

KUTCH, KASHMIR, NEFA, NAGALAND

IMPERIALIST

PLOT AGAINST INDIA

The analysis of the attack of Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch and the proposals to combat it has opened flood-gates of 'rethinking' in all the political parties in India.

ALMOST all the parties, except ours, have however only seen the tail of the tiger. Some do not even see it as a tiger's tail at all. Some suspect it to be so, but do not see the whole tiger. They do not know or do not wish to know what its target is. And some are foolish enough to tail behind the tiger.

These tailists, among whom there are many in top governmental circles also, began to harp only on the Rann of Kutch because Pakistan attacked the Indian border there.

They asked the country to be calm and quiet. It was only a matter of a small skirmish, only a matter of Kanjarkot and Chad Bet. The border police are looking into it, returning the fire of the attackers with determination. It was not a "war", as some panicky people thought!

What came from the side of Pakistan, however, was not the white arm-band of the traffic police, peacefully regulating Indo-Pak traffic lanes.

It was rolling tanks, heavy guns, troop carriers and an airstrip all ready for action. There were casualties and JAWANS gave their lives.

Then the government woke up, the press spoke up and all the voices started babbling, shouting, shrieking for defence, for "teaching" Pakistan a lesson. India must fight back. No surrender. Our Jawans are good, our army is good. Since the fateful November 1962, has not our budget become defence-oriented? 'We will fight' was the all-in chorus.

The whole country's attention was, however, concentrated on the Rann of Kutch; the border, once again the maps came to the fore. The problem of India as a whole and the strategy and tactics of imperialism as a whole was lost sight of.

The Rann is so made by nature that just at this time, it gets full of tidal water, and no one can fight there for "two or three months", as the "spokesman" put it.

And the boundary on the map is so made that Pakistan has all the high and dry land while India has all the sand and low marshy bogs.

No doubt, the sand and marsh is made by nature. But who made the boundary? Not nature but the British, who for years have been making and remaking our provinces, our states and our boundaries. They had seen to it that the high ridge was on that side and the marsh on this. So, the Indian forces had to retreat—for the time being, at least.

Question of Retreat

There is nothing wrong in a military retreat, provided it is planned. There is nothing wrong in it also provided that it is not the beginning of a political retreat.

The retreat in the Rann was not planned. And the military retreat showed signs of a political retreat also.

As soon as military positions came to a lull, politics came to the forefront and the reality of the situation began to become clear.

The people began to ask—Is it merely a border dispute? Is it merely a border-police affair? Is it all a 'misunderstanding'? The briefing of the press and public, which was made by the "official spokesman" of the government reflected all the vicillations and confusions in the government.

The vacillations were overcome

to some extent later on, but as yet the whole reality of the situation is not being grasped.

The reality, that is not being yet put before the people is that this is not a dispute on the Rann of Kutch, just as the Kashmir dispute was not merely one on accession, nor the Nefa battle on a border matter.

Political Reality

But the leadership of the government and the Congress did not put the political reality before the people, because it had fond hopes that US imperialists could stop the Pakistani aggression which has bigger aims than the Rann of Kutch.

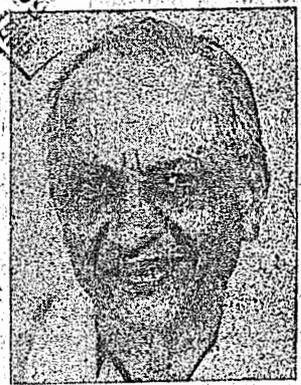
Hence, at first the emphasis was only on the Rann and the violations of the border. There was talk of only police action and not of a reply to the warlike manoeuvres of Pakistan's big armour and so on.

Unfortunately for government's policy-makers, President Ayub Khan made a speech threatening "total war" against India which, according to him, had carried out aggression in the Rann of Kutch and the 24th Parallel. V. K. Krishna Menon, however, ventured to say that what Pakistan was doing was an "undeclared war" on India. Nowadays, some wars are launched without declaring them as such, as for

the neocolonialists and their aggressive wars against the people of Asia and the socialist countries.

That was the whole political reality. The battle of the Rann was merely the tail of the four-footed man-eater preparing for the Kill.

The Indian government and the Indian people certainly do not



want war or even warlike manoeuvres. They want peaceful settlement of a dispute, if there is a dispute.

But is there really an honest dispute, in the Rann, in the Kashmir valley, in the Nefa area, in Assam and the eastern areas?

***** by *****
S. A. DANGE

example, the American war of aggression in Vietnam.

Even before any "lull" could come in the Kutch area, Pakistani raiders became active in Kashmir. The UN observers, that is the Americans there, on the ceasefire line became active in aiding the Pakistani saboteurs inside the Valley. Dahagram on the East Pakistan border also came in the firing lines. The tribal discontent flared up, armed discontent spreading beyond the Nagaland to the Mizos, to Manipur, etc.

The south of Assam touching on Pakistan started to simmer. The Nefa area did not move into any action, but the Chinese statement of support to Pakistan helped to raise the heat against India.

The fight in the Rann of Kutch no longer appeared to be an isolated incident. The whole of India was surrounded with hostile manoeuvres, military and political.

Militarily, the borders were being probed, suggesting preparations for a fullscale attack and war, now or later.

Politically, parts of the country were being incited to proclaim their secession or independence, leading to disruption and dismemberment of the Indian Union.

What would be left was to be swallowed up by forcing the country to join the camp of

Or is it that some people want to involve India in positions of military conflict, in order to achieve their political game? Events have made it clear that the present offensive against India is politically motivated, with border maps or disputes to assist as a pretext.

The ruling Congress party and the government do not want yet to treat the situation in this light, because they are divided into conflicting interests, factions holding conflicting views on this question.

Parties to Conspiracy

Who are the main parties to this grand conspiracy against the Indian people?

The external forces consist of America, Great Britain, China and Pakistan. Each one has its own ambitions and interests against our country.

Each one of them has its own contradictions with the others which prevent all of them from uniting as one against us and acting at the same time. But all of them are one in that they want India to be defeated and disrupted and to fall as a prey into their jaws, either as a whole or piecemeal.

Which are the internal forces contributing to this design?

One is the bloc of those monopolists who want Anglo-American capital to assist them to monopolise

India's wealth and suppress its working people.

The second is the bloc of foreign capital inside the country.

The third is those sections of the Congress Party and the reactionaries outside it who are in the pay of these monopoly sections or are amenable ideologically and organisationally to the influence of Indian and foreign monopoly capital.

The fourth is that group of the ICS and other bureaucrats, who in fact run the state machine and are corroded by the influence of the monopolists and of the Anglo-American bloc.

These internal disruptive and reactionary forces are as dangerous as the neocolonialists and aggressors, who threaten India from outside.

Hence the defence of India is not merely a military question. It is a political question also.

★ The people of India are not going to be cowed down into submission to the Anglo-American blackmail, to join their camp, in the name of crusade against 'communism'.

★ The people of India refuse to support the US imperialists in their bombings of North Vietnam, in their gas and napalm war against the South Vietnamese freedom fighters.

★ The people of India refuse to become the tool of American policy to make Asians fight Asians and become colonials.

Cause of "No Aid"

It is for these reasons that the Americans have refused to give the Government of India any supply of aeroplanes. The British have refused to give even a secondhand submarine.

Only when the Anglo-American imperialists refused to give arms to India or stop Pakistan from using what they had given to her, did the Government of India and the majority of the ruling Congress party come to the reluctant conclusion that it had to seek the help of the Soviet Union.

Only then, did the External Affairs Ministry get the courage to disapprove positively the American gas warfare against the South Vietnamese people.

Only then were the rightwing reactionaries forced to retreat in their open demand for India to line up with the US.

Only then did the government find courage to stop the disruptive pro-American activities of Sheikh Abdullah.

And it is good to see that Prime Minister Shastri has not given up or curtailed his visit to the Soviet Union under the diplomatic plea of serious preoccupation at home and that Planning Commission vice-chairman Asoka Mehta has preceded him.

But the welcome change will not remain stable unless the people react politically against the imperialists and their supporters here.

Seeing the isolation of the US imperialists, the British stepped in the breach, first to recover their

★ ON BACK PAGE

STRIKING TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMRITSAR

(Despatch On Page 12)



Shastri's Vital Mission To Moscow

Editorial

PRIME MINISTER Shastri's visit this week to the Soviet Union is no ordinary courtesy diplomatic jaunt. It is a mission of the greatest significance for India's present and future. And, let it be said without hesitation, the visit can be of considerable importance for the cause of world peace.

The Indian people's eyes will be focussed on Moscow during the coming days. Soviet friendship for India has always been a source of strength for our people at all critical moments in the life of the nation. Today too, faced as we are with military aggression and Anglo-American political and economic blackmail, our people look for friendship and solidarity, where we know we can find them.

The right reactionary forces inside the country are doing their best to suggest that the Soviet Union can no longer be counted upon for that friendship and solidarity. The monopoly press writes, day in and day out, in this vein.

The agents of imperialism know well that Indo-Soviet friendship provides this country with a shield against imperialist and reactionary pressures and blackmail: that is why they seek to create the impression, through their lying propaganda, that that shield no longer exists.

The warm reception which Prime Minister Shastri receives in the Soviet Union will be the best answer to the wishful gentlemen, who hate the very thought of closer contacts and relations

between our country and the land of the Soviets.

Already two missions are at work in Moscow—one dealing with greater cooperation in the field of defence, the other discussing the development of economic cooperation on a scale unsurpassed before. These missions are meeting with the most sympathetic response.

The Indian people have come to understand the complete contrast between the so-called "aid" received from the imperialist countries, and the cooperation which is extended to us by the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries.

Imperialist "aid" makes India more dependent on the imperialists. The economic cooperation of the socialist countries is directed at assisting India's independent economic development.

In regard to defence, the excessive dependence on Anglo-American sources can be ended only through the development of our own defence potential. And in this task, crucial assistance has been given and offered to us by the Soviet Union.

Prime Minister Shastri's visit will help to strengthen Indo-Soviet ties in all fields at a moment when such strengthening is of the most urgent necessity.

There is no doubt that the talks in Moscow will cover the most important international issues—above all the US aggression in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic. It is to be hoped that the information which Shastri will

receive first hand in Moscow will help to strengthen our foreign policy. India must join the Soviet Union in demanding the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. This would be a major contribution to peace, and will also assist in improving India's position in the anti-imperialist world.

The TASS communique on Kutch has rightly stressed the need for a peaceful settlement without outside interference. This is a point of view with which the Indian people are in complete agreement. Indo-Pakistan tension is a creation of the imperialists and it is their interference, through Pakistan's membership of US-British military pacts, which has always prevented any settlement.

Shastri's visit will help to place all the facts before the Soviet leaders, particularly the full scale imperialist intervention on the side of the aggressors against India. It is already clear that the Soviet leaders have the greatest sympathy for India's resistance to imperialist pressures, in whatever form they may come.

Indo-Soviet cooperation in the international field is a contribution towards that larger cooperation between the socialist and nonaligned countries, which is of such decisive importance for the defeat of the imperialists and the makers of war. That is why the Indo-Soviet talks in Moscow will be watched with the deepest interest by peace lovers in all parts of the world.

(May 10)

LUCKNOW: Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Sucheta Kripalani has outlived her utility as the leader of the Congress Legislature Party. The formidable C. B. Gupta is not prepared to remain in wilderness any longer.

DEPOSED Chief Minister Gupta is learnt to be desperate to stage a come back and to take the reins of the state in person.

This is the upshot of the trouncing of the dissidents at the hands of the Sucheta-Gupta group in the recent elections of the Congress Legislature Party.

A spokesman of the Gupta group has already claimed that the victory over the dissidents has proved Gupta to be the "real leader" of the party.

To political observers, the victory for the ministerialists was by no means a surprise.

C. B. GUPTA ITCHING FOR A COMEBACK TO GADDI

That the dissidents have by and large retained their supporters despite the disadvantage of having to face the manoeuvres of the ministerialists holding control of the state machinery has been widely noted. At the same time the tall claims of the dissidents have been sadly belied.

In this context the ministerialists could, of course, claim the results of the elections as a direct evidence of a no-confidence by the party against the leadership—namely the Tripathi leadership of the UPPC.

The ministerialists have put forward this claim at "all levels" though they have publicly denied having asked the four dissident ministers to resign from the Congress.

That neither Sucheta Kripalani nor Tripathi but C. B. Gupta is now the "real leader", is explained by the crucial role that he played during the elections.

He left nothing to chance, even if the victory was not in doubt, lest a section of the High Command may at the last moment move against him and he might have to face a deplorable situation like that in the last year's Congress party elections.

It was Gupta who brought all the leaders of various contending groups among his own followers to come together and commit themselves in unqualified terms to support for the ministerialist candidates.

Even the former PSP leader, Genda Singh, of the Ashoka Mehta group, had to commit himself by admitting that after having strayed for long in opposition parties, he would not like now to be on the wrong side of those who are in power, even within the same party that is the Congress.

At the same time Gupta this time did not take for granted the "neutrality" of the High Command in the struggle between the two groups in the state.

He accused a section of the High Command of conspiring against him and making him "surrender" the party organisation to those who had no love for it.

This was intended not only to bolster up the morale of his own followers with a view to warding off any attempt on the part of "a section of the High Command" to intervene in the elections in favour of the dissidents under any cover.

Yet, there had remained a small group of recalcitrant MLAs among his followers who had shown signs of "weakness". So, the meeting of Regional Transport Committee was purposely fixed just on the election day and a few licences are reported to have been distributed also.

All this showed the master mind of C. B. Gupta behind the preparations for the elections. The Gupta group jubilantly claims the outcome not only as a victory against the Tripathi leadership but also against the "powerful" section of the High Command.

Despite the demand for resignation of the dissidents by the Gupta group, they are not going to oblige them. It is learnt that instead of offering their resignation on a platter to the Chief Minister, they would rather ask for the dissolution of the Ministry itself.

Political observers feel that the High Command will not allow the present set up to be disturbed because there is a portent danger of Gupta stepping in.

According to shrewd observers here, the result of elections of the Congress Legislature Party has left the High Command with the same dilemma as it faced before the elections.

It is pointed out that the High Command is hardly in a position to say anything against one or the other group. Both the sides entrenched in their respective spheres, one in the state and the other in the Pradesh Congress are leaving no stones unturned in downgrading each other.

Each side has presented a long charge-sheet to the High Command against the other and there is "no one man" in the whole Congress on whom both sides can agree as an impartial arbitrator.

With the Congress affairs in the state proceeding in the way they do at present, it is difficult to envisage the fate of the party has in store in the not too distant future, unless of course the Kamaraj leadership decides at the earliest to face the reality and take a determined course of action and face the consequences whatever they may be.

The recent corporation elections in four major cities of the state have shown in not too unmistakable terms the extent to which the group tussle in the Congress can harm the party.

The Congress candidate for the Kannur Mayoral election has been defeated by a Congressman who contested in violation of the Pradesh Congress directive. (IPA)

UTTAR PRADESH

MORARJI'S MANIFESTO

Morarji Desai has been writing a series of articles in the TIMES OF INDIA. Till now, five of them have appeared dealing with such vital national problems as India's foreign policy, foreign aid and development, planning, taxation, administration and civil service. By their very nature these articles are significant, but they acquire added significance in the context of the unfolding political situation in India in which Morarji and his camp-followers have stepped up their activities very much. Seen in this context they assume the character of his manifesto for Prime Ministership of India.

A year of post-Nehru India has witnessed the unprecedented slump in the fortune of the ruling Congress Party and the Shastri government.

The price-rise and food crisis of 1964, the language disturbances of January-February this year, the Congress debacle in the Kerala elections, imposition of President rule there and, above all, Pakistani aggression in Kutch have created a situation of intense popular discontent and national humiliation.

Under the impact of these powerful events the Congress edifice is cracking at every joint, accentuating the inner-party struggle of the Congress more than ever before.

This gives rise to the speculation how long the Shastri government is going to last? Who after Shastri?

Inspired astrologers forecast that the Shastri government will come to an end by June this year. Imperialist scribblers forecast even a military take over by the end of this year.

Morarji Desai, who was "content to wait for destiny to call him", naturally thinks that the opportune time has come for him to realise his long-cherished dream of the Prime Ministership of India.

His articles have appeared in quick succession to his biography by D. F. Karaka. This biography "Morarji" is again printed in the same TIMES OF INDIA press. It is an attempt to project Morarji, "the strong man", as an alternative to Shastri, "the weakman" on the gaddi of Prime Ministership.

"Some astrologers predict that the country may need his services again", writes Karaka.

Not Same Game

But Prime Ministership of India is not the same game as amassing fabulous fortune in which Morarji's son Kanti has excelled most of his fraternity.

While the latter is played behind the back of the people, the former has to be played in the full gaze of the people.

It is this difference between the two which accounts for the failure of Morarji and the success of his son Kanti. Therefore this organised and desperate moves to build a popular image of Morarji.

Cashing in on the popular sentiments for strong policy and strong government in favour of national defence, anti-imperialist content of nonalignment, independent economic development, parliamentary democracy and democratic rights of the people, pro-imperialist and reactionary forces are propagating and working for a change in the

policy and composition of the government in the opposite direction.

Karaka's "Morarji" and Morarji's articles are links in the long chain of this propaganda and manoeuvre. The much-publicised "prisoner of indecision" speech of Vijaya-lakshmi Pandit was also a link in the same chain.

"Man Of Decision"

In contrast to Shastri, "the prisoner of indecision", is boosted Morarji, as a strong man of determination and decision. But the trait of strong determination and decision is a double-edged sword. It may cut both ways—national policies as well as anti-national policies, anti-imperialism as well as pro-imperialism, progress as well as reaction.

At present the Shastri government is playing the double role. The advocacy of strong policy by Morarji and his collaborators is the advocacy for playing the single role of collaboration with imperialism and reaction.

By YOGINDRA SHARMA

Morarji's "one track mind" is in reality this single role in favour of reaction which is being made presentable by him for popular acceptance as the following:

"There is always a possibility of mind ending in weakness. If on matters which require action, an openness of mind is still maintained, then it does lead to indecision."

Morarji's articles are a skilful attempt to acquire a face-lift to his popular image which, he knows, stands in the way of realising the long-coveted position of prime ministership. But the cat is out of the bag.

The name of Morarji has become synonymous with back-breaking tax burden. The people with their bitter memory of CDS had heaved a sigh of relief when Morarji was dropped from the cabinet by the late Pandit Nehru. "The one track mind" Morarji, instead of realising his folly, justifies it in the name of mobilising internal resources for national development. He bemoans that the CDS was virtually scrapped.

He writes: "My own feeling is that if the CDS had been allowed to operate, people would have gradually realised the immense benefits."

Morarji's complaint is that "mostly politically inspired" people launched an agitation against it to which Pandit Nehru succumbed because he was not made of "one-track mind".

What is unbearable burden for the people is "immense benefits" for Morarji. This contradiction between the people and Morarji arises out of the latter's anti-people outlook.

He prescribes: "The pinch of saving in the first will have insured him to the hardship of such additional saving". This prescription of Morarji is like the prescription of primitive capitalist accumulation which is invariably accompanied with the loot and plunder of the people in the narrow interests of a handful of monopolists.

It is interesting to note that he applies quite a different standard for the monopolists who, thanks to his taxation policy, are running a state within the state, by virtue of the colossal amount of black money in their pockets. To those people who clamour to tax the rich and relieve the people he answers: "There is a limit to the levying of tax, one soon reaches the point beyond which the law of diminishing returns begins to operate".

Don't put any more burden on the rich. Put more burden on the poor. Hardship thus caused to the poor is of immense benefits to him. Those people who speak of the hardship and poverty of the poor are enemies of the people and the country. This is "one-track mind" of Morarji.

Listen to him: "If we harp endlessly on our poverty and low standards of living we create a mood of discontent". "One-track mind" can create the image of a strong man. But it cannot create the image of an intelligent man, what to speak of a progressive man.

By taking upon himself the onerous task of putting down his views in writing, poor Morarji is trapped into the fallacy of his own arguments.

Queer Logic

Justifying the unjustifiable CDS he advances the argument of the limit of foreign aid and frowns at the voice of poverty and low standard of living. But when it comes to inviting foreign monopoly capital, he himself raises the voice of Indian poverty and low standard of living.

And in all these contradictory arguments, he misses the essence of the question—rapid and independent economic development of the country.

It is not accidental or slip of pen that nowhere in his series of articles he has mentioned "independent" while

discussing economic development.

Economic independence is the unrealised part of our long struggle of national independence. Our political independence rests on weak foundations so long we are economically dependent on Anglo-American imperialists.

But Morarji preaches more economic dependence on Anglo-American imperialists when the task of completing our struggle for national independence demands that the strangle-hold of foreign monopoly capital should be torn as under.

Support To Neo-Colonialism

This is the policy of supporting new-colonialism. He writes:

"Even if there were risks in external borrowing we should not hesitate to take them". Not to care for risks in external borrowing is to risk our hard-won national independence and mortgage our independent economic development.

He wants to turn our country into the happy hunting ground of the foreign monopoly capital. Strongly advocating for collaboration with foreign monopoly concerns he pleads for more concessions to them.

He wants "a guarantee of a fair return for their investments". He is against any "rigidity in matters like this" (majority Indian share in partnership with foreign firms).

He frankly states that "foreign investor is promised the lion's share" and India should "yield on the point".

He goes on to say: "To accept terms apparently unfavourable to us is a much lesser evil than abandonment of the project or delaying its implementation".

This advocacy of lamentable dependence on foreign monopoly capital ignores the present-day world reality. All

those countries which had the misfortune of following Morarji's policy have fallen victim to neo-colonialism.

On the other hand, all those newly-independent countries which preferred the path of independent economic development have grown stronger and richer.

This path has been made possible by the existence of socialist world system which gives disinterested economic help to all those who strive for economic independence.

This path is illumined by nationalisation of foreign concerns and giving commanding position to the state sector in national economy.

But nationalisation of foreign concerns, cultivating disinterested help from the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries, building state sector as the leading sector of national economy—all these ingredients of the rapid and independent development of our national economy are anathema to Morarji.

Sell Out Of Freedom

Therefore he cringingly pleads for collaboration with foreign monopoly even at the risk of bartering away our national independence.

Morarji Desai has devoted one whole article on "Planning in India". He has conceded that planning must have "constantly before it the social and political requirements of the country". Unfortunately he has not spelled them out.

He cannot be accused of being ignorant of his own party's declared objective of building a socialist society. But the word "socialism" is anathema to him. Therefore one tries in vain to find this word in his series of articles.

He is not one of those who criticise the ruling Congress Party of building crisis-ridden capitalism in practice and

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ACTION AGAINST ABDULLAH AND SABRE-RATTLING BY PAK FOREIGN MINISTER BHUTTO

The amazing document that is Z. A. Bhutto's statement on the "rearrest" of Sheikh Abdullah deserves study by all who would blame India for the present tense situation on the borders between this country and Pakistan. It gives away the far-reaching design that lies behind Pakistan's present stance over Kutch and reveals incidentally the position that Sheikh occupies in it.

ONE would have thought that with all their protestations for peace and a peaceful settlement of the near-war situation over Kutch, the rulers of Pakistan would show some restraint, particularly when certain "common friends" are reportedly engaged in backstage negotiations to bring about a peaceful settlement of some sort.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan chooses this particular moment to launch on a most virulent and extravagant diatribe against India, using as a pretext an issue with which he can claim at best to be only indirectly concerned.

After all Sheikh Abdullah is not a Pakistani citizen, nor has he declared Kashmir publicly at least to be a part of Pakistan, yet Sheikh Abdullah's personal liberty can be direct concern only of the governments and citizens of Kashmir and of India whose national Sheikh Abdullah continues to be notwithstanding anything.

It is no direct concern of

anybody else—least of all, of the Government of Pakistan. How to deal with him is the sovereign right of India and India alone.

For the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to take this opportunity to shout at the top of his voice and hurl the most menacing threats against India hardly shows any regard for the "independent" position that had been supposedly taken by the Sheikh. Much less does it show regard for the posture of peace behind which Pakistani rulers are trying to masquerade before the world these days.

Least of all does it show regard for the interests of security and survival of the Muslims of Pakistan and India, including those of Kashmir. For, acting up to the call of total war which Ayub gave sometime ago and his debonair protege has now reiterated with such vehemence will mean the worst disaster for those inhabitants of this subcontinent—irrespective of any other consequence that it might have.

President Ho Chi Minh Is 75

NEW AGE sends affectionate salutations to President Ho Chi Minh on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday on May 19.

Outstanding leader of the Vietnamese people, comrade Ho stands at their head today as they battle heroically against US aggression.

The hearts of the Indian people go out to comrade Ho on this day of rejoicing not only for the Vietnamese people but for all people who stand for peace and national independence.

Communists of the whole world join in wishing comrade Ho Chi Minh many more years of service in the cause of the working class and of the international Communist movement.

NEW AGE salutes the Vietnamese people on the occasion, and assures them of its complete solidarity in their struggle against US aggression and for the withdrawal of all US forces from South Vietnam.



President Ho Chi Minh on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday on May 19.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The new edition of the Hindi weekly JANYUG will come out from Delhi from May 30, 1965 under the editorship of Dr. Namwar Singh. It will be published from 5 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi.

The new JANYUG will be a news-and-views paper devoted to the cause of Indian people in their historic struggle for national defence and rejuvenation, democracy, socialism and world peace.

It will be a 32-pager quarter demy size, with attractive double colour cover. The subscription rate is Rs. 12 a year; Rs. 6.00 for six months and 25 Paise per copy. Please book your orders by sending advance subscription to

Manager, Janyug Weekly, 5 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi.

Comment

tirade. Says 'His Master's Voice':

"I would say to the people of Pakistan and to our brethren in Jammu and Kashmir that although Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg have gone behind the cold walls of prison again and I know that in the heart of every one of you today there is anger and indignation, yet the days of anger and indignation over... We have to act now with cold determination to meet this challenge and put an end once for all, to the neo-colonialist Indian usurpation and tyranny."

It is too fantastic and too difficult to believe a statement. Yet it is there in black and white and reverberating all over the ether that carries the waves of Radio Pakistan. We as well as the whole world have to see it and recognise it for what it is—a virtual declaration of war by the rulers of Pakistan against India. Reading it, one is reminded of another declaration that took place, post factum, on June 22, 1941, the declaration of war by the perfidious Nazis against the Soviet Union. Mark the following words:

"For 18 years of its uneasy coexistence with India, Pakistan has made every effort of lay the foundation of a relationship based on justice, honour and mutual respect..."

"India's leaders have shown that they are deaf to the voice of reason oblivious to the precepts of peace and honour among nations..." etc. etc. He goes on in this vein drawing up the description of something that would fit perfectly his own skull.

Following then the decisive and operative part, of this

let out to this day to the world gendarme that is US imperialism; none at all in their continued membership of the SEATO and CENTO.

Didn't Bhutto make a beautiful speech the other day at the SEATO session in London claiming on his basis to be the one and only real and genuine anti-imperialist, to the exclusion all those other poor lack-lustre nonaligned countries like India, UAR etc., who never included in those brave actions?

One can only wish in conclusion that Messrs Bhutto and Ayub would not fall prey to their own propaganda and would think a thousand times before they really launched upon those "actions" of "cold determination" of which they are nowadays talking so much. If they ever did, they would find the people of India standing up as one man to beat back their aggression despite all trials and tribulations that are bound to come in our way.

It would be much better for all of us, for Pakistan as well as India, if the rulers of Pakistan gave up their bellicose talk and concentrated on earnestly striving to put out the fires of this incipient Indo-Pakistan war—first of all in the Rann of Kutch.

Abdullah's "rearrest" can hardly be made an argument to stop that question—presuming, however, that one is really serious about it.

—OBSERVER

May 11

MORARJI'S MANIFESTO

*FROM PAGE 3

betraying its socialist professions. He is one of those like Rajaji who criticise the Congress of mounting socialist professions.

Supporters of Morarji are tirelessly propagating that he is brave and bold. Morarji has come forward to prove that he is so. He proves this by boldly asserting that "unemployment is not increasing".

In this business of boldness he does not lag behind Goebbels. Not only he boldly asserts an untruth as truth, he also expresses his boldness in attempting thought-control of his critics. "Frustration and bitterness must not be permitted to creep into our thinking".

Conscious Agent

Morarji is conscious of the fact that he carries with him the stigma of being pro-American. "I am aware that there is a certain degree of misapprehension about my views on India's foreign policy. It is often said that I am 'pro-this' and 'anti-that', that my prepossessions and prejudices run counter to the official thinking".

What does he say to allay this 'mis-apprehension' about his views?

"Let me state my position unequivocally I cannot lose sight of the fact that the United States has rendered us greater help in meeting our development requirements than any other country in the world. This assistance has been given, moreover, without strings of any kind. Without any desire to interfere in our policies, domestic or foreign. That certainly evokes my gratitude".

This masterpiece of Morarji's gratitude to USA is dated May 5, 1965.

One may accuse him of anything but inconsistency. He is consistent in his devotion to USA even when the latter has been heaping on India national humiliations one after another.

The visit of Indian Prime Minister to the United States has been unceremoniously cancelled by the arrogant American President. The US arms are being used by Pakistan to commit aggression against India.

But Morarji returns this national humiliation and armed complicity in aggression by gratitude! Can betrayal of India go further?

Despite this betrayal of national interests and policies, Morarji claims that he stands by the national policy of non-alignment.

But this talk of non-alignment is only the thin cover to his real policy to hitch the destiny of India to the US war wagon at a time when the lovers of world peace and national independence all over the world are energetically condemning US aggression in Congo of Africa, Vietnam of Asia and Dominican Republic of Latin America.

Deserves Contempt

Morarji's manifesto cannot hoodwink the patriotic opinion of India which demands stronger policy and stronger government in favour of national defence, independent economic development, non-alignment anti-imperialism, parliamentary democracy and defence of popular interests.

Morarji's candidature for stronger policy and stronger government favours the opposite. Independent, patriotic and democratic India will treat his manifesto and candidature for Prime Ministership with the contempt they deserve.

LEFT UNITED MOVEMENT TAKES A STEP FORWARD

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: The Civil Rights Protection Committee in Kerala has called on trade unions, Kisan Sabha units and other mass organisations to come together in district and taluq conventions to demand statutory rationing, increased rice rations and other steps to stem the soaring prices of foodstuffs.

THE committee is the joint platform of left parties and progressive independents in the state formed to fight for democratic rights and civil liberties and to defend living standards of the people.

The call is another step in the direction of broadening the united movement of left democratic parties in the state.

In pursuance of a decision of the committee, C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the Kerala state council of the CPI, and E.M.S. Namboodripad, Marxist Communist Party leader, called on Governor A. P. Jain to present a memorandum.

The memorandum drew the Governor's attention to the deteriorating food situation in the state, the failure of informal rationing introduced six months ago and increasing hardships to all classes of people due to spiralling prices of rice and essential food articles.

The deputationists demanded that regular supply of twelve ounces of rice and four ounces of wheat per adult per day should be ensured.

Achutha Menon and Namboodripad also raised the question of grant of family allowances to all detenus, and the settlement of the strike of the project workers at Sabari-giri.

A deputation of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham, led by Pandalam P. R. Madhavan Pillai, K. T. Jacob, Kunhiraman and Sivanandan, met the Governor to discuss urgent issues facing the peasants.

The decision to send a deputation to the Governor was taken at a meeting of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham on April 11.

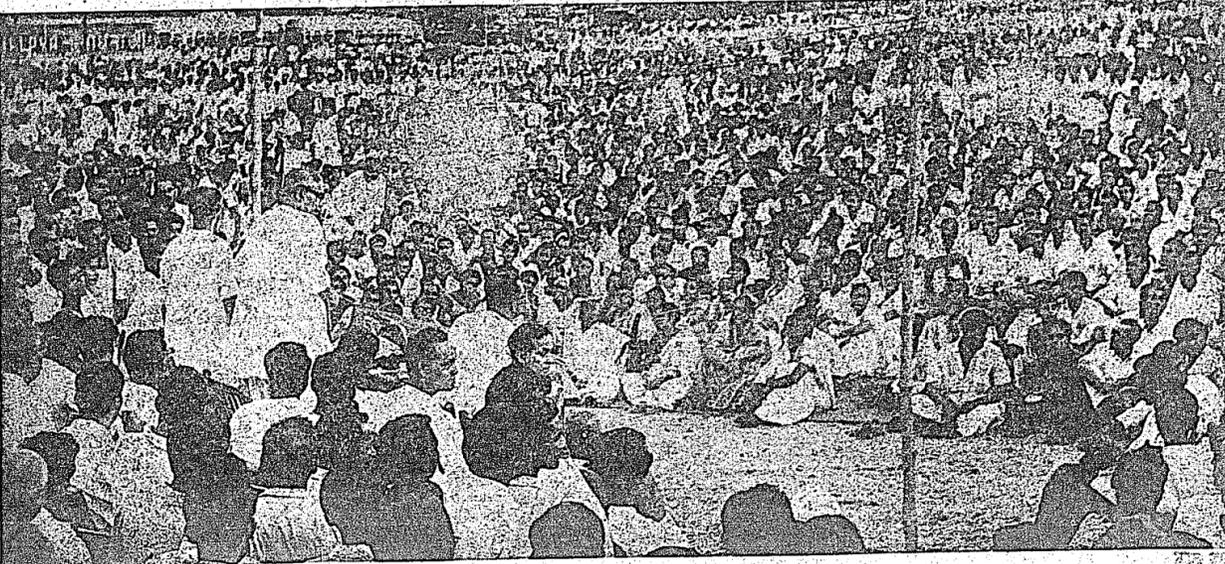
Besides reiterating the demand for the release of all Kisan leaders and political workers detained under the DIR, the deputation urged the Governor to take immediate steps for implementation of major irrigation schemes in the Fourth Plan.

Dealing with the difficulties of lakhs of resident peasants who are holding and cultivating forest lands, the Kisan deputationists impressed on the Governor the need to issue pattas for these lands to the peasants.

They also demanded that the orders for enhancement of prices fixed earlier for these lands be cancelled.

It was also demanded that the government should pass orders staying all the cases and petitions filed by landlords for increase in the existing rent rates.

A view of the huge May Day rally in Calcutta, May Day was celebrated in West Bengal under the auspices of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti in which are united the AITUC, the UTUC and several other trade union federations.



CONGRESS FACTIONS WORK UP COMMUNAL FEELINGS IN ASSAM

SHILLONG: Just when the Pakistani army is aggressively poised even along Assam border and the Chief Minister, B. P. Chaliha himself called upon the people to remain vigilant, the rival factions in Assam Congress, far from burying hatchet, have once again come out openly against each other.

AND the tragedy of it is that Congress factionalism this time threatens to seriously disturb the communal harmony in the state.

It is widely known that the question of illegal Pakistani infiltration has been utilised by the rival factions in Assam Congress to further their factional interests, vitiating the atmosphere in the process.

This time when, with the attack on our territory by Pakistan, people have naturally become sensitive, Devevar Sarma, a stalwart of the anti-ministerialist faction, sent a telegram to Prime Minister Shastri, Home Minister Nanda and Defence Minister Chavan.

In this telegram he is reported to have drawn the attention of these Ministers to what he called the "present insecurity of Assam's border" which, according to him, arose out of the activities of Pakistani spies, transmitting strategic information, presence of Pak-trained Nagas and continuous infiltration by Pakistanis.

According to him, the state government has failed to implement the border security programme.

One might not dispute the right of any citizen to draw the attention of the government to any vulnerability of the national security that he might notice. But did Sarma, a former dislodged Assam Minister, send the said telegram with that end in view?

If so, why should he send this telegram to New Delhi,

over the head of the state government which is run by his own party? Secondly, why should he make it public?

The answer to these questions might be found in the other contents of the said telegram itself. According to reports, Sarma further alleged that "certain pro-Pakistani Ministers of Assam and Muslim members of Assam Assembly" were putting pres-

From M. BHATTACHARYA

sure on the Chief Minister to stop deportation of Pakistani infiltrants.

So, the real motive of Sarma seems to be not so much the drive against Pakistani infiltrants as what he called "pro-Pakistani Ministers" and "Muslim members of Assam Assembly" almost all of them—with the exception of two or three—are members of the same party to which Sarma himself belongs.

However, this has been the familiar theme of the ever-sharpening factional fight in Assam Congress. It is with this weapon that the anti-ministerialists have been trying to assail the ministerial faction.

Following the publication of this report, Chief Minister Chaliha made a statement repudiating the charges of Sarma. According to Chaliha's statement Sarma's "remarks about certain Ministers of Assam are unfair,

uncharitable and highly objectionable".

He stated that such statements did not strengthen the security of the state, rather harmed the interests of the state. He denied that any pressure had been put on him to stop deportation of infiltrants.

It is noted also that Sarma's allegations were published in the back-ground of rumours that were in the state capital about an alleged threat by the Muslim Congress MLAs to resign if the infiltrants were deported while some Hindu Congress MLAs, including one Minister, allegedly threatened that if the drive for deportation of infiltrants was not further stepped up, they would resign.

The matter did not end there. Following these charges and counter-charges, another Minister, Manul Haque Choudhury, made another public statement repudiating certain allegations against him in one of the Assam dailies.

According to his statement, the allegation that he and some of his colleagues were against deportation was "maliciously false". He stated that his views on the issue were the same as that of the Congress and the government that in the process of deportation there should be no harassment to any Indian Muslim.

There should not be any communal consideration in the matter, he stated, and cases of complaints should be looked into.

All these charges and counter-charges has only helped the arch communal reactionaries in the state and dangerously vitiated the political atmosphere at a time when the need for maintaining communal harmony was the greatest.

PLANNING: PITFALLS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

PLANNING IN INDIA: Achievements and Problems by Ajit Roy, National Publishers, 206 Bidhan Sarani, Calcutta 6, pp. 523, Price Rs. 30-00.

PROBLEMS of Indian planning may be said to have started with its very inception. The main problems, according to official spokesmen, are that India has to implement its plans in a democratic set-up and that population explosion is throwing all planning out of gear.

Neither of the two are problems; they are more in the nature of excuses for the disappointing results which Indian planning has brought for the people.

And neither of them is valid. For, you cannot have any planning unless it is accompanied by certain disciplines which preclude the free play of economic forces which are otherwise known as free enterprise. The term 'planning' itself presupposes restrictions.

Again, it is the very failure of planning that the planners have not been able to assess the growth in population and take necessary steps to increase the rate of growth in the economy commensurate with the rate of growth in the population.

Then, what exactly is the problem of planning in India, the reason for its failures?

Ajit Roy tells us that the failures of Indian planning are inherent in itself: "The so-called democratic plans in India as also many of the broader policies conceived and initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru are permeated with social democratic ideas and philosophy and as such reveal the latter's strength and weaknesses."

"The Planning Commission and the Government of India while correctly pinpointing the malaises, shrink back from taking effective remedial actions in rooting out their sources, as this would involve deep-going social changes; instead, they take refuge under platitudinous verbiage."

Planning has been defined by Ajit Roy as "the determined end and means, equally determined for attainment of this end, constitute the essence of every plan, and this is what in particular distinguishes a plan from a mere project."

Assessing the three five-year plans with this yardstick, he comes to the conclusion: "The First Plan, to use the very apt description by P. C. Mahalanobis, was just an anthology of some individual projects; it lacked even the semblance of an inner cohesion. The Second Plan for the first time worked out an integrated strategy and stressed the need of certain minimum industrial changes, but unfortunately failed to undertake the appropriate actions. This lacuna seriously retarded the process of development and the situation demanded immediate corrective measures. The Third Plan has recognised the problem in

a roundabout way but refused to solve it."

Planning in India cannot be said to have succeeded to any appreciable extent is the considered opinion of the author. For, he says, "all the major objectives inscribed on the plan documents have eluded us."

National income has been increasing at a lower rate than stipulated. There has been further slowing down in the tempo of growth in recent years and there is virtual stagnation of the per capita national income due to rapid growth in population.

Far from achieving self-sufficiency in food, the country is passing through an acute food crisis despite heavy imports from abroad.

Despite some improvement in employment opportunities, the backlog of unemployment has been increasing from plan to plan and will reach nearly 14 million at the end of the Third Plan.

Instead of narrowing the existing disparities in income and wealth, the gulf has widened in the years of planning.

The only sector in which some positive achievements have been scored is the heavy and basic industry. Even this is barely sufficient for a limited growth and too meagre to have any impact on the life of the people.

It is a pessimistic picture indeed that Ajit Roy draws. Not that he does not recognise that some results have been achieved: "the progress registered during the last 14 years is not totally unimpressive, but contrasted with the needs and possibilities of development, the advance is hardly noticeable."

However, it is very difficult to agree with some of the conclusions drawn by the

author. For example, in his assessment, only the oil exploration, refining and distribution undertaken by the state there is a "pronounced bias" against international oil monopolies and therefore a progressive content. The rest of the public sector are just here to help the bourgeoisie.

For example, he has found that the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank and the State Bank was done to make them serve the general interest of the bourgeoisie as a section of it. LIC also partly wholly rather than particular falls in the same category.

Hydro-electric schemes, steel plants and fertilizer projects were undertaken with the express desire of helping the private sector.

Again, civil aviation and the Hindustan Shipyard were taken over to give "relief" to the private sector which was suffering recurring losses in running them.

The author's opinion that the "weight and significance of the still existing British strongholds are often minimised and overlooked" can also be disputed. After all, the total foreign capital is only Rs. 800 crores and the private sector in India itself has got a capital outlay of Rs. 1300 crores, not to speak of the state sector's Rs. 3,000 crores.

The author seems to have correctly analysed the achievements and problems of Indian planning, but draws some off the track conclusions too in the process.

Another drawback of the book is, as the author himself says in the preface, the oddity of having statistics cited in some cases only upto 1962 while more recent figures have been used elsewhere. That is obviously unavoidable when part of the book was written in 1961 and the rest in 1965.

However, it is to be regretted that some of the con-

TARNISHING GANDHIJI'S NAME

WHAT sort of organisation is the Gandhi Peace Foundation? This week it has shown that it has scant regard for the name of the Father of the Nation or for the cause of peace. It has done this by inviting the US Ambassador in India to inaugurate a series of lectures on Gandhiji, which it is organising in the capital.

I would like to ask why this honour was conferred by the Foundation on the US government's representative in India, at a moment when the US government has earned special reprobation in this country for the open support it is rendering to the Pakistani aggression against India.

It is not a question of the individual personality of the Ambassador. He is here as the representative of that government which is today engaged in aggression in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic.

To associate Gandhiji's name with the US government in this way is to insult his memory. As for the Gandhi Peace Foundation, by this stupid action of identifying itself with the American Ambassador, it has only earned for itself the suspicion of all those Afro-Asian and Latin American patriots who are engaged at this moment in heroic struggles against American imperialism.

Who runs this Foundation anyway? Could they not find any Indian suitable to inaugurate these lectures series? And was

the only person available the representative of US imperialism in India?

New Delhi HARI SINGH

Wanted Effective Action

THE US government has taken no notice whatsoever of India's complaint that US arms are being used by Pakistan in its aggression against this country. There is an old expression for the attitude taken by Washington: that is "turning the blind eye" to what they would not like to see.

The fact is that this type of insulting behaviour towards India will continue unless our government takes some decisive action to indicate its strong disapproval. What could such an action be?

May I suggest that as a first step we withdraw our Ambassador from Washington, leaving only a Charge d'Affaires to look after the embassy? This is the sort of step which is taken by self-respecting countries to indicate their protest against hostile action of the kind in which the American government is indulging against India.

Patna MOHD. IBRAHIM

Munshi In Footsteps Of Dulles

THE Swatantra leader K. M. Munshi spoke at a Rotary Club meeting in Bombay the other day. Reports of this speech show clearly that, like the now notorious AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW editorials, this speech also was dictated by the Yanks.

About Vietnam, Munshi spoke in almost exactly the same words as the AICC journal: "Should the US abandon an independent country to expansionist subversion? Should it extinguish its position as a bourgeois nation helping countries to preserve their freedom? Should the US abandon its policy of giving adequate help to free peoples to defend their freedom when imperilled? What would be the consequences if the US walked out of South Vietnam without its future being settled in a satisfactory way?"

I don't have to quote Munshi's answers to these questions; he gave all-out support to the American aggression and its brutal war in Vietnam. But the main purpose of this essay in Dullesism was to plead for the abandonment of non-alignment. Said Munshi to the Rotarians: "How can we be nonaligned when the aggression is strangulating us?"

Just like his driving skill, his handling of the colour medium is sure, deft and well-judged. Rakhal comes from an East Bengal family which migrated from Calcutta in 1951. Grappling with the myriad problems of existence, Rakhal kept up his interest in art.

Livelihood of his self as well as of his family, compelled him to take up a regular profession and a bus driver's job guaranteeing a certain minimum earnings is the outcome.

The demands of survival which accretes with every passing day precludes Rakhal from dabbling into the use of proper material for painting. He cannot afford to buy paints or canvass or easel and so on. Yet, he can hardly forget painting.

—R.C. Bombay C. K. RANADE

BANGALORE: Thousands of NGOs went on hunger-strike on May 8 in all centres of the state protesting against victimisation of their union president Mary Devasia.

VIDHANA Soudha was the venue of the hungerstrike in Bangalore where a large number of women turned up and participated in protest demonstration for twelve hours in blazing sun.

Victimisation has come in the wake of continued struggle of NGOs for betterment of their living standards. For the first time, they are faced with the issue of victimisation which has come about in the sudden and dramatic termination of their president's services.

Scales of pay as of the Central government employees is the main demand of NGOs. The struggle which was launched under the leadership of Mary Devasia three

MYSORE GOVT. EMPLOYEES AGAIN ON STRUGGLE PATH

months ago, really gained an unprecedented momentum.

Massive demonstrations and meetings, return of the meagre increase in dearness allowance given by government through money orders to state Chief

Minister, were some of the forms resorted to by the NGOs to ventilate the grievances. Hastily government had to come forward with the announcement bringing the scales of pay on par with neighbouring state of Madras.

From C. R. KRISHNA RAO

The Madras government scales, which are slightly better in certain categories, were found to be not at all beneficial to the large number of low-paid employees.

May 8 form part of the beginning of big mass struggle which is planned for coming weeks.

DISSIDENTS' NEW PARTY

A new political party under title of 'Janata Party' has made its debut in Mysore politics.

Confining mainly to Congress dissidents, the new party functions on the lines of the Kerala Congress. The first convention of the new party held two weeks back had blessings from their counterparts in Kerala.

A fraternal delegation headed by K. A. George attended the two-day convention. Over six hundred dissidents took part in the deliberations.

All opposition parties excluding the Communist Party were invited for the inaugural function of the convention. The new party in its declaration has clearly stated that it is anti-Congress and anti-Communist.

The party is likely to contest the two byelections for Parliament from Tumkur and Chikkaballur constituencies. Both seats were formerly held by Congress members A. P. Jain and K. C. Reddy who have now become Governors. The new party has yet to formulate its policies.

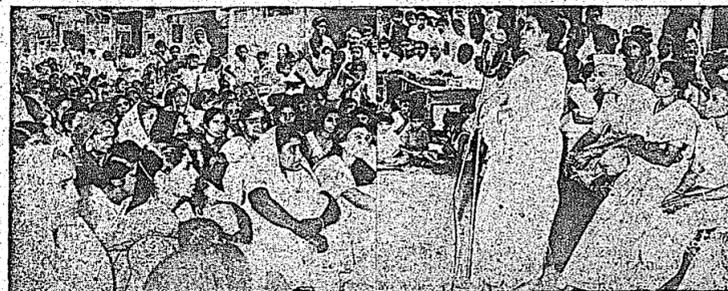
But the government has turned a deaf ear to this legitimate demand, and gone ahead to implement the Madras scales. Just for an eye-wash, an official committee has been constituted to go into certain anomalies while implementing new scales.

Dissatisfied NCOs resolved to carry on their struggle against the unhelpful attitude of the government. The government on the other hand came out with heavy hand against the NCOs.

As a first step, it resolved last week the president of the Association on the flimsy ground of an alleged anti-government speech made by her while addressing a public meeting.

This action of the government has brought in protests from all sections of the people and the NCOs are united and resolved to fight it out.

Hungerstrikes resorted to on



Renu Chakravarty, MP addresses a meeting of women in Ahmedabad recently under the auspices of the Mahagujarat Mahila Sangh

STEERING WHEEL & PASTEL SHADES...

It is not often you meet a person who is carrying on with two professions; what is more astounding, one profession is diametrically opposed to the other.

RAKHAL DAS, a painter from Bengal, is the personification of such a contradiction. A bus driver by profession but a painter by nature, Rakhal has struck a balance between the two interests, blending them in a harmony without any apparent clash.

It is queer to imagine this soft-looking, frail, shortish youngman (he is just 30) driving a huge double-decker, mechanical demon on the Calcutta streets. He is employed with the West Bengal State Transport.

It is a common saying among the state bus drivers in Calcutta that "you never know when the fatal moment is coming." So what is remarkable, Rakhal is equally at home with the steering wheel in his hands or the pastel crayons. He is reported to be one of the most cautious drivers in the State Transport with no accident marking his service book.

Just like his driving skill, his handling of the colour medium is sure, deft and well-judged. Rakhal comes from an East Bengal family which migrated from Calcutta in 1951. Grappling with the myriad problems of existence, Rakhal kept up his interest in art.

Livelihood of his self as well as of his family, compelled him to take up a regular profession and a bus driver's job guaranteeing a certain minimum earnings is the outcome.

The demands of survival which accretes with every passing day precludes Rakhal from dabbling into the use of proper material for painting. He cannot afford to buy paints or canvass or easel and so on. Yet, he can hardly forget painting.

Thus, pastel and paper came to him as the answer to satisfy his natural urge of expression in painting. Coloured crayons are loathed by the painters as a painting medium; at best they are to be used only for sketches or drawings. But Rakhal by necessity elevated this ignored stuff to the level of a really exquisite medium of painting.

Rakhal has graduated from the Calcutta School of Arts and now belongs to the family of realistic painters. He does not hesitate to declare his firm faith in realistic painting but what is of interest, his paintings are neither representational nor photographic.

In a way therefore his realism is a subtle realism without offending the viewer of proportionate details. He does leave something to the imagination of the viewer to form his own impression.

Confronted with the daily drudgery of life and difficulties that are inevitably linked up with the life of an ordinary middle class family, Rakhal faces a peculiar problem. Should he paint themes which reflect the rigours of everyday life or should he seek safe refuge in the lap of beautiful nature with its lush greenery and abundance of ever-changing spectrum?

The answer is not easy. Rakhal

—S.M.

An exhibition of the paintings of Rakhal Das will be held at the Shriharani Art Gallery, Triveni Kala Sangam, New Delhi from May 17 to 21. It will be opened by Indira Gandhi, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting on May 17 at 7.00 P.M.

NGO Leader Victimised

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ASSAM GOVT GOES BACK ON PROMISE TO ITS EMPLOYEES

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: It is now becoming evident that the Government of Assam is going back on the assurances the Chief Minister had given to the employees of the state secretariat on which the employees had called off their 43-day old "no work" movement.

THE leaders of the secretariat employees who were detained under DIR have, not yet been released. Needless to say that the suspension orders on two of them and dismissal of two others have also not been rescinded.

On the other hand, the employees who have gone back to work, are now being denied the pay for 23 days of the 43 days of "no work" in violation of the assurances of the Chief Minister.

These 23 days cover the period following the government announcement that those who would not be performing their duties for whatsoever reason would be deemed to have been absent without leave.

The recognition of the Assam Secretariat Services As-

sociation, withdrawn following the "No Work" movement, has not been restored either.

It is apprehended that if the government would not honour the assurances on which the movement had been called off, the employees might take to the path of agitation once again.

If the government calculation is that this method will terrify the other sections of employees to go into any kind of action in future against any injustice, it is likely to be disillusioned soon.

Meanwhile the Ministerial Officers' Association of Shillong in a resolution requested the government to release the detained leaders of the employees and reinstate them without any further delay.

15 Years Of Soviet Land

FROM the topmost leaders of government and of public organisations have come tributes to the work of the magazine SOVIET LAND on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of its Indian language editions.

The All India Peace Council's journal PEACE HERALD presented a plaque to mark the occasion, as a tribute to SOVIET LAND's work for peace, at a function presided over by the acting Mayor of Delhi and addressed among others by Members of Parliament V. K. Krishna Menon, Arjun Arora, Violet Alva, P. N. Saprú and Lenin Peace Prize winner Aruna Asaf Ali.

But the anniversary is a day of rejoicing not only for the leaders of the government and the

people. It is a day of rejoicing also for the millions who read this paper.

There is no other paper of its kind in India, which, in the totality of all editions, reaches the circulation of four to five lakhs. Workers and peasants, ordinary middle class employees and professionals, housewives, children avidly read the pages of this magazine, cut out its pictures, paste them on their walls.

SOVIET LAND is not just a magazine, it has become an Indian institution.

What is the reason for its success? Many people have given many reasons. All of them are true. But essentially the SOVIET LAND is popular because it breathes a love for peace, for the common man, for friendship, a love for India.

This is not a "propaganda" magazine, "selling" goods which

are difficult to peddle. This is a magazine which gives facts and leaves the reader to judge for himself.

Unlike magazines devoted to telling the story of other countries, SOVIET LAND does not make any Indian reader feel his country is inferior in any way to the country about which SOVIET LAND writes principally.

All this is done in a popular way—brightened with excellent photographs—and a whole variety of sections, each of appeal to a different group of readers.

The Indian people congratulate SOVIET LAND and its team of Soviet and Indian editorial workers on this happy occasion and wish them many, many more years of fruitful labour in the cause of peace and Indo-Soviet friendship.

—R.C. Bombay C. K. RANADE

FIGHT BACK IMPERIALIST PRESSURES, CHANGE ECONOMIC POLICIES IN FAVOUR OF THE PEOPLE

THE Indian people are deeply perturbed at the failure of the Government of India to fight back and defeat the pressures of the Anglo-American imperialists on the most crucial question of the defence of India's integrity," says a statement of the Central Secretariat of the CPI issued on May 8.

The statement explains that Prime Minister Shastri's latest statement on the so-called lull on the Kutch border has been rightly interpreted as a serious concession to hostile intervention by the British government. In the name of a ceasefire, the British government's intervention is to allow Pakistan to continue to enjoy the fruits of its aggression in Kutch.

It further says:

At a moment when the nation expects the government to fight back the aggression by Pakistani forces on all fronts, Prime Minister Shastri and his Cabinet colleagues appear to have been brow-beaten by the British and American imperialists into accepting an absolutely humiliating position, inconsistent with national dignity and self-respect.

All subsequent "assurances" notwithstanding, it is clear that there is grave danger of the government succumbing still further to the Anglo-American pressures which stand behind the Pakistani aggression.

The aim of the imperialist powers in permitting American arms to be used by Pakistan against India and in giving their unstinted support and encouragement to the Ayub dictatorship to attack India is a simple one.

Aim Is To Blackmail India

The latest aggression in the military field has the same aim as the other pressures and blackmail employed by the imperialist powers in the political and economic fields, that is, to compel India to abandon, or at least considerably weaken, its national policies of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence, of secularism, independent economic development and parliamentary democracy.

The right reactionary parties, together with the right, pro-imperialist forces inside the Congress Party itself, are engaged in a sinister campaign to push both the composition and policies of the central government further to the right.

Taking advantage of the sense of frustration and humiliation which government's inept policies in regard to the Pakistani aggression have bred among people, right reaction inside and outside the Congress has begun to call for "stronger" men at the helm—by which is clearly meant men who are more decidedly pro-imperialist and pro-monopolist and will give a sharp shift to the national policies to the right. Sections of the right forces, as well as imperialist newspapers have also begun the dangerous talk of the possibility of "military rule".

The shameless support given by the Chinese government to the Pakistani aggression, coming in the wake of the growing anti-Indian collusion between the Pakistan and Chinese authorities and the continued refusal

of the Chinese leadership to settle the India-China border dispute peacefully, is used by the imperialists and reactionaries to step up their efforts for the abandonment of nonalignment and the acceptance of the US nuclear "umbrella".

The Chinese leadership's opportunist and chauvinist identification with the Ayub dictatorship is sought to be used by the imperialists to draw the curtain over their own key role in the Pakistani aggression over their own anti-Indian hostility and the prime responsibility which consequently rests on the shoulders of the imperialists.

Expose British Conspiracy

The Communist Party of India demands that the sinister British conspiracy, which is masked as an effort for a peaceful settlement should be categorically and firmly rejected by the Government of India. There must be no acceptance of any sort of a ceasefire (direct or indirect, formal or informal) as long as the Pakistani forces with their American armaments remain in possession of the territory occupied by them during their latest aggression.

The Communist Party of India stands, as always, for a peaceful settlement of all questions between India and its neighbours. Pakistan is not just a neighbour, it is much more than that. Its people are of the same stock as ours, speak the same languages. We have fought for national independence side by side. We are in every sense brother peoples. And, therefore, we yearn all the more to live in peace with Pakistan. But such peaceful settlement is frustrated every time by imperialist interference, which is always present as a result particularly of Pakistan's participation in imperialist military pacts.

Thus, a "peaceful settlement" under the aegis of British and American imperialists, must be viewed with the greatest suspicion, for the anti-Indian bias of these two powers is well-known.

The British proposals for a "settlement", as far as they are known, have a most dangerous meaning.

● In the first place, they effectively leave the aggressor in possession of territory illegally occupied, in defiance of all existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

● Second, by bringing up the proposal for "arbitration", the way has been opened for the imperialists and their friends to demand "arbitration" on all points of the frontier and

particularly in Kashmir and thus throw the whole of India into a cauldron of trouble. Already Pakistani armed forces are testing the border at various points. Anywhere they find a soft spot, they can attack, take possession of part of our territory and then call for a ceasefire and "arbitration".

It must be remembered that the latest aggression in Kutch is a continuation of Pakistani aggression which has gone on uninterrupted since immediately after independence in 1947.

The Pakistan government and its imperialist masters have been particularly encouraged in recent months, by the activities of Sheikh Abdullah in Kashmir, and by the manner in which the Government of India has dealt with Abdullah.

The outrageous revelations regarding his passport and the huge sum granted to him as foreign exchange for anti-Indian propaganda abroad have given the Pakistan government and its backers the feeling that the Indian authorities' position is weak and they can be made to surrender.

The latest Pakistani attacks must also be seen in the context of the total imperialist conspiracy to subvert India's integrity. The plot to use the Government of India's failure to meet the legitimate demands of the Naga people, for the purpose of cutting off the Naga areas from the Indian Union, is also a major part of this same imperialist conspiracy.

The Government of India must immediately repudiate any imperialist proposals which, in the name of peace, in reality lead to the strengthening of the Pakistani military positions and which can thus only encourage the bellicose activity of the Pakistan government and lead to a worsening of tension and not to any sort of settlement.

Dependence For Defence Needs

The Pakistan government has totally repudiated by its aggressive actions any so-called "agreements" arrived at in 1960 and, therefore, there is no question of India's being in any way bound by "agreements" which have already been torn to shreds by the Pakistan government.

The Communist Party of India, while pledging itself to discharge its duty in the defence of the country against all aggression, draws the urgent attention of the government and the people to the fact that defence is not and cannot be treated merely as a question of the deployment of armed forces.

It is necessary to draw pointed attention to the fact of the excessive dependence of our country for its defence needs on Anglo-American manufacturers and suppliers. Under imperialist pressure, there has been hesitation on the part of the Government of India to secure as much assistance as is possible for the building of our independent defence potential from the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries. This imperialist pressure has also prevented the full flowering of our own defence factories in the public sector.

Pressure of the monopolists inside the country has led to the diversion of orders for equipment to the private sector and retrenchment of workers from the public sector.

In the interests of defence production, all plants in the public sector must work to full capacity and all private sector plants, whose products are necessary for military supplies should be taken over by government for the needs of national defence.

Secure People's Cooperation

Above all, immediate negotiations should be carried out with the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries for all necessary assistance for our immediate defence needs and for building our independent defence potential for the production of all types of armaments necessary for our defence.

The imperialist powers' so-called "aid" only helps to make India more dependent on them. The socialist countries' assistance is directed towards building up our own independence defence potential which is vital for the safeguarding of our independence.

It must also be fully realised that there can be no adequate defence without the full cooperation of the vast masses of the people. Such cooperation can be best secured only if the economic policies at present pursued by the Government are radically altered.

Since the Chinese aggression in 1962, all the sacrifices have been demanded from the toiling masses, while vast profits have been amassed by the worst exploiting classes—by the monopolists, the big factory owners, the bankers and food hoarders.

Again today, in the name of defence, it appears that the toiling masses will be asked to bear the burdens, while the way will be free, as it has been since 1962, for the capitalists to reap the largest profits ever.

New concessions are being given to foreign capital and to the Indian monopolists, while

the DIR are used to clap into prison those workers who dare to demand even that minimum wage awards be implemented.

The Communist Party of India calls for a change in the economic policies of the government, in the interests of uniting the people for the defence of the country. It is necessary to take all steps to hold the price line and prevent further burdens being placed on the toiling people. The most urgent steps which must be taken are:

- DA and bonus to protect fully all wage earners and salaried employees from rise in prices;
- All necessary goods at controlled prices for the working peasantry, and adequate prices for their products;
- State-trading in foodgrains;
- Closure of all speculative markets;
- Nationalisation of banks;
- Nationalisation of oil industry and import-export trade;
- Strict national control over foreign capital.

Only in the measure that the toiling people's basic interests are defended will that unity of the people be forged which is so vital to fight back effectively the military aggression and the political and economic pressures and blackmail which have been launched on so big a scale against India.

Strengthen National Policies

The answer to the imperialists and their agents, the answer to aggression, lies not in surrender or the weakening of our national policies. The only answer which the aggressor and the imperialists behind them will understand is the strengthening of our national policies.

India's foreign policy of nonalignment and peace must be strengthened and given a vital anti-imperialist content, particularly in regard to the most urgent immediate questions of US aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

The best answer to the ugly British intervention against India is to raise with greater urgency than before the demand that India should quit the Commonwealth, our membership of which appears to give the right to the British government to blackmail and pressurise our country at will.

The policy of secularism must be strengthened by curbing the communal forces and building up unity committees to fight back communalism wherever it raises its head. Commu-

nal reactionary organisations such as the Jan Sangh, RSS, Hindu Mahasabha etc. are trying to utilise the present situation to create communal conflict and disorder inside the country by spreading panicky reports, rumour-mongering, etc., all directed at promoting feeling of hatred against the Muslim minority.

Defeat New Communal Offensive

If these activities are allowed to go unchecked, they would damage permanently the very fabric of our secular society and seriously endanger the life and property of the millions of our innocent countrymen belonging to the minority community.

It is, therefore, one of the key tasks today to fight back the new offensive of communal forces, prevent communal conflicts or riots, give full protection to minorities and mobilise the mass of democratic opinion in defence of the secular values of our national life and for the maintenance of communal harmony and peace.

The serious curtailment of democratic liberties by the Government of India must be ended. All political prisoners detained without trial must be released and President's Rule in Kerala cancelled.

Parliamentary democracy must be strengthened and it must be made clear that all political decisions regarding the defence of this country shall be taken by the government and not by military forces.

The policy of independent economic development must be strengthened in the manner detailed above by putting an end to the concessions to the foreign and Indian monopolists, and ensuring the minimum needs of the toiling masses.

The Communist Party of India calls on all who love this country, on all patriots and democrats, to join hands in a mighty movement of the masses in defence of India's borders against aggression from any quarter, and in defence of the basic national policies. The right reactionary forces inside and outside the ruling Congress Party must be prevented from carrying out their conspiracy in the interests of the imperialist powers.

The Communist Party of India has already called for nationwide observance of a Week of Action from May 10 to 17, 1965 to rouse public opinion against the serious dangers arising from imperialist and reactionary pressures on Indian policies.

During this Week, all public meetings and demonstrations will place at the forefront of their programmes, the supreme national task of defence against aggression, and defence of national policies, against the onslaught of imperialism and reaction.

The Communist Party of India urges upon the Prime Minister and the Government of India to make it clear to the US and British governments that our country is not for sale and that all the military, political and economic pressures and blackmail being used by the imperialist powers, shall not divert us from our sacred duty to defend India's territorial integrity and national policies.

CPI Central Secretariat Outlines Steps To Defend Nation's Integrity And Honour

LETTER FROM PARIS

From JEAN-EMILE VIDAL

GROMYKO VISIT AND THE NEW LOOK FRENCH POLICY

PARIS: The visit to Paris by the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, continues to hold the attention of a section of the French press which is speculating as to what happened at the four-day-long negotiations with General de Gaulle and the other French Ministers.

UNCONTESTABLY, the balance-sheet is positive. Not only does it mark a thaw in Franco-Soviet relations, but it even appears that on important problems, the two governments have found a common language and have decided to pursue in the future regular consultations "in all fields"; and this does not refer only to the cultural relations and trade and commerce, but also to the diplomatic field, at a moment when mankind is faced with grave problems.

The situation in South East Asia, the German problem, and the question of European security have been at the centre of the Franco-Soviet negotiations.

As for the last subject, it is interesting to note a perceptible transformation of Gaullist policies, which till now seem to be concerned with keeping alive an already very sick Paris-Bonn axis.

Similarity Of Views

The Franco-Soviet communique, indeed, declares that "the Soviet Union and France, insofar as they are European powers, have an essential interest in all that would bring about an agreed solution of these problems". Specifying that any agreement must be "among all those interested" the communique indicated that the socialist countries, and consequently the German Democratic Republic, must be consulted.

During a press conference in Paris, Gromyko moreover stressed that the positions of the French and Soviet governments were "close and even convergent", particularly on the two following aspects: the immutability of frontiers fixed after the Second World War, and the prohibition on West Germany to possess atomic weapons.

In the course of the conversations, it was clear that the French government accepted, in its analysis, the existence of two German states, and, although there has not been actual diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet minister has thought it fit to praise the taking of a realistic position by the French government.

It is obvious that the current attitude of the government in Paris is not at all precatory in Bonn.

As regards the situation in Vietnam, the two governments agreed to declare that the aggravation of the situation constitutes a danger for peace, and that the

outlined by General de Gaulle: "The aim is to establish, without disowning our friendship with the Americans, an equilibrium, from one end of the continent (Europe) to the other, based on understanding and cooperation." And thus not only with Germany and the six countries of the common Market, but also "in establishing contacts of active understanding with the countries of the East which would link us with them closely".

It is known that the French and Soviet governments have decided to work together in search of a negotiated solution in Vietnam.

Proposal On Disarmament

The questions concerning disarmament and the UN crisis were also matters on which the points of view of the two governments converge. The Soviet Union has in effect approved of the French proposal for the convening of a conference of five on nuclear disarmament, and the joint communique underlines that as regards the UN, it is urgent to ensure the strict observance of the charter.

Economic, cultural, scientific and technical relations between France and the Soviet Union will be developed, and Couve de Murville, the French Foreign Minister, will be making a return visit to Moscow in the coming autumn.

After Gromyko's visit to France, it is evident that the atmosphere has been transformed, and that a leap has been taken for the constitution of a "zone d'entente" (zone of understanding), which will go well beyond the frontiers of western empire.

De Gaulle's Speech

Several questions have been asked about the last radio-television speech by General de Gaulle. Was it meant for internal use or exclusively directed to the US government? In fact, it seems that both aims were closely intermingled. In an editorial, the journal *Le Monde* has underlined:

"Under the cover of an anti-American festival offered to Mr. Gromyko and to the peoples of the Third World, General de Gaulle has opened his presidential campaign".

The theme developed has been that of national independence. And it seems very likely that this theme will be the war-horse of Gaullism in its preparations for the next elections for the presidency of the Republic.

Here, summarised in its essential points, is the policy

condemnation of American intervention.

"There exists now a policy of France, and this is made in Paris."

This sentence has been badly received in the other capitals of "Little Europe" of six countries, which see in this statement a refusal to accept the idea of European political integration.

De Gaulle seeks further to justify the creation of the so-called French atomic striking force, in presenting it as an attribute of sovereignty and an instrument of security, meant "to carry death to the others", in case "they should decide to carry death to France".

Criticism directed towards the USA: "The fact that we have recovered our faculties for judgment and action seems sometimes to disorient a certain state which would like to believe that by virtue

This is a short but sharp

of its power, it is invested with a supreme and universal responsibility".

Concluding, de Gaulle believes that "another equilibrium is necessary for peace".

In general, this speech has been criticised in French political circles, which are supporters of an Atlantic alliance under American direction and of the political integration of Western Europe.

The French Communist Party for its part, while pointing out all the fallacies in the declaration of de Gaulle, has taken note of the positive aspects.

French CP's Caution

It has reminded the people that American investments in France have tripled since the coming to power of General de Gaulle. As for the so-called nuclear striking force, it is clearly a subordinate tributary to the US aerial tanks and the infrastructure of the American radar system.

Thus we may say that it is true that the present situation and the development of contradictions in the world leads the chief spokesman of the French bourgeoisie to adopt, on a certain number of problems, points of view which conform to the realities. And on several points of foreign policy, one cannot but be in agreement with him.

(May 4)

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

CONGO BRAZZAVILLE OPTS FOR SOCIALISM

"OUR only ideal is the practical construction of socialism", said the Political Bureau of the ruling People's Revolutionary Movement Party in its address to the working people of the Congo (Brazzaville) on the occasion of May Day.

The message also pointed out that the Congolese working people had been in the vanguard of the overthrow of F. Youlou's anti-popular regime in August 1963. The Party believes that radical changes in the country's economy cannot be carried out without the resolve of the working class.

A delegation from the National Revolutionary Movement headed by Ambroise Noumazalay, the First Political Secretary of the Party's Central Committee is currently on a visit to the Soviet Union studying the work of Party organisations there.

Burma's Non-Capitalist Path

THE people of Burma are taking bold stri-

of land have been passed over to this formerly dispossessed sections of the rural tribes.

UAR: New Revolution

UAR has stepped into a new stage of development. The stage, called by President Nasser "a new revolution", will entail building of heavy industry, advancing of agriculture on scientific basis, attempting complete electrification of the country, deepening of socialist democracy and strengthening of the socialist structure of the state.

Building of socialism is being extended into all the spheres of human activity. Education is to receive special attention.

New Command In Congo

THE patriotic army of Congo will soon have a unified command. The commands of the eastern and western fronts have already agreed to merge their forces.

The leaders of the Congolese patriotic movement recently got together at Cairo. They resolved to set up the Supreme Council of Revolution and adopted a series of measures to improve cooperation and coordination among different sections.

—DARSHAK



Collection of signatures by CARD volunteers

Lord Mountbatten's visit to India last week was, ostensibly at least, for the purpose of discussing the difficult question of the immigration of Indians to Britain.

BEHIND the smiling photographs of the British delegation and behind the rather dull statistics on official files—lies a grim story, which no Indian, who has not recently lived in Britain, will believe.

Yes, of course, there always was a bit of a colour bar in the land of the White Sahibs—and many, who have been students in British universities can quote an example of this here or there.

But that was long ago—in today's Britain, racial discrimination has become a major problem, which has to be tackled at official and non-official levels and which has even become an election issue.

The Indian public is well aware of the manner in which the Tory Party used the colour issue in the elections fought by the Labour government's Foreign Secretary designate Gordon Walker.

The Tories used the racial prejudices of ignorant British people to swing votes toward them and against Labour in the Smethwick and Leyton constituencies.

The result has been that the Labour Party, instead of realising that the danger of racialism has become so great that it must be fought on a far bigger scale than before, appears to have become a little nervous of tackling the issue with the uncompromising zeal which it requires.

Filmsy Argument

Arguments are advanced in favour of a go-slow in the struggle against racial discrimination: Labour's slender majority, it is suggested by the election-men, might be endangered if it does not "take into account" the very widespread prejudices which do exist.

The government has, it is true, introduced a Race Relations Bill, which is a step towards banning certain forms of racial discrimination.

But this is far from adequate, and the whole process of getting it through Parliament, seems to be taking an abominably long time.

LONDON LETTER

Rabid Racial

Discrimination In Britain

ing signatures to a petition which urges necessary changes in the Race Relations Bill.

Among the weaknesses of the Bill is the fact that the Bill ignores two vital facts in which discrimination is rampant—housing and employment.

Another weakness of the Bill is that a victim of discrimination cannot save himself. All he can do is to report to the police, which may then prosecute thro-

for example, As a matter of fact, Britain has had a housing shortage for decades.

As for the economy, the fact is that the immigrants are vital to the British economy, and make a most necessary contribution to it.

Every one knows that the major difficulty for the growth of the British economy is the shortage of labour. The Indians, Pakistanis and West Indians, who are coming to Britain

no generosity on the British rulers' part to permit immigration.

What is feared is that the ruling classes are trying to create a kind of barrier between the better paid, skilled workers and the unskilled ones—which in British conditions is now largely becoming a barrier between whites and coloureds—with a view to undermine trade union solidarity.

Racial discrimination

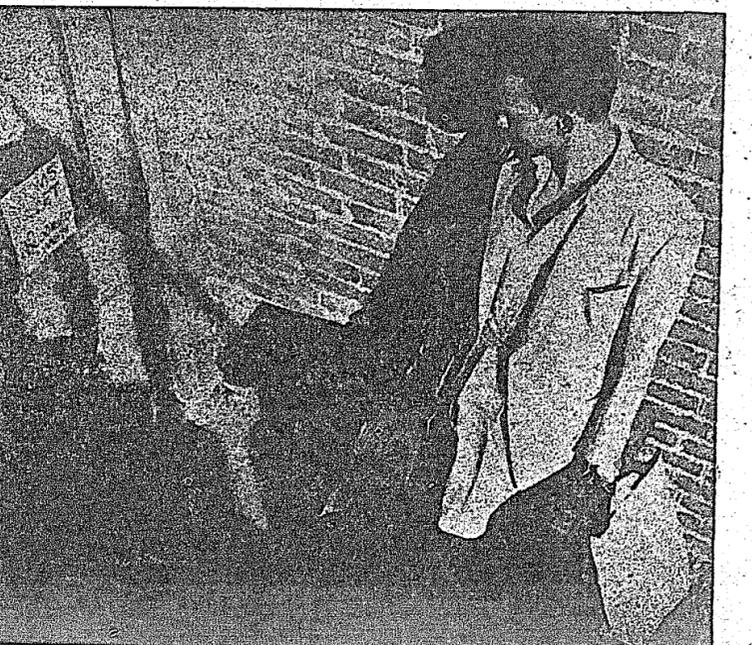
COLOUR BAR BECOMES A MAJOR PROBLEM

Despite the omissions and weaknesses in the bill, Kay Beauchamp, secretary of the London Communist Party's International Committee believes that "the Bill will help those who are trying to fight against prejudice and limit the activities of those who are seeking to exploit it".

The problem of discrimination has assumed serious proportions in the post-war period as a result of the immigration of large numbers of "coloured" people.

But none of the problems which the racists say have arisen following this immigration can really be attributed to it.

For the influx of some eight lakh immigrants over a period of 15 years in a country with a population of 53 millions cannot be responsible for the housing shortage,



Rooms to let, but not for coloureds

help to meet this shortage, and thus enable the economy to grow.

As a matter of fact, here in England, you will find almost all the lower paid jobs, the "unskilled" ones, being

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

taken over by the "coloureds"—jobs which often no British people are anxious to undertake.

The truth is that British economy badly needs the immigrant labour—and it is

must thus be seen also as a weapon to disrupt trade union unity.

The work being done by the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination is of first rate importance. All progressive

forces in this country are giving it full support.

It is unfortunate that about the entire problem of racial discrimination has not appeared in the Indian press.

Government's Anti-Labour Policies Manifest In Action

Amritsar Textile Workers Fight Against Heavy Odds!

On April 30, 1965, the Punjab government issued orders declaring illegal the 21-day-old strike of about 16,000 textile workers of Amritsar under the Defence of India Rules. These orders served two purposes: firstly, they exposed how the emergency and the Defence of India Rules had become a weapon not for the defence of the country but for trying to suppress the democratic forces especially the working class; secondly, they revealed in all its nakedness the anti-labour and pro-employer policy of the Punjab government headed by Ram Kishan.

THE strike began on April 10 for the demand that the employers should enforce the minimum wages fixed for different classes of workmen in the textile industry under the Minimum Wages Act vide Punjab government's notification dated March 4, 1965.

The textile workers of Amritsar demanded the implementation of the March 4 notification without the changes and modifications made in it subsequently and asked for the cancellation of the notifications dated March 26 and April 5, 1965.

When the March 4 notification was issued, workers noted with regret that the minimum wages allowed by it were generally lower than the August 4, 1964 notification which had been challenged by the employers in the High Court.

Fall-Back Wages

One welcome feature of the March 4 notification was that it fixed Rs. 175 a month as minimum fall back wages for skilled weavers.

The skilled woollen and double loom art silk weavers constitute a big portion of the textile workers. Due to the piece-rate system they had been exploited most.

Weavers had been demanding fixation of minimum fall back wages for them and therefore naturally welcomed the March 4 notification.

The employers raised a howl against the fixation of Rs. 175 as minimum fall back wage for weavers. They said it was too high. They were opposed to the very idea of minimum fall back wages for piece rated workers.

Barring a few, they refused to implement any part of the notification—even the one relating to unskilled workers for whom the minimum wage fixed is Rs. 75 only.

On March 25 the textile factories of Amritsar employing less than 50 workmen each declared a lock out. About 3,000 workmen were affected. The lockout however began to fizzle out on the second day itself.

The obliging Ram Kishan Ministry issued a notification on March 26 appointing a new nine member committee to revise the (minimum) wages not of weavers only but of as many as 53 categories.

Labour Minister Bzrak Ram later on asserted that the committee was entrusted

with 53 categories only out of a total of 93. He hid the fact that these 53 categories cover about 95 per cent of the textile workers.

Workers were angry because they rightly sensed that the new committee was a device to downgrade their wages.

Ludhiana powerloom workers went on a spontaneous strike against the appointment of the new committee. Both AITUC and INTUC decided to boycott it.

Employers however wanted more and immediate concessions.

On April 5, 1965 the Punjab government came out with another notification excluding 11 categories of workmen from the March 4 notification. The excluded 11 categories include weavers, worsted twisters, worsted and woollen winders and spinners. They constitute majority of textile workers.

While some interim relief of very doubtful nature has been ordered as a condition for exclusion of seven categories, even this condition has not been imposed in case of the other four categories.

This new notification issued by the government roused the anger of Amritsar textile workers to a new pitch but they showed remarkable discipline and restraint.

They patiently waited for April 10, the date fixed by the United Action Committee consisting of AITUC, INTUC and HMP unions for one day protest strike.

The strike on April 10 was unprecedented. Stoppage in the textile industry was complete and total. Above 20,000 textile workers were on strike.

Indefinite Strike

The United Action Committee called upon the workers to continue the strike for an indefinite period except in factories in which the employers were willing to implement the March 4 notification. Factories in which workers did not feel strong enough were also allowed to keep out. Workers of these factories were advised to join in whenever they felt strong enough to do so.

April 11 saw an amazing and unprecedented phenomenon in Amritsar. Tents flying red flags and tricolours were found pitched before mill and factory gates, not only in working class areas but even in the heart of the city where there were some

isolated small factories in middle class localities.

About 15,000 workers went on indefinite strike. They included quite a few thousands who were not in any union before. There was no picketing anywhere. Police parties were posted everywhere to protect 'loyal' workers but there were no 'loyal' workers. As days passed more workers joined and the strike now covers about 16,500 workers.

Some outstanding features of this remarkable strike are: 1. It has been organized and led jointly by AITUC and INTUC unions. Notwithstanding some differences that crop up occasionally,

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Workers were not unnerved. Their United Action Committee held massive rallies in the heart of the city and successfully fought out and defeated this lying propaganda offensive. Middle class sympathy has now definitely swung over to workers' side.

From April 21 onwards Urdu press began to carry the big lie that strike was falling and the factories had begun to work.

Strikers brought out a demonstration on April 23 which was bigger than even the unprecedented demonstration of April 10. More than 2000 women joined the demonstration. The lie about strike having fizzled out disappeared from the papers soon after.

One or two Congress mandals, the Communist Party, the Republican Party and the Akali Dal of Sant

Fateh Singh have come out in support of the strike.

The Kisan Sabha and Sant Fateh Singh Group of Akali Party has pledged full support. S.G.P.C. has offered chapatis of 10 maunds of atta every day for strikers. A section of the Congress even at state level is sympathetic.

The Jan Sangh officially kept quiet in the beginning but had to come out with a poster expressing sympathy with strikers though in a round about manner despite its publicity chiefs' services for the employers.

The United Action Committee has declared that workers would resume work

unity in action of workers is complete and remarkable. 2. It has been completely peaceful and is not accompanied by any picketing. There have been provocations by employers including incidents of stoning of women from within factories. Workers however have refused to be provoked.

3. Mothers, wives and sisters of workers, organized by Istri Sabha have come out in huge demonstrations in support of the striking workers.

4. The strike has successfully withstood an extremely high powered propaganda offensive of lies, the like of which has never been seen before.

The employers gave advertisements worth thousands consisting of notices against strikers to Urdu papers and their correspondents vied with each other in sending and getting printed fabricated news and lies against the workers.

The publicity chief of Jan Sangh became the publicity organiser for the employers and brought out every day thousands of leaflets, full of foul lies against the strike.

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has intrigued everyone. There has been no intervention by them to get the strike settled. The local conciliation officer was allowed long leave after the strike started. He has "no instructions" to intervene.

The Labour Commissioner has not cared to come to Amritsar. The Joint Labour Commissioner came only to get a first hand report. Ministers have come to Amritsar and have met the employers' leaders again and again but have refused to meet workers' leaders despite requests.

In the beginning the police was more or less neutral. When it became clear that the strike was not fizzling out, the police has begun to act as virtual agents of employers.

Militant workers from different factories have been picked up at random and then implicated in different cases and sent to jail.

Police Interfere

When workers, beaten and injured by employers and their henchmen go to police stations to lodge complaints, reports are not recorded. Instead workers are put under arrest and implicated in false cases. About fifty workers have already been arrested.

Police have also been transporting black legs. In one factory at least, policemen themselves acted as strike breakers by working in the factory. The open, unashamed way in which some of the police officials are siding with the employers is really amazing.

Striking workers however have withstood all this and more. Strike continues to be complete and shows no cracks.

The government has therefore now come out with an order declaring the strike illegal under the Defence of India Rules and threatening the strikers with prosecutions if they continued the strike.

The strikers have not been frightened in the least and have decided to continue the strike.

The massive May Day rally denounced the government for issuing the order. In the huge May Day demonstration, one of the most common slogans was regarding the misuse of the Defence of India Rules and for their withdrawal.

Workers are determined to fight to the last and win.

Workers are determined to fight to the last and win.

By SATYAPAL DANG

in any factory which agrees to implement the March 4 notification.

24 Mills Settle

Altogether about 24 mills or factories have settled with their workers either before or after the strike on the basis of the March 4 notification—blowing sky high the propaganda that industry could not afford the wages fixed by the March 4 notification.

It is a matter of pride for the Communist Party that out of the small employers who have settled, four pro-Communist small employers took the lead.

Many small employers are anxious to settle but are being prevented by the adamant section of the big employers not only in the name of class solidarity but also by exerting all types of pressure including threats of boycott in the market, etc.

The state government and its labour department have acted in a manner which

Workers are determined to fight to the last and win.

FOR PARTY MEMBERS ONLY

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

New Delhi 5-11 April 1965

ORDER THROUGH PARTY COMMITTEES

NEW DELHI LETTER

Events move rapidly in New Delhi these days. As the lull in fighting continued on the Kutch front, Prime Minister Shastri was able to define precisely the Indian position on the diplomatic front, in the face of Anglo-American moves and domestic political pressures.

FINALLY, as he was packing for his Soviet visit, the result of the Congress parliamentary party elections on Monday greatly strengthened his hands.

It was a measure of the revival of self-confidence that the advice to cut short his Soviet visit was rejected by the Prime Minister. The visit will now be for eight days as originally planned.

For four days before the polling when Vijayalakshmi Pandit decided to enter the contest for the post of the deputy leader of the Congress parliamentary party, an unusual tension prevailed inside the ruling party. Many tended to see in it a direct challenge to the leadership of Shastri himself.

After her widely-publicised "prisoner of indecision" speech and the posture that those who had sponsored her candidature, Jagjivan Ram among them, had adopted in the Kutch crisis with a demand for "firm" action against Pakistan, such interpretation was not out of place.

However, Shastri with a studied display of aloofness from the party tussle and stress on

government in their favour, Nanda is obviously the main blocking factor.

To remove that also offers a meeting point between the Syndicate and its rival, the Morarji group.

This provided the basis for the choice of Tarakeswari Sinha as the Syndicate candidate for party secretaryship. Tarakeswari felt very confident of success since she had no doubt of support from the Morarji group.

The Syndicate operated as smoothly as they can. The party dues standing as arrears against a sizeable number of members were cleared overnight. The Chief Ministers were depended upon to issue the necessary whip to ensure a proper line-up.

But on the polling eve, the Syndicate leaders also took care to absent themselves from New Delhi to give an impression of unconcern lest they might not annoy the leadership too much.

An element of uncertainty was also created by reports about Maharashtra members' position who were stated to have decided to vote Vijayalakshmi Pandit en bloc, which would give an edge to the stories about Defence Minister Chavan falling out with the Prime Minister over Kutch operations.

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SYNDICATE TAKES A TROUNCING

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tested in voting since Vijayalakshmi withdrew from the contest, but are now believed to be largely inspired.

After all these meticulous preparations, Syndicate leaders must have been shocked by the result. Tarakeswari was overwhelmingly rejected. The attempt to pack the executive with Syndicate supporters also failed.

The known Morarji group too could not score any notable success. Its candidate for treasurer, R. S. Panjharzi got less votes than even Tarakeswari.

According to some reports, only four out of 24 seats in the executive have gone to the candidates supported by those who actively attempted to give a rightist complexion to it.

Indications are that more than anything else, it was the assertion of the rank-and-file opinion in the party against factional politics which foiled the Syndicate—Morarji game.

This is reflected not only in the election of a sizeable number to the executive who are not associated with established groups and received encouragement from Shastri's attitude towards the contest.

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part in the choice of known left candidates such as K. D. Malaviya and Bibhuti Misra to counterbalance the rightist pressures.

Within this broad framework, the election of K. C. Pant as one of the three secretaries—the other two being Bibhuti Misra and Sri Ram Reddy—with a huge vote has its own special significance.

At one time believed to be in the Morarji group, Pant became acceptable to the Syndicate because of its need for a detente with the former group.

The attempt by the Birlas to soften and smoothen relations between the government and business, as witnessed in a recent business conclave in Calcutta for the benefit of Home Minister Nanda, helped to get over any difficulty that Pant might have encountered from other influential quarters.

Thus was ensured his resounding success. Incidentally, it is stated in knowledgeable quarters that Birla took quite a close direct interest in the election and can count on some among those elected as his nominees.

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Secret Army To Support US Big Business

By **OBSERVER**

American big business has discovered Africa. The Socony Mobil Oil Company regards Nigeria as a "promising area" since it struck oil at four out of six wells and hit oil each time. American Overseas Petroleum Ltd., has found oil in Nigeria's offshore waters and Tennessee Gas Transmission, Sinclair Oil and Sunray DX Oil have found still more.

NIGERIA's coal, iron ore and limestone deposits have led a consortium headed by Koppers Company and Westinghouse Electric International to consider starting steel production at two sites on the River Niger.

Standard Oil is now getting the tiger for your tank from Libya where Texaco, Socony Oil and Sinclair Oil are also becoming very busy.

These are but two of the growing list of countries where American interests are making new investments and finding new sources of profits. This makes the American tycoons very happy.

What makes them less happy are the activities of national liberation and independence movements who want the rich natural resources of their countries used to benefit their people.

So the problem is, how to protect the bonanza and keep the oil and the profits flowing in the right direction? Simultaneously with the discovery of new sources of investment, the Americans also "discover" Communist "subversion" and "threats" to freedom and democracy. Anything which stands in the way of an American business man making a fast buck is, in the nature of things, a threat to freedom.

Protection Of Interests

Having "discovered" the danger, American armies are dispatched across the globe and fat bribes are dispensed to interested politicians who can be relied upon to appreciate American interests.

But increasingly the US administration is developing what

REPORT calls an elite "secret army" carrying on counterinsurgency in 50 nations, using 25,000 skilled American operators and spending \$2,000 million annually.

For the Americans have also discovered that what makes national liberation movements and guerrilla forces such a nuisance is that they are popular with the people. The Americans wish to be loved too and so they are promoting anti-guerrillas who will learn how to make friends and influence people.

It seems that they have as yet had little success in Africa, though small teams have been present in Algeria, Mali and Ethiopia. But negotiations are now under way to extend the undercover activities to more African nations.

Leading this work is a council of some of the higher government officials in Washington. It is known as the Special Group for Counterinsurgency and includes among its members the joint Chiefs of Staff, the Under-Secretary of State and the Deputy Defence Secretary. They meet weekly at the White House.

Four groups supply the bulk of the counterinsurgency forces—the Central Intelligence Agency, the Army, the Air Force and the State Department. The Army's Special Forces who are involved in this work have grown from 1,800 men in 1961 to a strength of 12,000 at the present time. The Air Commandos have been built up from nothing to just under 6,000.

Working with US military assistance missions in about 50 countries, they have trained thousands of the servicemen of those countries in various techniques of guerrilla warfare, how to build a primitive road and "control a Communist mob".

Foreign nationals are trained in undercover work at the centre for Special Warfare at Fort Bragg in North Carolina and at the Jungle Warfare Training Centre in Panama.

Pentagon officials claim successes in various areas, notably Latin America: "riots in Panama, arms smuggling in Venezuela and Communist infiltration in Chile have all been met—without publicity—by methods laid down on the spot by US counterinsurgency experts".

US Army Special Warfare units began training Colombian forces in 1962 in various subjects, including bridge building, living in the jungle and "how to win the confidence and respect of the peasants".

US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT claims credit for Americans who "helped to defeat Red plots for the take-over of free governments in such countries as Guatemala, Iran and Thailand".

Worldwide Ramifications

Just as Hitler built up a Fifth Column of traitors in various countries to prepare them for conquest, so the Americans have their Quislings throughout the world and a Pentagon officer could claim: "Time after time, we have been able to stop Communist plots because some foreign officer, trained by us, spotted trouble and told us about it".

About half of the \$2,000 million allocated to this work is being spent by the Americans in Vietnam. Thus it was the Central Intelligence Agency which directed the South Vietnamese Special Forces in their brutal suppression of the Buddhist uprisings.

And Clare Hollingworth in THE GUARDIAN, April 27, wrote about "American special forces near the Cambodian frontier where one important task of these excellent troops was to train fierce-looking mountain tribesmen who did not speak Vietnamese". A French speaker explained to me that "the Americans were kind, food and pay were good—but all to little avail".

For she had to report that "During the 14-week training more than half of the tribesmen had deserted. Those who remained with the army were unwilling to patrol the areas where encounters with the Vietcong were likely".

But still the Americans press ahead with their disreputable schemes. "The greatest hope for the future", according to Clare Hollingworth, "is in several excellent long-term plans for anti-guerrilla action which take into account the local difficulties and the divisions in the midst of the Vietnamese. These plans are now being studied by the White House".

Also being studied in Washington are plans to extend the operations of the secret army to new countries. US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT says that "One study recommended that US forces be used to start—or at least assist—revolutions behind the Iron Curtain".

Experience of the operations of America's secret army of saboteurs shows that they can never command popular support. They cannot win but they are capable of causing grievous damage and suffering unless they are stopped soon.

(Courtesy: COMMENT)

News From Fraternal Parties EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS DENOUNCE US AGGRESSION

LONGO, Ingrao, Alcata, Natti and other Communist members of the Italian Parliament recently addressed an interpellation to the Moro government attacking its stand on the aggressive action of the US in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

They demanded that the Italian government dissociate itself from the dangerous policy of the US which is throwing back the world to the times of the greatest tension of the Cold War.

The Communist deputies asked the government as to what initiative it was taking in order to make a contribution to the resumption of the process of the relaxation and peaceful coexistence which is possible and effective only in case it rests on respect for treaties, and on the right of peoples to sovereignty and national independence.

L'Unita in an editorial denouncing US intervention in the Dominican Republic said the United States believes it can interfere with impunity in the internal affairs of any country, at any time it finds necessary to protect its dirty imperialist interests.

The French Communist Party in denouncing the US aggression against the Dominican Republic declares in a statement that in Santo Domingo as in Vietnam, the American imperialists are taking upon themselves the role of the world gendarme, opposing progress and national independence. This American claim is fraught with the gravest danger to world peace, the statement emphasises.

General Secretary of the Finnish CP, Ville Passi, in denouncing the US aggression said in interview:

"Our Party is of the opinion that the principle of peaceful coexistence is an absolutely correct one. I believe that the prompt moves of the Soviet Union in the Security Council constitute the right road in search of a peaceful solution."

"The Americans must get out of the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. Though these countries are far removed from us, we cannot remain indifferent, especially if one bears in mind that any country could be the next victim", Ville Passi concluded.

FLN Delegation in Moscow

AN Algerian National Liberation Front delegation has arrived in Moscow for talks with CPSU leaders. The delegation is led by Omar Ben Mahjoub, member of the Political Bureau of the NLF.

On the eve of their departure from Algiers the leader of the delegation told an ALGERIE PRESSE correspondent that the aim of the visit to the Soviet Union was to establish contacts at the Party level, "in addition to contacts that already exist between the governments and peoples of our countries. The meeting of representatives of the two parties will make it possible to strengthen these contacts and make them still deeper."

"The talks that the delegation will have in Moscow", said Ben Mahjoub, will deal with the experience of the two parties, their life and also with national and international problems."

On arrival in Moscow the NLF delegation leader stressed the effective support rendered to his country by the Soviet Union in the consolidation of independence and in Algeria's confident advance towards socialism.

Latin American Congress of Solidarity with Cuba, Dominica

MONTEVIDEO: The new ferment in Latin America has recently been demonstrated in the widespread opposition to the US armed intervention against the Dominican Republic.

It is expected to be reflected in sharper relief at the coming Latin American Congress of Solidarity with Cuba and in Defence of the Right of Self-determination.

The Congress will take place at Montevideo, capital of Uruguay, from June 18 to 20.

The initiative for the convening of such a congress was taken in January last when a number of prominent Uruguayan personalities including senators, former ministers, leaders of trade unions and youth organisations, journalists, writers and artists issued an appeal for such a meeting.

A preparatory committee was set up, and soon committees for the promotion of the congress came up in different countries of Latin America.

Although the main interest of the congress as conceived originally was to support the demand for the re-establishment of normal re-

lations between Cuba and the US and the other countries that have broken diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba, recent developments will figure prominently in the deliberation on—the other items of the agenda of the Congress—defence of the right of peoples to self-determination; defence of the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other countries; support for the principle of peaceful coexistence; and solidarity with peoples fighting for liberation.

The congress expects to have strong contingents of participants not only from the Latin American countries but from countries in other continents, particularly from Asia and Africa.

A noteworthy feature of the Congress will be an exhibition of the works of world-famous artists like Picasso, Seguleris and Gutuzo.



ABIDE WITH ME, OR...

The whine of bullets has stopped, except for some occasional shots, bombs are not blasting, the butchery of the population has stopped. But over 20,000 US marine are still occupying a part of Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic as well as a number of positions in the countryside.

US warships patrol the waters near the shores of the Republic, military planes take off and land at the San Isidro airport, and helicopters hover overhead. An uneasy ceasefire has taken place.

This is how the US President is providing security to the US residents, who number just over a couple of thousands, in this Republic!

A CBS reporter had a television interview with two marines last week at Santo Domingo. The reporter asked the sergeant if he knew whom he was fighting against. The sergeant answered slowly that it was the "rebels", then he paused and added, "the civilians."

Unknowningly, perhaps, the marine sergeant provided the most fitting description of the US intervention in the Dominican Republic. Because, this is precisely what is taking place there.

The partners of the US in the Latin America under the terms of the Alliance for Progress and a number of other treaties and agreements, have for the first time refused to ditto the US action. Every one of the official representatives of 20 Latin American Countries, have either questioned, or condemned or deplored the US arrogance.

The US, after intense lobbying, could secure barely two-thirds majority, including the trumped up vote on behalf of the Dominican Republic, on the limited question of replacing the unilateral presence of US troops in the Dominican Republic by an

inter-American force under unified command. And, not only the Latin American countries—the US invasion has been condemned by the peoples the world over. The US invasion is a violation of the Rio Treaty of 1947, the Bogota Charter of 1948 and finally the spirit of the Punta del este Charter of 1962.

It was specifically laid down

in these charters that any intervention in an American state must be collective. But President Johnson flaunting the US might ignored all the agreements and treaties.

In his crusading zeal to contain communism, he imagined there was a whiff of communism in the upsurge in the Dominican Republic and rushed headlong to scotch its further spread.

How childish his whole logic appears to be when it is taken into account that his crusade against communism notwithstanding, no body in the Dominican Republic—ex-

cept a few army officers of fallen regime of Cabral—wants the US presence in the Republic.

Neither does any other Latin American want the US in that island to remain as super censors of Latin American morals teaching them what to do and what not.

US State Department sought to establish a case to the point by emphasising what is described as the position of the Dominican Republic of being "within the sphere of" US influence. That shows that the US, irrespective of the repercussions, arrogates to itself the right to blatantly intervene

in the affairs of other states. And it is precisely for that purpose it has to manufacture the phantom of communism everywhere. This is the same battle the US is waging over the last decade in the South East Asia, particularly in South Vietnam.

But no people can be suppressed under heel; the urge for freedom and the revolutionary spirit endure today in the Dominican Re-

public in all intensity no matter how many gunboats patrol the shores and how many marines are stationed there.

The newly-elected President of the Dominican Republic Francisco Caamaño Deno, reflecting the feelings of the people, denounced the move of an inter-American police force for peacekeeping in the Republic.

He said "we would prefer no interventionist forces of any kind" to supervise the ceasefire."

Meanwhile, the US afraid of the notoriety of Wessin, set up another so-called government with General Imbert as its head. Imbert was one of the triumvirate who plotted the overthrow of President Bosch. This government now wants the Deno government to surrender.

In the US Security Council is continuing the discussion of the question raised by the Soviet Union of armed intervention by the US in the Dominican Republic. It has been highlighted there that the OAS resolution on sending the inter-American police force to the Dominican Republic was contrary to the United Nations Charter.

From every quarter the demand has been voiced: leave the dominicans alone; the dominicans alone; US get out of the Dominican Republic. And this is the only step which is just and proper. President Johnson must be forced to take this step here and now.

RHODESIA: SHOW OF DEFIANCE

THE hoax of a so-called election has been carried out by the racist Prime

Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith. With all the show of defiance, Smith has declared that he would go ahead with the unilateral independence without caring for the reaction.

This in effect means that in an African country, a white settlers' government will be imposed to rule the country though the whites number only a small minority of the population.

The UN Security Council has already called on Britain "to take all necessary action to prevent the unilateral declaration of independence" by Rhodesia.

An Afro-Asian resolution adopted by the Council specifically demands of the British government "not to transfer under any circumstances to its colony of Rhodesia as at present governed, any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty."

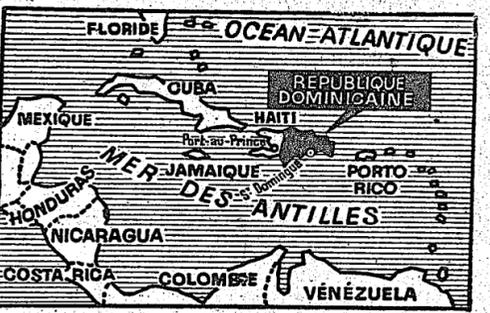
The so-called elections in which Smith has secured a two-thirds majority has already been rejected by four million African.

Smith is now planning to consolidate his position in Rhodesia by forming a working alliance with the Portuguese regime. Smith has declared that Rhodesia and Portugal must work together to halt "the threat from Communist-inspired black racialism". He is even contemplating to forge a defence alliance with Portugal for mutual security.

It is now upto the Labour government in Britain to ensure that Ian Smith is stopped from establishing another South African Republic in the heart of Africa.

It is both moral as well as political responsibility of the Wilson government.

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE (May 10)



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MUSCLEMAN FOR BIG BUSINESS

Here is a confession from none other than a very well-known US Marine Corps General—Smedley D. Butler about the activities of the US marines, who are currently 'operating' in South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

QUOTED below is an excerpt from Butler's book: WAR IS A RACKET:

"I spent 33 years and four months of active service as a member of our country's most agile military forces—the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from a 2nd lieutenant to a major general. And during the period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for big business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. I was a racketeer for capitalism.....

"Thus I helped to make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped to make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in..... I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Bros. in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way un-molested.....

"Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three city districts. We Marines operated on three continents!"

MOSCOW CELEBRATES VICTORY OVER NAZI GERMANY

From MASOOD ALI KHAN
MOSCOW: The twentieth anniversary of the great victory over Nazi Germany was celebrated here on a grand scale.

ON Sunday morning a triumphal military parade was held on the Red Square to mark the occasion. First came the Red Flag of victory that was hoisted on the German Reichstag on the first of May. It was carried by the very same heroes who had hoisted it in Berlin on that memorable day.

Then followed a marchpast of the army, navy and airforce units in colourful ceremonial uniforms. The last part of the parade was taken up by the military hardware.

The armoured cars, tanks and artillery roared through the Red Square in impressive formations. Then came rockets of all descriptions—sleek, silvery ground to air missiles and heavy surface to surface rockets which became bigger and bigger.

There was quite a stir among the foreign observers and military experts as a few models of Soviet Union's latest and world's most powerful and biggest missiles were shown here for the first time.

The inter-continental ballistic missiles were a breath-taking and an inspiring spectacle. The last to come were such great giants that they seemed to occupy about one-fourth of the big square in length. People gasped in amazement as these three-stage ICBMs which work on solid fuel and which are similar to those used to orbit Soviet Union's famous space-ships, passed on huge trailers rounding off the memorable parade.

One of the biggest and most colourful receptions ever was later held in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses where the land's valiant heroes, marshals, generals, admirals, officers and former combatants proudly displaying their medals, hugged and embraced and remembered wartime deeds of glory.

The Soviet leaders mixed with their guests and the atmosphere at the reception was informal, happy and most cordial. There were innumerable representatives from other countries, including many who had taken part in the war against fascism.

On the eve of the victory day a commemoration meeting was held at which the main report was made by Leonid Brezhnev, the first secretary of the CC, CPSU. Delegations from 12 countries' outstanding leaders of the international Communist movement were present.

Although Stalin's war services as commander-in-chief have been objectively acknowledged here, articles also mentioned his grave mistakes and miscalculations and there has been no attempt to glorify him on this occasion. Stalin's name has been kept in the background and has been mentioned a few times.

But the name of the city of Stalingrad, now Volgograd, was no longer avoided when dealing with those times when the city was known by that name. In many other such matters a more balanced and sober approach is being introduced.

Retired Marshal Georgi Zhukov, former Defence Minister and member of the Presidium of the CC who was removed from these posts and the membership of the central committee in October 1957 for the violation of the Leninist principles of the leadership of the armed forces but who has played a very prominent role during the last war, was invited to take part in the anniversary celebrations in acknowledgement of his services.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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A CHASTISING EXPERIENCE FOR SHASTRI GOVERNMENT

Parliament Session Reviewed

By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

The sweeping tide of revulsion against American imperialism which has broken through many a fortress built by the pro-imperialist lobby has been without doubt the most pronounced outcome of Parliament's budget session.

THIS the longest of Lok Sabha's sessions, normally marked out for defining government's economic policies and the central budget, has seen many ups and downs this year.

Although economic issues have remained important, it is the outlook on the political horizon and threats to national security which have exercised an overpowering influence on Parliament's proceedings.

The culmination of this chain of events came with the Pakistani aggression in Kutch. This was an event which provided the biggest shock to all sections—to parties and groups belonging to the opposition as well as the government.

And under its impact almost the entire perspective began to change. Those who glibly talked of the "free world" as India's saviour have begun to reel under the unkind cuts from Washington.

The hammer-blow of America's abetment and encouragement of aggression against India has made parties and politics in Parliament take on new postures.

Jan Sangh's Atal Behari Vajpayee was among those who had no reservations in denouncing United States role in the Pak aggression.

The Communist spokesmen in both Houses took their rightful place exposing imperialist plots. Hiren Mukerjee in the Lok Sabha and Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha were in the forefront of the demand for exposing the Anglo-American conspiracy.

There was the demand for simultaneous steps to strengthen the front and rear of the nation's security. While demanding effective steps to uphold territorial integrity and national honour, they also demanded action against profiteers, hoarders and communalists who stabbed the people's unity and capacity to stand up.

The only group which stood outside this phalanx of opposition to the imperialist conspiracy directed through Pakistan was the Swatantra party.

During the debates that took place in both Houses the Swatantra spokesmen stood aloof from the mainstream, injecting a note of defeatism and despair.

Theirs was the logic of stooping low at the feet of the Anglo-American bloc, of becoming its camp-follower. Entry into the military camp of the west would bring India "friends" and for ever solve the problem of defending our borders, they said.

How did the government of Lal Bahadur Shastri face this challenge?

If one were to take Shastri's defiant statement warn-

ing the Americans that India would not tolerate interference in its affairs vis-a-vis Pakistan, one could gauge the changed sentiment prevailing on the treasury benches. The Prime Minister's sharp rebuff to Johnson for cancelling his

proposed visit to Washington provided the back-drop.

In line with this mood was the decision to keep the scheduled programme of visiting the Soviet Union despite the Kutch crisis.

But it was not easy for Shastri to take this position. The beginnings of the session saw the government in the role of unprincipled appeasers of the imperialists. India's role in the Vietnam crisis was watered down to please the United States. India's foreign policy of nonalign-

ment was becoming flexible commodity.

From Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari came an unending stream of concessions to the Anglo-American combines for investing in India. The highlight of these was to be seen in the budget.

The sinking prestige of the Shastri government was reflected in the growing group squabbles in the ruling party and the rise of factions vying for power. The highlight of the tussle came with Vijaya-lakshmi Pandit's "prisoners of indecision" charge against the government.

Only these hard knocks served to put the government on a different pedestal. Amidst bewilderment and a sense of trial the Shastri government sought to discover its moorings afresh.

But it was the fire of aggression in Kutch—quite

clearly master-minded from abroad—for which the weapons came from American imperialists—through which the chastisement of the government came.

The government's stand expounded by Shastri in two important speeches before both Houses as well as a number of statements in regard to the question of meeting Pakistani aggression carried some of these new features in official thinking.

It was a combination of firmness to fight back aggression with willingness to find peaceful solutions of all Indo-Pak problems. Some of these pronouncements were the best that Shastri has made since his advent to office and received wide support in Parliament.

Parliament's session therefore ended on a new note—one that has promise of new openings.

DEFEAT IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY

* FROM FRONT PAGE

own positions and second, to help the common strategy of their American ally.

In this, in their turn, they were helped by their own friends among the Indian Civil Service bureaucrats and advisers, who feed the unwary or the ignorant ministers with all sorts of advice and even false information.

A whole bunch of British diplomats found various reasons to visit India at this moment, the most dangerous of them being Lord Mountbatten.

It was a strange sight. The first sea-lord and the chief of staff of the defence services of Great Britain came on a mission to discuss—what? Immigration of a few Indians in search of jobs to Britain! Only a dud could believe the story.

It was Mountbatten who helped to finalise the partition of India in 1947, saw the Kashmir invasion and the disastrous massacres and refugees rolling over India and Pakistan.

He had the singular fortune of being garlanded while leaving India as the last imperialist Viceroy. He has quite a hold over the Congress leadership. He does not bluster and bludgeon like the crude Americans, but corrodes and corrupts in a cultured way.

He sold the idea of arbitration between Pakistan and India to the government. He even sold the idea of British military personnel guarding the border pending the arbitration. We were back again into the trap of 1947, back again to making the British, and behind them the Americans, as arbitrators and guardians of India's frontiers—a sure and steady method of corroding our sovereignty and independence and disrupting the unity of the country.

Arbitration of the imperialists indeed! The monkey arbitrating between two quarrelling cats, with the result the Panchatantra told the ignorant king in the old days! There are, however, well-meaning people who, in the name of defence and avenging the retreat in the Kutch, want India to attack East Pakistan with the slogan of "liberating" it.

While it is true that we are threatened with disruption in the eastern part of our country, in which the Chinese, the Pakistanis, the British and the Americans are taking active part, to attack on our own initiative on the eastern front and that also with the most dangerous slogan of liberating East Pakistan, would be a suicidal step.

Unfortunately, men like Ram Manohar Lohia have their own listeners before whom they want

to parade as permanent revolutionists and permanent liberators.

Against the Chinese they not only want to defend Nefu but want to liberate Tibet, going as far as Peking! Now they want to liberate East Pakistan, which is the surest way not only to unite the East Pakistani people behind President Ayub Khan's policies against us but also to begin a Hindu-Muslim massacre in both the countries.

The weakest spot, to my mind, in the defence of the country is Kashmir in the northwest and the Assam area in the northeast.

Kashmir has been too much corroded politically and ideologically by kowtowing to Sheikh Abdullah. His slogan of detaching Kashmir from India and making it an "independent" state has made a dent in our armour of people's unity.

We have failed to fight him politically and ideologically. An "independent" Kashmir in today's conditions will be a base for Pakistan, China, USA and Britain—despite their mutual contradictory interests—against India and the Soviet Union.

In the eastern area, the government has failed to win the tribal people. The logic of capitalist development followed by the government has meant ruin to tribal economy and tribal culture and democracy.

The consequent discontent is used by the imperialist agents for their own purposes, for which East Pakistan has become a fruitful base and an active rear. The hill people's legitimate aspirations, remaining unsatisfied, are being used for a separatist movement.

In this, British missionaries like Michael Scott, the British planters of Assam and the monopolists of the British oil companies are lending a hand. The British planters and oil diggers of Assam have quite an affinity with Pakistani capitalists and landlords and would not mind crossing to that side.

After all, even now the Assam trade goes through the Pakistani channels of the Brahmaputra river and the steamer companies, which have all along belonged to Lord Inchaoupe of Britain both in the Indian and Pakistani areas.

These foreign vested interests are a threat to India's unity. One of the essential steps in the defence of the country is to take over these plantations and oil companies under government control and ask the planters to retire, with Lord Mountbatten, to their home in Britain, with pensions if necessary.

But instead of that it is the

workers who are threatened with punishment if they agitate against those foreign exploiters and profit-hunters for their legitimate demands.

The eastern front is a political problem first and so long as the reactionary monopolists have their supporters in the ministry and official circles, the political problem cannot be handled with success. Hence the danger of disruption there.

Let us not hide this fact by pointing only to the Chinese threat. There are people who want us to go with the Americans in order to meet the Chinese threat. But that is wrong politics, wrong strategy and wrong reading.

The Chinese, as far as I can judge, are not going to make Nefu a live front again solely to help Pakistan. They will not repeat 1962 for the simple reason that conditions do not exist for such a course in 1965.

One must not forget that the Chinese leadership then invaded India in the expectation that the US and the Soviet Union were going to be involved in a mutually destructive world war on the Cuban issue from which they hoped to keep aloof. That issue and possibility does not exist today.

The Chinese leadership does not want to do anything that would involve China directly in a big war with the USA or in a world war, for a few years to come.

That does not mean it will not fight if the USA tries to attack it as it did in the Korean war. If China were to attack India, it would not only throw India into the arms of the Anglo-American imperialists, which she wants, but it may involve the whole of Asia into Anglo-American occupation and a direct war against the Chinese People's Republic.

China, for the present, wants to build her economy, without coming into war conflict with the US. By making a show of utilising the inter-imperialist contradictions and her theory of the so-called "intermediate zone", she is even prepared to be friendly with the other imperialist powers.

Her hostility to Soviet Union is one of her instruments to win safety and help from the "pro-Chinese" imperialists in her development.

In fact, Chinese denunciation of the Soviet Union by dividing the solidarity of the socialist camp helps the US imperialists and thus shields her from their immediate aggression.

With such a policy, it is foolish for us to imagine that China also

is going to join in a war against us with Pakistan.

China is not fighting for an abstract philosophy of proletarian internationalism, at the cost of her own national interests. She is nationalist first and internationalist next.

It is not in her interest to attack India today, in company with Pakistan. But she will issue statements in support of Pakistan, to demoralise us and to bog down a few of our divisions.

Has not she issued strong statements in support of North and South Vietnam, which are her nearest neighbours—nearer than Pakistan—without lifting a single gun against the Americans? Mere statements in the air cannot stop falling bombs or fight a war.

Hence, it is wrong for India to make the Chinese threat as the central problem in her tactical manoeuvres, though we should not neglect the political danger from the Chinese attitude or support to Pakistan, or give up our vigilance.

The central problem is to defeat Anglo-American manoeuvres, which seek to draw India as a whole into their camp or dismember her with attacks from within and without.

This should be the essence of our political understanding. In this the key role has to be played by the masses. Our resistance to the monopoly vested interests and their allies in the government must not be given up whatever the threats the government may make against the working people.

We cooperate with government in defence of the country. But we also resist its anti-people policies, which alone can keep up fighting morale of the people.

The refusal of the government to grant proper DA to two million government employees, the behaviour towards the defence employees, the turning over of defence work to private profiteers, the provocation by employers in Amritsar and elsewhere, the arrests of harmless hunger strikers, accompanied by liberal tax concessions, to the monopolists who have sabotaged production and building of industries in vital sectors—are these steps for the strengthening of the defence of the country and building people's unity?

While defending the country, one must not forget to defend the people, because the government's policies feed the exploiters of the people and of the country, which in its turn encourages the aggressors to attack us.

(May 11)