

# LEFT UNITY IN KERALA: REAL ISSUES

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## Lest We Forget

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a chat with Prime Minister! (Photo: VIRENDRA KUMAR)

It is only 17 years since the Father of the Nation was shot to death by the hired assassin of the communal fanatics; fresh in memory are the grim details of the dastardly crime engineered by communal reaction.

And yet these vile snakes of communalism are raising their ugly heads again. A full-scale campaign of communal revival is afoot.

The fascist organisation of the Hindu communal fanatics, the RSS is seeking to regain its lost 'glory'. Assassins and their henchmen are offered 'pujas' and adulation.

Efforts are being made even to get foreign links, as seen by the recent "King Mahendra episode". Links have already been established with some of the Indian communities abroad.

The RSS's political arm, the Jan Sangh is fulminating against the secular forces in the country which are standing guard against its nefarious designs. It is plotting to extend activities to new pastures.

The role of these two organisations in the communal riots last year in the country's major industrial areas is now not much of a secret. Nor was its game of instigation in the communal rampage a few years back in the towns of North India.

All these, it cannot be forgotten, are the result of the indulgence shown to these fascist organisations by the government and key persons in the ruling circles.

No wonder that these communal cocks have made bold to parade with their plumes spread out when the President deems it fit to participate in public functions along with the RSS fehrer Golwalker.

Or, when the RSS chief could get the release of the collaborators of Mahatma's assassins merely by calling on the Union Home Minister and having

Democrats throughout the country are sorely disappointed at the failure of the left parties to forge a united front to contest the coming elections. This disappointment is fully justified. Everyone who understands the political scene even to the slightest extent, realises that a full-scale left united front would be able to secure an absolute majority in the elections, and thus ensure a progressive, clean and honest administration for the state.

THE impact of such a left election victory would not be confined to Kerala: it would be felt all over the country, giving confidence to the democratic forces and helping to fashion that national democratic front, which alone can carry the nation forward. A left victory in Kerala would be a powerful stimulus to the democratic forces, now preparing for the 1967 general elections in the rest of the country.

Democratic forces will, therefore, wholeheartedly endorse the appeals made by the Left United Front in Kerala and by the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India, urging the leaders of the rival Communist Party to think again, retrace their steps and return to the Front, from which they have broken away so unashamedly.

Will they respond to this appeal? It is to be sincerely hoped that the ranks of the rival Communist Party will put pressure on their leaders, to abandon their disruptive and unprincipled stand even at this stage. This would be in the interests of left unity, of a left victory in Kerala, and certainly in the interests of principles, which are basic to the practice of anyone who calls himself a Communist.

Indeed the real issues in Kerala today have become these:

★ Is it permissible for a constituent of the Left United Front to ally itself with an openly communal reactionary party—the Muslim League? Even if such an alliance can help to secure election victories for the Left United Front in half-a-dozen constituencies (nobody claims it can do more!), is such an election alliance or understanding with communalism permissible or in the interests of the progressive movement?

★ Should the aim of the Left United Front be solely the defeat of the Congress, irrespective of whether it is the democratic forces or the reactionary forces which gain as a consequence of this defeat? Or should the aim of the Left United Front be the defeat of both the Con-

gress and the right reactionary communal forces?

★ Should opportunism and dishonest violation of principles be the election tactics of democratic parties, as they are of the Congress in Kerala and the right forces? Or should the democratic forces place before the people a clear-cut, principled manifesto to which they will adhere not only in words but in practice?

These are the questions which must be posed sharply today, when discussing the coming Kerala elections and a Left United Front. It would be utterly suicidal to permit the disappointment felt at the failure to achieve total left unity, to cloud the real issues at stake.

Opposition to communalism must be a basic tenet of all genuine democratic forces. This is not a principle which can be

### Editorial Article

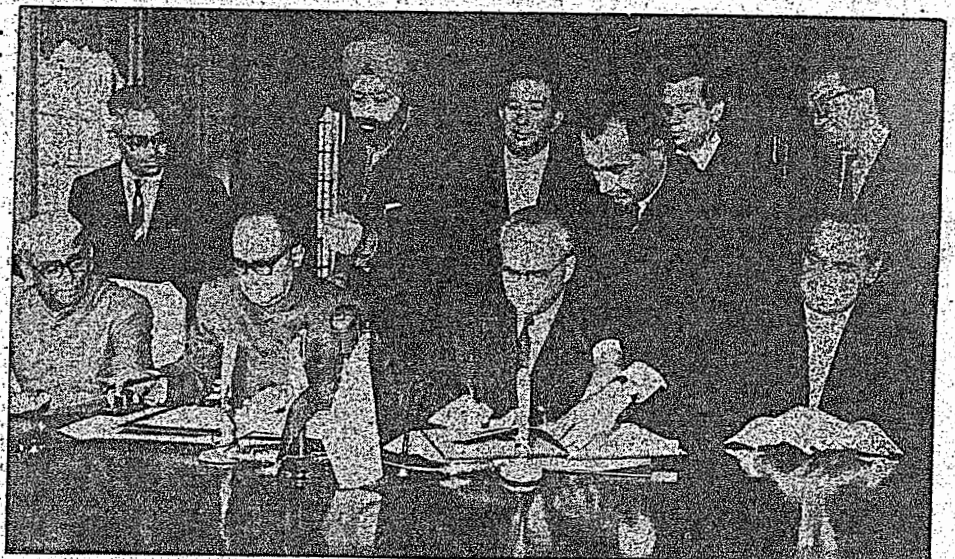
abandoned in the name of so-called "election tactics" anywhere. To do so would be disastrous for the future of the country.

The rival Communist Party's honeymoon with the Muslim League only proves further its readiness to give up the most fundamental principles for temporary advantages in a few seats contested by its leaders. This practice has nothing to do with the "revolutionary" cause, which they claim to sponsor.

It is pure petty opportunism in the narrow interests of securing places in the Assembly for two or three gentlemen, who at this moment happen to be leading the rival Communist Party in Kerala and in whose constituencies, the League vote counts marginally.

Let it be understood that the alliance with the Muslim League is not one-sided. While a couple of seats may be won by the rival Communist Party with the help of the League

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SIGNING BOKARO AGREEMENT (REPORT ON PAGE 3)



















# R-Day Celebrated in Soviet Union

From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW: The large scale on which India's Republic Day has been celebrated in the Soviet Union, the sincerity of friendly feeling that pervaded these celebrations, and the participation of people of all walks of life and occupations in India's national holiday, is another proof that the Soviet policy of friendship, cooperation, assistance and all-sided goodwill towards India has not changed.

There is continued appreciation of India's role as a non-aligned country and her reiteration of the policy of peaceful coexistence, her adherence to the cause of complete disarmament, her refusal to be hustled into the nuclear arms race and the assurances of her government that it shall continue to work for peace and a lessening of international tensions.

While commentators here have sounded the warning note that reaction's pressure tactics and behind-the-scene manoeuvres are making some headway in India, there is no over exaggeration of the right pressures.

It is noted that the forces of progress and patriotism which reaction, both inside and outside the ruling party.

Along with this the economic difficulties and bunglings, the contradictory pulls and pushes acting on the government including it in this way and that, are being closely followed.

News papers noted the great role played by Nehru in working out the policies of the country; non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and planned economic development under the five-year plans.

IZVESTIA published an interview to its Delhi correspondent given by Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri in which summing up India's development in the last 15 years, he pointed out the establishment of a democratic system and the country's start on the way to a socialist type of society.

Shastri mentioned the progress in industry and science education etc., and said that for a significant rise in the standard of living, much faster tempo of development in industry and agriculture was required. The capital investment planned for the next five-year plan surpasses all the three previous plans, he said.

Shastri highly appreciated the sincere friendly relations and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the help rendered to build an industrial base in India. "We are very grateful for this co-operation and hope that it will grow in future in the interest of both the countries," he said.

PRAVDA and IZVESTIA commented on this: "The Soviet people from the bottom of their hearts share the good feelings of the Indian friends and on the occasion of the national holiday of India send the friendly Indian people their best wishes."

PRAVDA declared India's independent and peace-loving foreign policy to be of immense significance which has won India many friends.

PRAVDA quoted numerous statistics to show India's progress since independence. "This progress," PRAVDA said, "Indians connect with the progressive side of the internal and external policies of the country which are affirmed in everyday struggle against imperialism and local reactionary circles. The people of India struggle for strengthening the inde-

## Direction of India's Development

MOSCOW: It has been noted and commented upon by well-informed foreign observers and diplomatic circles here that commentaries appearing on Indian developments in Soviet press seem to be in line with the analysis of the Indian situation worked out by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India.

As was earlier pointed out, PRAVDA described the recent CPI Congress as "the most outstanding event in the development of the progressive movement in India". It further declared: "The Party Programme adopted and the political resolution and other documents orient the vanguard of the working-class of India and all the working people of the country to a resolute struggle for peace, democracy, progress

and in the defence of the interests of the working people. In an article titled THE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE OF LENIN'S IDEAS FOR THE DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM, PRAVDA on January 21, while re-emphasising the need for the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world including the proletariat of the developed countries and the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples with the socialist camp, pointed out that the Marxist-Leninist parties had set the aim of "carrying forward to the end the anti-imperialist democratic revolution and preparing the ground for a state of national democracy and transition to the non-capitalist path of development" for the newly-liberated countries and the national liberation struggle.

## LATIN AMERICA

FROM PAGE 16 which are the expression of our common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and do everything possible so that an inviolable unity of principle would take the upper hand.

"In connection with this and in view of the fact that the differences in the form in which they are now discussed inflict harm to the international Communist movement, the meeting demands that an end be put immediately to public polemics and emphasises the need for finding proper channels to solve the questions which have arisen in the spirit of fraternity which should prevail in the relations between the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

"At the same time the conference holds that the unity of each party is an indispensable condition for the development of the revolutionary process in each country. Consequently, any factional activities, no matter what their source or nature, should be condemned categorically.

The meeting holds that resolute steps should be taken to ensure the unity of the international Communist movement. With this aim in view the necessary bilateral and multilateral meetings and a conference or conferences of all the Marxist-Leninist Parties should be held."

## NATO MEMBER REBUFS MLF

BERLIN: Turkey, a member of aggressive Nato and Cento gave a shock to imperialists by its recent rejection of the multi-lateral nuclear force, MLF is an American creation to arm the West Germans with nuclear weapons.

There is considerable opposition in the Nato itself against the MLF project. Before Turkey's rejection, France, Norway, Denmark and Belgium have already refused to okay the MLF project.

Reaction to Turkey's rebuff to the multi-lateral nuclear force, project show notable uneasiness among the planners of MLF. Their first statements stamped the Turkish decision as a "purely financial issue". Later however, circles in Washington openly referred to a psychological loss, and the American news agency UPI laid stress on "political side" of the Turkish moves.

It is also remarkable that the rebuff from Ankara for Bonn is very painful as Turkey had been regarded as a rather firm ally. This had found its expression in large-scale aid rendered by Bonn to Turkey.

For some time now the Turkish foreign policy has been showing trends for a realistic assessment of the international situation. This became obvious by the desire to establish closer contacts

pendence of the country, for development of national economy and raising the standard of living of the population. They see the future of their country on the paths of peace."

PRAVDA wished the Indian people new successes on the road of independent development.

Indian Republic Day was observed in Moscow in a gala manner. A number of schools held meetings, exhibitions and concerts. Similar celebrations were held in the Moscow University where Indian and Soviet students together presented programmes.

On the eve of the Republic Day a celebration meeting was held in Moscow Friendship House which was attended by members of government, leading statesmen, scientists, artists, representatives of youth, worker etc.

Nina Popova, president of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Dymchits, Soviet Vice-Premier, Indian Ambassador Kaul, S. A. Dange, Chairman of CPI, Academician Tsitsin, President of the Soviet-Indian Friendship Society and others were in the presidium.

Ambassador Kaul, on behalf of the Indian Embassy, held a reception at the Sovietskaya Hotel on the occasion of the Republic Day. The reception was attended by Genadi Voronov, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Head of the Government of RSFSR, and several other high state dignitaries.

Besides, there were leading Soviet figures from all walks of life including cosmonauts. More than one thousand guest attended the reception.

## Who Trades with South Africa?

REPORTS have appeared in a number of newspapers recently which give an impression that a number of socialist countries are still continuing to trade with South Africa, violating the pledge of trade boycott.

The reports, to say the least, were tendentious and highly misleading. They quote figures upto 1963 and do not disclose that since then virtually all the socialist countries barring China, have stopped trading with South Africa. India can also have legitimate pride in this because it was one of the first countries to cut off relations with South Africa.

What these reports also hide is the fact that Western Europe's trade with South Africa has been continuously rising. Compared to 1961, exports from Western Europe increased by one per cent in 1962; in 1963 by over 30 per cent and in 1964 by over 20 per cent.

Imports also showed a constant rise: 10 per cent in 1962, eight per cent in 1963 and 14 per cent in 1964.

Expressed in absolute figures, exports from Western Europe to the South African Republic were 1,077 million dollars and imports 763 million dollars. The exports to South Africa alone constitute almost one-quarter of Western Europe's total exports to Africa.

NEW YORK TIMES on January 25 disclosed that US exports to South Africa were up by a whopping 43 per cent over 1963. This makes South Africa one of USA's principal trading partners. In fact, based on available figures for the first eight months of 1964 South Africa bought close to 40 per cent of all US products sold to Africa.

South Africa's export to USA are currently some 255 million dollars so that the two-way trade between the two countries now stands at 650 million dollars, an increase of 125 million dollars over 1963.

Who is therefore aiding the racist Verwoerd government?

## USA Denies Complicity

LAST week in these columns the possible intrigues behind the murder of Burundi Prime Minister Pierre Ngendandumwe were hinted at.

The Communist Party of Great Britain has very correctly pointed out the inadequacy of Wilson's plans. It has suggested a new policy which requires the Labour government to immediately take steps to bring down prices, improve wages, cut military expenditure, cancel all plans for NATO nuclear force, stop colonial war, limit export of capital, increase state control in industry etc. It is this policy that can help the Labour government to win popular support.

That the British conservatives would be very happy at the by-election results of Nuneaton (where the Labour majority has been halved) and Leyton (where the Foreign Secretary Gordon Walker has been defeated and since resigned) is understandable.

FORMER Prime Minister Alec Douglas Home described the results as showing that the counting "is ready for a Tory return". Ian MacLeod declared: "Wilson has met his Waterloo, and so on. The Labour government will now have no guts to push through its steel nationalisation plan or any other dynamic programme. Share prices, particularly of steel, have soared up."

Whether the by-election results indicate a clear trend against the Labour government will be clear in ten days' time when by-elections will be held in Altrincham and Sale constituencies.

Whatever be the trend, from the Nuneaton and Leyton results one thing is clear: the leaders of the Labour Party have been making too many concessions to Big Business, and they have not been able to hold the priceline which has been continuously making inroads into personal incomes.

In this lies the main reason why thousands of Labour voters failed to turn up to cast their votes. In fact, these results actually reflect not so much triumphs for the Tories as defeats for the rightwing policy of the Labour leaders.

There is also an element of cynicism on the part of the voters in these two elections, an attitude of 'I couldn't care less', because the Wilson government has disappointed millions by not decisively breaking away from the policy the Tory government had been following.

Wilson has not been able to take any stand much different from that taken by the Tory government on major issues like the war in Malaysia, the NATO Nuclear force, the Polaris submarine programme and so on. Both in the national and international planes, the positive aspects of Labour policy have been overshadowed by the negatives.

If the results of the coming by-elections show a definite trend against the Labour government and indicate a swing in favour of the Tories, it will be the Labour Party which will be solely responsible for it. If the Tories come back to power in Britain, it will be due to Labour government's failure to honour people's wishes, for having failed to take clear and decisive stand in the interest of the people.

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## Verdict Against Labour Policy

It has now been revealed that the murderer of the Prime Minister, who has since been apprehended, is actually an employee of the US Embassy in Burundi.

The US State Department immediately sought to clear itself of any responsibility and declared that the US had nothing to do with this "unfortunate incident." NEW YORK TIMES even quoted what is purported to be a statement of the acting Prime Minister of Burundi which says that no one would suspect America of being implicated in the assassination.

The rush of the State Department to clear itself of the charge by even trying to obtain a good conduct certificate from the acting Prime Minister is understandable. It is painstakingly trying to foist the responsibility of the murder on the leftwing group in Burundi and thereby to create more confusion in Burundi.

This has been the aim of the Belgians and the Americans ever since the country became independent and it is worth remembering in this connection that the murderer is reported to be a member of the Tutsi tribe while the late Prime Minister belonged to the Hutu tribe. Belgian and American "diplomats" are well-known in Burundi for their attempt to play the Tutsi tribe against the Hutus.

Notwithstanding the loud denial of the US State Department, therefore, there is enough reason to suspect US and Belgian complicity in the murder of the Burundi Prime Minister. Political assassination is nothing new for the CIA agents. They have been at it for much too long a time.

## Explosive S. E. Asia

SOUTH-East Asia is fast approaching the bursting point. The open aggressive acts—bombing and shelling by US airforce and naval forces—in North Vietnam and Laos in complete violation of Geneva Agreements are indicative of the US plan of escalation of war in this area.

The affected countries cannot just watch the US acts of aggression. The guerrillas in Laos and Vietnam are therefore trying to resist the onslaught.

Meanwhile, in the USA itself opinions have been expressed sharply against the escalation of war in South Vietnam. Public opinion is gathering momentum calling for an end of the war in Vietnam and Laos, and for a pull out from South-East Asia.

But the Pentagon bosses do not seem to be inclined to abide by the wishes of the people and they are trying their best to maintain their foothold in South-East Asia at all cost.

It is reported that US Ambassador Maxwell Taylor has proposed to South Vietnam's new puppet Premier Tran Van Hung an increase of his army by additional one lakh soldiers. This will bring up the total South Vietnam forces to 6.6 lakh men besides the

## Verdict Against Labour Policy

Reports are coming in of US planes shot down over Laos and Vietnam territories and of clashes in South Vietnam itself. The Vietnamese airport of Laos has been blown up.

The Pentagon and the US State Department have been trying to hide their aggressive acts by not disclosing the raids the US forces were carrying out over Laos and North Vietnam. These acts are in flagrant violation of the Geneva agreement of 1962 which barred military intervention by any outside forces. USA is one of the signatories to this agreement.

These aggressive acts are clearly in pursuance of the plan for stepping up war preparations for which US President Johnson has sought an outlay of 500 million dollars from the US Congress.

The gravity of the situation immediately calls for a reconvening of the 14-nation Geneva conference, a step which has been demanded by a number of nations. This is necessary to enforce the Geneva agreement on the US for putting a stop to its aggressive acts.

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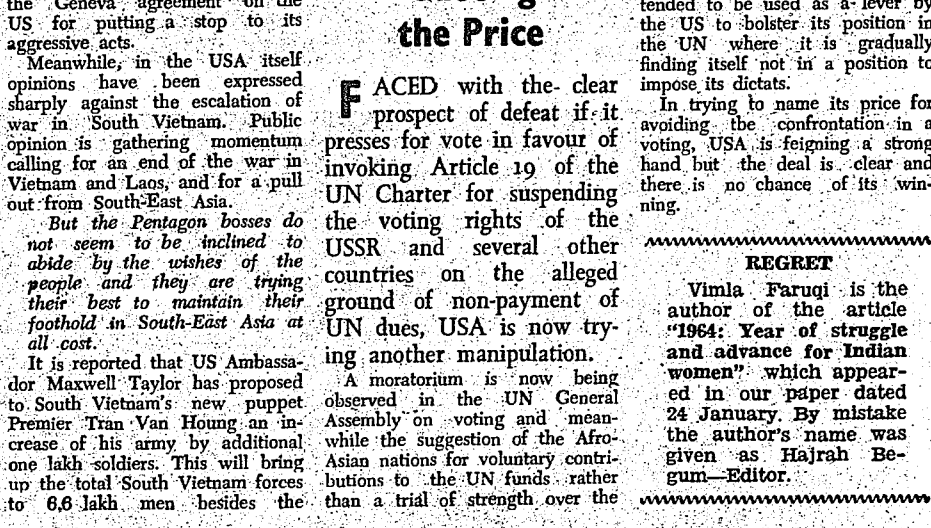
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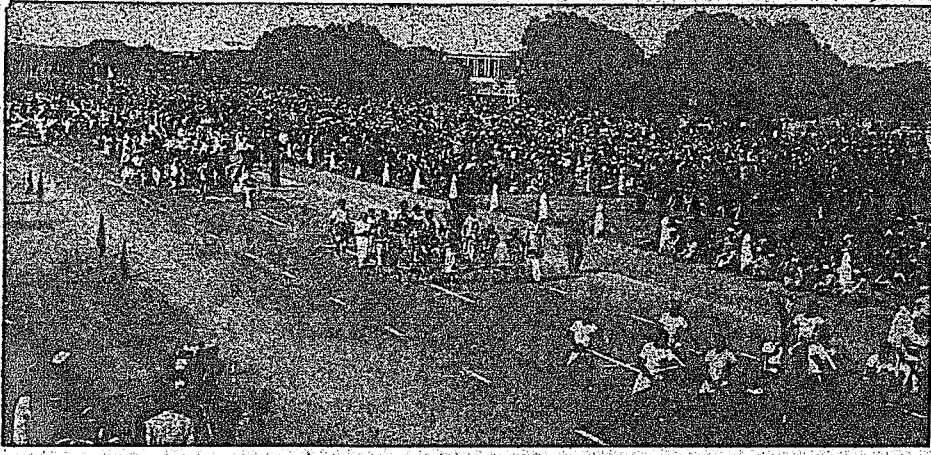
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## Quoting the Price

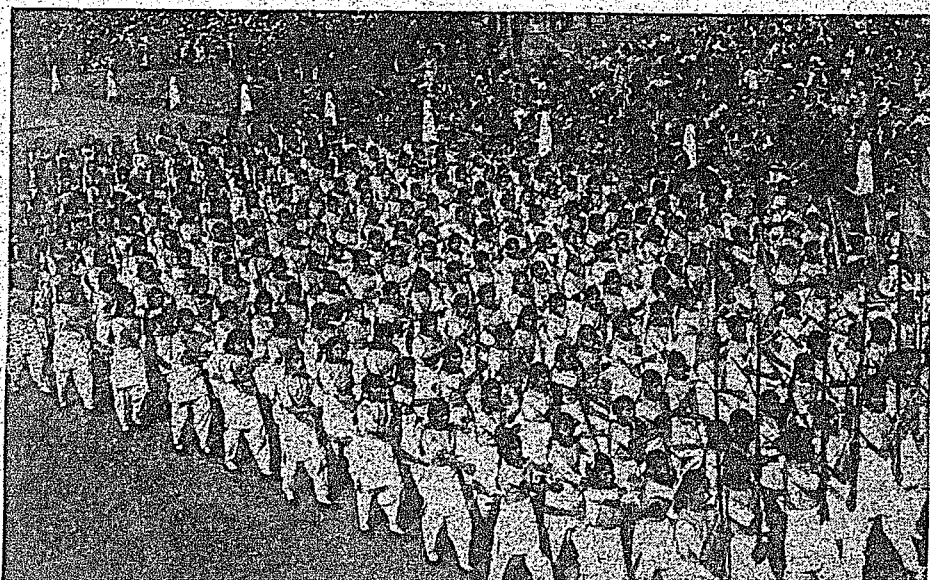
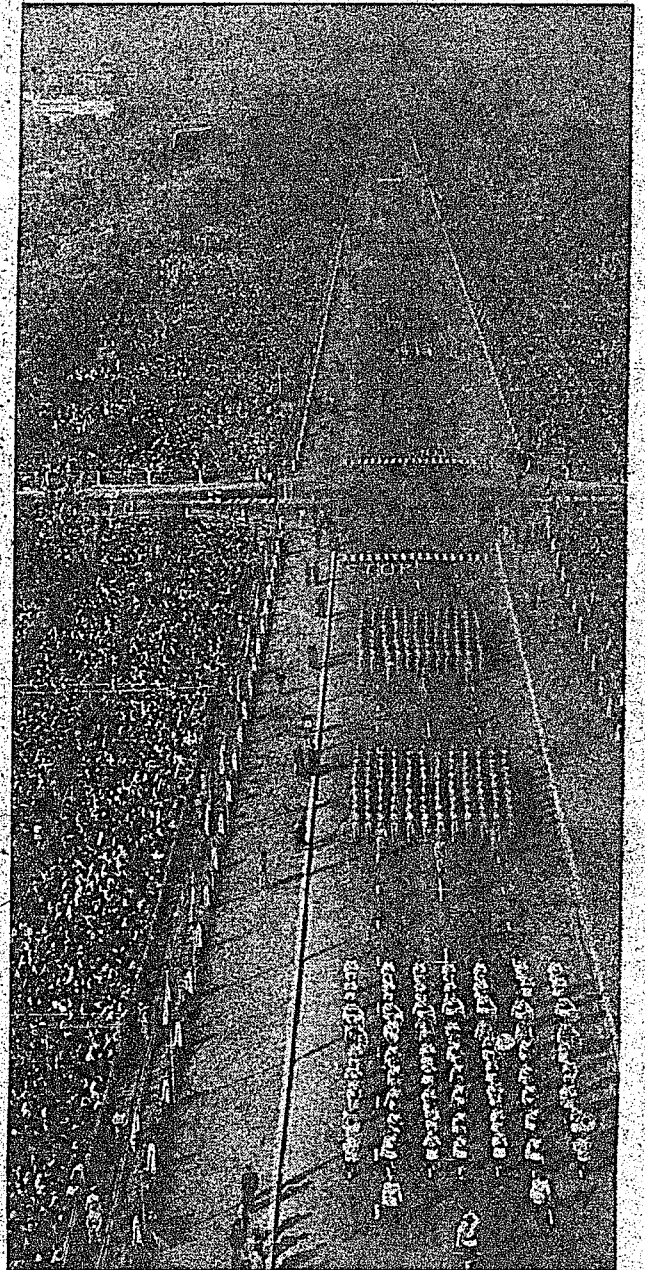
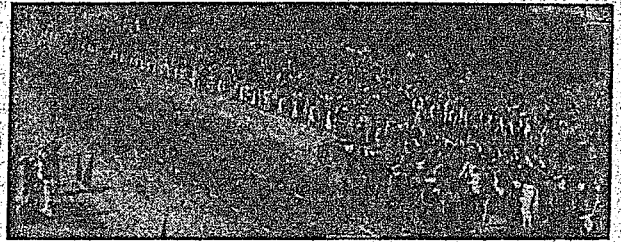
ACED with the clear prospect of defeat if it presses for vote in favour of invoking Article 19 of the UN Charter for suspending the voting rights of the USSR and several other countries on the alleged ground of non-payment of UN dues, USA is now trying another manipulation.

A moratorium is now being observed in the UN General Assembly on voting and meanwhile the suggestion of the Afro-Asian nations for voluntary contributions to the UN funds rather than a trial of strength over the





# REPUBLIC DAY SCENES



(Photos: VIRENDRA KUMAR)