boss and the Church played the decisive role. All the pressure and persuasion of the Central Congress leaders were of no avail against them.

Powerful Nair Congress leaders as well as ex-ministers like T. A. Thomman and E. P. Fouse were defeated at the hands of the Kerala Congress. If with regard to Marxist Communists, their slogan was defeated, the Congress and the "Dangeites", the Kerala Congress cry was to defeat the Congress, Kamaraj and Sankar who dared to refuse to accept the dictates of Mannom. Herein also anti-Congressism played the trick.

The SSP playing an opportunistic game from the beginning; spught adjustments with Marxist Communists and Muslim League and was able to secure 13 seats, out of which 10 are from Malabar. They constitute a decisive block in the present confusing balance of forces. Neither then nor after the election have they a clear stand or principled attitude to the formation of a ministry.

League Retains

The Muslim League overplayed the game of opportunistic adjustments with Marxist Communists on the one hand and SSP and Kerala Congress on the other and lost as many as five seats of their own. However they have retained their original strength of 12, including the six League "Independents" whom the Marxist Communists voted to victory.

The verdict of the people is clear against the Congress regime. It could have been clearly for an alternative progressive government, had the Marxist Communists taken a principled stand as much against the Kerala Congress-Muslim League axis as the Congress and remained in the Left United Front. Their failure in this regard has resulted in the strengthening of reactionary forces and a continuing political uncertainty for the state.

For the Central Government, the writing on the wall is clear; all the detenus should be released and the Marxist Communists who today are the largest single party elected should be allowed a chance to form a ministry. If this is not done, the responsibility for the continuance of President's rule and consequent popular discontent will rest solely with the Central Government.

NEW AGE

CLASS CHARACTER OF INDIAN STATE POWER

FROM PAGE 8

a victory of the people, as a vantage point for further advance. It regards the defence and extension of democracy as both feasible and essential.

Simultaneously, the Programme draws pointed attention to the serious limitations of this system of state power and to the dangers inherent in its bourgeois class content.

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Then there is the bureaucracy, the top officers of the army and judiciary are all drawn from the higher social strata, out of touch with and hostile to the democratic aspirations of the people.

They are organised in a system that is quite unsuited even for the limited developmental efforts pursued by the ruling class, to say nothing of any extension of democracy and progress towards socialism.

Apart from noting the limitations, the Programme points to the fact that there

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Moscow Meeting

The Communique

Following is the unofficial translation of the text of the communique issued by the consultative meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from March 1 to March 5.

THE consultative meeting of the representatives of the Communist Party of Australia, the Communist Party of Argentina, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Hungarian Socialist Working Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of India, the Italian Communist Party, the United Party of Socialist Revolution of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Syrian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has taken place in Moscow from March 1 to 5. The representatives of the Communist Party of the USA were present as observers.

The participants of the meeting have had consultations on questions of mutual interest and an exchange of opinion on the ways of overcoming the differences and of strengthening the cohesion of the world Communist movement.

The meeting has been held in the atmosphere of fraternity and friendship imbued with the spirit of active struggle for the further consolidation of the Communist movement, fulfilment of its great historical tasks.

The participants of the meeting have expressed the firm resolve of their Parties to do their utmost for the consolidation of the world Communist movement, strengthening of its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the line determined by the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960.

The representatives of the Parties have stated that the main tendency of the world development under contemporary conditions is the strengthening of the positions of socialism, the rise of the national-liberation and international working-class movements, the growth of forces which stand for the preserva-

tion and strengthening of peace.

At the same time it has been pointed out that international reaction, first of all, American imperialism, becomes more active in different parts of the world, seeks to aggravate the situation, undertakes aggressive actions directed against the socialist countries and the countries which freed themselves from colonialism, against the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

The present situation demands, as never before, that all the Communist Parties should realise their international responsibility, should consolidate for the joint struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, against the domination of monopolistic capital, for the active support of liberation movement and defence of the peoples who have been exposed to imperialist aggression, for the struggle for world peace based on the respect of the sovereignty and integrity of all the states.

The participants of the meeting in their statement have expressed solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and with the Working People's Party of Vietnam and have called for international solidarity in the struggle against aggressive actions of the American military clique.

The consolidation of all the revolutionary forces of today of the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement and the international working-class is of decisive importance for the successful struggle against imperialism. The interests of the consolidation of all these forces resolutely demand the strengthening of the unity of the world Communist movement.

The divergences in the Communist movement are weakening its unity and damaging the cause of world-liberation movement, the cause of communism.

The participants of the meeting have expressed the conviction that what unites the Communist Parties is much stronger than what separates them at the present

moment. Even in the presence of the differences relating to the political line and many important problems of theory and tactics it is quite possible and necessary to strive for the unity of actions in the struggle against imperialism, in the cause of every kind support for the liberation movement of the peoples; in the struggle for the world peace and peaceful coexistence of the states with different social systems; irrespective of what countries—big or small—are concerned; in the struggle for the vital interests and historic objectives of the working class. Joint actions in the struggle for these common objectives are the most correct way to overcome the existing differences.

The participants of the meeting have stressed the necessity to undertake collective efforts by Communist Parties to improve the relations between the Parties, to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the observance of democratic principles of self-dependence and equality of all the fraternal Parties.

In the struggle for the solution of the common tasks of the world Communist movement, it is expedient to use all the possibilities and ways, bilateral and multilateral meetings of the representatives of the fraternal Parties and other forms of the

Party contacts, and of the exchange of opinion.

The participants of the meeting have been unanimous in their opinion that under the present conditions, as it was pointed out in the Statement of 1960, an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties represents an effective form of mutual exchange of opinion and experience, of enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory by collective efforts and of the working-out of agreed stands in the struggle for the common aims.

Such meetings held with the observance of the principles of complete equality and independence of each Party may serve well the cause of overcoming differences and of uniting the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism. Therefore the active and all-sided preparation for a new international meeting and the holding of it at a proper time, in the opinion of the participants of the meeting, fully corresponds to the interests of the international Communist movement.

In order to call a new meeting and hold it successfully it is necessary to prepare it both from the point of the contacts and from the organisational point of view, to create actively by joint efforts favourable conditions for the participation of all the fraternal Parties in the preparation of it, and to strive tirelessly for the improvement of the atmosphere in the international Communist movement.

The meeting is bound to serve the common cause of all Communists. The concentration of the attention and of the efforts on the actual tasks which face the Communist movement will serve, best

of all, the cause of the rapprochement of our positions on the fundamental questions of the present time.

The participants of the meeting have expressed the opinion that it is desirable to hold a preliminary consultative meeting of 81 parties, which took part in the meeting of 1960, to discuss the question about a new international meeting. It is necessary to hold consultations with all these parties to solve the question about calling of such a preliminary meeting.

The participants of the meeting stand for the strict observance of the norms of relationship between the Parties, defined by 1957 and 1960 meetings, against interference of any Party in the internal affairs of another Party.

Expressing their opinion on the ways of overcoming difficulties in the world Communist movement and of its further development the representatives of the Parties have been guided by the anxiety to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist ranks in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, peace, democracy, socialism and communism.

The representatives of the parties express their confidence that the meeting which has taken place will find positive response on the part of fraternal parties.

The intensified air attacks on North Vietnam, the US defence department's plan to make "greater use of the 7th Fleet", and the landing of several thousands of US marines in South Vietnam unmistakably point out that the US seeks a military solution of the Vietnam problem.

WHILE the nonaligned countries have lauded India's proposal to convene immediately a Geneva-type conference for finding out a possible solution of the Vietnam imbroglio through negotiations, the US response has been one of extreme unconcern.

Instead of positively responding to this proposal, the US has gone in for stepping up its war efforts on the one hand and continued to hoodwink the world that it was interested in a "solution" of the problem.

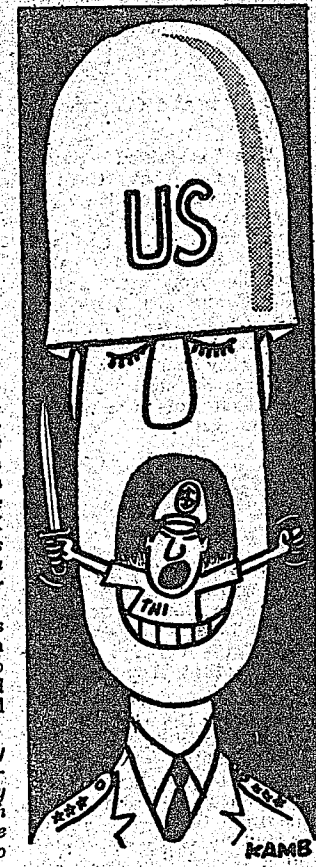
Over the weekend it became clear that the Pentagon bosses have preferred to stick to Dilliesian brinkmanship rather than reconciling to the most logical step of a meeting across the table.

Although Washington has asserted that it has not taken any step to escalate war in Vietnam, the facts prove to the contrary. Even **NEW YORK TIMES** has interpreted this stiffening of US attitude as "a change in policy" and that "war has been escalated."

The intensification of war efforts stems from hope that North Vietnam can soon be forced to negotiate on American terms and that both USSR and China will hold off meanwhile.

What the Pentagon bosses try not to see is the fact that bombing on North Vietnam hardly regards the efforts of the South Vietnam liberation forces. One American official is reported to have admitted as much when he said that "we cannot concentrate on the war in the south because we haven't got any more time left to us there—we are losing too fast."

The bombing of North Vietnam is actually an act of war by the US against a country which has not perpetrated any hostile act against the US.



No country can tolerate such aggressive actions and allow them to continue with impunity. With whatever power it has, North Vietnam will have to retaliate; all now its rejoinder has been limited to the shooting down of intruding US planes.

North Vietnam will have to retaliate now on a bigger scale

No Talk But Force

American Solution To Vietnam Problem

and in this it can bank on the support of the USSR and other socialist countries.

But the moment such an eventuality arises, the world would be brought to the brink of a major war; it cannot remain only a local or limited "engagement" as some argue. Thus the only way to arrive at a settlement is by peaceful negotiations and not through a road via the graveyards. Hence the primary task is to meet at a conference as soon as possible and ensure the withdrawal of US forces from South Vietnam.

AFRO-ASIA ASSERTS ITSELF

THE successful completion of Ulbricht's visit to the UAR and President Nasser's firm stand against West German pressures have not only exposed the hollowness of Bonn's threats but also highlighted the role of the nonaligned countries.

The West German rulers are now in a quandary; the cabinet being divided fifty-fifty on whether to cut off relations with the UAR.

Meanwhile, it appears that Bonn has decided to grant recognition to Israel, a country which is technically at war with the Arab states.

If that happens, the League of Arab States has warned, the entire Arab world would sever relations with West Germany.

Meanwhile, President Ulbricht has invited President Nasser to visit the GDR which the latter has accepted. This would open up new vistas of cooperation between a leading nonaligned country in Africa and the GDR, a socialist country which has risen to great heights of progress from the ruins of the war but whose existence is denied by the imperialists.

The entire episode shows that the era of gunboat diplomacy is over and imperialists have got to behave. The Arab states bear no malice as such against Israel but because it is being used by the imperialists to subvert Arab freedom, they want the curbing of Israel's military power. Here, of course, only Bonn is not guilty of aiding and abetting Israel; Bonn's big brother Washington is really the villain of the piece.

It is reported that after Bonn's promise to the UAR that it would stop arms delivery to Israel, Washington proposed to openly step into the breach. President John-

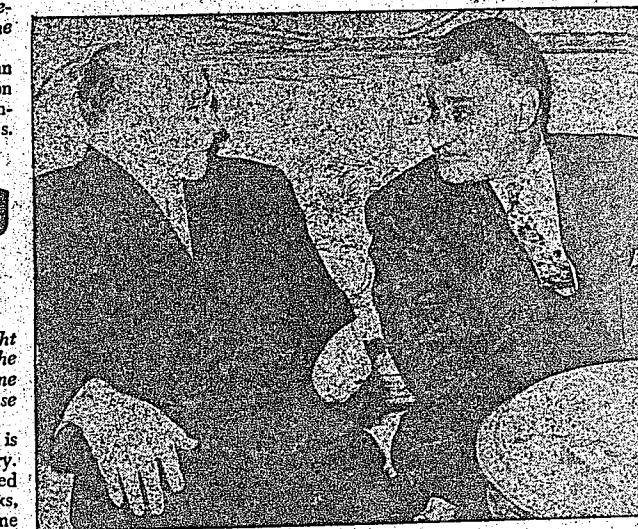
Negro movement for freedom and veering from the path followed by him earlier.

Malcom X did talk about violence at one stage: one cannot forget that his father was murdered by American white racists—the Klu Klux Klan. But Malcom X had already realised the futility of preaching violence. Several weeks back he had declared: "we are not violent in any shape or form. But



we owe it to our humanity to defend ourselves."

Malcom X had been coming ever closer to Dr. Martin Luther King and the Negro civil rights movement. The main point of his difference with King centred around whether to send the Negro marchers to Mississippi unarmed and thereby leave them to the mercy of the police and white racists. He advocated "someone should be sent who knows how to



Ulbricht and Nasser at a meeting in Cairo

Leipzig Fair: Indian Flag Flies For First Time

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: Leipzig this year celebrated the 80th anniversary of the founding of First World Fair. The honour title "The Mother of all International Fairs" was officially bestowed on Leipzig by the "Union Des Faires International" in a glittering ceremony attended by government representatives and traders of several countries.

THE biggest world fair opened here on February 28 with largest ever participation: 75 countries, 11,000 exhibitors, 35 government delegations. When the fair closed on March 9 over 700,000 people from 100 countries have thronged 3,500,000 sq. ft. of giant pavilions. As the fair director told me one has to walk 80 hours to see everything in the fair ground.

The total business transacted during ten days of buying and selling would amount to hundreds of millions of dollars benefiting nearly hundred countries of the world.

India is the biggest overseas participant in the fair since last few years. This year she has done much better. The pavilion is bigger and better arranged. For the first time in the eleven-year history of our participation, the Indian national flag was hoisted in front of the Indian pavilion. The decision to hoist our flag, to uphold our national dignity in a foreign country, though belated has thrilled every one

here. A forty-foot Ashoka column was erected near the flag mast.

Right inside the three halls of our pavilion there were many corners of attraction. A photo exhibition depicting the biography of Gandhiji and Nehru—there were pictures from their childhood to the last journey showing main phases of their life and struggle for freedom—attracted a large number of people.

Visitors were given a sample cup of Indian tea at our pavilion which the Germans drank with great relish waiting in queues. Our traditional handicrafts, spices, shoes, textiles, tea and coffee, modern engineering goods like batteries, telephones and many types of large and medium machines were the chief items of Indian exhibits. They largely reflect the pattern of our goods exchange with GDR.

Right in front of the Indian pavilion hundreds of people could be seen crowding always to see the slide projections of Indian classical dances.

Another attraction was the

exhibition of PPH Books right at the entrance through the main gate. This is the first time the People's Publishing House had a stall in the fair.

GDR's trade with India now is bigger than any Asian country. In 1964, the trade volume totalled approximately 220 million Marks, GDR imports were almost nine million marks higher than her exports.

This year nearly 85 high-power government delegations headed by ministers or deputy ministers have come to Leipzig to promote trade. Vast majority of them from Afro-Asian countries. Ministers came from UAR, Syria, Iraq, Indonesia, Burma, and other nonaligned countries without having formal diplomatic ties with GDR.

Union Minister for International Trade Manubhai Shah, was invited specially from India but he did not come. He is reported to be visiting the Hanover Fair in West Germany. The topmost man from India to Leipzig fair was B. P. Patel, chairman of the State Trading Corporation, Indian Ambassador in Moscow, T. N. Kaul, also paid a short visit.

The most striking feature is the reappearance of all the leading iron and steel giants from the Ruhr and other parts of Western nations after an absence of three years. This shows that the three-year old Nato boycott of the Leipzig fair has been a complete fiasco.

Opposition Bombshell

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

FOR the second time in its short span of life the Shastri government is facing a motion of no-confidence in Parliament. Decks have been cleared and the portents of the battle which loom ahead are that it will be hard-going for the ruling party.

The no-confidence motion moved by PSP leader S. N. Dwivedi is to be debated on March 15.

Congress misuse and corruption form the main issues in the debate on the motion of no-confidence. With the indictment pronounced by the Kerala elections in regard to government's misuse of the emergency powers being their strong point, CPI and representatives of Left groups will force the government to face an unpalatable situation.

The Opposition's big bombshell however is the sheaf of papers known as the CBI report on the Orissa corruption case and the Cabinet sub-committee's findings on the same.

These documents which H. V. Kamath placed on the table of Lok Sabha on March 3 after the opposition had successfully put to use the Speaker's historic ruling on the question, provide explosive

material against the ruling party. Whether Home Minister Nanda calls the CBI report an "enquiry" or an "investigation" will make little difference to the coming debate.

The two Orissa documents throw revealing light on the ways and means used by Congress ministers in minting money through the use of governmental authority. They also show the manner in which the Cabinet has virtually exonerated their Orissa party-men and saved them from the harsh verdict of a judicial tribunal.

The CBI document which deals with the doings of two former Congress chief ministers of Orissa—Biju Patnaik and Biren Mitra—contains such gems as: "the state government advanced Rs. 18 lakhs to Kalinga Tubes in one day on account of tubular structures for quarters at Tikkerpara without the special arrangements and special arrangements were made to bring cash from Cuttack, Puri and Bhubaneswar branches of the State Bank".

Here is another little piece allegation: Patnaik appointed A. Srinivasan as chief engineer-cum-administrator. Patnaik knows nothing of marine engineering. He advanced Rs. 50 lakhs to Patnaik for supply of pre-fabricated structures to the Paradeep project.

According to the CBI, with

in five days of his appointment, Srinivasan recommended the purchase of 2,500 units of tubular structures of the value of over Rs. 18 lakhs from Kalinga Industries, when these structures did not appear to have been immediately requisited by Paradeep port authorities and when Srinivasan could not even have had an opportunity of his actual requirements of these structures.

The battle on corruption of Congress Party's big-wigs in office will perhaps be the biggest yet fought in Parliament. Although Orissa will be in the forefront, it will symbolise the prevalence of corruption in high places in general. No wonder that Home Minister Nanda has been giving differing versions of what the CBI probe was or was not—an enquiry or an investigation.

The question of deprivations and talking corruption in high places is naturally linked up with the attitude of the ruling party to fundamental economic and political policies.

It is because of this that the CPI representatives in Parliament have sought to raise these questions, and first of all the question of democratic rights, of respecting the verdict of the people in the Kerala poll, of immediate release of the Left Communist detenus who have been kept in detention under DIR.

PAKISTAN LETTER

FROM PAGE 14

win these elections as it did during the presidential elections—from making arbitrary changes in the constituencies to revival of nomination system for basic democracies. They have been trying every possible way to put pressure on the electors.

The COP decided at the beginning of the election campaign that it would expose all the irregularities and dirty tricks played by the ruling party during the Presidential election. They have decided to publish a "White Paper" in this connection.

Government has however served notices on the leaders of COP to submit for scrutiny any material pertaining to the

conduct of presidential and electoral college elections. All the printing presses of Karachi also have been served with these notices.

Many restrictions have also been placed on the use of loudspeakers. All this shows, how far the elections in the Pakistan will be free and impartial.

COP leaders have described these restrictions as "a blatant invasion of the fundamental rights, freedom of expression and unheeded restriction on the propagation of political views during the elections which will set at naught the very purpose of the coming elections." They have also decided to challenge this arbitrary order in the court of law.

REACTION GAINS FROM LEFT SPLIT

Kerala Election Results Analysed

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: In the polls, the results of which were announced on March 5, the Kerala electorate has rejected out of hand the Congress party and voted Marxist Communists to the position of first party in the Assembly with 40 members, 28 of whom are detenus.

At the same time a complex picture has emerged out of this election, with no party commanding an absolute majority in the legislature.

Congress President Kamaraj's claim and aim of getting his party returned with majority to rule the state could not be realised. All the stalwarts of the Congress, including aspirants to Chief Ministership like Sankar and Kalathil Velayudhan Nair were defeated.

In the three districts of Malabar, Congress faced a fiasco, winning only two seats out of 48. Only in Trivandrum district and in a few constituencies in Qullon and Alleppey, they gained, by

appealing to Ezhava communalism. Even so, it did not help Sankar in Attingal; he was defeated by Anrudhan, Marxist Communist detenu.

Congress Routed

Kottayam, the traditional stronghold of the Congress gave only one seat this time to the Congress and the rest to Kerala Congress and Communists. In Kozhikode district, Congress could not secure even one out of 20 seats. Marxist Communists together with their allies, the SSP and Muslim League, could annex 46 out of 48 in Malabar.

The Left United Front composed of the CPI, RSP and independents suffered a severe setback in that it could secure only three seats plus the election of three independents supported both by the United Front and Marxist Communists.

After the Marxist Communists had withdrawn from the United Front, it was the United Front that unilaterally withdrew a number of its candidates in order to avoid the splitting of opposition votes and to secure Congress defeat. The LUF went to the electorate on a programme of defeating both the Congress and the reactionary alliance of Kerala Congress and Muslim League.

But, against this the Marxist Communists were able to utilise the deep anti-Congress sentiments of the people to the maximum advantage, portraying the LUF and CPI as falling behind the Congress. The result today is that the reactionary threat remains strong, even though the Marxist Communists got

more seats and Congress has been routed.

The sustained slander campaign that the rival Communists had been carrying on ever since the split in the CPI had prepared the soil for their election propaganda against the Communist Party. Also the detention of as many as 144 leaders of their party by the government before the elections went in favour of the Marxist Communists.

Sympathy For Detenus

The masses' sympathy for them was roused by direct appeals to the electorate by the mothers, wives and children of the detenus to elect them so that they could be set free.

Further, the aim of the Marxist Communists was to inflict as big a defeat as possible on the CPI. Their entire approach to election tactics was from the very beginning dictated by this sole aim; and a lot of hysteria and hatred was worked up by them among their followers against the CPI.

To them it was more desirable to join hands with the Muslim League than be with the CPI and RSP; for the same reason they left the LUF refusing to declare a categorical opposition to the League-Kerala Congress alli-

ance. They would much rather have Kerala Congress, League and even Congress win than the CPI or LUF.

Consequently, the Marxists backed Muslim League "independents" to defeat such well-known trade union and Party leaders like K. P. Gopalan, E. Gopalakrishna Menon, P. K. Gopalakrishnan, E. C. Bharathan and Madhavan. They backed SSP against P. Balachandra Menon and N. E. Balaram. In direct fight they split votes to enable Congress and Kerala Congress to win against such veteran leaders of the people like T. V. Thomas, R. Sugathan, T. K. Divakaran, P. Ravindran, K. Krishna Pillai and many others.

The result was that not only the overwhelming majority of LUF candidates were defeated, but 55 of them forfeited their deposits also. Nambudripad and the Marxist Communists can have the satisfaction that they were able to achieve this, but at the cost of increasing the strength of the Kerala Congress and reaction all round.

The question that comes up in the situation created by the inability of any party or combination of parties to form a government, is, could not this blind alley for the state have been prevented if the "Marxists" had given up their blind hatred of the CPI

—ON PAGE 17

REACTION'S DANGEROUS MOVE

* FROM FRONT PAGE

today, with an absolute majority of seats, had the leadership of the rival "Communist-Marxist" Party not made it its first and most urgent task to defeat the candidate of the Communist Party of India and the Left United Front.

An examination of the voting results constituencywise shows clearly that, had the "Marxists" not opposed the Left United Front and divided the vote, had the "Marxists" and the Left United Front fought the elections together, they would have won between them at least 30 more seats than they have between them now. And these 30 seats would have given the Left forces an absolute majority to form a government, reflecting the true verdict of Kerala's masses.

Unfortunately, the tactics of the "Marxists" have led to the loss of these 30 seats (and possibly more), and to the handing over of these seats to the worst reactionary parties—the rebel Kerala Congress and the Muslim League—as well as to the Congress Party itself.

The "Marxists" openly supported the six "independents" who have now officially joined the Muslim League party and this gives the

Muslim League an effective balancing strength, with which to swing the assembly to the right.

It is to be hoped that all, who sincerely desire the advance of this country, will realise how disastrous for the democratic movement has been the policy pursued by the "Marxist" Party in the Kerala elections.

If today the right reactionary forces can seriously hope to capture power in Kerala they do so because of the benefits they have reaped from the election tactics of the "Marxists".

It will perhaps be argued that these tactics succeeded in winning the "Marxists" the position of the biggest single party, and reducing the Communist Party's strength to rock bottom.

Yes, if the masses of Kerala can be served best by giving away seats to the forces of reaction—the "Marxists" have done well. But the fact is that both they and the Left United Front could have won more seats, had the "Marxists" not marked out the Communist Party of India as the enemy No. 1. And today, there would be before the people and the world, a clear picture of an absolute majority for a democratic coalition—a picture which would have been a decisive argument in favour of ending at once the arbitrary

imprisonment without trial of so many elected representatives of the people.

Having said this much about what could and should have been—it is clear that even now the constitutional process must be allowed to be followed. The first condition for this is the release of all elected Kerala MLAs now detained. The second is that the leader—the rival "Communist Marxist" Party in the Assembly, as the leader of the largest party, be invited to form the government: if he is prepared to do so, he must be given all facilities to act.

The Congress High Command is only blackening its already blackened face, by persisting in its authoritative attempt to rule by imprisoning its opponents without trial.

The right reactionary conspiracy in Kerala can be foiled even now, if the left forces can come together and launch a vast united movement against the attempt by reaction to instal itself in power, or rule by the President's fiat.

Will this lesson be learnt by the rival "Communist" Party leaders? Or will they seek to continue their "alliance" and "understanding" with the Muslim League and through it, with the Kerala Congress, in the coming days of government making?

(March 9)