

Janta Parishad Sweeps Polls In Ahmedabad

DEBACLE FOR CONGRESS

AHMEDABAD: People of Ahmedabad have made history: in the civic polls held on April 4 the Congress has been defeated and the Swatantra-Jan Sangh combine routed.

THE Janta Parishad in which the Communist Party, the rival Communist Party, the SSP and progressive independents are united, has been given an overwhelming majority in the municipal corporation.

The Congress which has ruled the corporation so long, except for a brief period in 1956, has been reduced to a small minority. It could win only 13 seats out of 78.

The Janta Parishad has won as many as 50 seats. Among the seven candidates, there are seven Communist Party members, another seven belong to the rival Communist Party.

The Republican Party, an ally of the Janta Parishad in the elections, has won five seats. The PSP has won ten seats.

Out of the 15 lakh votes polled, the Janta Parishad secured as much as 5.37 lakhs, and independents supported by it 1.96 lakhs. The Janta Parishad and its independents thus polled 48.8 per cent of the votes while the Congress got only 32.8 per cent.

One of the glorious election battles was in the Khokhra Mahamadabad ward where CPI candidate Chintaman Panjankar was pitted against the sitting Mayor, Jaykrishna Harivallabh. Panjankar

is a worker in the textile mill owned by Harivallabh.

In this four-member ward, Panjankar secured the highest number of votes—14,858. The mayor won, but very narrowly.

The Parishad won three seats in this ward, conceding only the fourth to the Mayor who scraped through with 11,936 votes.

The highest number of votes in the elections was secured by

Natwarlal Patel, a Party sympathiser, in the Saraspur ward. He got 19,090 votes. All the six seats in this ward were won by the Parishad.

It was in this ward that Communist candidate Vallabh Duda, a detenu, contested and won. After the elections, Duda has been released.

In this ward the city Congress chief Vimalbbai was defeated. Other big defeats for the Congress were that of deputy mayor Narottam Zaveri, AMTS chairman Amubhai Shukla and legal committee chairman Natwarlal Natudal.

Though the Congress had strained to the maximum to defeat Parishad MLA Manu Palkhiwala in the Dariyapur ward, even injecting communalism, they miserably failed. The entire Congress panel was defeated in this ward.

The PSP also suffered some serious reverses. Its sitting corporator Arvind Saheba was defeated.

Out of eight detenues who contested the elections, seven have won. Six of them belong to the rival Communist Party and one to the CPI. Three of them, including CPI's Duda, have been released after the election results were announced.

The decisive factor for the Janta Parishad victory is the people's resentment against the Congress government for the repression let loose on the textile workers and their leaders following the strike

in August 1964. Six workers had died as a result of police firing during the strike days.

Another reason was the people's opposition to the pig-headed tenacity of the Congress government in teaching English in schools only from the eighth standard. The popular demand is that English should be taught from the fifth standard.

Janta Parishad leader Indulal Yagnik's popularity also contributed to its victory in the elections. Yagnik was given a rousing welcome by the people when he returned to Ahmedabad from Delhi on April 9.

The Ahmedabad election results have shown how when progressive and democratic forces offer a clear alternative to the Congress, the reactionary parties and their agents are routed at the polls.

In Ahmedabad the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh and such other elements had formed a so-called united democratic front with the help of the PSP and fielded as many as 78 candidates.

Except for the PSP, these parties fared very badly indeed, the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party not winning a single seat. Most of their candidates lost their deposits.

A section of the Republican Party which refused to align with the progressive forces represented by the Janta Parishad did not make any impression on the voters either.

On right people greet victorious leader Indulal Yagnik, while below is a sectional view of the two-lakh victory rally on April 10.



ACTION WEEK MAY 10-17

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India has called for the observance of the week starting on May 10 as a week of action on the most urgent issues facing this country.

The National Council has called on all left parties, democratic mass organisations and progressive individuals to join in the observance of the week.

The main issues which will be highlighted during the week are outlined in detail in the National Council's resolution on Recent Political Developments (See centre pages).

State and District Councils of the Communist Party are beginning preparations on a big scale for the observance of the week.



PAKISTAN AND AMERICAN ARMS

THE continued Pakistani attacks and violations of our borders—not on one section, but virtually on all—are no accidents, arising from the bellicosity of individual commanders. They are part of the planned game of imperialist pressure on India, aimed at the destruction of our policy of non-alignment, at securing Indian silence if not support for US aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere.

The US imperialists are fully behind the Ayub regime's new round of anti-Indian hostilities. The "discovery" of the use of US arms should serve to awaken India to this grim fact.

The answer to the US-Pak attacks is not to beg for more US arms for India, as is proposed by the right reactionary circles. The only answer, which the US imperialists will understand, is the strengthening of our policy of nonalignment and peace, of steadfast opposition to imperialism.

It is no accident also that the US government has now categorically told our Defence Ministry that it will not supply India with the long-awaited F 104 Supersonic aircraft. The Defence Minister admitted in the Lok Sabha on April 12 that "we have to take it for granted that we are not likely to get" these planes.

The Indian people will come to their own conclusions; US arms are used to attack and violate our borders; but despite all the kowtowing in which our government has indulged before the Dollar Chieftains, no really effective modern defence planes will be provided by the imperialists.

If the Government of India was not corroded with pro-imperialists holding key positions at different levels, it would tell the US authorities once and for all that India will no longer tolerate the US government's pressures and blackmail.

Unfortunately for this country's name and prestige, no such answer has been given to the US imperialists by our government. On the contrary, a new phase of knuckling under the US pressures appears to have begun with the US aggression on Vietnam.

The US Ambassador in India is proclaiming at press conferences and in public speeches that India's "reaction" to his government's attitude on Vietnam is "very good". Government spokesmen are now hailing President Johnson's so-called "offer" of "unconditional" talks, while keeping mum on the US aggressors' daily escalation of the war.

This singing of hosannas to Johnson is amazing in the context of reactions to the President's speech in the USA itself.

editorial

The TIMES OF INDIA's Washington correspondent (normally a supporter of US policies) is compelled to write in a despatch, front-paged in the paper on April 13, as follows:

"The hope of peace which President Johnson's Baltimore speech raised is fast withering. It has been smothered by the roar of the planes, which in record numbers, continue to bomb North Vietnam without respite. The possibility of an unruffled study of the Johnson proposals in Hanoi has gone up in the smoke of battle."

While this is the opinion in Washington circles themselves, the Government of India continues to laud Johnson's speech and keep silent on his dirty war.

Is this the answer to the employment of US arms against India? When blackmailers and pressurisers find their victims yielding, they increase the intensity of their attack.

The Indian democratic movement will see with every day more clearly that it is the same US arms which are being used to attack the fighting liberation movement of South Vietnam, which are being used on India's borders to pressurise and blackmail the country into giving up its policy of peace and nonalignment.

The struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples against imperialist aggression and machinations is a common struggle. Let us wage it in unity and solidarity.

(April 14)

CALCUTTA: When the situation on the Indo-Pak border required all the attention of the Government of India, Home Minister Nanda made an air-dash to Calcutta on April 10 to express government's views on better working relations with Indian businessmen.

THE AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA reports that "he did so at the request of Calcutta Commerce leaders." It seems that the "rolling of heads" threat by G. D. Birla given a few days back had unnerved the top leaders of the Congress and the Home Minister was sent to close the "widening gulf" by assuring the business community that they regarded closest cooperation between the government and businessmen of the highest importance.

While saying this Nandaji told the tycoons headed by G. D.

Birla that "I am authorised to say this is also the feeling of the Prime Minister."

Nanda came in the morning and went back to Delhi in the night and in between he spent most of his time with different sections of business men, giving only less than half an hour to a deputation of leaders of the United Citizens Committee who demanded release of the detenus who have been elected councillors in the recent elections.

Nandaji's main function was at

Nanda-Sinha Tete-A-Tete With Big Business

Attempt to Pacify Frayed Tempers of Birla

From AJAY DASGUPTA

the Indian Chamber of Commerce. There assembled the scions of the Calcutta's big business headed by no less a person than G. D. Birla.

CANDID REMARKS

Speaking on behalf of the business community Birlaji "made a speech which for its candid remarks on situation in the country was applauded by the businessmen present" reported the STATESMAN.

Indeed it was candid.

He reminded the Home Minister of "the help they rendered to the Congress to liberate the country from foreign rule and also of the substantial contribution they made to Congress funds."

So he felt angry when after independence businessmen became targets of criticisms and even eminent and respected among them were not being spared. Their image was being tarnished, he admonished. He said that it was rather strange that when at the individual level a great amount of cordiality was prevailing between the businessmen and the politicians, they would be following a "wolves' tradition" of attacking one another when talking collectively.

Clearly Birlaji is no longer ready to "tolerate" even the mock heroics of Congress leaders who sometimes attack the business-

men to catch votes of the people. He wanted total and open surrender of the Congress and the government to the dictates of the tycoons.

What Nanda did not say explicitly, Satyanarain Sinha, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, made clear when he said that he considered the private sector to be the prime and biggest sector and that the treatment meted out to the business community after independence was not quite fair.

Nandaji was also at pains to assure the tycoons that the Congress brand of socialism in no way hampers or hinders the private enterprise.

Keeping with this tune Nandaji painted "Communist subversion" as one of the two main dangers before the country at the Chamber meeting.

And when the deputation of the UCC met him to demand release of the detained councillors, he flatly declined. He even declined to give parole to them for enabling them to take oath, which has to be taken at a meeting of the Corporation, and to take part in the election of the Aldermen.

He was told plainly by the deputations that this was "murdering the democracy and clearing the way to 'Ayubism' in India also."

AIYF-AISF Decision

YOUTH MEDICAL MISSION FOR VIETNAM

A youth medical mission is shortly to be sent to Vietnam to express the Indian youth's solidarity with the people and youth of Vietnam fighting valiantly against the US imperialists.

The decision to send such a youth medical mission was taken at a joint meeting of the national executive committees of the All India Youth Federation and the All India Students Federation.

The joint meeting took place in Delhi on April 13.

According to plans, the youth medical mission will consist of at least a hundred young doctors and nurses.

The AIYF and the AISF have decided to approach other youth organisations and individuals also for unitedly organising the youth medical mission.

The joint meeting also decided to organise protest against the US atrocities in Vietnam and appealed to the youth of India to express solidarity with the fighting people and youth of Vietnam.

AFTER HOUSING SCANDAL

Andhra Pradesh

PAC REPORT REVEALS MORE SKELETONS

From MOHIT SEN

Delay in the sale of spare parts for nearly six years after they were required, had been sold; lack of proper store accounts; the disposal of vehicles in lots, regardless of government directions that they should be sold individually, on the basis of an on-the-spot decision by the Chief Executive Officer, who later joins the purchaser firm—are the other items of irregularity necessitating detailed probe, according to the Committee.

This was another example of how the public sector, often enough manned by unreliable officers, can be used to increase the profits of the private sector through corruption. It is a remarkable coincidence that the beneficiaries in both cases happen to be the Birlas.

To rub home this point is the case of loans to Sirsilk. As on March 31,

1961 the amount of the outstanding loan was Rs. 2.67 crores and the interest due for recovery was Rs. 78.60 lakhs. The company has defaulted on five instalments and not paid any interest at all so far.

"The Committee's attention was drawn to a notice which the government has since issued to the Company. The Committee finds that having made a demand in para 5 that the entire amount of the principal and interest due should be paid within six months of the said notice the government should hasten to suggest an alternative of a fresh agreement in case the company could not pay as demanded.

"It is surprising why the government could not wait for six months for a reply from the Company, having waited for five years so far.

"The Committee is con-

cerned with the continuous and protracted correspondence which the government has been carrying on with the company, instead of enforcing the legal remedies when the default occurred so long as 1958, and therefore urges the government to take immediate legal steps for the recovery of the loan."

Thriving On Govt Loans

Incidentally, it should be noted that the boast of the private sector—of which Birla is the leading luminary—that it is the last word in efficiency is pre-empted by this inability to do without government loans. Its efficiency seems to lie in being able to get such loans and then refuse to pay back—fully abetted by the "socialistic" government!

These instances of irregularities only strengthen the case for the government of Andhra Pradesh to radically reorient its industrial policy.

So far its conception of speeding the industrialisation of the state has been, apart from rightly pleading for more Central sector projects, to rely on the big Indian monopolies and to assist these tycoons in every conceivable manner—including denationalisation measures.

The CPI has not only opposed this policy but proposed an alternative. The state's public sector should be strengthened and expanded—for example, by using the opportunity to push out the Birlas from Allwyns with all due legality and ceremony.

The medium and smaller industrialists, especially from within the state, should be encouraged in a big way. Only then will a proper pattern of industrial growth in Andhra get established.



OF PRINCES AND PRIESTS

WHEN Golwalkar met Tulsī Giri of Nepal and had "consultations" lasting several days with him at Nagpur, he was only cementing old contacts with an old chela who used to brandish bamboo-sticks and attend drills in the shakhas as an RSS man during his student days in the Darbhanga Medical College.

Giri regularly attended the training camps where the Sangh chakals indoctrinated young boys and filled their immature, and often enough low brains with hatred against secularism and social progress.

Later when he was running a hostel-cum-club in Patna, Giri maintained his contacts with the storm-troopers of reaction. Returning to Nepal and entering politics there, he gained the favour of the King to rise high in the political hierarchy as the royal pet—many savoury stories are told about this part of his career.

He, inspired by his old gurus, fanned the ambitions of the King to be appointed as a Hindu apostle. It is already known how the Nepal King was misadvised to plan a visit to India last January in order to address the annual rally of the RSS.

When the utter impropriety of such a step was impressed upon all concerned and the proposed descent to Nepal was cancelled, the stillborn misadventure was crowned with a singularly indiscreet misstep sent to "dear Shri Golwalkarji" under the Royal seal, saying that "my feelings are ruffled

in not being able to attend" the RSS rally!

The non-attendance was sought to be compensated for by sending a long essay on the solemn role of "Hinduism" to be read out by Gurujī himself at the rally. The essay was a solemn piece which yielded much delectation to the listeners and readers who know.

As could be expected, it was a fine job of publicity for royal Nepal. It was replete with such blurbs as the following:

"Nepal has ever been a source of perennial inspiration for the Hindus and India... She has provided asylum for Hindus whenever they were in danger..."

"Dharma has protected us. Even in days when some Hindus were victims of an artificial atmosphere and were ashamed of calling themselves Hindus, Nepal securely maintained herself as a Hindu Kingdom..."

Unfortunately these blurbs have little relation to the reality and they can only evoke laughter. For was not Nepal till recently the notorious citadel of Ranashahi, one of the worst social and political tyrannies in the world.

And even today many political leaders who are languishing in the prisons of Nepal are certainly not non-Hindus! Obviously, there is little in the description "Nepal, a Hindu Kingdom"—to make the Hindu citizens of India-go into transports of enthusiasm.

The mere fact of a Hindu being the head of the state in the country does not make

the common man less oppressed and exploited there, nor does it become a model for anyone in India except the mouthpieces of black marketing and profiteering interests like the RSS.

Next to self-patting, the message from Kathmandu strove to boost the dirty RSS organisation in India. The latter was said to be playing a "useful role." Thus a crude effort was made to launch before the Indian public a mutual admiration society.

In this axis, the RSS would boost Nepal, including its long history of Ranashahi tyranny, as a "matchless kingdom; and in return the exploiter interests in Nepal will project the RSS as a "dynamic force" in India.

Here you are bound to be reminded of the fable of the camel and the donkey, the camel lauding the "golden voice" of the donkey and the donkey lauding the "marvellous beauty" of the camel!

There is however, a lot more than mere mutual admiration in this nexus. It is politically suitable for the RSS to protect the image of a model "Hindu Kingdom", because it also wants to establish the "Hindu Rashtra" in India wherein princes and priests should rule the roost and happily exploit the toiling masses.

When the Nepalese King failed to turn up at the Nagpur rally, Golwalkar issued forthwith the statement that "the occurrence clearly exposed the anti-Hindu nature of our present leadership."

That, however, is not the end of this piece of intrigue. The RSS and its agencies have

been drawing sustenance from Nepal in other more mundane forms. With men like Tulsī Giri escorced there in the new set up, they have received quite a lot of financial support too.

For instance, a news-agency opened and run by the RSS in India is said to have received quite substantial financial help from the Kingdom across our borders. Many Sangh organisers have been in regular direct contact with Kathmandu.

Golwalkar himself met King Mahendra first in Kathmandu and then in Bombay. During his current visit Tulsī Giri, it is significant, also met Deendayal Upadhyay, general secretary of the RSS. He of course, also brought, as is reported in the Press a "personal message" to Gurujī from the King.

Thus under the false sign-board of "Hindu"—everyone knows that fascist-like organisations have really nothing to do with religion or culture, whether Hindu, Aryan or Islamic, brotherhood, they only use these as convenient catchwords in their desperate struggle against social progress—a deep intrigue is under way. This needs to be watched with vigilance.

—GARUDA

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RESERVE BANK SURVEY SHOWS

BIG RISE IN PROFITS OF FOREIGN COMPANIES

THE country is being bled white by the foreign investors; yet the powers-that-be are bent on begging for more foreign private investments.

Only a few weeks back Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, himself no hater of foreign capital, gave the figures of profits drained away by the foreign investors in his Economic Survey presented to Parliament.

From Rs. 36.2 crores in 1958-59, it had gone up to Rs. 61.9 crores in 1960-61 and further up to Rs. 98 crores in 1963-64. In the six months, April to September 1964, Rs. 54.3 crores were taken away by the foreign investors.

These were the bare figures of the huge profits which the foreign investors are carrying home through the grace of our "national patriotic" leaders in government.

The Reserve Bank of India has now given some details about these profits of the foreign operated and controll-

ed companies in 1962-63, and how they were earned.

★ Two hundred and fiftyone branches of foreign companies operating in India showed a total profit of Rs. 45 crores in 1962-63, according to the Reserve Bank. This was Rs. 10 crores more than their profits in the previous year—a clean 27.8 per cent rise.

★ One hundred and sixty-nine foreign controlled rupee companies showed total profits of Rs. 94 crores in the same year. This was Rs. 12 crores more than in 1961-62, signifying a 14.2 per cent rise in profits in one year.

The details of sales and profits of these foreign firms are contained in a study on "Finances of Branches of Foreign Companies and Foreign Controlled Rupee Companies—1962-63", published in the March issue of the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin.

The Bulletin, which has just now been released, has following data to give on the finances of foreign companies operating in India:

The sales of 251 branches of foreign companies stood at Rs. 715 crores in 1962-63. This was an increase of Rs. 56 crores over the previous year, of 8.4 per cent.

The value of production for the 251 branches was estimated at Rs. 730 crores in the year. This was an increase of 10.3 per cent or Rs. 68 crores over 1961-62.

The two profitability ratios of the branches of foreign companies showed considerable improvement in 1962-63 over the previous year.

Gross profits as percentage of total sales rose from 5.3 per cent in 1961-62 to

gross profits went up by 22.5 and 23.5 per cent respectively.

It was only in the case of trading companies that a relatively smaller increase in gross profits was available.

Countrywise, branches of British and American companies showed the highest improvement in profits during the year under survey.

Almost the same picture of "all-round progress" is seen in the case of the foreign controlled rupee companies also.

The total sales of the 169 foreign controlled rupee companies stood at Rs. 828 crores

Rs. 16.5 crores to Rs. 51.6 crores in 1962-63. Still, the profits after taxation for all the 169 companies together stood at Rs. 34 crores.

As in the case of the branches of foreign companies, so also the foreign controlled rupee companies showed improvement in 1962-63 in their profitability ratios.

Gross profits as percentage of total sales moved up from 11 per cent in 1961-62 to 11.3 per cent the following year.

Gross profits as percentage of total capital employed rose from 13.3 per cent to 13.7 per cent in the year under review.

The RBI study has shown that the reliance of the foreign controlled rupee companies on external resources is going up despite the increase in profits.

The share of external resources was Rs. 42.2 crores in 1962-63, while it was only Rs. 40.9 crores in the previous year—that is, the reliance went up from 51.3 per cent to 52.4 per cent.

Two other points made in the survey and which both the government and the Indian businessmen who are anxious to invite private foreign capital into the country would do better to keep in mind are:

● The foreign controlled rupee companies showed the best profitability ratios compared to the Indian companies.

Against a figure of 11.3 for gross profits as percentage of sales for the foreign firms, the figure for Indian firms was only 9.2; against 13.7 for gross profits as percentage of total capital employed for the foreign companies, the Indian firms had to show only 9.4.

● The return on the shareholders' capital and the rates of dividend announced by the foreign controlled companies were higher than those of the Indian companies.

Has the Indian big Business to say anything about these aspects of business?

by
PAULY V. PARAKAL

6.2 per cent in the following year.

Gross profits as percentage of total capital employed rose from 7.9 per cent to 9.1 per cent in 1962-63.

The branches kept down their interest payments; against Rs. 2.64 crores in 1961-62 it was only Rs. 2.95 crores in the year under review.

Tax provisions went up drastically—from Rs. 5.7 crores to Rs. 25 crores—but that did not reduce the profit margins of these foreign firms.

Profits after taxes rose by Rs. 3.6 crores to Rs. 15 crores. This was a 31.1 per cent increase over the previous year.

Industrywise, "tea plantations" and "other industries" showed the best results: their

in 1962-63. This was an increase of 11 per cent or in real terms Rs. 82 crores.

The increase in the value of production in the year under review was 10.5 per cent. This was a little less than in the previous year when it was 11 per cent, but enough to keep the profits in tact.

Interest payments for all the companies together moved up to Rs. 7.4 crores in 1962-63 against Rs. 6.0 crores the previous year.

This however did not deter them from reaping the highest of profits; gross profits for the 169 companies stood at Rs. 36 crores in the year under review. This was an increase of 13.5 per cent over the 1961-62 figures.

Tax provision went up from

AITUC-INTUC United Strike In Amritsar

From SATYAPAL DANG

AMRITSAR: Textile workers of Amritsar struck work on April 10 under the united leadership of the AITUC, the INTUC and the HMP, opening a new chapter in working class unity in action.

THE workers were protesting against the Punjab government's wobbling over the implementation of the report of the Minimum Wages Committee for the textile industry, particularly in the power loom units.

The strike was a complete success. It is estimated that about 20 thousand workers participated in the strike, jointly called by AITUC, INTUC and HMP.

There was no picketing. Police was posted at the mill gates to facilitate the entry of the "loyal workers". And yet not a single worker went in.

April 10 is now doubly remembered by the Amritsar workers, for it was on the same day ten years back that the textile workers here started their 36-day long general strike.

The workers have now warned the government that unless the minimum wages were enforced they might have to go for a general strike.

The textile workers of Ludhiana joined the protest strike on April 10. The strike was successful there also.

The Ludhiana workers had

gone back to work only a few days back after a strike which began on March 27. They had struck work with the same demands.

The Ludhiana strike was withdrawn when the government retraced partially from its pro-employer stand and announced a relief of 20 per cent increase in wages in eleven categories.

Earlier, the government had surrendered to the pressure of the employers who had resorted to largescale lay-off and lockout to blackmail the government.

Their demand was that the minimum wages should not be enforced. The government obliged them by appointing a new committee to revise wages recommended by the Minimum Wages Committee in as many as 40 categories.

CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

India Government Must

ASK USA TO STOP ATTACKS ON VIETNAM, WITHDRAW ITS MARAUDERS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India declares its complete solidarity with the heroic freedom struggle being waged today by the South Vietnamese people under the leadership of their Liberation Front, against the barbarous aggression of the US imperialists.

IN total violation of the Geneva agreements, repudiating all canons of international law and resorting to the most savage forms of warfare—the US imperialists have sought desperately to crush the liberation struggle of the people of South Vietnam.

But all their concentration camps and torture chambers, all their arson and murder campaigns, all their inhuman gas, napalm and phosphorous bombs have failed to crush the indomitable spirit of the people of South Vietnam.

Even the newspapers of the imperialists themselves admit that 75 to 80 per cent of the territory of South Vietnam, is controlled by the liberation movement.

Facing a complete debacle and rout in their diabolical efforts to crush the people of South Vietnam, the US imperialists began a series of bombing attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) on February 7. These attacks which have not ceased since that date, constitute open and unashamed aggression against a sovereign country.

The number of US military forces in South Vietnam has been rapidly increased during this period and is now openly admitted to be more than 30,000. US officials have boasted that these US troops may now even be used for ground fighting.

US airmen are carrying out daily bombing attacks both on the positions occupied by the South Vietnamese Liberation Front, and on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Communist Party of India vehemently condemns this deliberate aggression and its wanton escalation. By these acts, the US imperialists have won for themselves the hatred and hostility of hundreds of millions all over the world, including large numbers of sane and peace-loving people in the USA itself.

The US imperialists, facing worldwide demand for a halt to their aggression and for the immediate withdrawal of all their forces from South Vietnam, are now attempting to manoeuvre with a view to

GREETING AHMEDABAD PEOPLE

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India congratulates the people of Ahmedabad who under the leadership of the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad achieved a resounding victory in the recent corporation elections routing the Congress as well as other reactionary parties.

We have no doubt that this shining triumph of the unity of democratic and progressive forces and mass organisations will inspire the people everywhere to emulate their example.

Further, the US imperialists refuse to allow any talks with the South Vietnam Liberation Front, which alone has the right to represent the fighting South Vietnamese people.

The Communist Party of India is amazed at the manner in which the Government of India has attempted to interpret President Johnson's appeal as a change for the better in US policy.

The Indian people see no such change; on the contrary, the escalation of the bombings and the increase in the US armed forces

strength in South Vietnam, as well as the US refusal to agree that the South Vietnam Liberation Front must be participant in any talks for a lasting solution in Vietnam shows clearly that, whatever the words, US imperialism is not only determined to continue its aggression, but also to increase its violence with every day.

This attitude of the Government of India is not accidental. Despite the repeated appeals of the democratic movement, the government has refused to condemn the US aggression in Vietnam.

Even in regard to the horrible crime of gas warfare, the government's attitude was hesitant and wavering; the formal condemnation of gas warfare was considerably delayed and the manner in which it was made in Parliament appeared apologetic and vacillating.

On the contrary, the US imperialists have intensified their bombing attacks, and fresh reinforcements for US troops are pouring into South Vietnam.

What has been even worse and has blackened India's image still further has been the reported attitude of India's representative in the ambassadorial negotiations held at Belgrade last month for the drafting of a non-aligned governments' appeal for peace in Vietnam.

The Indian representative opposed any mention in the appeal of the US responsibility for the aggression in Vietnam despite the openly expressed view of the majority of the International Control Commission of which

WITHDRAW PRESIDENT'S RULE IN KERALA

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India condemns the unconstitutional imposition of President's Rule on Kerala without allowing the newly-elected Assembly to function, by enabling the Party that secured the largest number of seats or any other party combination to explore the possibilities of forming a government.

Unable to form the government, the Congress Party not only prevented the Communists (Marxists) from forming the government but refused to release even those of them who were elected to the

Assembly; nor did it allow any other party to form a government either. All this is actuated by purely partisan reasons and is a violation of all canons of parliamentary democracy and of the Constitution itself.

All who cherish democratic rights and parliamentary democracy must take up this challenge and come together to rouse public opinion and people to action and force the government to withdraw President's Rule and allow the democratic process to operate in order that an attempt can be made to form a government in Kerala and the elected Assembly allowed to function.

India is a chairman and despite the fact that India was party to this majority view. The Indian representative at Belgrade went further to demand that "both sides" be equally blamed.

The Communist Party of India demands that this weak and vacillating attitude of the Government of India which has done great damage to India's reputation in the world, be abandoned.

The government must reflect the strong feelings of the democratic masses on this urgent matter and demand an immediate halt to US aggression and the withdrawal of all US forces from South Vietnam.

Campaign for Defence of Democratic Rights

The National Council of the Communist Party of India condemns the continued and increased resort to DIR and arrest of leaders of working-class and other democratic struggles as recently in Tripura, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Assam and other states.

It condemns the continued detention of the leaders and cadres of the Communist Party (Marxist) who were arrested on December 30, 1964 and thereafter.

That all these arrests were necessitated by the needs of defence and security of the country is refuted by public opinion.

On the other hand, the detention of the rival Communists in Kerala was used

It also demands the withdrawal of the President's Rule in Kerala so that a chance is given to the democratic process to operate.

A campaign for these demands is a campaign for democratic liberties and for the defence of parliamentary democracy which must be organised jointly by all left parties and other democrats in cooperation with the proposed Civil Liberties Union and other organisations.

The National Council resolves to initiate such a campaign in cooperation with all left and democratic forces which are prepared to act together with our Party.

ICFTU REGIONAL CONFERENCE Squabble for Control Comes to the Surface

The General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), Omer Becu, came to Delhi with high hopes. In his address at the inaugural session of ICFTU's Asian regional conference, he spoke of it as the session of opportunity, the like of which may not come for a long time.

WHEN he flew out of Delhi to Africa in the early hours of Wednesday morning, on the conclusion of the session—on his hectic efforts to mend the ICFTU fences in preparation for the world body's Congress at Amsterdam in July—he must have felt extremely disappointed.

For strengthening the Asian Regional Organisation (ARO) of the ICFTU and creating greater cohesion in it, the session ended with its largest affiliate in the region the INTUC, breaking away from the Asian body and the controversies within it growing worse and sharper.

Galling Outcome

For Becu, the outcome must have been all the more galling since his hopes to rally the Asian body behind him and the head-quarter leadership against his rivals in the ICFTU—the American unions—were completely shattered.

A sharp fight for control of the ICFTU between the European TU leaders who run the world body's organisation from Brussels and the AFL-CIO has come into the open.

The AFL-CIO leader, Meany has publicly attacked the Brussels group. There have even been hints that if the Americans are denied full control they will split and set up a rival "free" world trade union centre.

First steps in this direction were already taken by the American side when the AFL-CIO decided that its offices in Latin American countries were outside the ICFTU framework.

The crisis in the world body and what is claimed to be the "free" trade union movement is, of course, deeper than merely a question of control of the ICFTU headquarters by rival groups.

Several newly-independent African countries have found the ICFTU interfering in their internal political affairs and have obliged it to fold up activities. It is also facing difficulties in several Asian countries.

Within the USA itself, the AFL-CIO merger is beginning to face difficulties and the talk of a split between the two is not ruled out.

It is beginning to dawn on many a trade union centre affiliated to ICFTU—in the face of the crisis that has overtaken it after only 15 years of its existence—that its too close and constant preoccupation with politics, within the framework of its basic doctrine of anti-communism, instead of social and economic issues of direct concern to the workers and trade unions is the fundamental cause of ICFTU's problems.

This view was repeatedly and forcefully raised by many a delegate, particularly from Japan and India—which provide nearly two-third of the ICFTU membership in Asian region.

But it became equally clear in the course of the session that a determined group has acquired a foothold in the organisation which has grown into almost a vested interest which thrives on political controversy and on its platform of anti-communism.

The entire session provided ample evidence of such a line-up at least in the Asian regional organisation of the ICFTU. The report of the outgoing secretary—Horil, provided not a few points for political controversy to dominate the conference discussion.

India's Protest

India (INTUC) had to protest against adverse comments on government's policy of non-alignment. Indonesian delegate had to fight against branding his country an aggressor in relation to Malaysia. The Ceylon delegates devoted a major part of speeches on the triumph of UNP against a leftist combination in the recent general elections in that country.

These issues took so much of the conference time that less

than one day out of seven, was found for considering and adopting a resolution of social and economic interest—on Asian trade and the workers share in its expansion. The rest of the time was taken up by political debates or the tussle over election of the regional secretary.

Two other resolutions passed by the session were entirely political. One was on the return of Okinawa to Japanese administration. The second resolution condemned China for aggression against India, and also Indonesia for its policy towards Malaysia.

It also condemned aggression in South Vietnam. When an Indian delegate asked who the aggressor in South Vietnam was—USA or some other power—his query remained unanswered.

But there was no doubt in the minds of those who voted for the resolution that they had no intention of voicing criticism against the USA and the resolution was directed against "Communist" aggression in Vietnam.

The schism in the organisation, however, took on the form of an open break over the election of the regional secretary. S. V.

Mathur was declared elected after an all-night grueling session devoted to the election. But the INTUC refused to accept the result for strong procedural and constitutional reasons—which the newly-elected chairman of the regional body accepted had valid grounding in the rules—and proclaimed its intention to have nothing to do with the ARO so long as it was not rid of intrigue and office-hunting.

The line up in the election was significant since it was on the line of the division on almost every other issue that came up before the session. This indicates that though personal factors played a part in the election, the tussle had wider implications.

INTUC in Revolt

Mathur received 20 votes of delegates who represented only 18 lakh membership and comprised representatives of Hongkong, Formosa, South Korea, Malaysia, Okinawa and HMS of India and SOHOYO of Japan.

A. Mukerjee, who opposed him, secured 18 votes from Ceylon, Philippines, Pakistan, Indonesia, INTUC of India and Domet of Japan. Their voting strength was over 45 lakhs.

The INTUC claimed Mathur was really defeated on membership count, but was declared elected because Chairman of the session was a man belonging to Mathur's group.

The fight at the regional level will now go to the world body. It is bound to get even more closely inter-twined with the international political line-up.

—(IPA Service)

RAJASTHAN TENANTS SECURE CONCESSIONS

From H. K. Vyas

JAIPUR: Last year Communist MLA Ramanand Agrawal introduced a private member's bill in the Rajasthan Assembly proposing amendments to the law relating to control of rents and evictions from premises in urban areas.

THIS move helped to activate the Kirayadar Sanghs (Rent Payers' Associations) which were in existence in some towns. Such organisations also came up in other places. These were broad-based organisations and very soon the movement crystallised.

An all-Rajasthan conference was held and state body of Kirayadar Sangh was sent up with Pt. Hajirail Sharma, a Congress leader as its president and Hari Ram as secretary.

A statewide campaign for amending the above law was taken up by this organisation. When Ramanand's bill came up for discussion, the movement had already assumed substantial proportions. The government then assured that it itself would come out with an amending act.

This amending act was introduced, went through a

select committee and finally last week it was passed.

The two most important demands of the Rajasthan Kirayadar Sangh related to provisions concerning eviction on grounds of default of payment of rent and secondly on grounds of personal necessity of the landlord.

The amending Act makes certain significant changes in the provisions relating to evictions on ground of non-payment of rent.

Existing Provision

The existing provision was that if a tenant failed to pay or tender rent for two months he was considered a defaulter. Even if later the rent was paid and accepted by the landlord the legal position of his having become a defaulter continued.

On three defaults the

tenant was liable to eviction on this ground anytime. There was also no way out for a tenant when the landlord refused acceptance of rent. There have been hundreds of cases in which landlords took advantage of this provision and secured the eviction of tenants.

These provisions have now been changed substantially. Now a suit for eviction can only lie if the tenant fails to pay or tender rent for six months.

A new provision has been inserted to enable the tenant to directly deposit the rent in a court in case the landlord refuses to accept payment.

In cases where a suit for eviction is brought on the ground of non-payment of rent; if the tenant deposits the rent with interest at 6 per cent and the cost of the suit in the court, that shall be taken as full discharge of his liability for payment of rent and he could not be evicted.

These changes are a vindication of the demands raised by the Rajasthan Kirayadar Sangh. It means very significant concession secured for the tenant.

SHILLONG: The "no work" movement of the Assam secretariat employees enters its 40th day today (April 11) with hardly any prospect of a settlement in sight. All offices will be closed during the coming week for "Bihu" festival.

DURING the week attempts were reportedly made by some MLAs belonging to both the ruling party and the Opposition for a mediation between the government and the employees.

At one time it appeared that this effort would bear fruit and the deadlock would be over. But the adamant attitude of the government obstructed a solution and hence the movement continues.

Following the police action against the employees' leaders—five of them are now in detention under DIR—and the arrest of two Opposition MLAs and two Communist leaders, three other MLAs, two of the Congress and one of the Opposition, initiated a fresh move for a settlement.

Government had earlier agreed to include the case of the secretariat employees in the terms of reference to the one-man commission that was appointed to examine the anomalies in the Pay Committee recommendations and other

grievances of the employees of different departments.

The secretariat employees who had been demanding a high power committee to examine the anomalies accepted this one-man commission. In fact, according to one Opposition MLA, the high ranking officer who has been appointed the one-man Commission was named by the employees themselves.

It also amounted to an admission by the government that anomalies do exist in the Pay Committee recommendations and these require to be removed.

Besides, the government was reported to have taken a position that the representatives of the secretariat employees would be allowed to work in the cell of the finance department to point out the anomalies in the Pay Committee recommendations and they would also be allowed to make representations before the one-man commission which in its

Assam Sectt. Staff Struggle Continues

From M. BHATTACHARYA

turn would make its own recommendations to the government.

Had there been no vindictive action against the employees, the movement could have been called off then and there. But the employees could not go back to work unless the penalty imposed on some of them had been withdrawn.

They demanded that before they resumed work, all their detained leaders should be released, all suspension orders withdrawn and the leaders of the Association now in detention, who have since been summarily dismissed should be reinstated and the employees

should be allowed to resume work, all at one time.

The government, it is learnt, agreed to withdraw suspension orders, release all the five leaders in detention; but insisted on the employees' expressing "regret" for their action.

At first the government asked that those who have not been suspended would resume work first and then the suspension orders would be withdrawn and those suspended would be allowed to rejoin.

But later it agreed to withdraw all suspension orders and allow all the employees to resume work simultaneously. In view of this seemingly conciliatory attitude of the government the mediators advised the employees to agree to express regret.

The employees in a general meeting passed a resolution expressing regret that under "compelling circumstances" they had to resort to the "No Work" movement which caused inconveniences to the public.

Though there was no government commitment to restore the recognition of the Secretariat Services Association in which the employees are organised and the recognition which had earlier been withdrawn, the employees, agreed not to insist on this for the time being. But the settlement stumbled on the question

of reinstatement of the two leaders who had been summarily dismissed.

The employees stated that they would resume work if their two leaders would be reinstated. The MLAs who had been negotiating for a settlement had earlier got an assurance from the government that there would be no victimisation.

The negotiators felt that the employees might go back to work on this assurance. The employees demanded that if the negotiators could obtain that assurance in writing and could make a public statement that they had obtained such an assurance, the employees would resume work on that basis.

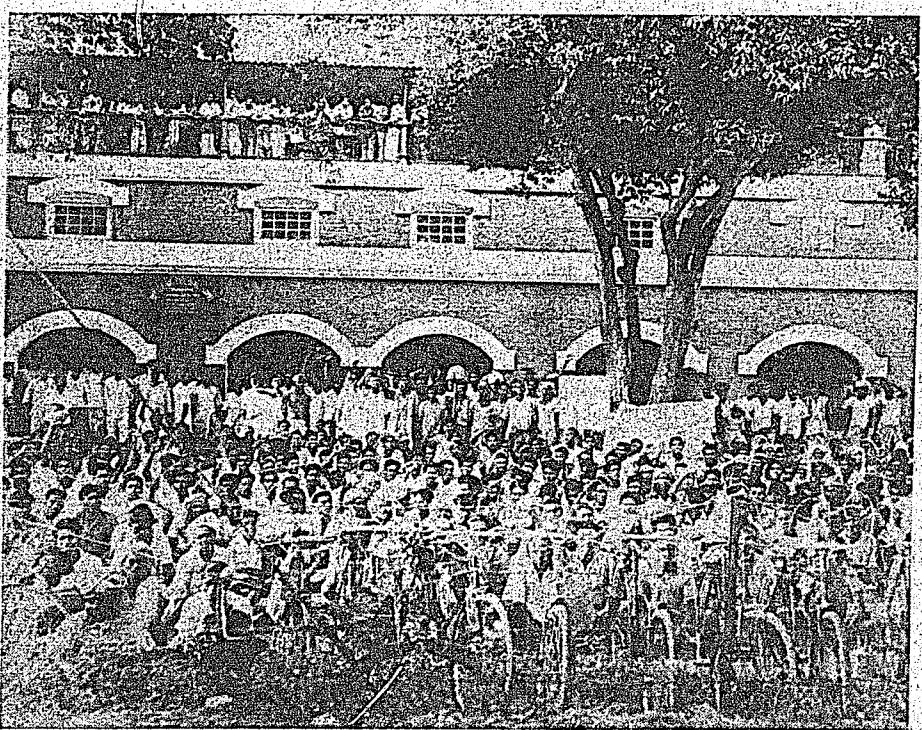
Some of the negotiators who thought that the government might give this assurance to them in writing reportedly met the Chief Minister to obtain this written assurance. But they failed to get such a written assurance.

On the other hand the negotiators who met the Chief Minister came back with the impression that the two leaders of the secretariat employees who had been dismissed summarily would not be taken back to work.

Following this the general meeting of the employees decided to continue their "No Work" till the government takes back the two leaders.

The employees on "No Work" are being refused entry into the

*ON PAGE 13



Workers of the South Eastern Railway demonstrate before the District Superintendent's office in Kharagpur on March 20 to protest against retrenchment.

Strike In Kulti Works

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

KULTI: Production at the general casting shop of the Kulti Works of the IISCO has at a standstill since March 23 with all the workers having gone on strike.

THE provocation for the strike was the decision of the management to cut down production bonus from 122 per cent to 64 per cent. The workers were told of the cut on pay day when they went to receive their salaries.

To the workers' protest against this grave inroad into their earnings, the management's reply was that pipes had been rejected and therefore it had no alternative but to cut down the production bonus.

This argument has not satisfied the workers. They do not see any reason why pipes should be rejected because the same set of workers had been producing the same type of ingot moulds and pipes for years.

The villain of the piece seems to be a new deputy general manager who has hit on the bright idea of saving money for the owners. This gentleman had only recently to leave the TELCO due to similar whimsical activities.

Workers belonging to both the AITUC and INTUC are in the struggle, standing firm and united in the struggle against the employer's onslaught.

Though the management

Sangram Samiti Unit Formed In Andhra

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

HYDERABAD: The Andhra Pradesh unit of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti has been formed at a meeting of trade union representatives at Hyderabad on April 5.

THE committee consists of T. B. Vittal Rao, N. Satyanarayana Reddy and J. Satyanarayana of the AITUC, Mahdoom Mohiuddin, M. L. Anjiah and P. Rammoohan Rao of the Andhra Pradesh Road Transport Corporation Employees Union, Raj Bahadur Gour, D. Brahmanandam and A. Sunder Rao of the Andhra Pradesh Bank Employees Federation and M. Sambamoorthy, Seethal Singh and Tummala Choudary of the Hindi Mazdoor Panchayat.

N. Satyanarayana Reddy was elected convener of the Andhra Pradesh Sangram Samiti. The meeting was also attended by the Insurance Corporation Employees Union. The union is expected to join the Sangram Samiti formally within a few days.

The meeting through a resolution endorsed the decisions of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti at the national level and called upon all the trade unions, working people and democratic forces in the state to extend their full cooperation and participation in the agita-

tion being planned and organised by the Sangram Samiti. The six-point charter of demands consists of introduction of state-trading in foodgrains; fixation of prices of farm products; nationalisation of banking and general insurance; linking of dearness allowance with cost of living index and correction of fraudulent indices; introduction of rational and just bonus law; withdrawal of national emergency and DIR; and release of all political detainees.

The conference has decided to hold conventions shortly at various levels to mobilise and prepare the people for the united statewide struggle to secure the just demands of the workers.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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ON RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Following is the text of the resolution "ON RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS" adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India which concluded its seven-day meeting in Delhi on April 11.

Nearly four months have passed since the Seventh Congress of our Party. This short period has been marked by extremely serious developments in the international and national arena. The imperialists in their mad drive against world peace and national liberation, democracy and socialism, have further intensified and enlarged their aggressive war in Vietnam. This imperialist offensive is, of course, an integral part of its bid for world domination. Its naked strategy of aggression and neo-colonialism is, however, not confined to Indo-China. It is projected in other countries of this Asian region through tactics of interference, pressure and blackmail.

In its aggression and war, US imperialism now relies on the differences in the socialist camp and on the forces of domestic reaction in the countries whose independence it wants to undermine.

The machinations of US and other imperialist powers have been recently witnessed in the Ceylon elections. They openly worked for the downfall of the Bandaranaike government.

The US imperialists not only continue to supply arms to Pakistan. They are also instigating that country against India to further heighten Indo-Pak tensions. The US arms are being freely used against India as in the recent Pak intrusion and firing in the Rann of Kutch. The unending series of Indo-Pak border incidents cannot but be viewed except in this context.

The visit of Sheikh Abdullah to various countries and his other calculated moves form a part of the new series of provocations against India to embroil our country and Pakistan in aggravated conflicts and even in armed clashes.

The US imperialists want to discredit and humiliate India into increasing submission to its blandishments and pressures.

IMPERIALIST PLANS

One of their principal aims is to force India first to compromise and then to abandon its policy and non-alignment. In advancing these designs, the British imperialists, for example, are openly exploiting the Naga question and have now taken to bolstering and instigating the Naga rebel leader Phizo.

Imperialism naturally sets great store on the continued conflict between India and China over the border question. Recently the signing of the Sino-Pak agreement has manifestly emboldened the Ayub regime in its intransigence and in its provocative moves against our country.

Serious difficulties have arisen in the economic situation of the country, particularly owing to certain anti-people and pro-monopoly policies of the government. Sufferings of the masses have given further, giving rise to widespread and mounting discontent.

This situation is again sought to be utilised by the imperialists and reactionaries, both inside and outside, to put pressure on government in order, first, to secure reactionary modifications and then to reverse the nationally accepted policies of the country.

The recent period has been one of growing decline and disintegration of the leadership of the central govern-

ment, with serious repercussions all around. This, together with the cases of corruption which have lately come into the open and the partisan manner in which the government has sought to handle them, has greatly lowered its stature and prestige even among the supporters of the ruling party.

Imperialism and reactionaries within the country are taking full advantage of this situation in order to strengthen the positions of reaction, both within and outside the government. The conciliatory attitude of the leaders of the government towards reaction on the one hand and their attempts to minimise and shield corruption on the other have in no small measure facilitated the manoeuvres of reaction.

II

INSPITE of its protestations of carrying forward the positive internal and foreign policies evolved in the life-time of Nehru, the government is showing serious vacillations and weaknesses in the face of the pressure from the imperialists and reactionaries. And these vacillations and weaknesses in their turn further encourage and strengthen the imperialists and the forces of internal reaction.

The sinister character of this fresh round of imperialist pressures for the virtual abandonment of the policy of nonalignment has been strikingly revealed in what has come to be known as the Sudhir Ghosh affair. The American hand behind the whole dirty story is now obvious.

The purpose of the American pressure groups in seeing that a Congress MP "reveals" on the floor of Parliament a "secret" allegedly confided to him by a dead President of the USA was to create the impression of authenticity. Sudhir Ghosh's story that Pandit Nehru had called for a US aircraft carrier and that it was actually present off Calcutta in November 1962 was meant to justify the US aggression and war in Vietnam and weaken the position our country is called upon to take on this Vietnam issue.

The government's delay and the hesitations in contradicting this lie only helped in creating the impression that there was some element of truth in Sudhir Ghosh's canard. The US agencies organised a round of lunch and dinner parties to MPs to whom they "revealed" off-the-record that they possessed a "letter" from the late Prime Minister making the demand for the US aircraft carrier. This embellishment of the story was trotted out in Parliament by the Swatantra leader Dahyabhai Patel.

Despite the fact that the story has now been categorically contradicted by the Government of India and also, reluctantly, by the US authorities, the purpose of the manufacture of the lie has been achieved—namely, to launch, on the basis of this lie, a campaign for a "practical" outlook, for the necessity for US assistance for "defence" and against the impracticability of a "rigid interpretation" of non-alignment.

The effect of these new imperialist pressures on our foreign policy can be most vividly seen in the attitude adopted by the Government of India on the US aggression in Vietnam.

The pro-imperialist parties and the monopoly press, as well as the Right inside the ruling party and the government, have been arguing in defence of US aggression. The main burden of this "defence" is that the US military forces in Vietnam are fighting against what is called the "Chinese advance into Asia". India, it is argued, is also interested vitally in halting this "advance" and hence

must support the Americans in their war for "democracy"!

There is no doubt that this "reasoning" prevails in circles which have a hand in the making of India's foreign policy. Added to the other imperialist pressures, this line of approach results in the shameful vacillations and hesitations in government policy on Vietnam.

The Government of India failed to condemn categorically the naked US aggression on Democratic Republic of Vietnam despite the verdict of its own representative on the International Control Commission; it has earned for itself the disapprobation of all anti-imperialist forces by the stand taken by its representative in the Ambassadorial discussions in Belgrade for the drafting of the nonaligned nations' appeal for peace in Vietnam.

India's stand in this meeting is reported to have been sharply against any mention in the appeal of the USA as responsible for the present situation; on the contrary, India's representative wished the appeal to state that "both sides" were responsible.

HESITATION ON VIETNAM

Even in regard to the obvious issue of the use of gas by the US armed forces, the government hesitated and delayed in expressing its concern. Even when belatedly a statement in this connection was made there was fumbling by the Foreign Minister over communicating the views of Parliament to the US government; and a deputy minister appeared to be justifying or condoning the American position in the Rajya Sabha when he insisted that there was no reason for government not to believe the US government's explanation of its resort to gas warfare!

The Government of India's failure to act against US aggression in Vietnam, its failure to demand a halt to this aggression and the use of gas, napalm and other horrible weapons, and to insist on the withdrawal of US forces has not helped to win friendship and support among the anti-imperialist, Afro-Asian countries. On the contrary, India's image has been tarnished further because of this yielding to imperialist and reactionary pressure on the most urgent international issue of today.

III

WE are in the last year of the Third Five-Year Plan. Wherever the tempo of development should be of a high degree after 14 years of planning, our economy, however, continues to be beset with a whole number of difficulties, some of which are extremely serious.

The Finance Minister himself has admitted that the situation is one which is causing anxiety and he has also listed the following features: "The rising prices, the difficulties in raising adequate resources for investment and the sharp decline in our foreign reserves."

The government and the ruling party claim that they have to a certain extent curbed galloping prices, especially of foodstuffs, that they have increased the availability of food, that they are taking measures to increase agricultural production, that they have given tax relief to the common man and so on.

But these claims have really little substance. Despite the temporary lessening of the acuteness of the situation and some very minor relief given by the Union Budget to a section of

the people, the problem of rising prices is far from solved. As far as the resources for our Plan are concerned, the government refuses to find correct solutions.

India's foreign exchange reserves have declined to well below Rs. 100 crores. Notwithstanding an all-time rise in our exports in 1964, deficits in the balance of payments are still growing and that too at a time when India's foreign liabilities have reached the staggering figure of almost Rs. 2,500 crores.

Repayment of foreign debts and interest charges on them have already become a serious problem. The government, however, has worked out a line to meet this situation by giving more and more incentives and concessions to foreign monopolists. Now India has to borrow even to pay her outstanding foreign debts and interest charges.

There is no room for complacency because the food situation in these few months has been slightly better than last year. In the first place, the situation always improves with the harvesting of new crops.

Secondly, one must not ignore the fact of heavier imports of foodgrains under PL-480. Taking advantage of India's chronic food deficits, the US imperialists are now trying to further

government is averse to curb the trade monopolists or to nationalise the banks. It will not even take such simple measures to stabilise prices of consumer goods required by peasants, as setting up a chain of countrywide state and cooperative shops supplying these goods at reasonable prices.

FOODGRAINS PROBLEM

Far from being brought down and stabilised, prices still remain out of control and may continue to rise again. The failure of the government to evolve an effective policy to hold the price line through effective fiscal and other economic measures continues to pose a serious problem for the masses and indeed the country's economy as a whole.

The permanent solution of the food-grain problem lies in the increase in agricultural production, breaking the stagnation on that front and making the country self-sufficient in food for its growing population as well as in raw material for its expanding industry. But the foodgrains production has stagnated at a level even below 85 million tons a year (the target was again lowered to this figure from 100 million tons, the originally reduced Third Plan target).

RESOLUTION OF CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL

modify their PL-480 agreements. They have begun to demand that at least half of the payments be made in dollar.

The decision of the government to set up a food corporation and start state-trading in foodgrains is no doubt a welcome one. But this they propose to do by buying not even three million tons of foodgrains out of the total of 15 million tons of marketable surplus. Again, the government is relying mainly on the wholesale trade to obtain the stocks instead of seeking the cooperation of the cultivator.

The government is even averse to taking vigorous action against the hoarders and speculators. That is why the procurement drive of the states through its agencies in Maharashtra, West Bengal and other states has not proved successful.

Even the government has had to admit that considerable stocks have already gone into the hands of the hoarders and speculators. Unless the present approach and policy of the government is radically changed, the entire food situation is going to once again reach a critical stage during the coming lean months.

QUIBBLING ON BLACK MONEY

Measures to curb factors which are responsible for price rise, such as banning of bank advances and unearthing black money have not been firmly carried out. Money continues to pour in speculative channels. Black money unearthed is only an insignificant portion of the total in circulation.

Even the money unearthed has not been confiscated nor have the culprits been prosecuted. The gov-

ernment is averse to curb the trade monopolists or to nationalise the banks. It will not even take such simple measures to stabilise prices of consumer goods required by peasants, as setting up a chain of countrywide state and cooperative shops supplying these goods at reasonable prices.

It requires to be stressed that PL-480 transactions represent a danger not only to our economy but also the independent development of our national policies which reactionary forces, fattening on the American presence in India, seek in various ways to subvert.

The difficulties in raising adequate resources for our development plans and the crisis of our foreign reserves, were looming large in the context of the short fall in reaching the targets of the Third Five-Year Plan and of the formulation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

These difficulties were used by interested parties and vested interests to build up pressure to curtail the Fourth Five-Year Plan, to change the direction of economic development viz. the accelerated building of basic industries in public sector so essential for achieving the economic independence of the country.

ANTI-PEOPLE SLANT

Already the present scheme of development planning was solving the question of raising the resources not by mobilising to the maximum the internal sources, nor by completing radical agrarian reforms and thus creating conditions of raising accumulations in agrarian sector, nor by taking over foreign monopoly concerns, the export-import trade and nationalising banks and rapidly expanding the public sector so that its earning capacity increases.

The line is one of raising resources by increasing the tax burden on the common people and by drawing upon foreign loans and assistance. Our foreign loans and debt burdens have increased enormously during the period of the three Five-Year Plans. The heavy debt-service (repayment of interest) of these foreign loans, the inadequacies and defences in our export trade, as well as the black-marketing of foreign currency by the monopolists and exporters—all this has led to a serious crisis of the foreign reserves.

The government is now trying to solve these difficulties, as has been already noted, by giving generous concessions to foreign monopoly capital in order to attract them to increase their investment in our country.

Significant and interesting discussion took place recently in the course of which it was sought to be proved that foreign private capital was more advantageous to a developing country than foreign government loan capital.

In the course of the conference of the International Chambers of Commerce and the tour of the American Industrialists headed by Mr. Stillman, both of which took place in recent months, the representatives of Western and particularly American monopoly capital put forward demands for tax concessions to foreign capital and for guarantees against nationalisation and for majority participation in equity capital and so on.

Given these concessions, the foreign, especially US, monopoly capital finds a favourable field for exploitation in developing India and wants to come in a big way and even penetrate such strategic branches as oil production, petro-chemicals and fertilisers.

The government has been yielding to this pressure, and is proceeding to give wide concessions to foreign monopoly capital. This was in fact one of the shocking features of the Finance Minister's Budget this year.

He announced that "all the incen-

tives and facilities that we have given to Indian enterprise for promoting investment are available equally to private foreign enterprise and we give every facility for repatriation of profits to foreign investors."

The Government of India has decided to issue letters of intent to foreign investors, who are prepared to collaborate with their Indian counterparts. While still not moving altogether uncautiously, the government has opened the public sector, at least in a limited way, to the participation of foreign private capital.

All this is apart from the official guarantees given to foreign capital against nationalisation, for remittance of profits, allowances, etc. Taxation on foreign investors has also been reduced by the decisions that the tax rate will be determined not on the basis of their world income, but by taking into account only their Indian income.

Similarly, the Prime Minister has announced in Parliament that the old policy of insisting that foreign capital for achieving the economic independence of the country.

Now foreign enterprise may hold majority of shares in a joint enterprise. Because, says the Prime Minister, "either technical know-how is not available or sometimes it will not be possible to find the necessary foreign exchange."

Though this does not mean that the pass is sold to foreign capital, the door, however, is now thrown open to foreign capital and the demands of US and British capital are thus met. This dangerous trend was sharply criticised in Parliament by the Opposition and even by some Congress MPs. But it is supported by a section of Indian monopolists.

If the growing collaboration with and penetration of foreign private capital is allowed on these terms, it will only facilitate the attacks of Indian and foreign monopoly on the public sector, hinder our march to economic independence and pave the way to a sell-out to foreign capital.

In this connection, it is to be particularly noted that the main trend of the Budget is to provide new opportunities to monopolists and the big business for further increasing their wealth.

FAVOURING BIG BUSINESS

The so-called rationalisation of the general structure of the corporate taxes works in favour of the big business interests. Under the new rates, those with an income of one lakh rupees will pay Rs. 5,000 less as income-tax and those with an income of two lakhs will pay Rs. 11,000 less.

The modifications in the estate duties and gift taxes also work in the same direction. The scheme of giving incentives for the disclosure of black money is also a concession to profiteers and makers of ill-gotten wealth.

Thus, the difficulties and the crisis in the economic field, which arise out of the capitalist path of development which the ruling party is pursuing are sought to be overcome not by turning away from that path, not even by honestly implementing even the moderate measures put forward in their own Bhubaneswar resolution, but by ever more concessions and surrenders to Indian and foreign monopoly capital.

These dangerous trends and developments of the last few months, if not resisted and reversed, will instead of solving the difficulties worsen, in the long run, the conditions of the masses and endanger even the gains our economy has made.

For instance, one of the positive achievements of our economic development so far has been the building of heavy and basic industries in the public sector and thus laying the foundation for the industrialisation of the economy and of its economic independence.

The public sector has grown in magnitude and importance. In many respects, it matches and even surpasses the achievements of private sector. Though state-capitalist in character, it has made some contributions to strengthen our national economy and loosen the grip of foreign monopoly capital in our country.

Recently report on the functioning of the enterprises in this sector shows that despite many shortcomings and inefficient functioning, some of them at any rate are doing well and yielding good surpluses for further expansion and investments elsewhere. But side by side with this welcome growth, private monopoly capital has also grown and concentrated in its hand immense economic power.

HELPING MONOPOLISTS

The significance of these recent developments and the measures of the government lies in this that they will enable the Indian monopolists, in concert with foreign monopoly capital, to mount an attack on the public sector, to penetrate it and render it ineffective against the inroads of foreign capital and make it an instrument of the aggrandisement of the Indian monopolists.

The urgent need today is to warn and rouse public opinion against this dangerous trend and mobilise the workingclass and democratic forces to reverse this trend.

In fact, the situation in the public sector is ripe for vigorously taking up the demand for nationalisation of coal mining industry, for further strengthening the public sector in oil. It is necessary to give a sharp rebuff to foreign oil companies in their effort to penetrate the public sector and to take effective and strong measures to clip their empire in the field of refining and distribution of oil products.

Situation is ripe for demanding the nationalisation of banks and of export-import trade, as well as for organising vigorous actions to improve the wage standards of public sector employees, to protect their democratic rights and to demand workers' participation in the management and democratisation of the public sector itself.

In short, the economic situation is one which urgently calls for orientation of government policies so that foreign and Indian monopolists and other exploiters are not in a position to take advantage of our present difficulties, with a view to distorting the rapid independent development of all branches of our economy.

The situation, in particular, underlines the supreme urgency of economic and other measures to improve the living conditions of the workers, peasants and other sections of the people.

IV

IN this period, the unity and integrity of the country has suffered a heavy blow on account of certain developments connected with the introduction of Hindi as the official language of the Indian Union. Even though there is no flare up now, a democratic lasting solution to this vital problem has yet to be found.

The failure of the central and state governments to take effective steps

BONN'S EMISSARY UNMASKED

ESPIONAGE EXPERT AS DIPLOMAT IN INDIA

NEW AGE had published on January 24, 1965 the report that the West German Consul-General in Calcutta, Edgar von Randow, is a former Nazi and a spy.

PROOF is now available that G. F. Duckwitz, the present West German ambassador in India is also a former Nazi, an experienced spy and an agent of Ribbentrop, one of the top Nazi criminals.

Duckwitz is in India since 1961 and no one seemed to be aware of his eventful past and no body still knows what are the "things" this gentleman has managed to pull through during his stay here.

Lev Bezymensky, a Soviet researcher, in the course of sifting the material in the archives connected with the second world war, discovered the true identity of this West German ambassador.

His article BONN'S MAN IN DELHI based on documentary evidence has appeared in the NEW TIMES No. 13 (March 31).

Bezymensky came across in the archives the interrogation record of a German officer commanding a platoon of the 230th Infantry Division. This officer was taken prisoner on November 30, 1943 and his name was Eckhart Briest. This interrogation record specifically refers to Duckwitz.

Briest at present is the West German ambassador in Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay. He was not just an officer in the German Army under Hitler; he had been with one of the top-secret services in the Third Reich.

Following is an abridged version of Bezymensky's account that tracks the past of Eckhart Briest, Duckwitz, and the whole system of German espionage under Ribbentrop.

The Third Reich, that state of total espionage, had a complicated intelligence system. In the Wehrmacht, its leading branch was the so-called Abwehr headed by Admiral Canaris.

Intelligence Network

Besides the Abwehr there were other intelligence and counter-intelligence services. The most important was the RSHA (the SS Reich Security Head Office) whose chief was Reinhard Heydrich and, after his death, Ernst Kaltenbrunner.

This was a regular "spy combine" comprising the internal counter-intelligence service (SD or Third Department), the Gestapo (Fourth Department), the Criminal Police (Fifth Department), and the foreign political intelligence service (Sixth Department).

Moreover, there were several "personal" intelligence services: Göring's so-called Luftwaffe Research Institute, Rosenberg's Foreign Political Bureau of the Nazi party, and Cautleier Bohle's Foreign Organisation of the Nazi party. Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop finally also decided to organize his own intelligence service.

In the summer of 1941 one of the villas in the Kaulbachstrasse,

in the Berlin suburb of Lankwitz, was occupied by an institution called the Third German Information Bureau.

The man appointed in charge was Dr. Andor Henke, an experienced diplomat and Ribbentrop's confidant and friend. The information he occupied himself with was of a special sort. What he actually was in charge of was a secret service whose tasks included:

- Collection of secret information in addition to usual diplomatic information;
- establishment of a special espionage network;
- recruitment of spies from among prominent personalities in Europe.



Ambassador Duckwitz

That was how Lieutenant Briest, who was the third highest-ranking man in Ribbentrop's secret service from September 1941 to March 1943, characterized the functions of the Henke Bureau.

As he confessed when interrogated, Henke was the head of bureau, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein—his deputy, and he—Briest—its secretary.

It is not only from Briest's deposition that we know about the existence of the Henke Bureau. For instance, in a secret memorandum to Baron von Steengracht, Secretary of State at the Reich Foreign Ministry, Minister Ettel (one-time chief of the Third Bureau) reported on April 13, 1943:

"The Third German Information Bureau" employs officials and employees of Reich missions as agents. The duty of each mission chief, especially in wartime, is to get the best possible information. It is to get it that he must train and instruct the personnel under him."

Ettel Memorandum

Ettel's memorandum also contained certain details about the

"Formally, this bureau was part of the Ministry's Information Department but it had a special status because Henke was on Ribbentrop's 'personal staff'."

inner workings of the Third Bureau. Although it was subordinated to Ribbentrop, it maintained close contact with the SD, that is, with the Third Department of the SS Reich Security Head Office. Page 5 of the memorandum says:

"An agreement may be reached with the SD on the employment of its communication facilities to transmit information supplied by the agents of the Third German Information Bureau... This method presupposes close and confidential co-operation between the SD and the Foreign Ministry."

Incidentally, Henke was an SS Brigadeführer.

In other words, the Henke Bureau was an SS service within Ribbentrop's ministry!

SS Brigadeführer Walter Schelenberg, chief of the RSHA Foreign Political Intelligence Service, recalls in his memoirs that Ribbentrop set great store by his "personal intelligence service."

In one of his talks with Schelenberg, the Reich Foreign Minister declared that, in his opinion, it should collect information in the most important spots of the world and occupy itself not with details but with the most essential, top-secret affairs.

Capable Agents

To this end, he said, it was necessary to get "ten or twenty especially capable agents" and keep them well supplied with money for operations in different countries.

Who were they, these secret residents of Ribbentrop's? Pages 28 and 29 of Eckart Briest's deposition say:

"AGENTS IN THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES: In Scandinavia, the post of resident of Ribbentrop's secret service was held by a German named Duckwitz, a shipping expert attached to the German Legation in Copenhagen... In this diplomatic capacity, Duckwitz had widespread contacts in the Scandinavian countries, particularly in shipping quarters. Duckwitz sent his reports to Henke in the form of private letters by courier or wrote them at the Foreign Ministry when travelling from Switzerland via Berlin."

The information collected by

Duckwitz compelled much attention in Berlin. Briest said:

"The Berlin centre prepared for Ribbentrop précis on the basis of the processed information received from agents. These précis were taken together with covering letters by a courier from Ribbentrop's office in Berlin to his special train. The covering letters contained personal data on the agents' social status, profession and reliability, as well as evaluation of the verisimilitude of their information. The list of agents was kept by Ribbentrop too. The précis were reported by Baron von Steengracht or von Rintelen. When he received especially valuable information, Ribbentrop reported to Hitler."

What information from resident Duckwitz did the leaders of the Nazi Reich find particularly interesting? Here is another excerpt from Briest's deposition:

"The information on Britain reported to Hitler came from a Swiss merchant employed by the resident in Copenhagen."

As far as I understand, this agent's residence was in Geneva. Resident Duckwitz went to Geneva to meet this agent. I recall that this Swiss went to England on Duckwitz's instructions and brought information from there at the beginning of the summer and in November 1942."

And so we have before us the portrait of a prominent Nazi spy—a man named Duckwitz.

He was one of those "ten or twenty especially capable agents" of whom Ribbentrop had spoken. This spy had extended his tentacles to Geneva and London... His information was reported to Hitler himself.

Duckwitz's Background

Now let's see who this mysterious person is.

On September 29, 1964, the Munich *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported that Ambassador Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz, the well-known Bonn diplomat, was sixty years old. The paper praised him as "an envoy of a political profile."

It said that Duckwitz, a native

of Bremen and a specialist in foreign trade, was a shipping expert in Denmark during the Nazi years. Duckwitz, the newspaper wrote, "lived through the Nazi occupation in Denmark and considered it his duty to oppose this regime," and helped the Danish Resistance movement. After the war he continued his diplomatic career in the Federal Foreign Ministry.

On the same day, the semi-official *Frankfurter Allgemeine* also congratulated him and called him "one of the most brilliant representatives of the Federal Republic abroad."

Duckwitz, the former shipping expert? The one who served in Copenhagen? Wasn't this "brilliant representative," a secret agent in Ribbentrop's intelligence service?

Just as in the case of Briest, I checked on Duckwitz's biography in order not to offend one of the leading G.F.R. diplomats by mistake.

Confession of Briest

The deposition made by Briest in the autumn of 1943 said:

"Copenhagen resident Duckwitz (39) was a shipping expert with the German Legation... He owed his appointment at the German Legation to his cousin, retired Legation Counsellor Dr. Duckwitz, who, before his retirement, was a counsellor at the Legation in Copenhagen."

Official biographical data on Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz reveal that he was born in 1904 and was a shipping expert at the German Legation in Copenhagen. That means he was 39 years old in 1943. Yes, it was Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz, who was 39 in 1943, who was the hero of Briest's spy story.

After studying at the Freiburg and Bonn universities, Duckwitz went into commerce; he engaged in foreign trade, worked for the HAPAC shipping company, travelled quite a bit about the world.

It was only in 1939, according to his official biography, that he joined the diplomatic service, and soon after was appointed shipping expert at the German Legation in occupied Denmark. He remained at this post until the end of the war.

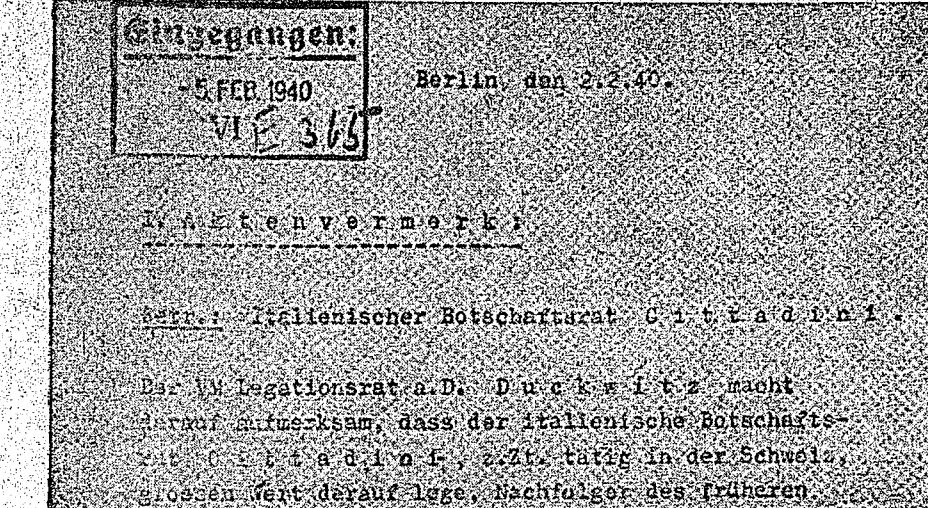
The official data are pretty meagre. But one comes across his name in connection with all sorts of things in the press and archives. Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz's name, for instance, may be met with in certain SS documents, which say he was a member of the Nazi party.

There is one document with his name that deserves to be told about.

Among the SS documents recently discovered was a report to the "E" Section of the RSHA Sixth Department (the "E" Section engaged in espionage in Central Europe). Here is what this report, dated February 2, 1940, says:

"REFERENCE: Italian Embassy Counsellor Cittadini.

"Agent Duckwitz, retired Legation Counsellor, draws attention to the fact that Counsellor Cittadini of the Italian Embassy in Switzerland would like to take the place of former Embassy Counsellor Magistrati, now Minister in Berlin. In the opinion of Legation Counsellor Duckwitz, which is shared by authoritative diplomatic quarters, Cittadini is a suitable person for



Another document that testifies to Duckwitz's role

this post. It would be in the interest of the Reich to facilitate Cittadini's transfer to Berlin.

"For your information and further action."

The report compiled on the basis of Duckwitz's information was acted upon immediately. It was sent to SS Sturmbannführer Rosner, who occupied himself with Italy. Instructions were issued to start a dossier concerning Cittadini and enter his name in the celebrated card index of the RSHA Sixth Department, that is, in the card index of people "devoted" to the Third Reich.

I am not interested in Count Cittadini, who until 1940 was a counsellor at the Italian Embassy in Bern, but in another man—retired Legation Counsellor Duckwitz. Judging by everything, he is C. Albert Duckwitz, a relative of our hero.

It may be recalled that Briest named this retired diplomat as the man who got Georg Duckwitz his job in Copenhagen. The "E" Section report makes it clear that he was a secret agent of the RSHA Sixth Department ("VM," that is, "Vertrauensmann").

It was this SS agent, obviously with the knowledge of his bosses, who recommended the young shipping expert for the job at the Legation in Copenhagen. As an old saying goes, you can't take a step without hitting a fence.

Activity in Copenhagen

Here is how Briest characterized Duckwitz's work in Copenhagen:

"The information supplied by resident Duckwitz from Copenhagen was distinguished for its great clarity and emphasis on the essential points, and revealed that the author possessed political acumen and a capacity for drawing conclusions. Although he did not supply information very often, he gave new facts. His information about Sweden was less important than that he received from his Finnish agent in Helsinki, a cousin of Tanner and a man well informed about Finland's home policy.

"His main informant was a shipowner from Göteborg, whose Swedish information, however, was inferior to his information from Britain. This agent was particularly well informed about Britain's home policy.

"Although Duckwitz's agent in Geneva, the Swiss merchant, went to Britain only twice in

1942, he brought back extremely interesting information, skillfully obtained from prominent British personalities."

Duckwitz's spy work was indeed very well organized. He concentrated all his efforts on a few objects.

The first was Britain, which the Nazis had planned to invade back in 1940. Sweden and Switzerland were the second targets. Both were neutral. But both were included in the list of the Nazi aggressors' potential victims. Lastly, Duckwitz was interested in Finland.

Sleek Operator

He did not care for Denmark, where he lived. There he did not want to spoil his reputation and wished to remain a "respectable" diplomat in the eyes of the many people he was acquainted with. That made it all the easier for him to do his main job.

The Copenhagen resident had rather solid agents. Here is what Briest had to say about them:

"Duckwitz, the resident in Scandinavia, had a whole number of agents. They included:

"a) A Swedish shipowner in Bergen (Norway);

"b) A Swedish shipowner in Göteborg (Sweden) with ties in Britain;

"c) The young widow of a Swedish Guards officer, a baroness who moved in court circles in Stockholm;

"d) A member of the Swedish royal family in Stockholm;

"e) A cousin of Tanner, Finnish trade union leader, in Helsinki;

"f) A Swiss merchant in Geneva who had business ties in London and socially met the British Minister of Aviation, and Sir Alexander Cadogan, Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office."

This list alone gives a good idea of the scope of activity of Ribbentrop's Copenhagen resident. Duckwitz had agents in all the Scandinavian countries, and in very high spheres at that. The Swiss agent was acquainted with high officials, and the information he obtained was reported to Hitler himself. No wonder resident Duckwitz was so confident. Witness this excerpt from Briest's deposition:

"Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1938 to 1946.

DUCKWITZ, RIBBENTROP'S CONFIDANT

Foreign Ministry" with the knowledge of the SS. Duckwitz's "ties" with the Danish Resistance Movement look entirely different in the light of these facts. The assertion that he "opposed" nazism sounds ironic, to say the least.

And so it is clear that Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz was an experienced spy and an agent of Ribbentrop, one of the top Nazi war criminals.

Rewarded For Dirty Work

What happened to Duckwitz, Ribbentrop's agent, after the war? Did he share the fate of his master? Was he taken prisoner like Briest? Or perhaps the British had dealt quietly with him for causing them so much damage during the war?

Nothing of the kind. After a brief pause, Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz resumed his career. Where? In the Foreign Ministry. Only this time in Bonn and not

in Berlin.

First he was offered a post in the same Denmark where he spied during the war. In 1950 he became head of the Economic Section of the G.F.R. Embassy in Denmark. After three years in Copenhagen (1950-53) he was appointed consul in Helsinki. In 1955 he returned to Copenhagen, this time as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

The situation is not without a grain of irony. Duckwitz became an ambassador in one of the Nato countries, although all his life he had spied against another Nato country.

In Bonn, however, service with Ribbentrop is the best recommendation. Three years later Duckwitz was again promoted: he was put in charge of the Eastern Department at the Foreign Ministry. In 1961 he was appointed Ambassador to India.

And our old friend Briest, who returned home from a POW camp in 1955, was given the job of West Germany's envoy in Paraguay in 1959.

AYUB'S MISSION TO MOSCOW

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Pakistan President Ayub Khan's eight-day visit to the Soviet Union has resulted in some improvement in Pak-Soviet relations and in clearer understanding of the viewpoints of the two sides.

BOTH sides have expressed the desire to improve relations and expand the cooperation in economic and trade fields. The grant of credit by the Soviet Union presages better cooperation in future with Pakistan.

But the course of future development will naturally depend on the way Pakistan's policies develop and on the extent to which her dependence on imperialist powers is lessened, and whether her relations with India improve or deteriorate.

Observers here believe that an improvement in Soviet-Pak relations and Soviet influence could produce a healthy effect on Pakistan's policy and could, in the last analysis, even contribute to a betterment of Indo-Pak relations.

During talks here with the Pak President the Soviet side has consistently emphasised the need for a peaceful settlement of disputes and the development of good neighbourly relations.

The Pakistani leaders have fallen here to influence to any measure the Soviet-Indian relations or the Soviet Union's stand on Kashmir.

Talk of "self-determination" or "brown imperialism" etc. did not cut any ice here and Ayub had to say at one stage that he did not expect to gain Soviet sympathy for Pakistan's case on

But how could one forget the fact that precisely when Ayub was reeling out his exposition on peaceful coexistence, a member of his cabinet was taking part in the CENTO council meeting along with Dean Rusk in Tehran.

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko is reported to have jokingly reminded Ayub that the U2 spy plane which was shot down by Soviet missile over USSR had taken off from the Peshawar base.

The divergence in approach became glaring when reference was made to the situation in Vietnam. The Pakistani President avoided the issue and took care not to offend the US in any way.

SOVIET ARMS REACH VIETNAM

SOVIET arms supplies to North Vietnam to help her ward off American air-raids are now going through.

After the earlier difficulties encountered in sending these much-needed supplies to Vietnam via China due to the latter's criminal non-cooperation, an agreement has now been arrived at.

The details of the agreement are still not known.

The Soviet spokesmen are confident that the Vietnamese people will be able to teach a lesson to the American aggressors.

National Council Resolution

ON RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

★ From Centre Pages

for the equal development of all regional languages and to ensure the complete replacement of all English by the regional languages for all educational, administrative and legal purposes in all the states; their failure to implement the 3-language formula in its real spirit, the bunglings and provocative steps of the central government in introducing Hindi as the official Union language in this background, all these have caused serious misgivings in the minds of large sections of the non-Hindi speaking people to the effect that their regional languages would be adversely affected and that Hindi would be imposed upon them to the detriment of their own future.

This led to a largescale agitation which, in certain places, was taken advantage of by anti-social elements for indulging in acts of vandalism and destruction of public properties. This mass agitation was fully utilised by reactionary parties and vested interests to whip up chauvinist feelings on the language issue and seriously weaken and disrupt the forces of democratic unity.

The Congress leadership and the central government, embroiled in their own inner-contradictions, are yet to evolve a correct policy on the language question that will check the growing forces of disruption and reinforce the unity and the integrity of the country.

Serious threats to democratic unity have come in this period not only from the language chauvinists, but also from the growing forces of casteism and communalism.

During the Kerala elections, both the official Congress as well as the Kerala Congress whipped up communal passions and communal hatred—particularly in the old Travancore-Cochin area—to such an extent as to affect even the mass base of the left parties. Anti-Congress discontent that would have otherwise found healthy political expression, was distorted and led into communal channels.

In several states, rival Congress groups as well as right reactionary parties are more and more whipping up casteism and communalism to serve their own ends. Even the leadership of certain left parties are falling victims to this.

All this has meant an increasing threat to the forces of class and democratic unity and weakening the rising forces of struggle of the workingclass and the common people against the grip of feudalism and monopoly.

A Serious New Threat

A serious new threat to India's parliamentary institutions and their working—and indeed to the very foundation of democracy has now arisen.

Instead of trying to solve the problems of the masses the government is taking increasing recourse to repressive measures, especially the notorious DIR, against the democratic movement. Authoritarian trends have grown in the recent months as never before. Emergency and the unbridled powers under it are used for purposes which have nothing to do with de-

fence of the country. The democratic gains of the people are today in jeopardy.

The nationwide arrests and detention without trial of the leaders and members of the rival Communist Party, the increasing resort to DIR to arrest leaders of workingclass strikes and other mass democratic struggles (as in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Assam, etc.); the refusal of the Union government to release 29 detenu MLAs elected to the Kerala Assembly; and the imposition of President's rule in Kerala by the Union Government in an arbitrary and autocratic manner without giving any chance to the normal constitutional processes to operate—all these are creating a situation which, if unchecked, would completely undermine people's faith in parliamentary democracy itself.

In these conditions, only the reactionary forces who are out to undermine our independence and subvert parliamentary democracy can find encouragement and new opportunities for their machinations and evil designs.

All those who stand for strengthening of parliamentary democracy, for the rule of law, for the democratic rights of the citizens enshrined in the Constitution, must take a serious view of these developments.

Significant Departures, Weaknesses

The National Council of the Communist Party of India draws the urgent attention of all democrats to the above developments, which show conclusively that there have been significant departures from nationally accepted policies and marked weaknesses in their implementation.

The Seventh Congress of our Party meeting in Bombay at the end of 1964 had, after considerable discussion and a detailed examination of government policies, come to the following conclusions in its political resolution:

"The Government has not made basic changes in the national policies. It carries forward both the positive, as well as the negative aspects of the policy in general."

At the same time, the resolution had correctly pointed out:

"But there has been a change in the internal structure, for the worse. Under the mounting pressure of right reaction, both inside and outside the Congress, the Government has made dangerous anti-people concessions on issues of food and price policy, suppression of democratic rights etc."

While pointing out that the democratic movement had, through mighty campaigns and struggles not only compelled the right to retreat on occasions but also forced the government to make concessions in favour of the people, the resolution warned:

"The situation may deteriorate further unless popular democratic forces are able to check and reverse it through determined struggles..."

"In the new situation, the vigilance of the organised democratic movement and active intervention of the Communist Party and other progressive democratic forces have assumed new importance. The task of building up the unity of democratic forces for the defence of

India's progressive policies and for a shift to the left can no longer be ignored, except at the peril of India's future."

Having examined the current developments since the Seventh Congress of our Party, the National Council is of opinion that not only the reactionary policies pursued by the government have not been reversed, but some of them have, in fact, been further intensified. Although the basic positive policies have not been abandoned or reversed, certain very serious shifts have unfortunately taken place within the broad framework of these policies.

The vacillations in foreign policy have increased in recent months under the pressures of imperialism and the right reactionary forces, both inside and outside the government. In internal policies there has been a further yielding of concessions to foreign capital and the Indian monopolists.

The increasing attacks on the democratic rights and civil liberties for intimidating and weakening the mass movements are again another evidence of these anti-democratic shifts.

In the context of the increased imperialist and reactionary pressures on the government which relies more on conciliation with reaction than on the masses of the democratic movement, the danger of a general shift to the right is more real and more threatening than ever before.

The further deterioration in the situation, the increased menace of imperialist and reactionary pressures on government policies and the growing vacillations and weaknesses in these policies, as evidenced by the facts outlined above, must be seen in the background of the failure of the democratic forces to unite and to intervene actively through organised struggles in defence of the progressive policies and against the right reactionary offensive.

The warning given by the Seventh Congress regarding the urgent necessity for the unity of the democratic forces, for their vigilance, action and intervention, must be reiterated today with ever greater force. Today the danger of a shift to the right is more real and threatening than ever before.

The right reactionary forces have in this period consolidated and gone on the offensive in an organised and concerted manner. On the other hand, the democratic forces have remained divided and scattered, the striking power of some of them often frittered away in actions which, instead of weakening the right, only strengthen it.

Appeal For Democratic Unity

The National Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to all democratic parties, groups and individuals, who seek to halt the drift away from the country's basic progressive policies, to realise the gravity of the situation facing the country and sink their differences with a view to forging that national democratic unity which alone can carry the people forward towards national regeneration.

The pressures of imperialism and reactionaries within the country have

further sharpened the social contradictions and enhanced the objective possibilities for isolating imperialism and reaction and developing the country's democratic movement on a broad basis. Given the correct approach and tactics ever new sections of the people can be drawn into positions of struggle against imperialism and reaction, for defending the nationally accepted basic policies and for ensuring a shift to the left.

The recent months have seen increased mass actions in defence of their vital interests on the part of the workingclass and other sections of the working people. In 1964 total man-days lost in workingclass actions increased by 100 per cent as compared to 1963.

Big mass actions and struggles of the secondary school teachers, doctors, of state and central government employees, IAC pilots and other technical personnel and of bank employees for wage increases, for example, point to the possibilities before the democratic movement. This is further highlighted by the people's victories in the Ahmedabad and Calcutta civic polls.

Concrete Mass Actions

What is necessary in the present situation is to mobilise the potentially far stronger forces of the masses into concrete mass actions in defence of the interests of the people of the country.

The Communist Party has placed before the people the urgent task of uniting the democratic forces to fight both the anti-people policies of the Congress rulers and the right reactionary forces' efforts to subvert the basic policies and bring about a shift to the right. The Communist Party believes that the united national democratic forces can succeed not only in halting the right offensive but also in bringing about a shift to the left.

In carrying out this urgent task the democratic movement needs to be on guard against any unprincipled compromise in alliance with reactionary parties in the name of fighting the Congress rule. Such a course only offers opportunities for reaction to strengthen its position.

The National Council places before all democratic and socialist forces in the country the urgent task of building and consolidating their unity for the defeat of right reaction, reversing the anti-people policies of the government and for bringing about a shift to the left.

While once again drawing attention to the immediate platform of action put forward by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India and urging cooperation and joint campaigns on any or all items in this platform, the National Council invites all the left parties, all progressive forces and personalities, including democratic Congressmen to join together in campaigns and actions on the most urgent and immediate issues.

Struggle must be carried forward in defence of the living standards of the workingclass, for bonus and dearness allowance, led by the Sangram Samitis and the trade unions. Special attention must be given to the fight for the democratisation of the public sector both as regards its management as well as the living and trade union rights of the workingclass. Such democratisation has become an urgent necessity to fight back

the growing attempts of monopoly capital to infiltrate into the public sector in various forms and utilise it for its own aggrandisement.

Struggles must be organised on the most pressing problems facing the peasantry in each state; for effectively ensuring fair rents; security of tenure of the tenants; distribution of fallow lands to poor peasants and agricultural labourers, ensuring of fair prices to the agricultural producers and, on that basis, effective procurement.

The struggles against pro-monopoly economic policies call for united actions. The campaigns must be intensified for nationalisation of banks, oil and coal and for state-trading in foodgrains which have become of vital necessity particularly to combat the growing attacks of monopoly on these sectors of the economy. The fight against concessions to foreign private capital must be waged unitedly by all democrats, including Congressmen, who realise the danger to the country's independent development arising from these concessions.

Actions against the vacillations and weaknesses of the Government of India, particularly on the urgent issues of US aggression in Vietnam and in defence of the positive features of our foreign policy must be stepped up, jointly with other patriotic sections of our people and with peace bodies and mass organisations.

A united campaign on the language issue must be undertaken in each state for the introduction of the regional language to replace English as a medium of instruction and administration, and also for a democratic solution along the lines suggested in the CPI National Council resolution. Students and teachers,

writers and artists, in particular, must be drawn into this campaign.

The struggle in defence of democracy, against the use of DIR, for the release of detenus, for the lifting of the emergency and against the imposition of Presidential rule in Kerala must be organised jointly by all left parties and other democrats in cooperation with civil liberties and other organisations.

In each of these campaigns and struggles, the Communist Party will seek the cooperation of all democratic forces which are prepared to act together with the Party.

The National Council is fully aware that certain parties, groups and individuals, while willing to act on one issue, hold different views from that of the democratic movement on another. For example, while certain left parties are taking part actively in the Sangram Samitis and in the struggles against the violations of democracy, certain of their leaders are quite openly opposed to the taking of any actions against US imperialist aggression in Vietnam. In some cases, these left leaders even fully support the US imperialists in the field of international affairs.

However, a marked feature of this period has been the taking of a resolute stand against certain of government's pro-monopolist economic policies by a number of progressive Congressmen and even Congress committees. Certain Congressmen have openly come out against the arbitrary imposition of President's rule in Kerala.

On the issue of foreign policy and particularly in regard to the opposition to US aggression in Vietnam, a number of Congressmen have expressed themselves strongly and joined hands with other democratic sections in demanding the withdrawal of US

forces from South Vietnam. But all these Congressmen may not be prepared to join the democratic movement on other issues.

The Communist Party will offer its cooperation on each issue to those sections of democratic opinion as are interested in that issue without demanding support on other issues, where it is not forthcoming.

NOTWITHSTANDING the manoeuvres and pressures of imperialism and reaction, and the anti-democratic and anti-people policies of the government, the last word, however, rests with the people.

The economic and political situation in the country today emphasises the need for a vigorous united national mass action by all progressive and democratic forces. Only by developing such united mass actions and mass political activity in every city and throughout the country can the organised democratic movement effectively intervene in meeting the challenge of imperialism and domestic reaction.

Only thus is it possible to compel the government which is yielding to reactionary pressures to change its course and firmly stand by the nationally accepted positive policies and carry them forward. United political intervention on a national scale has become the supreme need of the hour for the defence of the vital interests of the working people.

The unleashing of such mass action in economic, political and other spheres of our public life will naturally have to be developed into a powerful nationwide movement in which all progressive and democratic forces,

through multiform activities, will play their rightful part.

With this perspective of mass actions and mass struggles in view, the National Council of the CPI appeals to all left parties, democratic mass organisations and progressive individuals to observe a special week beginning with MAY 10 for bringing about united mobilisation:

—For demonstrating our national solidarity with the brave fighting people of South Vietnam in their struggle against US imperialists and their puppet; for the withdrawal of the US forces from Vietnam; against the US arms aid to Pakistan and against imperialist machinations against India and other Afro-Asian countries;

—Against the arbitrary imposition of President's rule in Kerala in disregard of all principles of parliamentary democracy; against the use of DIR and other emergency powers for attacking and suppressing the country's democratic movement; for the release of all leaders and workers of the democratic opposition and the democratic movement who are now in detention without trial; for defence of civil liberties, democratic rights and the basic principles of parliamentary democracy and finally, for scrapping of the oppressive Defence of India Rules and emergency powers;

—For voicing the urgent economic and other demands of the workers, peasants and other sections of the people.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India solemnly declares that the Communist Party will do all in its power to make this week a success and thus open up a new phase of sustained democratic mass political activity and struggles throughout the country.

★FROM BACK PAGE

The independents could not secure a majority relying only on the adjustments with the SSP and the Muslim League.

On the other hand, the election results show that the ULF consisting of the CPI, the Communists(M), the RSP and the independent democrats, with adjustments with the SSP would have won a comfortable majority.

Namboodripad's policy has led the people of Kerala, temporarily at least, into a blind alley because it gave the Congress an excuse to clamp President's Rule on Kerala and to continue to keep the detenus in jail.

The alternative policy of building the ULF would have given the democratic forces a more resounding victory over the Congress and given them the power to expose and fight the anti-democratic policies of the Congress more effectively.

In answering the second question, the National Council has made a sharp criticism of the leadership and of its subjective handling of the situation after the programmatic United Front was broken.

After January 13, when the talks for a programmatic united front had failed, it was a political mistake to consider the ULF to be irrevocably broken and to be provoked by the Marxist Communists' hostility into reciprocating virtually their policy of fullscale confrontation.

It was necessary, on the other hand, to take up with tenacity the search for adjustments with rival Communists and with the SSP in a bid to avert to the maximum any confrontation with them, especially with the former.

It is true that soon after the break-down of the talks, we took several steps to seek adjustments with the rival party. Adjustments of seats on a district level were nearly agreed to in two districts. The attitude of Namboodripad and other rival party leaders continued to be negative and obstructive.

But we too committed mistakes of falling prey to provocations and switched over to nearly fullscale confrontation in the mood of counter-retaliation.

In the context of this confrontation, we lagged behind in taking up as vigorously as was necessary the issue of the mass arrests of the rival Communists in the course of the election campaign. Immediately after the DIR arrests, Nanda's White Paper and his atrocious statement in Kerala, we did take up the issue both in Kerala and in Parliament.

But later, it must be admitted, we failed to take note of the impact of the arrests among the people and did not maintain a vigorous follow up of the campaign in the course of the election battle.

The basic reason for our big defeat was the fact that the split had weakened our Party far more than the rival party, especially in regard to cadres and to the Communist-minded mass base. A bulk of these had shifted to the rival party's influence and what is more is that we proceeded from an over-estimation of our strength and influence.

In this context, contesting a large number of seats, including putting up candidates against some of the detenus, which arose from the political mistake mentioned above proved disastrous.

Finally, summing up the political results and especially the

NATIONAL COUNCIL ANALYSES KERALA ELECTION RESULTS

post-election situation, the National Council came to the following conclusions:

1 In Kerala, the Congress had been roundly trounced at the polls, its seats reached an all-time low. But the losses of the Congress did not become gains for the democratic movement. Kerala Congress and the Muslim League, representing in the main the forces of communal reaction, got 36 seats out of 133.

The failure of the left to unite on the basis of a principled political programme, led to a division of left and democratic votes, and thus did not secure a majority which otherwise was quite a possibility.

2 This gave the ruling party a fresh chance to manoeuvre to cover up its bankruptcy by clamping the President's Rule in Kerala, to continue to keep the detenus in jail.

3 If on the other hand, had left unity been forged and a left democratic majority secured, it would have been difficult for the Congress to dissolve the Assembly or dismiss the government formed and thus its

anti-democratic practice of keeping detenus in jail could have been exposed and defeated.

The Kerala elections probe conducted by the National Council not only exposed the blind partisan and opportunist policy pursued by the rival Communists but also turned the searchlight on the political mistakes and the weaknesses of the CPI and its leadership itself. It showed how these events in Kerala mirror the contradictory features of the Indian political scene and sound a grave warning to the progressive and democratic forces of the country, including to those within the Congress itself.

The fight against the Congress monopoly of power, fight against the anti-people policies of the Congress cannot be effectively conducted unless we simultaneously meet and defeat the challenge of reactionary communal forces. The Kerala experience has once again underlined this elementary lesson for all the left and democratic forces.

In Kerala our comrades have already drawn the lesson and are regrouping their forces for fresh battles. They have already

taken the initiative, to unite all the left and democratic forces against President's rule, for the preservation of parliamentary democracy, against the DIR and for the release of detenus.

Already, as the National Council was in session, came the heartening news of the united Kerala-wide black flag demonstrations for these demands. The counter-demonstration threatened by the Kerala Congress proved abortive.

As far as our Party in concerned, it will go forward to consolidate and organise its mass base starting with five lakh and odd people who voted for it. The rival Communists' talk of rethinking. This is as much or perhaps more necessary for them as it is for us.

As far as we are concerned, our Party will always seek unity with them in the joint mass campaigns and struggles of the left democratic forces in the struggle to keep mass organisations united, while conducting an ideological and political struggle to win the masses on the basis of our Bombay Congress decisions.

BONN WANTS ATOMIC MUSHROOM OVER AFRICA

BERLIN (ADN): The announcement by the Algerian Press Agency APS that the West German government intended to carry out an atomic weapon test in Africa has again thrown light on the dangerous policy of West German imperialism.

THE news agency revealed on March 31 that the Federal Republic wants South Africa to put her territory at the disposal of West Germany for an atomic weapon test.

APS underlined that West Germany had invested considerable capital in South African enterprises producing fissionable material which is used for the production of

atomic weapons.

APS thus confirmed revelations on the atomic and military plot between Bonn and Pretoria which are contained in a memorandum of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in the GDR issued in September 1964.

The memorandum proves from documents that the governments of West Germany and South Africa are

preparing for the production of nuclear and chemical weapons as well as rockets.

Moreover it reveals that the pilot project for test production of fissionable uranium and other fuel is already operating. The first atomic reactor is nearing completion and preparations have started for large-scale production—camouflaged as a programme for the development of atomic power stations.

Cooperation between West German and South African ruling circles is of long standing. Leading South African racials were al-

ready working as Hitler's agents. The contractual basis for the Bonn-Pretoria conspiracy was a secret agreement negotiated with South African Defence Minister Fouché in July 1961.

African countries in particular have warned of the great dangers inherent in that plot. "The Samachar", a Zanzibar periodical, wrote at the end of February that the West German government considered that plan a means of evading compliance with their commitments not to produce nuclear weapons inside Germany.



GOLD MEDAL FOR COMMUNIST AUTHOR

A gold medal was awarded by the Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan to Narayan Desai for the best work on philosophy published in the last two years.

The award was given at the Twelfth Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan held at Mapuca in Goa on April 3. The book for which the award was given is titled "Shastriya Tatwadnyone".

Narayan Desai is a member of the National Council of the Communist Party of India.

ASSAM

* From Page 7

secretariat building which is under strong police guard.

Inspired reports are being published that in spite of the "No-Work" movement of the employees, the work in the secretariat is continuing "normally". Some government sources even claim that work in the secretariat is done now "better than in normal times".

Attempts are also being made to disrupt the unity of the employees belonging to various linguistic groups.

The employees no doubt face now extreme financial difficulties as they did not receive their pay for the last month. Some token monetary contributions from a number of sister organisations have been received.

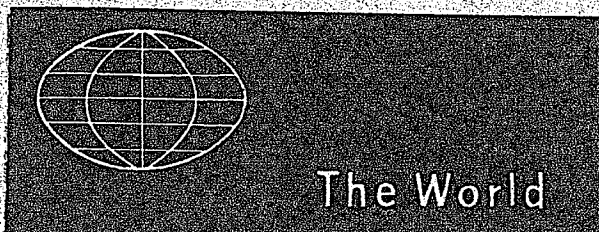
Meanwhile scores of trade unions and associations, both within the state and outside, have expressed their sympathy and solidarity with the secretariat employees.

Phani Bora, secretary of the Assam state council of the CPI, in a statement strongly condemned the arrest of the two Communist leaders, two MLA's and the five leaders of the secretariat employees and demanded their immediate release.

READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS PLEASE NOTE

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VIETNAM: JOHNSON'S NEW STRATEGY FLOUNDERS

seemed to him a convenient way to stem the tide of wrath.

But he had not reckoned with the special features of the situation. His terms of a settlement, coming as they did in response to the appeal of the nonaligned countries for ending hostility in Vietnam, were in cynical disregard of the yearning of the oppressed peoples for freedom and sovereignty. Naturally, therefore, his terms have been turned down with the contempt they deserved.

President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam while rejecting the US terms pointed out that to solve the question of South Vietnam, "it is imperative first of all for the United States to pull out from that country, give the South Vietnamese people a chance to decide their affairs themselves and stop its provocative attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

"Observance of these basic points will create favourable conditions for an international conference similar to that held in Geneva in 1954."

The South Vietnamese people have the legitimate right to expel the US aggressors, to defend their country and independently to settle their domestic affairs.

If there is any action which does not correspond to these principles, it cannot be an act of colonialism, either in its old form or in the new. The US presence in South Vietnam,

indicate Johnson's desire to coerce Hanoi to a settlement.

The entire logic of American manoeuvre in Vietnam is so childish and facile that it cannot but evoke a sense of hilarity, bloodcurdling though the results of the manoeuvre are.

Here is a war that has been lost; a people who do not want the US overlords; a hostile territory over which the US and its stooges have no control; an area where anger is waiting at every corner to retaliate; shelters which do not ensure any safety—this is what South Vietnam is today to the Americans.

And yet men, money and material are being poured into this area by the US in the quest of an impossible victory traversing a path of unprecedented barbarity and bloodshed.

Obviously, Johnson aims at winning a diplomatic victory where his armed move has failed. Perhaps, to him it was incumbent to get round the worldwide condemnation of his abominable actions in Vietnam and this double-talk, with olive branch and bomb,

The persisting acts of aggression on North Vietnam by the US also

which in all practical reckoning for them has shrunk to the limit of an implosion, only betokens a blatant neo-colonialist presence.

Taking at its best, the Johnson proposal only envisages a so-called separate South Vietnam state, permanently dividing the country into two parts keeping the Southern part as an American war base to feed imperialist designs.

This is something which no country can accept. This is precisely why sensible people everywhere, including the US, have voiced grave concern and pointed to the futility of Johnson's new strategy.

BUSINESS WEEK, the journal of the American business quarters, in fact, gave away the real reason why Johnson talks of his readiness to negotiate in Vietnam. The real reason is that by changing the tactics he has shown that the essence of the US policy in Vietnam remains the same.

Senator Morse explained last week in the US Congress that the meaning of the President's speech was that the US intended to carry on its war in South Vietnam and bomb the territory of the DRV.

Morse therefore demanded that the US government must go for talks directly with the patriotic forces of South Vietnam to negotiate a settlement.

Senator Dirksen sharply castigated the US President on his offer of one million dollar aid in South-East Asia and remarked: "I doubt that freedom for a poor people can be bought for one billion dollars."

Several other members criticised Johnson for merely repeating in his offer two old and sterile themes—the US readiness to continue singlehanded its agonizing jungle war and its desire to send more dollars to South-East Asia.

Quite naturally therefore Johnson is finding himself more in company with the ultra-rightists of the Goldwater brand who have been rejected by the people of America. For Johnson there is still a little time left to remedy the damage done. Any more time lost in futile exercise of diplomacy will only entail a harder solution.

BETRAYAL BY LABOUR PARTY

THE Labour Party has betrayed the confidence of the British people. Instead of giving them relief from the burden of taxes, the new budget presented to Parliament on April 8 heaps further calamities on the ordinary people.

The financial brunt of the budget will have to be borne by the ordinary tax-payers since it is heavily tilted in favour of the capitalists.

By increasing the taxes on various consumer goods, the Labour government will actually be cutting down the purchasing power of the people by about 250 million pounds.

The budget does not envisage any reduction in military expenditure. Having scrapped the ambi-

tious plan of manufacturing TSR.2 planes, a scheme motivated by aggressive designs, the government has decided to buy F.111 planes from the USA. The aim remains unchanged though it will mean further currency drain and reduce employment.

Besides the growing unemployment rate which will inevitably ensue from the measures taken by the Labour government, British labour is faced with another evil: the 3-35 per cent wage freeze announced on April 8 by the Ministry of Economic Affairs. It establishes a norm for money earning while norms for prices and profits are absent.

Prime Minister Wilson has already been hooted down in a meeting of the workers where he sought to peddle this formula a couple of days ago. The workers understood clearly that this formula was nothing but the same stuff in a different form as was vended by the notorious Tory Selwyn Lloyd during the previous regime.

The wage freeze policy means that though increase in wages so long was related to productivity, profits, living costs etc., it will not exceed now more than 3 to 3½ per cent irrespective of these factors.

The British working class cannot accept such a term, even in the name of increasing the national income (Labour government envisages an economic growth of 25 per cent by 1970), unless the capitalists are equally bound down to similar restrictions.

ANTI-INDIA CANARD

THE monopoly press of Ceylon had kicked up a big hue and cry a few days ago that India wants to dump radioactive waste in the seas close to Palk Straits which will endanger the health of the people of Ceylon.

But the crux of the matter is that India did not make any request to the Government of Ceylon for the dumping of any radioactive waste. In fact, there is not enough radioactive waste in India which require to be dumped in the sea.

All that India wanted was the permission of the Ceylonese government to drop some radioisotopes in the area of the Palk Straits for obtaining data for a project near Kanyakumari to be undertaken in the fourth Five-Year Plan.

These radioisotopes are widely used as tracer elements to obtain precise data of the under-water terrain for constructional purposes.

The canard on such an affair is a pointer to the shape of things to come. Already there are indications that the new Prime Minister of Ceylon wants to give a go-bye to the Sirmavo-Shastri agreement on repatriation of Indian nationals from Ceylon. A careful watch on the development therefore is a must now for not to be caught napping.

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE (April 13)

Cultural And Scientific Cooperation Between India And USSR For 1965-66

MOSCOW: Talks on cultural and scientific exchange between the USSR and India for 1965-66 were held in Moscow from April 1 to 7.

THE plan of cultural and scientific exchange for 1965-66 that has been signed is a new, very extensive and diverse programme of cultural and scientific contacts between the USSR and India.

For further acquaintance with scientific achievements of the two countries there will be reciprocal visits by scientists specialising in such fields as semiconductor, mathematics, electrokinetics, chemistry, metallurgy, geophysics and social sciences.

Indian scientists will take a course of training at Soviet scientific institutions in the physics of solids, technical information, etc.

In the field of higher and secondary education there will be an extensive exchange of delegations of workers of higher and public education, of students and instructors. More than 30 Soviet teachers of the Russian language and of technical subjects will be

sent to work at educational establishments in India.

The Joint Soviet-Indian Commission for selection, adaptation and translation into English and Indian languages, and publication of Soviet text-books for use at educational establishments in India is to continue its work.

Exchange of scientific achievements in such fields as microbiology, oncology, the problems of bringing back to life in cases of clinical death, neurosurgery, etc. will be undertaken.

An extensive and interesting programme is planned in the field of literature and arts. India will be visited by a group of Soviet ballet dancers; by composers, writers, journalists, film-makers and museum experts. The Soviet Union will be visited in turn, by an Indian dance ensemble, musicians, artists, writ-

ers, journalists, librarians and film-makers.

Soviet and Indian film festivals will be held in Indian and Soviet cities.

A number of Soviet and Indian exhibitions will be held to help the people of the two countries to learn more about each other.

The programme envisages matches between Soviet and Indian football-teams, tennis-players and track-and-field athletes. The Soviet Union will be visited by a delegation of leaders of India's sports organisations.

Simultaneously, a protocol was signed on equal validity of education diplomas and degrees conferred by scientific institutions and higher educational establishments in the USSR and India.

Successful implementation of the plan of cultural and scientific exchange between the USSR and India will make further contribution to friendship and understanding between the peoples of the two countries. (AFN)

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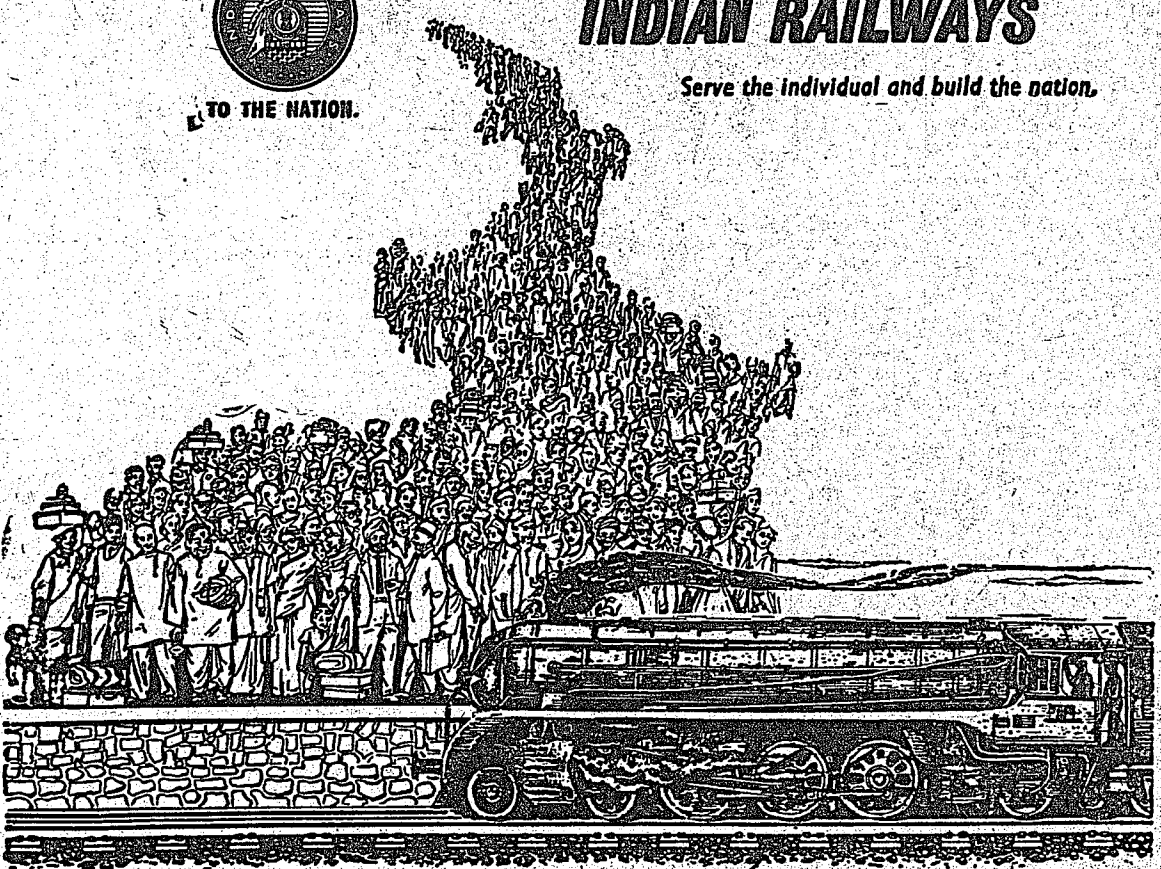


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CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL ANALYSES KERALA ELECTION RESULTS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India during its recent meeting in Delhi from April 5 to 11 discussed the mid-term elections in Kerala, with special reference to the setback the Party received therein, and adopted a consensus on conclusions and lessons which will be finalised into an Election Review.

THERE was complete agreement on the complex situation in Kerala in the context of which the mid-term elections were being held. The Bombay Congress had itself outlined our basic strategy in this election. The split in the National Congress in Kerala was the last act in the process of disintegration of the reactionary communal alliance which it had forged to oust from power the constitutionally-elected Communist-led government in 1959.

It was now the rival Congress—the Kerala Congress—which took up the bankrupt banner of the alliance of reactionary communal forces among the Nair and Christian communities and of the Muslim League. The Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance was blessed by the anti-Communist Catholic bishops and by Mannath Padmanabhan, the high priest of Nair communalism.

But the official Congress, too, had not learnt the lesson of the last four years. It was seeking to counterbalance this Kerala Congress-Muslim League combine by rousing communal passions in the downtrodden Ezhava community.

The official Congress had not only not freed itself from communalism but had also not forgotten its blind anti-communism. The mass arrests of the leaders and cadres of the rival Communist Party throughout India and

particularly in Kerala made on December 30, were justified by the Home Minister as being in the interest of national security and defence.

Public opinion in the country has generally rejected this justification. These arrests were a calculated blow to sow confusion and disarray in the ranks of the left forces and to prevent their unity.

SOUND POLICY

In this situation, the only sound election policy for our Party and for other left parties was to forge a united leftist front on a principled political programme. It had to be a front, not only poised to break the Congress monopoly of power, but also to defeat the communal reactionary combine of the Kerala Congress and the Muslim League.

This was the only policy that corresponded with the aspirations of the common people of Kerala and could guarantee a progressive majority in the Assembly and a stable government on that basis.

Forging such a ULF in the existing conditions of Kerala meant, first and foremost, unity and agreement with the rival Communists and also with the SSP, the RSP and with democratic independents.

Our comrades in Kerala took energetic initiative to build such a front. The main hurdle they came up against was the basic understanding and the policy pursued by the rival Communists and their leader E.M.S. Namboodiripad, as well as the policy of the SSP.

As far as the SSP was concerned, they were on principle opposed to have programmatic united front with any party; they were prepared for electoral adjustments with all opposition parties, including the reactionary ones.

The rival Communists and EMS were prepared for a programmatic unity with us and a common programme was drafted by the sub-committee composed of the CPI, the rival Communists and the RSP. But EMS Namboodiripad wanted the common programme and policy to be such as would leave him free to seek adjustments with the

more on the adjustment with the SSP, the Muslim League and indirectly also with the Kerala Congress than on the programmatic united front with the CPI and the RSP and allied democratic independents.

The CPI, on the other hand, in the first phase of the negotiations tried their utmost to forge the ULF on the basis of a progressive unity with the rival Communists, the RSP and the allied independents, and adjustments with the SSP. Our comrades agreed to a formula defining "independents" to be supported by the ULF in order to accommodate E.M.S. Namboodiripad in so far as it was consistent with our policy.

On the eve of January 13, it looked as if the programmatic unity of the main left and progressive forces of Kerala was achieved. In fact, all papers throughout the country had flashed that news. What remained

By
G. ADHIKARI

was the preparation of a joint list of candidates.

But on that day, in the meeting of the ULF, an issue came up which was quite consistent with the programme, and the tenor of the policy adopted, but to which E.M.S. Namboodiripad refused to agree and chose to break the front rather than seek agreement on the same.

Where the ULF was not putting up its own candidates, it had agreed to support even such independents who were also supported by other non-ULF parties, provided they declared their readiness, if elected, to support the ULF government if formed and not to support the Congress in any case. This was the formula about the independents agreed to.

VOLTE FACE OF EMS

Our comrades had earlier insisted that the ULF must make clear that it is fighting the elections to defeat both the Congress and the Kerala Congress-Muslim League combine. At that time, E.M.S. Namboodiripad had agreed that that statement may be included in the preamble to the programme of the ULF.

But when on January 13 this question was again raised by our comrades, E.M.S. Namboodiripad flatly disagreed and said if he had said it earlier, he withdrew that now. The United Front was broken.

The next day E.M.S. Namboodiripad announced the bulk of the seats his party was contesting as well as the list of some of those he had adjusted with the SSP and also with the Muslim League. In fact, while negotiat-

ing with the ULF he had already come to agreements with the SSP and the Muslim League.

This showed clearly that E.M.S. Namboodiripad, conscious of the relative strength of his Party, was more interested in these adjustments as an effective lever to win maximum number of seats for his party and to expose the CPI to maximum defeat, rather than his forging the ULF on the basis of a programme and policy which alone, in the conditions of Kerala, had the chance of securing a left progressive majority and a stable government.

This analysis was agreed to in the course of the discussions in the National Council; but two questions arose in the course of the debate on the review. Firstly, the question was raised, that granting that this was the position of the rival party, was it right for us to allow Namboodiripad to break the United Front by insisting on the inclusion of that sentence in the programme?

Secondly, the question was raised that after the ULF was broken, did we do our utmost to seek adjustments with the rival party, as well as with the SSP in order to avoid confrontation with these parties and more specially with the former?

The National Council gave clear and categorical replies to both these questions. On the first question it said that it was perfectly right to insist on the inclusion of the statement in the programme that the ULF was fighting to defeat the Congress as well as the Kerala Congress-Muslim League combine.

QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE

It was not a question of just a sentence being included or not, but the question of the whole policy and of political direction of the electoral battle.

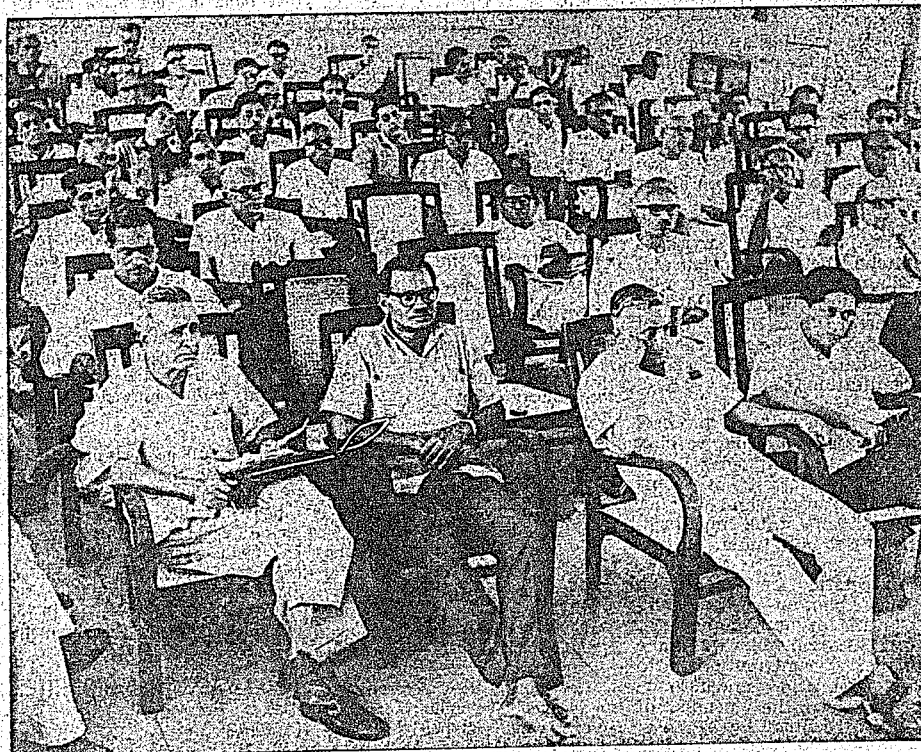
And why did Namboodiripad refuse to agree to that sentence though he had agreed to it earlier? He is reported to have said that if he agreed to it, that would upset his adjustments with the Muslim League which was allied principally with the Kerala Congress. Clearly it was a conflict of two opposing political lines.

In the context of the political events in Kerala of the last four years, the wheel had turned a full circle. The bankruptcy of the Congress-communal reactionary combine which ousted and defeated the government of Communists and independent democrats in 1959-1960 was proved to the hilt.

That combine now stood divided and the Congress itself was further discredited because of its corrupt, anti-people and anti-democratic record. Both these forces had counted upon the division in the left progressive forces—particularly on the split in the Communist Party—the main force.

The way out was the unity of the left progressive forces, based on a programme, a policy spearheaded not only against the Congress with its anti-democratic and anti-people policies but also against the communal reactionary forces.

Our Party was right in sticking to this principled stand. We have suffered a defeat, no doubt. But the election results have proved that the Marxist Communists and



National Council of the CPI in session