

# Significant Dates ▶

[ASTERISK DENOTES ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

## JUN

- 16-17\* East German workers and youths demonstrate and riot, quelled by Soviet troops. (Commemorated annually in West Germany as German Day of Unity.) 1953.
- 17\* Hungarian government announces trial and execution of Imre Nagy, Premier during Hungarian revolt who had been seized in violation of promise of safe-conduct. 1958.
- 22\* Germany invades the Soviet Union. 1941.
- 25\* North Korean army crosses 38th parallel, invading South Korea, 1950.
- 28-29\* Demonstration by Poznan workers against wage abuses turns into riot; Polish government crushes riot, killing 44, wounding hundreds, though later moves to correct abuses. 1956.
- 28 Opening of International Union of Architects (UIA) Congress, Prague, followed by International Meeting of Women Architects, Bratislava. (UIA is basically professional, not a front, but meeting in Havana in 1963 exploited by Communists.)

## JUL

- 1\* Dominion of Canada established, uniting provinces under federal government, 1867. CENTENARY.
- 6-9 World Conference on Vietnam, Stockholm. (Communist fronts involved include World Peace Council and International Organization of Journalists; non-Communist World Conference of World Peace Through Law also participating.)
- 9-14 World Conference of World Peace Through Law. Conference in Geneva.
- 21\* Armistice ends Vietnamese war between French and Viet Minh forces. 1954.
- 23 Soviet Navy Day.
- 23\* Geneva Agreements guaranteeing independence and neutrality of Laos signed by 14 nations. 1962. FIFTH ANNIVERSARY.
- 28 (to August 5) First conference of Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO: Communist front growing out of Tri-Continental Conference, Havana, January 1966).

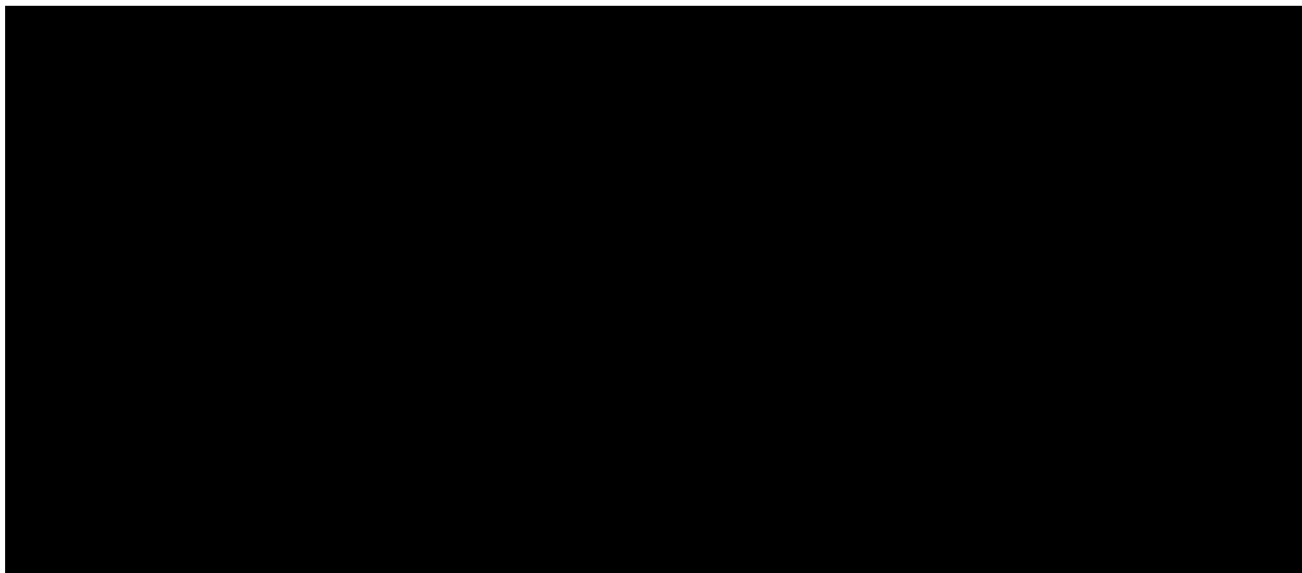
## AUG

- 1\* Warsaw Uprising begins; later crushed by Germans while Red Army refuses and blocks assistance. 1944.
- 2-9 World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, 16th Assembly, Vancouver, Canada. (Non-Communist.)
- 6\* US drops atom bomb on Hiroshima. 1945.
- 8\* Soviet Union declares war on Japan. 1945.
- 14\* Japan surrenders to Allies. 1945.

# Media Lines

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24 April 1967

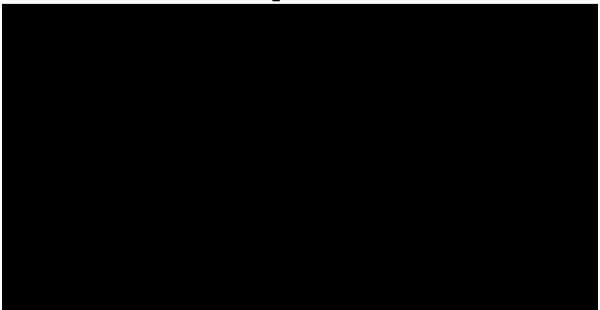


"Dr. Zhivago" Soviets Seek To Bar Films  
in India

Press Comment, 17 April 1967, carried an item from the 5 April New Delhi PATRIOT, somewhat misleadingly headlined: "No 'Advice' by the Soviet Union on 'Dr. Zhivago.'" The story relates that the Indian Minister for Information had stated in Parliament that the Soviet Embassy had "given no advice" to the Indian government on the exhibition of the film "Dr. Zhivago," but "had drawn [as the Minister put it] 'our attention to the fact that the exhibition of the film would be embarrassing to the Soviet Union.'" After due consideration, the Indian government had decided "to pass the picture with such cuts as were considered necessary, keeping in view the susceptibilities of a friendly country." In the case of another movie, "From Russia with Love," the title was changed to "From 007 with Love," and all references to the USSR were deleted; the Soviet Embassy had represented to the Indian government that the film "did not project the real character of the Soviet people."

It seems likely that similar protests will be made by Soviet diplomats when "Dr. Zhivago" comes to other countries; in many cases, where there is no parliament, the public may have difficulty learning that censorship has been sought. Where possible, we should try to publicize Soviet efforts to limit distribution of such films. Their efforts can be compared with Nazi efforts to discourage the showing of "All Quiet on the Western Front"; the story of Pasternak's later years and the Soviet prohibition of his acceptance of a Nobel Prize can be recalled; and the sensitivity of the Soviets on "Zhivago" can be tied in with their 50th Anniversary celebrations: evidently this is one major reason for Soviet displeasure at the circulation of this film. Where some friction takes place and the film is cut, protests can

be aired in the press about the



\* \* \*

Whatever its conclusions, the matter needs to be put into perspective. The Americans' bombing policy is based on two apparently contrary, yet complementary, principles. In certain special zones or in areas where full-scale operations are being waged against the enemy the bombing is devastating and relentless. But in areas which contain civilians, the most elaborate ground rules are in force to try to stop them being hurt. In such areas, the approval of the local province chief is required before any air strike can be made. This frequently results in delays which allow the enemy to escape. British television viewers who are conditioned to regard the air war in Vietnam as an unrelieved exercise in American brutality could profitably observe this curious partnership between American pilots and Vietnamese officials.

In the actual conduct of the air strikes, the target is pin-pointed in advance by forward air controllers, who reconnoitre the area for hours in slow-flying aircraft, often at great personal risk. A common technique is to drop smoke flares on the precise Vietcong stronghold. If there is a possibility of hitting civilians the whole thing is usually called off. In the Delta area certain sections of the waterways have been pronounced "friendly areas". Even if the Vietcong sneak in and fire a few volleys the river patrol boats must not fire back, for fear of hitting the "friendly civilians." The B-52 bombers, which are used only in full-scale open fighting, are electronically controlled and have a remarkable degree of bomb-aiming accuracy. It is claimed that in all their operations they have killed only one civilian. The picture is reasonably clear. Perhaps

never before has a belligerent wielded such a preponderance of power with so much restraint.

The full article was reprinted in the 14 March issue of Press Comment.

\* \* \*

"*REVISION-ism*" New Edition Planned for Great Soviet Encyclopedia

The Central Committee of the CPSU has just ordered a completely revised edition of THE GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA, which one Western journal has sarcastically called "the repository of ultimate truth" - as far as Soviet citizens are concerned. In recent years the present (1957) edition has been overtaken by such events as the fall of Khrushchev, and the break with Mao Tse-tung, both of which persons are described most favorably; also by the rise of Brezhnev, only named in a supplement, and of Kosygin, who is given nodding recognition as a "notable statesman and minister of consumer goods." The 1957 edition dismisses Charles de Gaulle as "a monarchist and clerical" who openly calls for the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship and for starting war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries". As the new edition is not scheduled to appear until 1974, there will undoubtedly be many revisions of draft articles meanwhile. (If one can judge by the Soviet history of the past twenty years, Brezhnev may by that time become an unperson again, or at best receive minimal mention as a "former high Party official".)

(Question - with tongue in cheek: Why don't the Communist produce major reference works as loose-leaf books?)

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# Briefly Noted ✓

24 April 1967

*Classic Use of Juxtaposition*     British Publication Notes Another Chicom Economic Failure

With two eye-catching split headlines: "China buys scrap..." -- "... and scraps paper," the 8 April issue of the London ECONOMIST carries two short paragraphs. The former paragraph is a brief report on Peking's recent purchase of scrap metal in Britain, since it cannot buy it from the United States or the USSR. The latter one states:

*"The China Council for the Promotion of International Trade in Peking has put out the following special notice to its readers: "China's socialist revolution has entered a new stage with the emergence in 1966 of our country's historically unprecedented, great proletarian revolution. As a result of the deepening development of the revolutionary struggle, the bimonthly magazine CHINA'S FOREIGN TRADE cannot meet the demands of the present situation and the decision has been made to cease publication as of 1967."*

The use of short paragraphs with juxtaposed information is a time-proven device for getting across a propaganda message with a minimum of editorial additions to lead the reader to make his own conclusions. The current situation in Communist China provides a treasure house full of examples which can be adapted for this.

\* \* \*

*Americans Do Note Deliberately Bomb Civilians*     Civilian Casualties in the Vietnam War

The U.S. bombing policy is under constant and antagonistic scrutiny despite the fact that few readers and apparently fewer writers understand the restrictions under which U.S. pilots operate. The following excerpt from the 11 March 1967 issue of the respected British magazine, THE ECONOMIST, may help to clarify the situation and possibly prove useful for replay or background information the next time one of these tragically inevitable errors occur:

THE ECONOMIST     March 11, 1967

From Our Special Correspondent In Saigon

Above all, the Delta illustrates the limitations -- though not necessarily the inefficacy -- of the Americans' bombing policy, which is again under severe criticism because of the bloody episode at the village of Lang Vei, where about 100 villagers were accidentally killed by American jets. There are many features about this affair which are odd, to say the least. One possibility -- though it is no more than that -- is that the Americans really meant to bomb a village on the Ho Chi Minh trail inside Laos, the border of which runs very close to Lang Vei. For the moment, American officials merely talk in general terms about navigational error; and a board of inquiry has been set up.

~~SECRET~~

Advertisement

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DO YOUR AUDIENCES KNOW THAT THERE'S A WAR ON?

*And if they do, do they know what it's all about? Or are their opinions determined by Communist propagandists?*



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"How Strong is the NLF?" (Reprint from the Reporter)

"The Faceless Viet Cong" (Reprint from Foreign Affairs)

One American's View of the Vietnam Crisis

"New Crisis in Vietnam: What if the United States Gets Out?" (Reprint from U.S. News and World Report)

"The Legality of U.S. Participation in the Defense of Vietnam (Department of State Bulletin)

"An American Tragedy" (Reprint from Encounter)

Jay Mellin, Terror in Vietnam (book)

Vietnam: The War Newsbook (illustrated book)

*Send your order today.*

\* \* \* \* \*

~~SECRET~~

24 April 1967

1116.

SOVIET HISTORIANS CASTIGATE STALIN

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\* \* \* \* \*

SITUATION: A meeting took place in Moscow on 16 February 1966 to discuss a book, 1941, 22 June by Dr. A.M. Nekrich. The discussion, sponsored by the Institute for Marxism-Leninism and participated in by 130 military and civilian historians, focused on Stalin and Stalinism, and at times went well beyond the scope of the book; reports of this meeting have leaked out to the Free World in recent months. With the exception of one apologist who was hooted from the scene, those speaking up expressed views strongly condemning not only Stalin's prewar and wartime leadership but also the very system of Stalinism; these views were vigorously supported by the audience. In a brief debating match, one historian carried his point that Stalin was a criminal. Some of the speakers indicted Stalin's collaborators and could well have been thinking about some of the contemporary leaders of the USSR.

The discussion also touched on a wide range of other smoldering issues. For example, several complained about the suppression of historical data in the USSR and the consequent need of Soviet historians to refer to foreign sources when dealing with Stalin's era. The murders of military leaders in the purges of the 1930's were poignantly dramatized by the historian Yakir, the son of one of Stalin's victims. The bitter experiences in the Kolyma forced labor camp, in the gold fields of the far northeastern region of the USSR, were recalled and a former inmate used these as his credentials to speak.

Stalin's foreign policies also came in for criticism. Historians asserted that Stalin facilitated the rise of the Fascists by weakening the Social Democrats. Stalin was scored for his share in depriving the Poles of their freedom and for betraying the Spanish Republic and the Communists of all countries.

All of the speakers but one praised the book as good, timely, honest, and useful. To the surprise of some, Nekrich's book was approved by the Historical Section of the Great Fatherland War of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. However, the Committee on Publication Matters disapproved of the book. (Somehow, 11,000 copies of the book have been printed and distributed, but further distribution has been halted.)

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(1116 Cont.)



The lone apologist for Stalin, Professor G.A. Deborin, tried to suggest that a critic was echoing the line of "the enemy camp" and said: "It is necessary to determine, Comrade Snegov, to which camp you belong!" Snegov replied that he was from Kolyma camp, one of Stalin's slave labor camps. When Deborin said all this would have to be checked, the whole audience became indignant, and he was not permitted to speak further.

(Incidentally, a 20-page booklet produced by us in 1965 -- "Moscow Interprets World War Two: How the Soviets Falsify History" -- examines one of Deborin's publications in detail, using it for a case study in the Soviet distortion of history. Copies are available in English and Spanish.)

Despite Stalin's unpopularity with historians, the regime has pushed a limited rehabilitation of his memory over the last year. This may be in part a reaction to the 16 February 1966 meeting; although in mid-March 1966 a collective letter protested a rumored impending rehabilitation, Moscow City party leader N.G. Yegorychev on 30 March 1966 denounced the "recent fashion of seeking out elements of Stalinism as a scarecrow to frighten the public, especially the intelligentsia." The rehabilitation seems to be supported most heavily by military leaders whose articles, speeches, and memoirs (especially at the last anniversary of the October Revolution and at the various battle anniversaries) have assigned Stalin once more a leading role as a military leader; the military appear to have resented Khrushchev's denigration of Stalin and exaggeration of his own accomplishments. The whole issue of Stalinism is of course an especially sensitive subject this year, during the 50th anniversary celebrations. It should be remembered that, despite Khrushchev's speeches in party gatherings and various publications by liberal writers and poets, there never has been a full, open, public discussion on Stalinism within the USSR. The regime has always, even under Khrushchev, handled the subject of Stalin's policies with some restraint -- a wise decision from the regime's standpoint, since Stalinism cannot be completely repudiated without repudiating also the regime, shaped in its essential features by Stalin.

Comments on the basic material are in order. There seems to be no reasonable doubt about the authenticity of the report. Also, it has been accepted and spread by several publications, some of which can hardly be suspected of U.S. influence. The record of the meeting reproduced in POSSEV (from which the attached material is translated), was also described in LA SINISTRA, a journal published in Rome (some of the staff members are Trotskyites) and by LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in Paris. DER SPIEGEL, the West German TIME, has published long excerpts in its 20 March 1967 issue. In addition, Moscow correspondent Henry Shapiro referred to the meeting in his dispatch on the anniversary of Stalin's death in March 1967.

1117 AF,NE,EUR.

AFRO-ASIAN WRITERS ARE VICTIMS  
OF SINO-SOVIET STRUGGLE

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SITUATION: The Chinese boycotted the "splittist" Afro-Asian Writers Conference, held in Beirut 25-30 March, as they did the AAPSO meeting in Nicosia, Cyprus in February.

[redacted] The writers movement was in effect split last year into Soviet- and Chicom-oriented groups, each holding meetings through the summer and fall. An "emergency meeting" of writers in support of Vietnam, held in Peking in June-July 1966, resolved to hold the Third Afro-Asian Writers Conference in Peking in 1967 but mentioned no date; in turn, a Soviet-sponsored meeting in Baku in September selected Beirut as the site for the AAWB conference in early 1967. (See [redacted])

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A Soviet-sponsored "extraordinary meeting" in Cairo in June had decided to move AAWB headquarters "temporarily" from Colombo to Cairo.

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The Chinese insist that the legitimate AAWB headquarters is still in Colombo and that it has its executive secretariat in Peking.

Before the Beirut Conference, Peking announced that preparatory work for the third writers conference "is being satisfactorily carried out"; after the Conference Peking claimed that firm support has been pledged in statements issued by writers unions and "nationalist parties" in many Asian and African countries. The 21 March statement further declared that the Afro-Asian writers movement, "after kicking out the Soviet revisionists who sneaked into the ranks of the Afro-Asian people," will develop with greater vigor and vitality.

Peking: Cairo-based AAWB Led by Alien, Imperialist-Connected Forces. Peking assailed the Beirut meeting with the same sort of abuse it showered on the Soviet-controlled AAPSO meeting in Nicosia. It added to all the well-known charges relating to Soviet control ("engineered by the Soviet revisionist leading clique") that the AAWB meeting was "in the pay of the United Nations" -- apparently because of the Cairo-based AAWB's endeavors to obtain financial support from UNESCO--and questioned whether the Soviets are indeed an Afro-Asian nation. Peking also continues to publicize statements by various Asian and African "organizations" and individuals favoring Peking as the site of AAPSO and AAWB conferences. The intemperate Chinese behavior contrasted at the Conference with a paucity of direct attacks on them (even these were rather restrained) and the diplomatic gimmickry of electing a Chinese representative to the executive committee in absentia.

Chinese Tactics. Repeating a pattern established at Nicosia, the Chinese sent no official delegation, but Chinese representatives camouflaged

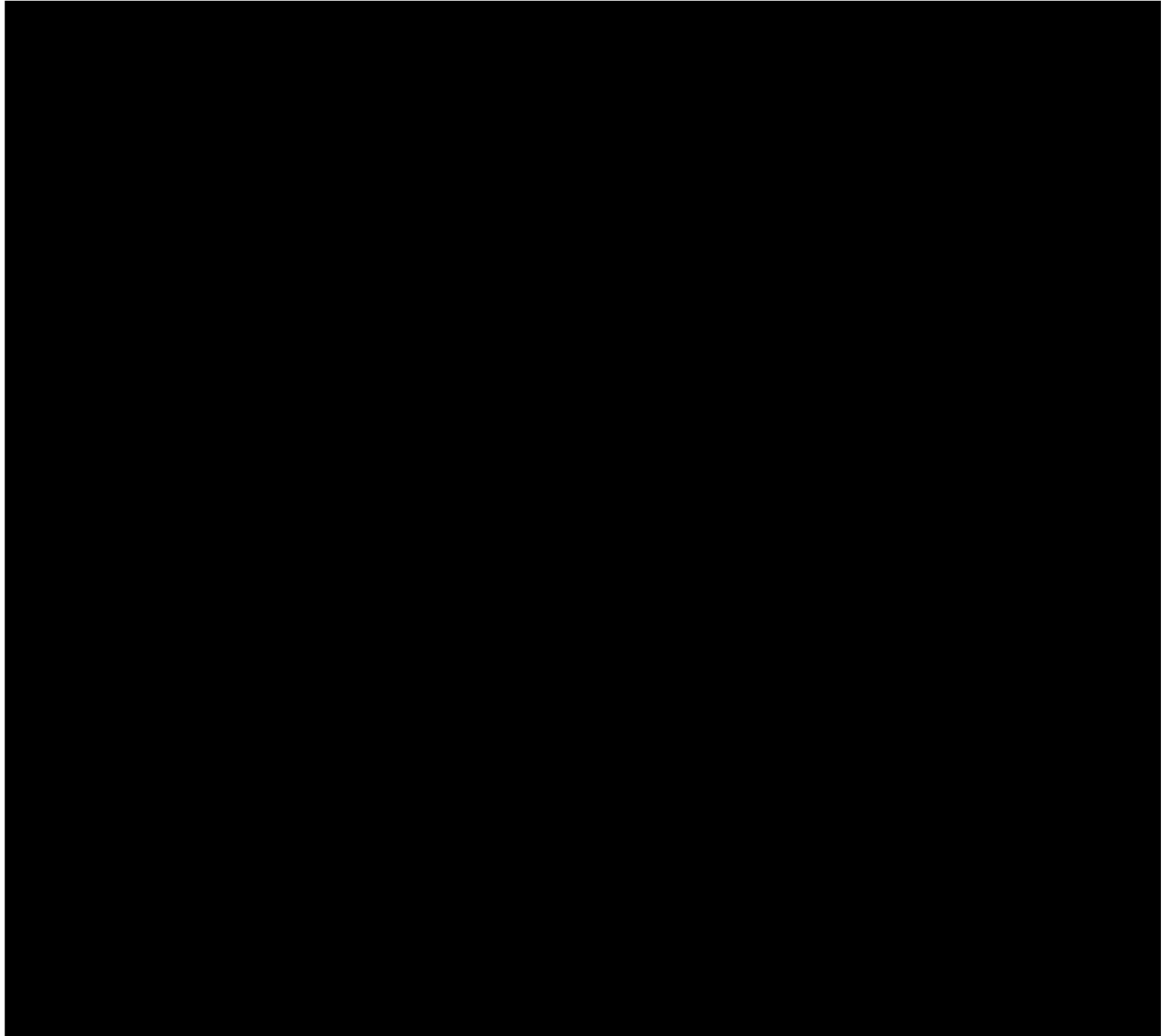
as journalists were present; and the local NCNA office distributed handbills (in Arabic, English and French) -- according to a Soviet version, in 7 languages -- alleging that the Conference was unlawful. TASS commented that the Chinese tactics observe the following rule: "Do not attend forums at which it is quite obvious that the Chinese representatives will constitute an insignificant minority; declare these conferences and meetings 'unlawful'... and seek to obstruct any movement aimed at rallying the progressive forces in Asia and Africa."

The Writer's Role: Anti-Imperialist Activist. Although seventy "countries" were expected to attend the meeting, about fifty were represented. Speakers stressed the role of the writer in the national liberation movements and in the fight against imperialism. S. Azinov, the head of the Soviet delegation, maintained that Soviet literature makes a contribution to better mutual understanding of the Afro-Asian peoples. He made proposals concerning the publication of an AAWB magazine, exchange of information on the publication of books, and assistance for writers "who live in difficult conditions." He claimed that books by writers of some 40 Afro-Asian countries have been printed in the Soviet Union in 54 languages in over 100 million copies since the Tashkent Afro-Asian Writers Conference in 1958. A declaration stated that the AAWB will make Afro-Asian literature a vanguard of the champions of independence, national sovereignty, and happiness of the peoples; and that imperialism attacks the culture and literature of the Afro-Asian peoples and spends tremendous sums of money to bribe the Afro-Asian intelligentsia. The Soviets hailed Yevtushenko's presence at the Conference as a great success. The Chinese singled him out for special attacks: The "beatnik poet" showed his devotion to the "late chieftain of U.S. imperialism, President Kennedy" by laying a wreath at his tomb and he was generally characterized either as the tool or the exponent of Soviet revisionism. (NCNA: "Yevtushenko presented himself in the ugliest possible light....; he suffered from a hangover" -- the latter apparently a true charge according to other reports.)

Committees drafted documents to sum up the results of "this representative forum of progressive writers" (TASS). The Beirut press, in particular, treated the conference as a political one rather than as a meeting of representative Afro-Asian writers.

Resolutions: Vietnam Most Important Issue. The conference concluded by unanimously passing resolutions on Vietnam, imperialism and Israel. The resolution on Vietnam denounced the "aggressive war of the U.S. against Vietnam" and the "barbarous air raids," and expressed solidarity with the "heroic" people of Vietnam and full support for the four points advanced by the DRV and the five points of the NFLSV.

Another resolution condemned British, Portuguese, French and American imperialism ("the most insidious and cruel form of imperialism" [TASS]) in Africa and Asia. The resolution concerning Israel refers to it as a

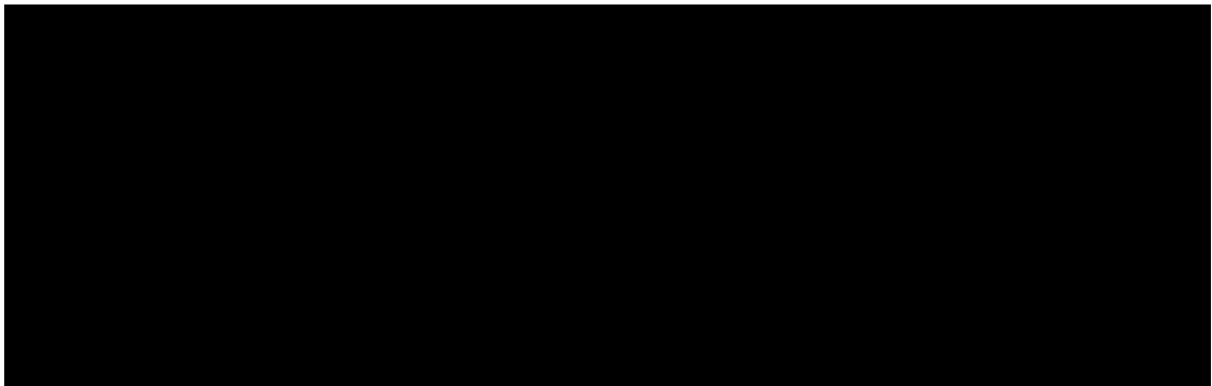


base for imperialism and neo-colonialism ("imperialism's obedient instrument for aggression against the Arab states") and calls on the progressive writers to resist the "big cultural plot concocted by the Zionist movement."

Following the Nicosia example, a special resolution conveyed greetings to the Soviet peoples on the occasion of the "golden anniversary of their great revolution"; it noted the international significance of the October Revolution, its influence on the revolutionary and liberation movements and the social progress of the peoples; and it pointed to the Revolution's role in "opening up new horizons for the intellectual progress of mankind, which had been blocked for the peoples by the monopoly of imperialist culture".

Organization-Structure. The Conference adopted an AAWB charter. The executive committee was increased to twenty-seven members (including the CPR),\* with Africa as a whole having 15 and Black Africa 11 members. Ten countries make up the permanent bureau.\*\* Yusuf-as-Sibai (UAR) was elected secretary-general (he holds the same position in AAPSO as well) and Nursi Said ad-Dim (UAR) deputy secretary general. No decision was made regarding the next Conference to be held in three years; India's offer to hold it in New Delhi was considered.

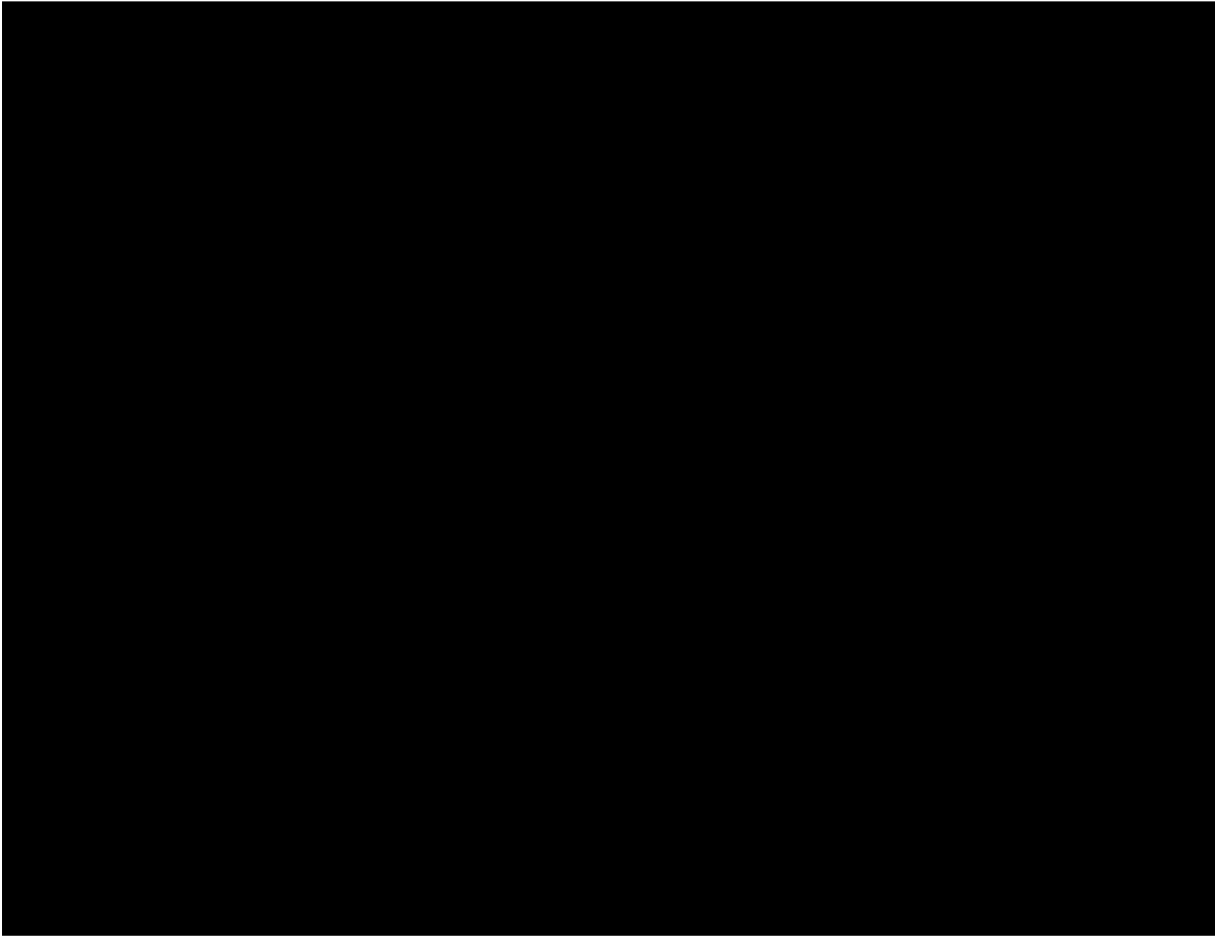
Reports that several participants (Syria, Senegal, Angola and Palestine) had threatened to walk out were officially denied by the Secretariat. The Senegalese delegation did, however, protest that the conference should not be solely Arab-Asian. The conference ended a day early to enable the conferees to visit Syria's frontlines adjacent to Israel's borders. 25X1C10b



\* Cameroon, Ceylon, Ghana, India, Japan, CPR, Indonesia, Sudan, UAR, Angola, Guinea, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Algeria, Nigeria, Vietnam, Korea, Lebanon, South Africa, Turkey, Mongolia, Dahomey, Morocco, Senegal, Syria and the USSR.

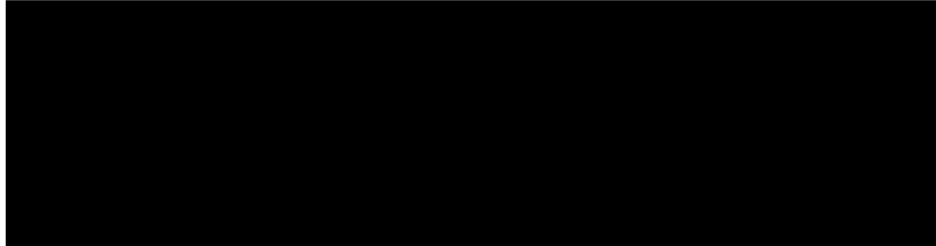
\*\* India, Japan, Senegal, Portuguese Colonies, Lebanon, Mongolia, South Africa, Sudan, the UAR and the USSR.

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24 April 1967

1118 EUR,FE. REACTION TO CONTINUING COLLECTIONS IN EAST  
25X1C10b EUROPE OF "AID" FOR VIETNAM



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SITUATION: On 13 March a "Week of Solidarity With the Struggle of the Vietnamese People" and "collections for the Vietnam aid fund" were launched, as Moscow's "Radio Peace and Progress" told its Asian audiences on that day. "The Soviet people will take an active part in this," the radio asserted, because "the cohesion of all the forces in support of heroic Vietnam is now very necessary." Earlier in March Moscow radio had announced that the Soviet Red Cross Society was shipping more supplies to North Vietnam "purchased with money donated by various public organizations and individuals." This aid being sent to North Vietnam, the radio noted, includes foodstuffs, clothing, consumer goods, ambulances, medicines, and "many other" items.

In an interview with the magazine SOVIET RUSSIA North Vietnamese Ambassador in Moscow Nguyen Tho Chan declared, according to the Soviet news agency TASS on 15 March, that "the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries adds to the combat potential of all the Vietnamese people." On the same day Moscow radio quoted a statement in RED STAR that "at the request of the permanent mission of the NFLSV, the Soviet Red Cross is effecting the transportation of aid being sent to Vietnam by public organizations of foreign countries."

What has this meant to the "man in the street" in the USSR and, more to the point, in the East European countries? Workers, already suffering from low wages and scarce consumer goods, have been forced to contribute sorely needed money from their pay envelopes. Inadequate medical facilities in East Europe, further strained by a large-scale flu epidemic this winter, have had to be utilized for blood collections and have been shortchanged on their requests for medical supplies and equipment diverted to Vietnam. Overcrowded training and educational installations have been forced to take in thousands of Vietnamese poorly equipped by their own background to take advantage of the schooling in East Europe.

Evidence of reaction in the Satellite countries is included in the attached unclassified paper. Hinted at in this paper, but purposely not spelled out in detail, is what this Moscow-directed campaign means elsewhere: despite propaganda, East Europeans send aid grudgingly,

an attitude which has implications for quantity and quality of the aid. Furthermore, the Chicoms (at least according to the Soviets-- and the accusation sounds plausible) stop a good percentage of it from reaching the Vietnamese. It is doubtful that material or financial contributions collected in Eastern Europe are fully passed on to Vietnam in the form of supplies; to the various regimes, the collections are mainly a way of mobilizing opinion against "imperialism", rather than aiding Hanoi. All this should serve as a good lesson for the countries of the Third World who might be considering the acceptance of aid from Communist countries in the future. Meanwhile, third world nationals studying in Communist countries are being squeezed out of their small allowances to make "donations" to the aid collections, and while the Communists softpedal the subject of their own people becoming "volunteers" to fight at the side of the North Vietnamese they hint at the possibility of this being a good idea for the "oppressed people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America."

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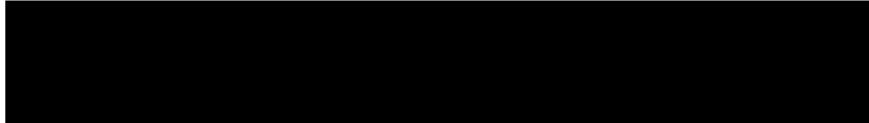
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24 APR 1967

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THIRD COUNTRY ASSISTANCE FOR SOUTH VIETNAM

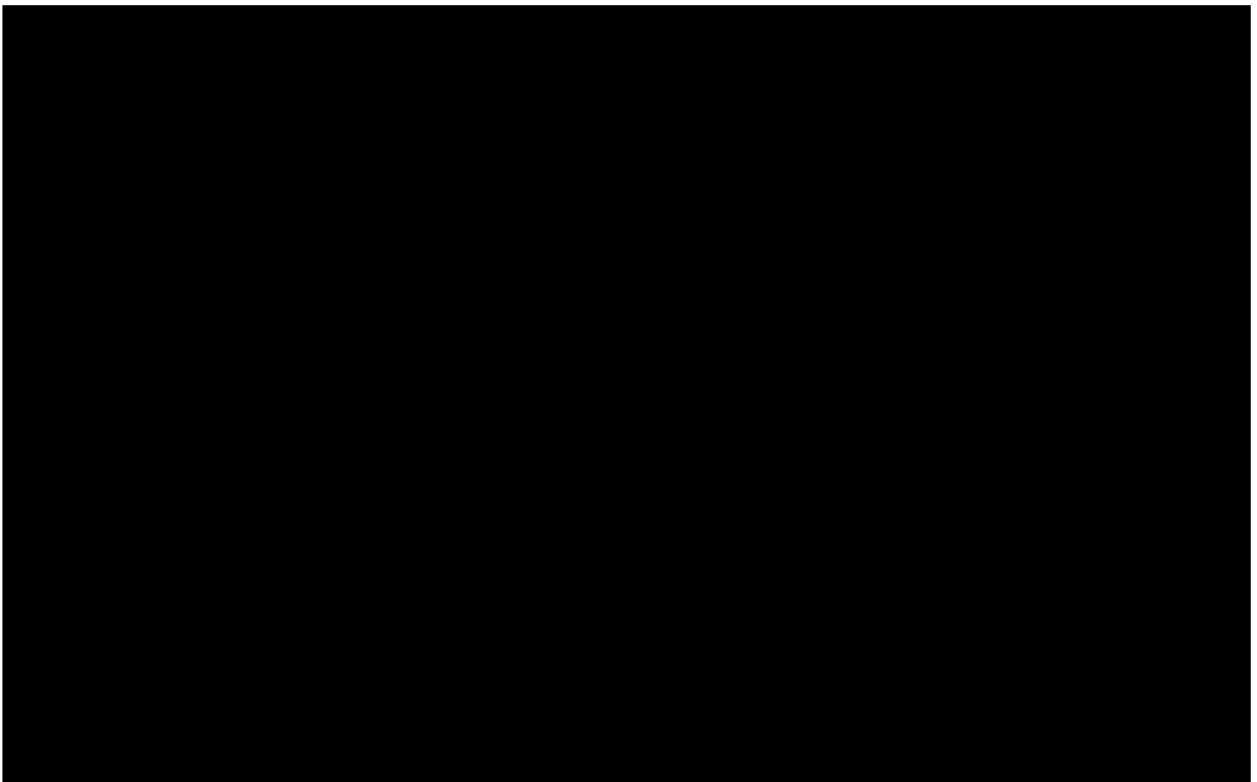
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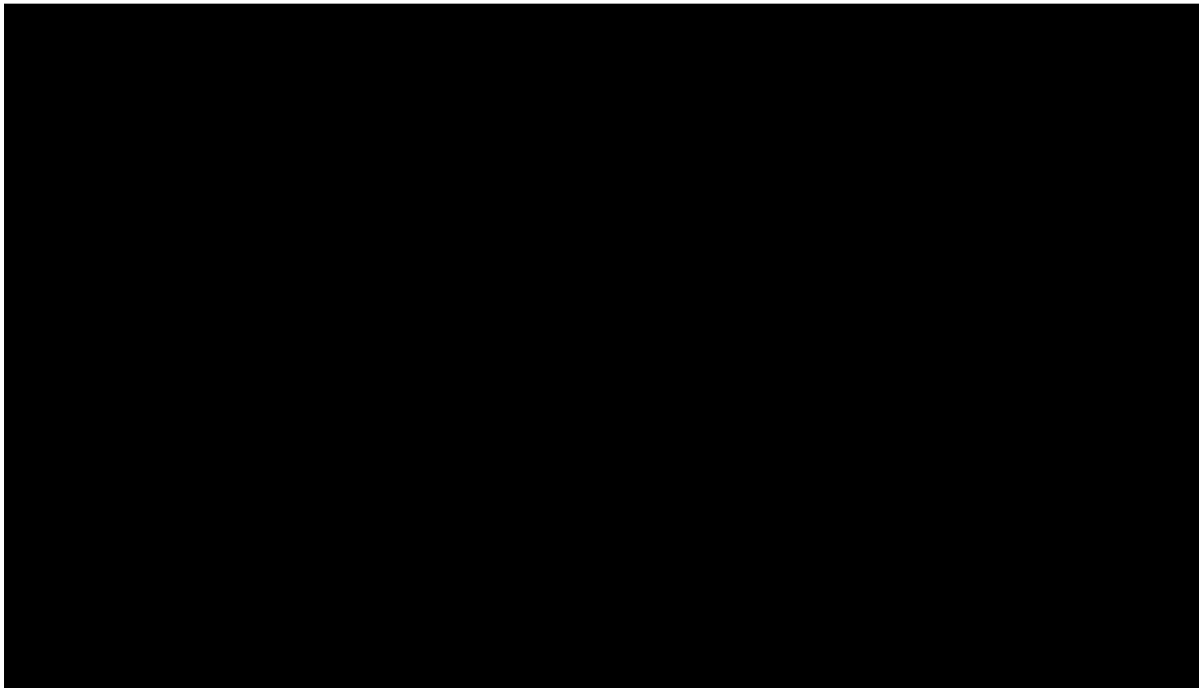


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SITUATION: (UNCLASSIFIED) In July, 1964, the Government of South Vietnam formally asked the Free World for material and technical assistance to help her fight the non-military sector of the Vietnam war. Within two years more than 30 countries in the Free World had come to the aid of this small Asian nation with over \$50,000,000 in economic, technical, medical and social assistance. As far as it has gone this Free World assistance has been heartening. Equipment and personnel have poured into South Vietnam from Africa, Latin America, Europe, and the Near and Far East -- Iranian petroleum and Argentinian wheat have been unloaded in the Saigon estuary alongside a 3,000-ton hospital ship supplied by West Germany, At Tan Son Hut, pharmaceuticals airlifted from Spain, Guatemala and Israel are off-loaded as a Canadian orthopedist arrives to teach at Cho Ray Hospital in Saigon and a group of Vietnamese students emplane for Tunis on scholarship grants from the Tunisian Government. (End UNCLASSIFIED)

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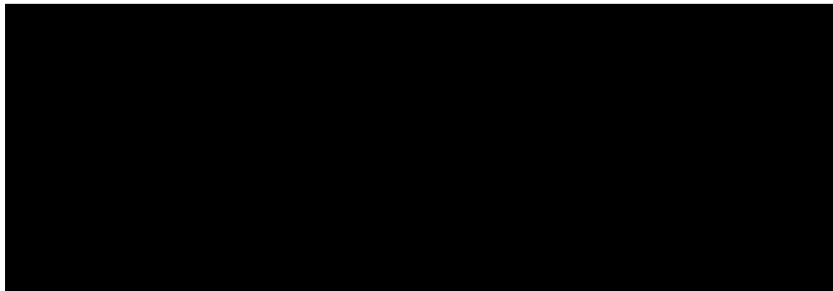




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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF  
THE INDIAN ELECTIONS: The Demand  
for a Change

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SITUATION: The dust is still settling after India's fourth general elections, 15-21 February 1967, when some 175 million voters administered a stunning rebuff to the Indian National Congress (Congress Party). Congress maintains its rule at the national level, but only by an unexpectedly slim margin.

In the first nationwide elections since the death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in May 1964, the Congress Party, which he organized and led, was stripped of the commanding parliamentary majority it had enjoyed since India achieved independence in 1947. It suffered substantial reverses on both the national and state levels, reflecting the recent growth of popular dissatisfaction with twenty years of unbroken Congress rule.

Over half of the Indian electorate of 247 million (75% of whom are illiterate, mostly rural and poor) in the world's largest parliamentary democracy apparently went to the polls and voted their frustration over drought, food shortages, soaring prices, low wages, serious unemployment, unfulfilled expectations...

No clear right or left trend in Indian politics emerged during the elections; no concerted policy mandate is implicit in the results. They are viewed more as a strong protest against the seeming inability of the (Congress Party) government to solve India's many crucial problems rather than as a vote for any particular alternative or ideology. The elections highlighted the most serious weakness of the Indian political system -- the lack of a strong nationwide opposition party which can serve as a viable alternative to Congress.

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Perhaps the most definite pattern emerging from the elections is what appears to be the wholesale repudiation of established or ingrown political leadership -- primarily of the Congress, but also of opposition parties -- by an electorate which had had enough of party panjandrums who put political and personal interests above the national welfare. (About one third of the 52 central government and state ministers lost their

seats, many of them prominent party stalwarts.)

Eight national and eleven regional parties competed for the 521 seats in the Lok Sabha ( the lower house of parliament; enlarged from the 494 seats contested in the 1962 elections), and the 3,563 seats in the Legislative Assemblies of 16 states and 8 territories.

#### Results of Lok Sabha Elections

Returns for the Lok Sabha gives Congress control of only 280 seats, or about 55 percent of the members, as compared to over 70 percent in the previous three elections. The Congress popular vote slid from about 45 percent in the last elections to about 39 percent this year.

Opposition parties with left, right and communal biases all gained at the expense of Congress, although no single party has enough support to act officially, or in fact, as a national opposition.\* The opposition, although numerically strengthened, is still splintered and divided along ideological lines. The major right-wing opposition parties - the conservative free-enterprise Swatantra winning 44 seats and the Hindu nationalist Jan Sangh winning 35 - made the biggest gains, but each has less than ten percent of the Lok Sabha seats, and so far each shows little willingness to cooperate at the national level.

The two rival Communist Parties, the pro-Moscow CPI/R and the pro-Peking CPI/L (See BPG #183, item #981, 31 January 1966: "Effects of Sino-Soviet Rivalry on Communist Parties of India"), improved somewhat on their previous limited representation, but fell behind the right-wing forces, with 24 seats for the CPI/R and 19 for the CPI/L. (Leaders of the two parties have stated they will not cooperate with each other in parliamentary matters: in fact, the CPI/L seems more interested in ruining the CPI/R than in opposing the Congress platform; each faction accuses the other of causing the failure of "democratic forces" by dividing the votes of the opposition. Soviet comment on the elections reveals concern over the strengthening of the rightwing parties, allegedly backed by Indian and foreign capital, and presses its line calling for unity of leftist and "democratic" forces in the face of strong reactionary and imperialist pressures).

The Samyukta Socialists (SSP), which developed an unsavory reputation for violence, won 23 seats. The moderate Praja Socialist Party (PSP) won only 13, a gain of one seat. The Tamil-nationalist Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) won 25 seats, all from Madras. Other minor parties and independents won about 60.

#### Results of State Elections

The Nehru era provided a deceptive facade that in many ways obscured the complexity of India - a facade which the state elections in particular

\*Recognition as an official opposition party requires winning at least 52 seats in the Lok Sabha.

dented if not shattered.

In the 16 State elections, where the opposition parties tended to concentrate their resources and the electorate vote was highly subjective, Congress suffered humiliating setbacks. It failed to win a majority in half the contests, and its majorities decreased in the rest. Here again, losses were not primarily at the hands of any one party or political grouping. In several states issues of a peculiarly "Indian" nature - having their roots in religion, language and community - served as ready magnets for those disaffected from Congress. Rightists, nationalists, regionalists and leftists rode the anti-Congress bandwagon and benefited to varying degrees.

In Madras, the DMK won a majority of seats in the assembly. In Kerala, a CPI/L-led coalition practically wiped out the badly split Congress party. In Orissa, a coalition of the Swatantra Party and the Jana Congress (dissident Congressmen) gained a majority. The capital district of Delhi was carried by the Jan Sangh, although Prime Minister Indira Gandhi scored a personal victory in Uttar Pradesh which greatly strengthened her position within the Congress.

In West Bengal, the Bangla Congress (dissident Congressmen) joined an improbable alliance of 13 parties, ranging from Gandhians to pro-Chinese communists, unseated the hitherto entrenched Congress Party leaders, and formed a government headed by a dissident Congress leader but heavily dependent on the support of the far left, particularly the CPI/L, the largest party in the coalition.

In Rajasthan, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjabi Suba, Congress won only a plurality, but hoped to attract enough independents to form governments.

#### Aftermath of Elections

Some Congress Party members in two State assemblies (Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, India's most populous state) have changed sides since the elections, bringing down two Congress governments and leaving the party with legislative majorities in only seven of the 17 States, in mid-April. (Rajasthan, where anti-Congress demonstrations occurred, was placed under Presidential rule on 13 March). The loss of Uttar Pradesh, once the major stronghold of Congress political power, was a jolting setback for the party. Non-Congress governments now control not only the two southernmost states but also those spanning the entire width of northern India and including some of the most heavily populated and productive areas of the nation. The future stability of at least three more Congress state governments could be threatened by factionalism and personality clashes.

Several of the non-Congress state governments are inherently unstable. Only the communist-dominated regime in Kerala, the regionalist government

in Madras, and the conservative Swatantra-led coalition in Orissa have fair prospects of some continuity.

For the first time, the government in New Delhi must deal with a group of state governments controlled by opposition parties (some of them violently anti-Congress), with widely differing programs, attitudes, and sources of support, and for the most part, very little experience in governing.

Mrs. Gandhi, again a compromise choice of Congress leaders, begins her second tour as Prime Minister, with Morarji Desai, her only rival for party leadership, as deputy. Her new 19-member cabinet contains a number of new and pragmatic younger men, although the major portfolios of home, defense, external affairs and planning remain in the old hands.

Congress leaders have now been thrown off balance by a sudden agreement among the seven major opposition parties on candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. In the past, these two offices have been mostly symbolic but the loss of the two positions would be another serious blow to Congress prestige and could threaten the stability of the central government.

(See unclassified attachments for more details of election statistics, descriptions of opposition parties and leaders, etc.)

The period of adjustment in the critical area of state-central government relations is likely to be unstable, volatile and at times even violent. A great deal of skill, patience and understanding on all sides will be required to achieve the political maturity which can create unity from diversity.

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ample of modern democratic government at work to bring economic and social improvement to its people. The upheavals, political and economic, in Indonesia and Ghana are good to cite as examples of the ruinous policies of communist leadership which subvert independent nations in order to accomplish a communist takeover of the government. The united fronts and politically-expedient alliances in several of the Indian States should be commented upon in discussing communist machinations, of both left and right, during and after the elections including the position of the Soviets and Chicoms. (Additional details for commentary can be found in the unclassified attachments.)

Sympathetic discussion of the economic and social problems facing India should be firmly underscored with a call upon Congress and opposition leadership to end internal party bickering and divisive maneuvering. The opposition should be reminded, whenever appropriate, of the responsibilities that go with its newly acquired power: in the past the programs of the opposition parties were basically negative and anti-Congress. All media should exert every effort to convince the opposition parties of the mutual necessity for sound cooperation among themselves and between them and Congress; that the opposition must outgrow their "opposition mindedness" and use their positions to contribute to constructive solutions rather than to agitate and destroy.

The democratic processes which are employed to bring about social and political changes, such as those that resulted from the Indian elections, can and should be contrasted with the "cultural revolution" in Communist China--the unbridled violence the Red Guards exerted when they arbitrarily took power in their own hands, and the ensuing economic, social and administrative damage wreaked upon Communist China.

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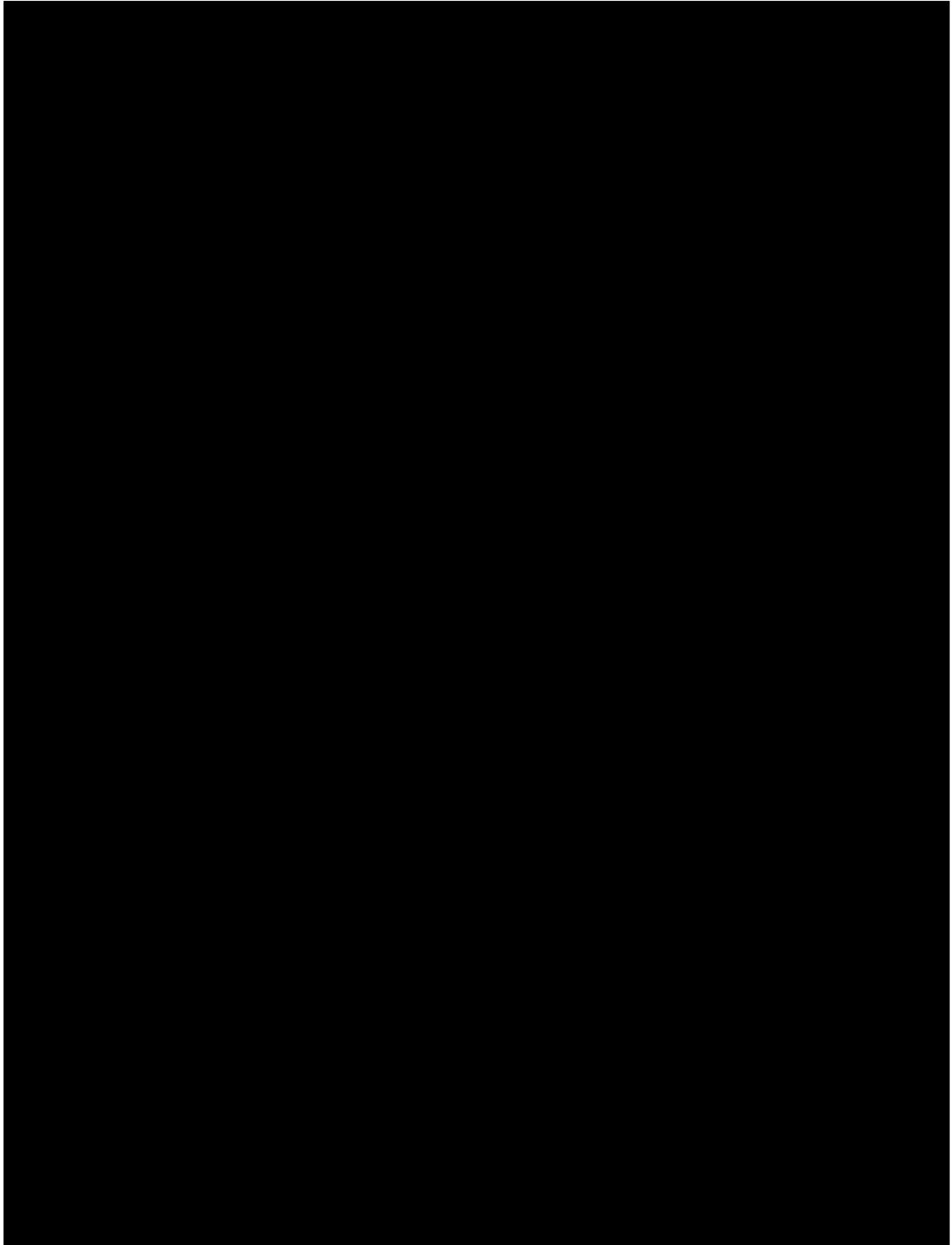
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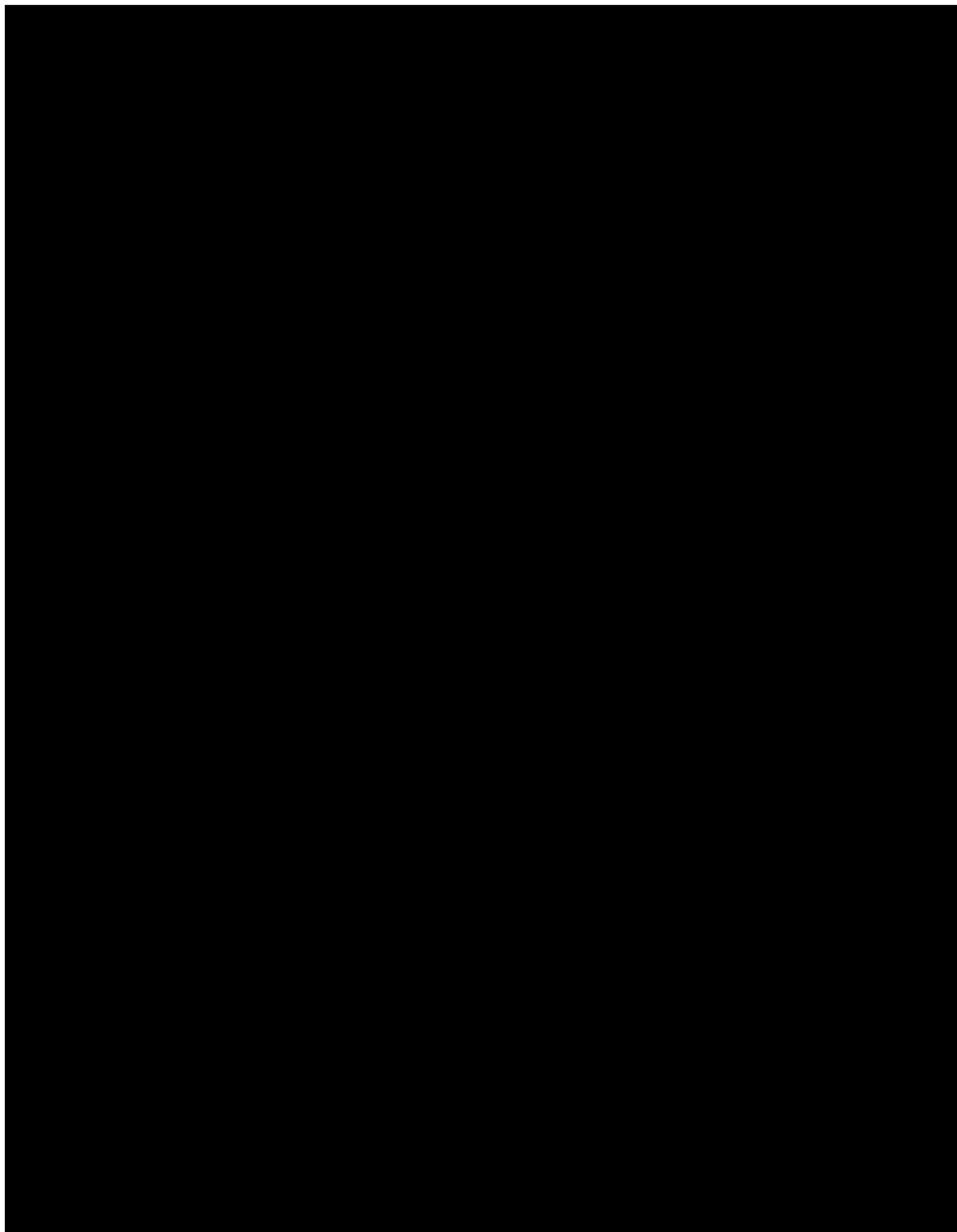
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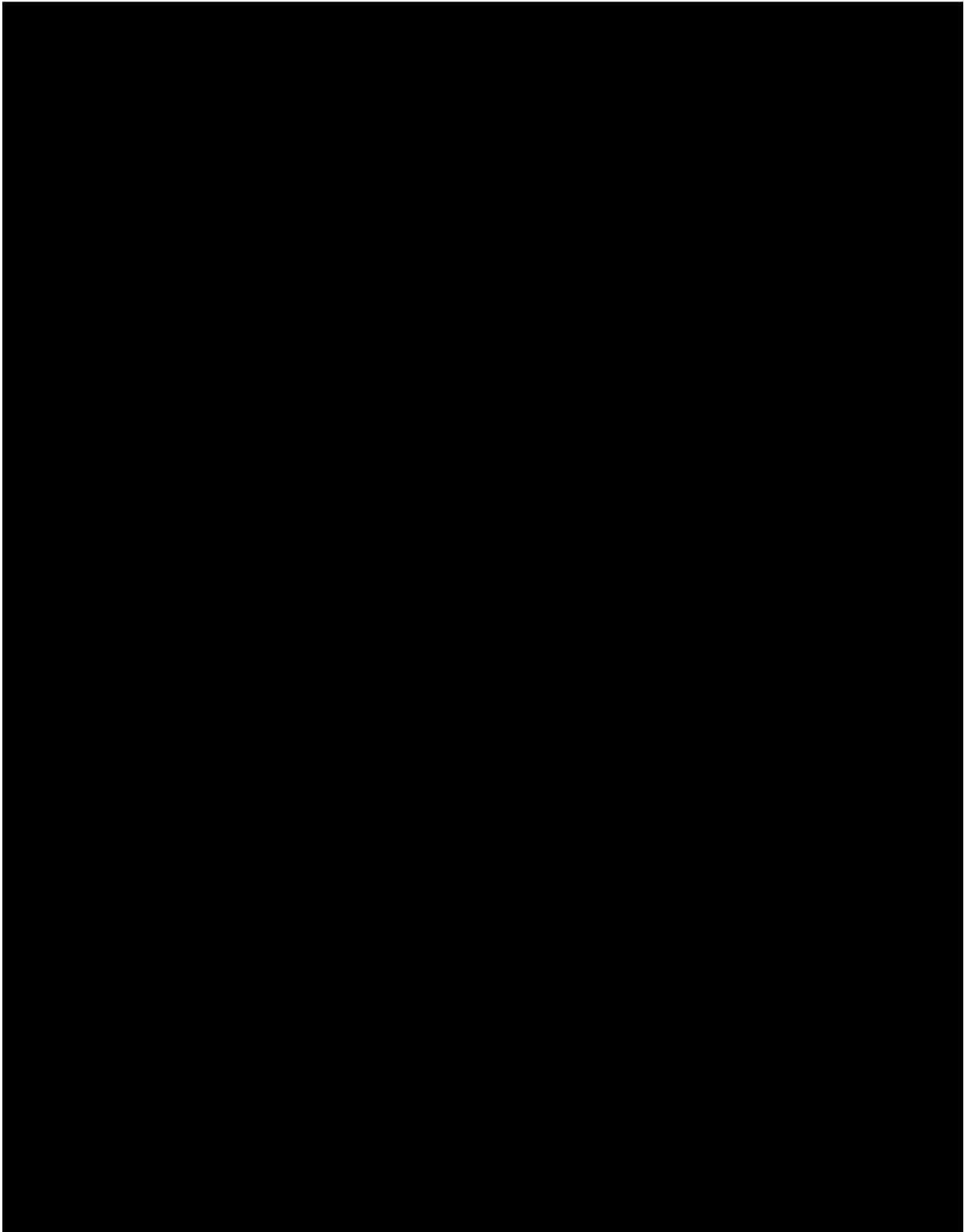
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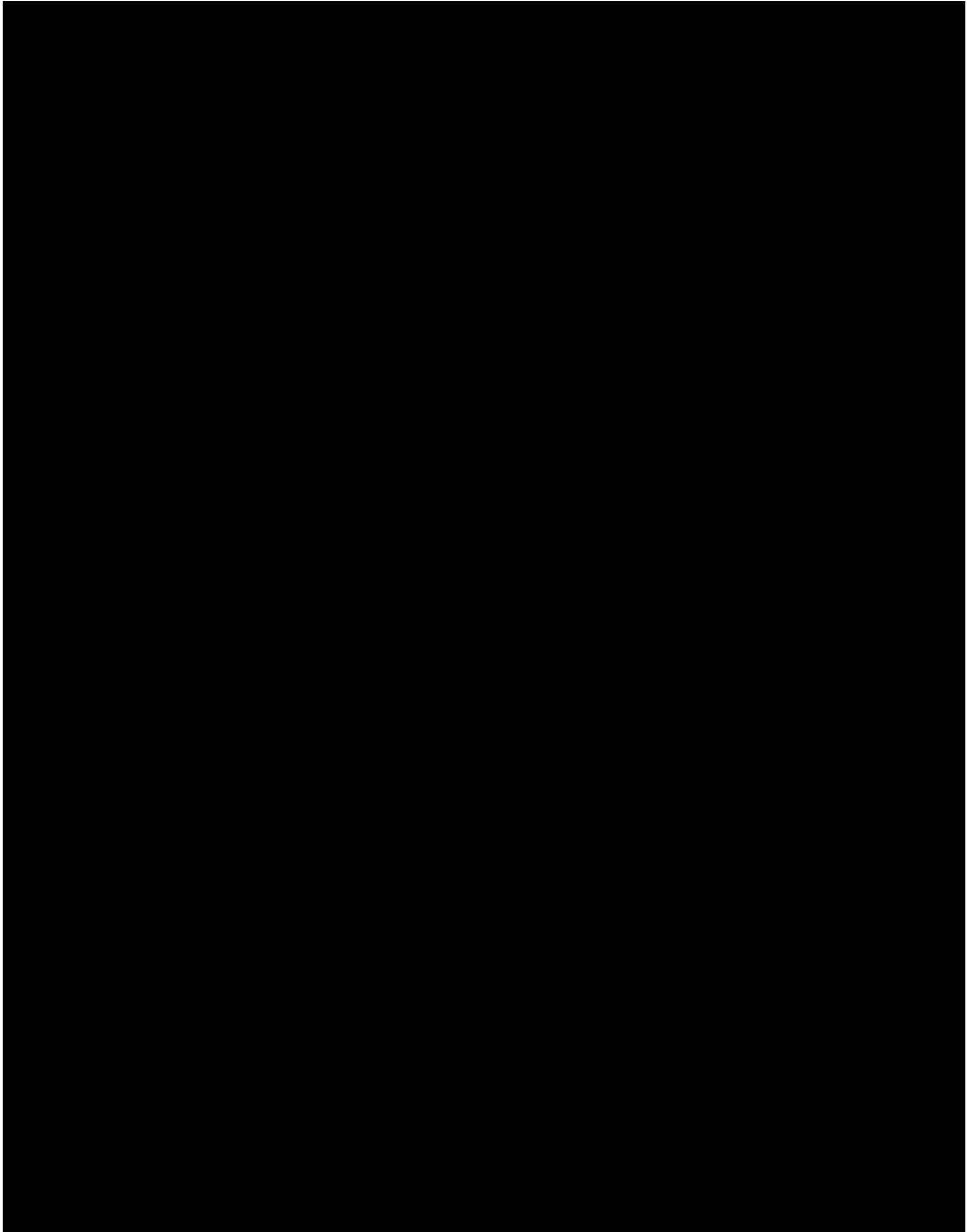


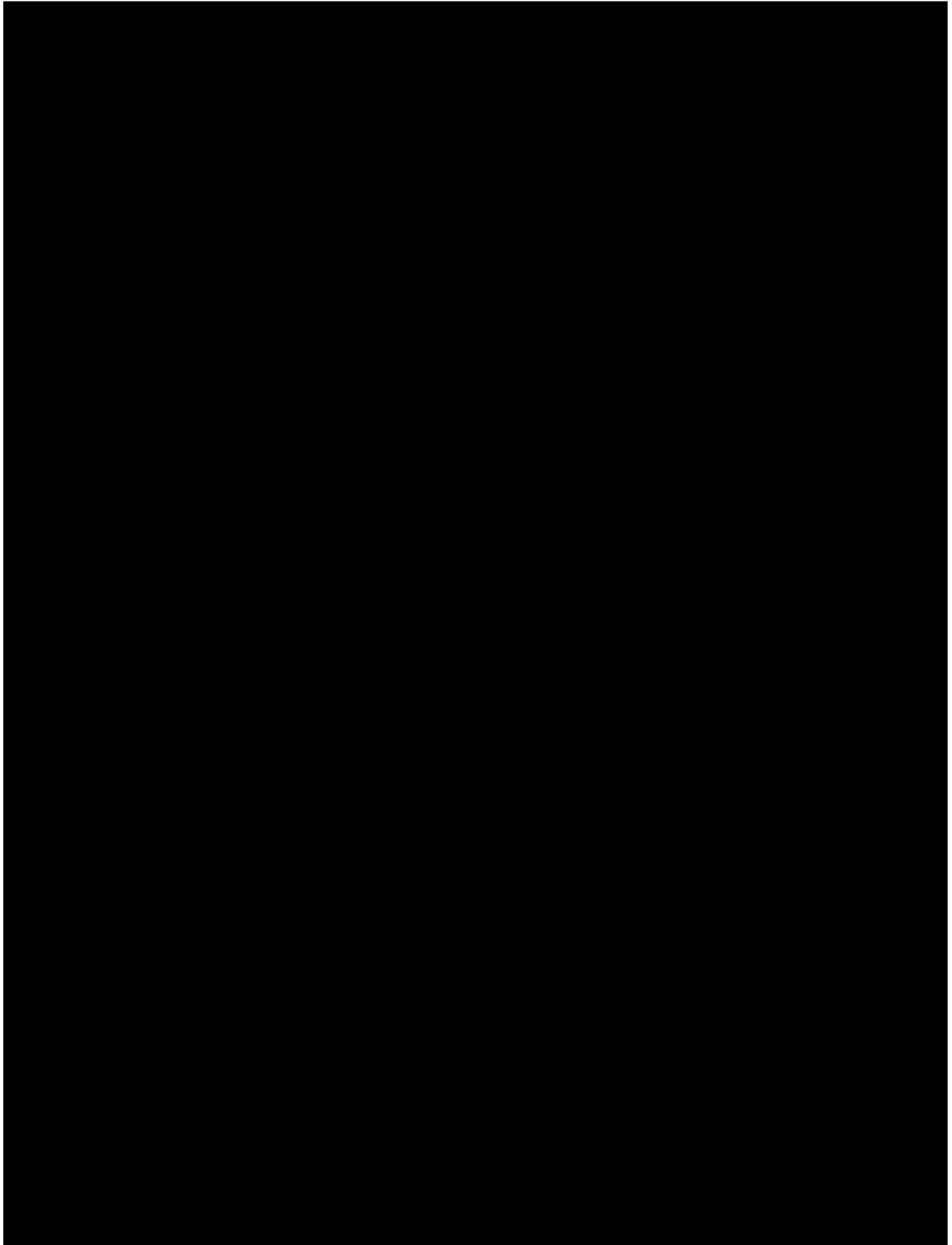
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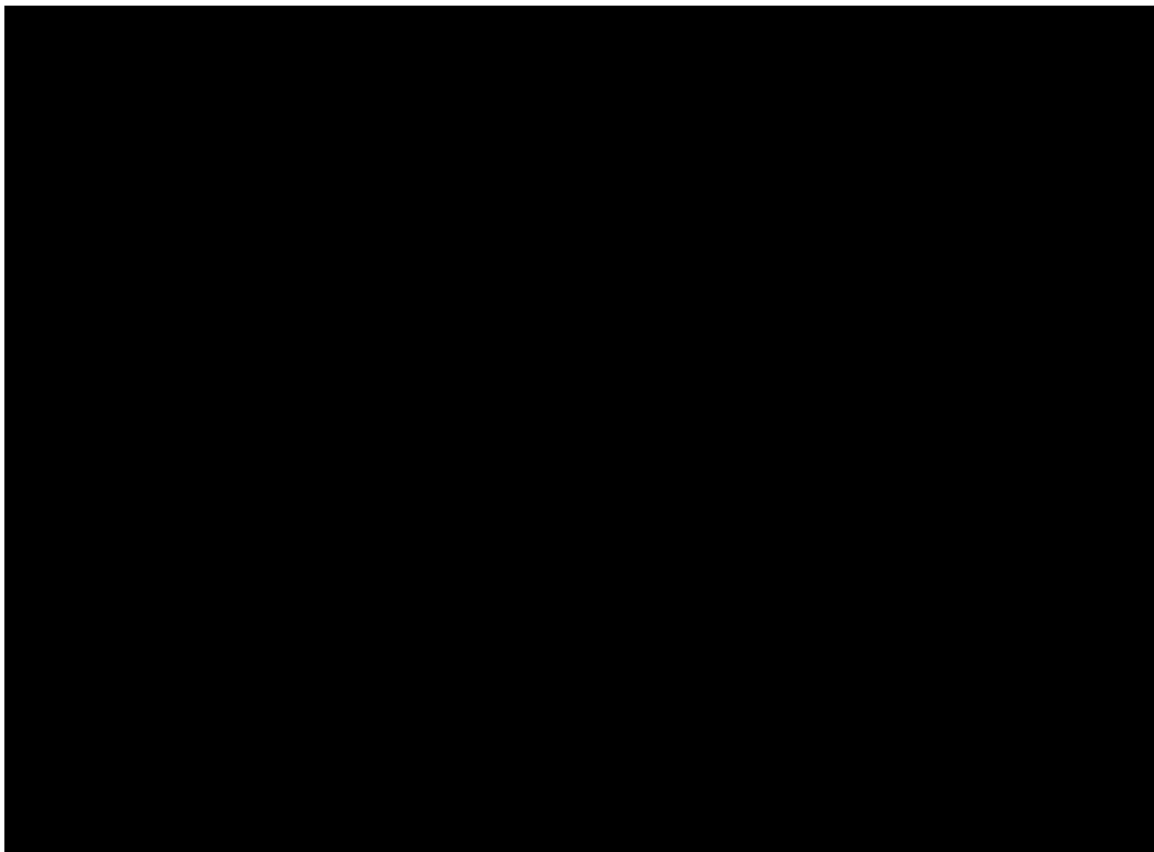
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April 1967

POSSEV

13 January 1967

War Historians Condemn Stalin

16 February 1966 Meeting of the Historical Section of the  
Great Fatherland War/VOV/ of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (IML)  
Under the Central Committee of the CPSU

Concise Record

From Moscow we receive the following record of the discussion on the book by A.M. Nekrich on the historical analysis of the German-Soviet war. The material is particularly interesting in connection with the social struggle against the attempts for re-Stalinization which cropped up at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and which has been continuing up to now.

Editor

Bulletin board notice: Discussion of the book 1941, 22 June by A.M. Nekrich. There were 130 persons present. The Presidium: Major General Ye. A. Boltin, V.S. Tel'pukhovskiy, Professor G.A. Deborin, and Doctor of the Institute of Sciences A.M. Nekrich.

Deborin: "The VOV of the IML approves the book. The opinion of the IML differs with the opinion of the Committee on Publication Matters, which disapproves of the book. Of course, the conclusions are right but there are a number of contradictions. The chief question is the reason for our misfortunes in the early period of the war (Deborin considers that Nekrich gives an erroneous setting in the chapter "Warnings Which Were Neglected". It was not only Stalin who was to blame. Marshal Golikov misinformed him on much). The 14 June 1941 statement by TASS was a diplomatic maneuver to check the German reaction. In evaluating Stalin one must not bank on Khrushchev, who frequently is not objective (for example, maintaining that Stalin was afraid of war; it is more proper to say that Stalin relied too much on the agreement).

"About the factual inaccuracies. The 45's (Note: 45-millimeter guns) were useless against the German tanks and therefore the Government took them out of production (voices from the audience: "That is not right! Taking them out of production was a crime! We met the German tanks with our fists! At the beginning of the war there wasn't any kind of anti-tank artillery!") Furthermore, from the book by Nekrich it can be understood that Stalin, Voroshilov, Blyukher and others knew about the innocence of Tukhachevskiy, Yakir and others but nevertheless condemned them (voices in the room: "Of course they knew!"). It is not to be



doubted that Voroshilov and Budenniy, who were present at the trial, possessed honor and conscience..." (Indignation is displayed all over the room. Voices are heard: "What kind of honor and conscience do they possess? They are cowards and scum!")...

In the general hubbub Deborin leaves the tribune.

Anfilov (General Staff): "The book is a good one. First of all, about the honor of Voroshilov and Budenniy. They don't have and never had it. Much material, which is preserved in our archives, as yet, unfortunately, is not subject to publication... (Voices: "There are enough secrets! Say what there is!")... compels a decidedly negative conclusion about their activity. Here is a small episode. In the middle of 1937, at a highly representative meeting, Stalin said: 'Well, we arrived with Comrade Voroshilov in Tsaritsyn in 1918 and within a week unmasked all the enemies of the people.' He said this about many officers of the (former) SKVO [North Caucasian Military District] staff and front honestly serving the Soviet power (voices: "And all of them were drowned in a barge without a court trial!"). And Stalin further said: 'And here you can't even unmask your own neighbors.'

"Voroshilov supported Stalin in every way; he called for informing against all of his comrades and fellow-workers. My heart bleeds when I see him standing on the mausoleum during parades.

"Now, about the beginning of the war. If our forces had been brought to a state of military preparedness, which entirely depended on Stalin, we would not have suffered such a destructive blow in the early period of the war; and, in general, the war would not have been so prolonged, difficult and bloody.

"Of course, it is necessary to take into account the degree of responsibility of our foremost military leaders. In their speeches and memoirs Gulikov and Kuznetsov [—] appear as heroes... But are they indeed? Gulikov gave Stalin a war communique which contained the whole 'Barbarossa' plan, but he wrote that this was a provocation calculated to make us clash with the Germans. Kuznetsov writes that, after having received information from the Military-Naval Attache Vorontsov in Berlin on the date of the German attack, he immediately gave all of this information to Stalin. But how did he present it? You should see his presentation! It is written there that the information - 'is a provocation and was sent through intelligence channels.' The Okrug military advisers turned to Stalin with the request to disarm and dismantle fortifications along the old border even though they knew very well that there was a smell of powder...

"All of this happened. But nevertheless, Stalin was the key figure. He cannot be whitewashed. He was the chief perpetrator of this tragedy. Recently, I spoke with Marshal Zhukov. He said that Golikov actually placed himself under the command of Stalin. He reported nothing to

the Nachshtab [Chief of Staff] (Zhukov( or the Narkom [People's Commissar] (Timoshenko). They knew nothing about the date of the assault. I didn't get a chance to speak with Timoshenko; he doesn't let a fellow in..."

Zastavenko (IML) approves of the book: "The people around Stalin did not help him to evaluate the situation. On 5 June, Kalinin made a speech at the Military-Political Academy: 'The Germans are preparing to attack us, and we are expecting this. The sooner the better. We'll ring their necks...' (Voices in the room: "The old twaddler!") This was the evaluation of the Politburo. It underestimated the strength of Germany. Stalin is not alone to blame for what happened... (There is a hubbub in the room)."

Dashichev (General Staff): "Every historian who has taken up the investigation of the war ought to study not only the end but also the beginning of the war. This is the significance of the book by Nekrich. Deborin is wrong when he speaks about the 'forty-fives': at the beginning of the war this gun pierced any German tank. Then the production of the other guns (82 millimeters) was not as yet ironed out. The army was left without antitank artillery and missiles.

"The worst thing there is, is the absence of Soviet source references. For example, in order to write about the report on the Soviet attache (that the war would begin on 22 June), one has to refer to the book by the English historian Erickson. When will all the sources be finally opened and accessible? Berezhkov mentions the meeting of the German Ambassador Schulenburg with Dekonozov where Schulenburg gave the information that Hitler would attack the Soviet Union on 22 June. He cried and asked that the Armed Forces of the USSR be brought into a state of readiness - perhaps Hitler would become frightened. But they didn't believe him..."

"About the goings-on hovering over our military leaders: the forgery was prepared by the Gestapo, but the idea stemmed from Stalin. He tossed it to the Fascist leaders through General Skovlin. Our misfortune is that these documents also are not accessible. Golikov committed a crime not only by composing information pleasing to Stalin. He overloaded all of our best agent cadres abroad (A shout: "And Sorge also!") and was one of the initiators of the repression in relation to the intelligence cadres of the USSR. There is no use referring to him.

"Are the reasons of the tragedy of 22 June 1941 fully disclosed? Stalin bears the chief responsibility for it. He established in the country a situation of terrorism... The greatest crime of Stalin is the usurpation of power and the destruction of our best military and Party cadres. All of our leaders, although they knew about the international situation, did not have the courage to come forth with measures for the defense of the country. Their frightful guilt lies before the Party and the people because they didn't come forth. There are still

people who even now say: 'Bad things must not be said about Stalin.' But you know that Stalin had the audacity to lead the country by himself! And his guilt is enormous. This has to be discussed, so that such a thing does not happen again!

"It is necessary to pinpoint more accurately the positions of Churchill, Schulenburg, Raeder and Halder (the last two expressed opposition to war with the USSR in Hitler's staff). By no means were they guided by love for our country. Hitler greatly influenced the decisions of the military. During one of these meetings Hitler said: 'The Red Army is leaderless. Eighty percent of its commanding cadres has been destroyed. It has been weakened as never before. This is the basic factor of my decision. We have to carry on war while the cadres have not been replenished.'

"Every historian must have the courage to speak the truth."

Roshchin (Institute of Marxism-Leninism): "...Who is to blame? This is the most real question. The book is a good one. There is the opinion: it is necessary to speak only about the victories and play down the defeats... Without saying anything about the injury to historical science, such an approach causes enormous harm to our Government. It is necessary to investigate and know the reasons for our defeats in order to avoid errors in the future. Stalin is the chief culprit for the defeats in 1941. I do not agree with Deborin on the question about the reports of TASS. This is not a diplomatic maneuver, but a crime. It morally disarmed the people. Stalin and the people around him did everything to tear down the preparation of the Soviet people for war. When Kuznetsov informed Malenkov on carrying out some defensive naval measures -- and this happened on 17 June 1941 -- Malenkov laughed at him and said: 'You want to operate as though there will be war tomorrow.' Zhdanov, who was present, reacted seriously, but the matter did not go any further. Malenkov called off everything.

"The blame can also not be taken away from the military leaders. The military do not have the right to be surprised by the enemy."

Mel'nikov (Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences USSR): "...The book is a good one. Several words about Hess. Deborin is guided by old information. Now, this question has been set aside long ago. According to Deborin's speech it can be understood that the book by Nekrich overestimates the sinister role of Stalin. This is not true. It even underestimates. Let us touch on a question which even up to now cannot be touched, that is, it has been labeled 'taboo' -- about the November discussions of Molotov and Hitler in Berlin. Let us examine the situation. The 'Barbarossa' plan was being completed. A redistribution of the German armies began on the Soviet-German frontier. Hitler's diplomats increased their activities in the Balkans and in Finland. In order to hide these preparations from the Soviet Government, Hitler proposed a meeting at a higher level. Molotov went to Berlin as the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. Hitler presented to

him a plan for dividing the world, but only in general outlines. Molotov specifically demanded the Straits, Bulgaria, Rumania and Finland. Hitler did not want to get involved in details since he was afraid that the information would leak through to the future allies. In reply to the demands of Molotov he proposed that the USSR sign a tri-partite pact. Molotov left for Moscow on 25 December 1940. Stalin agreed to an anti-Cominternist pact, but he didn't come to any agreement on the payment. This shows his face and principles...." (There is indignation in the room). "We have no right to skirt the problem of Stalin."

Vasilenko (IML): He evaluates the book positively. "The apprehension of Deborin is that the excessive emphasis laid on Stalin in the book is illegal. This stems from the essence of the book. According to all objective information, we could have repulsed the Germans, but Stalin blocked everything. Later, in order to justify his disgraceful failure, he promoted the theory of the better preparation of the aggressor for war. This is not only a mendacious theory, but a dangerous one. The aggressor, convinced of it [the theory], can mount an assault and plunge the world into a catastrophe.

"On 5 May 1941, Stalin spoke at the Academy imeni Frunze and said that we were not prepared for war at the moment. He dampened and disarmed not only his own ardour, but also that of others and even of the army commanders."

Kulish: "...The discussion has gone far beyond the contents of the book and is not so much about it as about the problem of Stalin. The appraisal of the book is a good one. We were present at the birth of the new conception of the reasons for the defeats at the beginning of the war, states Deborin, 'not only and so much Stalin...' This is a regurgitation of the personality cult. Whether Stalin is guilty or not very guilty -- it is nevertheless a personality-cult raising of the question. Again, he is alone! The question has to be studied more deeply. Why did the situation develop thus? How did our Government, headed by Stalin manage the country? How did it defend our people from danger? Did it correspond with the existing situation? No! It didn't correspond!

"It is necessary to investigate the reasons which established Stalin, a man who went beyond the bounds of his position, who was not restrained by the Party and the Government.

There is still another irregularity: in all of our literature the annexation of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia is evaluated as a factor for improving the defense of the country. However, this is not so. We know by force of obvious reasons that the buffer area worsened the defensive ability of the border. Therefore in evaluating the annexation of the Western oblasts it is better to speak of the liberation and international role of the Red Army.

Raskat (IML): "...They say that Nekrich did not write about the development of industry ( he enumerates facts), of agriculture (enumerates), and the cultural revolution ( there is rumbling and exclamations in the room: "Well, they're going to write a six-volume work and it will contain everything! Speak about the main thing - who is guilty!?"). Of course, Stalin is guilty! (There is laughter in the room).

Gnedich: "...The book is a good one." He didn't want to speak, but the discussion forced him to mount the tribune. "For two years I submitted information to Stalin and Molotov. It passed through my hands. Golikov, of course, is the misinformer, but this isn't the matter. The 'authentic' part of the information usually was thus or otherwise reflected in our press. But Stalin usually paid attention to that which was stamped 'doubtful'. He knew everything but taking measures was his policy. Golikov is responsible for the repression of the GRU cadres, but Golikov is not to blame for not taking defense measures. It was asserted in our literature that Stalin became the head of our Government on 5 May 1941 in order to prepare the country for defense. But we don't have any information to confirm this opinion. Stalin didn't even raise a finger in the matter of strengthening the defensive ability of the USSR. We have grounds to assume that Stalin did not become the head of the government in order to prepare the country for defense, but in order to come to an agreement with Hitler."

Slezkin: "...The book is timely. It is a good one. A former front-line soldier, I categorically speak on the erroneous statement of Deborin on the 45-millimeter guns. Stalin created deeds which can be called completely criminal. A vicious circle created the situation of the personality cult, provocation and repression. Everyone strove to please only his chief, submitting only that information which pleased the latter or which ran down information that was not pleasing. They strove not to state their own thoughts. All of this led to immeasurable misfortunes for the country. Everyone is to blame, but the blame varies. One man is to blame in that he did not decide to say what he thought; another in that he worked against his his own views. The further and higher you go the greater is the responsibility. And whatever the level the refusal of truth in the name of personal welfare is a crime, and the higher the level the greater the crime.

"Stalin is the chief culprit. The 1939 Pact, perhaps, was necessary, but relying on it was foolish. But to discontinue the struggle with Fascism on the basis of it - and this was being done on the instructions of Stalin - was a crime."

Yakir (Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences USSR): "...The book is a very good one. Some people have touched on the matter of Tukhachevskiy, Yakir and other comrades. I consider the discussions on Fascist provocations and on the "Red paper-case" with the documents preserved in it to be unnecessary and even harmful. They stray from the facts. There was no "Red paper-case" in the case. It does not appear in

the matters of this hasty trial. All of the accused were acknowledged guilty on the basis of the oral statements of Stalin in the Military Council of 1-4 June 1937 and on the direct statement of the [his] desire to rid himself of them. Some of the earlier speakers, in mentioning Stalin, said 'Comrade Stalin.' This is not right! He is not a comrade to anyone, much less to us! (Exclamations: "Right!" There is approval in the room. The word "comrade" is left out in further speeches.)

"Stalin delayed the development of our army and killed many prominent designers, including men in our jet propulsion engineering: Tikhomirov, Langemak (the originator of the "katyusha"), Kurchevskiy, and Bakauri. It is necessary to investigate the question of prison camps. To investigate it from the economic point of view. There was a war going on, but millions of healthy people who were former specialists in all fields of the economic and military life of the country were imprisoned in the camps. Furthermore, considerable forces were needed to guard them. All of this made a heavy load for the country."

Telegin: "...The book is a good one. But the author is not critical of the foreign sources, particularly of the memoirs. They contain little that is true... (Exclamations: "And what about our memoirs!")... Yes, there are many lies in them (laughter in the room). It must be remembered that in the memoirs there is a touch of Khrushchevism (there is a rumble in the room. Exclamations: "Of what?!" The speaker under the continuous rumbling in the entire room gives several examples and then leaves)."

Tel'pukhovskiy: "...The events have to be illuminated objectively. Almost all of the Government statesmen didn't evaluate Hitler. However, after the fall of France, all of the criteria were re-examined. There were many of them to be re-examined. Stalin calculated that if Hitler did not break his neck, then he would become tied up in the West. When France fell, the Western statesmen carried out a re-evaluation. Stalin didn't.

"It seems that, when the war began, Stalin still made attempts to prevent the conflict. Otherwise it is difficult to explain three different directives of the Chief Command of the RKKKA [Workers' and Peasants' Red Army] on the first day of war.

"Stalin is the chief culprit, but also all of the rest in their own measure. Render to Caesar what is Caesar's."

Petrovskiy (Historical Archives Institute): "...It must be remembered that Fascism arose in Lenin's time. There was the seizure of Italy by Mussolini, the "Kapp Putsch" and so forth. Lenin indicated Fascism to be the chief enemy. Stalin ignored the instructions of Lenin and stated that the chief enemy was the Social Democratic Party. His theory was broadly disseminated and it divided the working class of the whole world. This made it possible for the Fascists to come into power. Stalin is a criminal..."

Boltin: "Comrade Petrovskiy! In this room and on that tribune it is necessary to choose expressions! Are you a Communist?"

Petrovskiy: "Yes!"

Boltin: "I have not heard it said anywhere in the directives of the resolutions of our Party, which are obligatory for both of us, that Stalin is a criminal."

Petrovskiy: "The 22nd Congress of the Party directed the removal of Stalin from the mausoleum for crimes before the Party. It means that he is a criminal."

"Stalin can not be whitewashed... It means whitewashing any dictator of the type of Mao Tse-tung. To say to them - 'act as you wish, you will nevertheless be justified....'"

Snegov: "...The book by Nekrich is honest and useful. When on the eve of battle there is unpreparedness in the regiment, the locks lie separately from the rifles, the breeches separately from the guns and the intelligence officers and sentries are asleep; the regiment suffers a defeat. On the orders of the superior commander, the commander of such a regiment is executed. And there would be no one to object to this. Stalin was in the position of such a commander, only the regiment was the whole country. Stalin should have been shot, but instead an attempt is made to justify him.

"Why is the book of Nekrich, in which Stalin is entangled, granted a quick discussion and even a condemnation but a book of the known falsifier of history I. Petrov, in which Stalin is credited with good deeds which he never did, has to wait to be discussed for so many years?"

"Why did Deborin make the attempt to whitewash Stalin?"

"When Hitler prepared to attack Poland, Stalin helped him. He executed all of the Polish Communists in the USSR and declared the Polish Communist Party outlawed. Why do they call the fourth partition of Poland the Liberation Campaign? How can one be a Communist and speak softly of Stalin? About the Stalin who betrayed and sold out the Communists, who shot almost all of the delegates of the 17th Congress and almost all of the members of the Central Committee elected by that Congress, and who betrayed the Spanish Republic and the Communists of all countries!"

Deborin (in conclusion): "...I have not developed any new doctrine and I have not tried to defend or whitewash Stalin. It is necessary to examine profoundly all aspects of the personality cult. It is this that I wanted to say. Perhaps I was not quite understood."

"One of the speakers said that Golikov knew that erroneous stories were being told, and recently he himself openly acknowledged this. He feared submitting other information. This is even greater than the crime...

"In regard to the speech of Snegov. We have often heard what Snegov told us about Poland, and so forth. Except that it came to us from a camp inimical to us. This is the way, for example, Professor Jakobson from the FRG and other people similar to him spoke.

"It is necessary to determine, Comrade Snegov, to which camp you belong!"

Snegov: "I am from the Kolyma camp!"

Deborin: "It is necessary to check all of this!" (The room is roused with indignation. There are exclamations: "Again the old stuff! Give him telephone numbers!" Deborin is not given a chance to speak).

Nekrich: "...I thank you for your comments. Deborin assuredly does not hold those viewpoints which are ascribed to him. But in the dust of polemics what is there that doesn't happen!

"The chief guilt for the difficult situation and for the whole tragedy of the first year falls totally on Stalin. But, in general, information contrary to the truth must not be given to the chief. Stalinism begins with us little people. Stalin wanted to outfox Hitler, but he outfoxed himself. And the thing ended in a catastrophe. He knew better than anyone else about the killing of the command cadres of the army and the weakness of our Armed Forces (he quotes the speech of the Chief of the Main Political Administration of the Army, Yepishev, at the conference of historians in December 1962). There are omissions in the book, and they will be corrected."

Snegov: "...I thought that I was participating in a scientific discussion. But Deborin, instead of producing scientific proof, gave arguments in the style of 1937. But he will not frighten us! We won't let ourselves be frightened! This is not the past, and the past will not return!" (Applause).

Boltin (conclusion): "...The meeting produced much new and interesting [information] on the problem as a whole. The speeches given by Comrades Petrovskiy and Snegov were very emotional. One can agree with much that has been said, but not with everything.

"The attempt to take away the independence of and to partition the Polish Government cannot be ascribed to our country. This is the viewpoint of bourgeois historians and White emigrants. It was primarily we who defended the independence of Poland.



"Some comrades called the criticism of the personality cult Khrushchevism. This is basically incorrect. The decisions of the 20th and the 22nd congresses on the personality cult is not Khrushchevism, but it is something vitally necessary for each honest Communist.

"It is necessary to explain much, to determine many "whys", and to investigate the causes for the unpreparedness for war."

The author thanks all those who are present. (The meeting lasted from 1015 until 1645, with an hour for a break.)

April 1967

East European "Aid" to North Vietnam

When grumbling about enforced collections of money, blood, and other items for North Vietnam is reported in the press of East Germany, the most servile of the Soviet Union's satellite states in East Europe, there can be no question but that people throughout East Europe are becoming increasingly disillusioned with the policies of their Communist governments.

An American newspaper correspondent, Fred Sparks, who recently visited the Soviet Union, has written that even in the USSR there is a growing split among the Kremlin leadership on the subject of aid to North Vietnam. In an article published in the March 22, 1967, WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS Mr. Sparks noted that the Soviet government and party bosses, Kosygin and Brezhnev, are caught in the middle on this split and as a result are sending only a dribble of hardware to Hanoi while at the same time making thundering speeches critical of the United States. He continued:

"These warlike proclamations, winked at in sophisticated Moscow, are primarily directed at the rest of the Communist world where Soviet prestige is low. The East European press, for example, much freer than Moscow's, has slyly made it clear that the Russians are standing by, hands and tongues tied, while a small Communist country is getting pounded by an 'imperialist.'"

In an apparent effort to stir up flagging interest in the Soviet Union and in the East European satellite countries in the subject of aid for Vietnam, on March 13 Moscow announced that a "Week of Solidarity With the Struggle of the Vietnamese People" was being opened and that it would coincide with collections for the "Vietnam aid fund." Moscow Radio declared the same day that "the Soviet people will take an active part in this" because "the cohesion of all the forces in support of heroic Vietnam is now very necessary." During the same period, Moscow media reported that the Soviet Red Cross Society, which had also been charged with "effecting the transportation of aid being sent to Vietnam by public organizations of foreign countries," was shipping foodstuffs, clothing, consumer goods, ambulances, medicines, blood plasma, and "many other" items "purchased with money donated by various public organizations and individuals."

How the people of the Soviet Union were reacting to this latest drive was not reported in the controlled Communist press. A few months ago, however, a European returning from Soviet Central Asia reported that he had attended meetings in Karaganda where workers had shouted at Communist Party speakers: "Sit down and shut up! You give your own earnings to Vietnam. We Russians have no business there." This is only one instance of indications reaching the Free World that a growing number of working people in the Soviet Union are coming to realize that

(Cont.)

they are being forced to work extra hours and contribute money from their already small wages not for the betterment of their own homeland but in order to give "aid" to Communists abroad.

While one can surmise from Soviet reports that individuals were not happy with the demands being placed on them for "donations" (no doubt many of the young "Pioneers who collect scrap iron and use money from it to send aid to Vietnam," as a Moscow broadcast in Serbo-Croatian reported on December 17, 1966, or of the "well-known writers, artists, and scientists who have been 'donating' their royalties to send various supplies needed by North Vietnam," as a Moscow broadcast to Africa reported on January 12, 1967, have their own ideas about how the money could be spent for better purposes closer to home -- or at any rate, would prefer to make the decision themselves), there are definite reports of discontent in East European media.

#### East Germany

For the past several months there have been a number of items in the East German press which reveal unprecedented criticism of the Communist regime for its policies in regard to Vietnam. A good example appeared in an article in the November 17, 1966 issue of the Leipzig student publication UNIVERSITAETSZEITUNG, which reported on a meeting held by the university's Communist Party committee at which the regional party secretary was forced to admit:

"The false view exists that material support of the Vietnamese people's struggle for liberation will simply prolong this conflict and this war. But he who is really serious about preventing an expansion of this conflict, about destroying the concept of American imperialism, he must, from conviction and with his whole heart, give every support to the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. Only in this way will an expansion of this conflict be prevented, and only in this way will we meet our international obligations."

Similarly, in the January 1967 issue of the East Berlin NATIONALE DEMOKRAT there was this reader's question: "In what way does our solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people not mean prolonging the war in Vietnam?" The answer was as unconvincing -- and as indicative of a widespread popular doubt -- as the statement carried in the UNIVERSITAETSZEITUNG six weeks previously. As January wore on, the West German INFORMATIONSBUERO WEST began noticing a number of protests against the North Vietnam "donation" drive. On 24 January it reported:

"Protests by the Soviet Zone population are becoming more vociferous against SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)-organized donation drives for North Vietnam. Numerous citizens are refusing to make donations and purchase so-called solidarity stamps

requested by the SED and other organizations, by saying that this will only prolong the war in Vietnam unnecessarily.

"For instance, the SED paper LAUSITZER RUNDSCHAU reported arguments by employees of the Vetschau Power Plant concerning the purchase of solidarity stamps for Vietnam. An article published by the organ of the SED Bezirk Dresden Administration, SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG, indicates that arguments were also raised against the North Vietnam donation drive at the VEB (People-Owned) Fortschritt Enterprise in Neustadt. In a long article, the paper explained that passivity and indifference will not help end the war. Only active help will strengthen North Vietnam's defensive power and will force the United States to respect the Geneva Agreement and thereby bring about a solution of the conflict. Replying to a question by a farmer, the East Berlin paper BAUERN-ECHO emphatically defended the Vietnam donation drive and declared that the purpose of such donations was to bring U.S. aggression there to a timely end.

"Despite these requests, a number of citizens still reject the Vietnam donations. This was also reported by Young Pioneers who were sent to make house-to-house collections for North Vietnam. Students also refused to donate blood or money for Vietnam. For instance, according to an article published in BZ AM ABEND (Berlin), two engineering students declared: Not a penny for Vietnam; after all, we don't want to prolong the war! The SED paper FREIE ERDE reports that actors at the Friedrich-Wolf Theater in Neustrelitz also rejected donations for North Vietnam."

In objecting to actions prolonging the war, East German citizens are turning an old radical German protest against their regime. When war-weary soldiers saw fresh troops marching to the front in 1918, they called them "kriegsverlaengerer" - "war prolongers".

On 22 March the Vietnam Committee Attached to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in East Germany announced, according to the East Berlin news agency ADN, that a balance sheet of the recent International Solidarity Week showed that "since the summer of 1965 the people of East Germany had donated a total of about 27.7 million marks for the support of the freedom struggle of the Vietnamese people." (In the other East European countries overall figures on the amount of aid are for the most part lacking -- leading to the suspicion that they have been too small for the exact amount to be revealed.)

One of the main complaints against the enforced drives to give aid to North Vietnam, judging by newspaper reports, concerns blood donations. The February 1967 issue of the military monthly ARMEE RUNDSCHAU reported on the progress of this drive as well as the campaign to encourage East German servicemen to contribute part of their pay, and noted in this regard that a 22-year-old private, Heinz Pufahl, had expressed a "general dislike for all types of collections" and many other soldiers had demanded to know "what is actually being done with our donations?"

In the past East Germany has been one of the principal suppliers of blood for North Vietnam. The effectiveness of the Communist regime's enforced collection campaign can be judged, perhaps, by a report transmitted on January 12, 1967, by the East German news agency ADN: "Some 100,000 East German citizens donated blood for Vietnam last year, the Secretary of the Vietnam Committee told ADN today. A total of 15,000 blood plasma units were sent to Vietnam. Further shipments will follow in 1967." The previous month, however, the North Vietnamese Ambassador in East Berlin had declared that "over 50,000 people from all sections of the population of East Germany have given their blood to alleviate the sufferings of our wounded men, women, and children; during a Solidarity Week your Interflug airlines flew 10,000 units of dry blood plasma donated by East German citizens to Hanoi." There is a strange disparity in these statistics. Adding to this the report in the January 1967 issue of Berlin's DEUTSCHE FINANZWIRTSCHAFT that "because of objective and subjective difficulties our blood donor institutions up to now have never fulfilled their performance plan in a single year" and a number of references in the East German press to an epidemic of contagious hepatitis, one can easily see that the blood collection drive has had its problems.

East Germany has, however, found one way to solve some of its domestic troubles in meeting Moscow-set quotas for aid for Vietnam. On January 10, 1967, ADN reported that the East German Customs Office had handed the Viet Cong representative in East Berlin a "solidarity gift of 100,000 marks." During the Christmas gift mailing season East Germany had imposed stringent regulations on packages being sent from West Germans to their relatives in East Germany, warning that if these regulations were not met the gifts would be seized and the contents sent to Vietnam. The Customs Office had apparently used the West German packages to finance its "donation."

#### Czechoslovakia

The attitude of Czechoslovak youth toward the demands being placed on them to aid the Vietnamese was perhaps most graphically illustrated last year during the observance of the 30th anniversary of "Czechoslovak Volunteers to Spain." On several occasions, as reported in the local press, military leaders complained of the apathy of today's youth in contrast to the situation during the Spanish Civil War. In comparison with those days, according to one Government spokesman, "today there is no interest, let alone fervor, among young people for the war in Vietnam." The Deputy Minister of Defense was quoted in the Prague press as accusing the young generation of becoming blind pacifists which, he charged, "is carrying peaceful coexistence too far!"

Further in this regard, speculation about sending "volunteers" to Vietnam has become an occasion for a considerable number of jokes in Czechoslovakia. Some youth are reported to be asking "on which side would we fight?" while others pose the more serious question of "why

support the yellow peril?" It is perhaps significant that the subject of "volunteers" is no longer publicized on the home front but, for the sake of appearances abroad, is occasionally resurrected in propaganda intended for foreign audiences. A Radio Prague broadcast in English beamed to Africa on March 18, 1967, for example, had this to say:

"Today's weapons are incomparably more destructive than any weapons in the world's history. A nuclear war would destroy the whole world...Czechoslovakia is well aware of the danger that the war in Vietnam constitutes and is not only giving the fighting people of that country material and moral aid but is willing to send volunteers if asked by the people of the DRV. The people of Czechoslovakia are not indifferent to the struggle waged by the oppressed nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. On the other hand, the fate of the Vietnamese people is the cause of the people of all continents, no matter how distant they are from this small Asian country."

Was this a veiled hint that perhaps "volunteers" should come from the other "oppressed nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America"? A fortnight earlier, in the March 3, 1967, issue of BRATISLAVA PRAVDA, the following brief news item gave this interesting picture of what Czechoslovak soldiers have "pledged" to do instead of "volunteering" to go to Vietnam themselves:

"Czechoslovak military personnel assigned to road maintenance units have pledged to completely equip one North Vietnamese company with the necessary basic infantry weapons, antichemical protection devices, and medical supplies. So far they have collected 108,000 korunas and blood donations from over 2,000 soldiers assigned to road maintenance units."

Collections of money to purchase medical supplies and individual "donations" of blood by civilians have been reported periodically in recent months by the Czechoslovak radio and press. On December 17, 1966, for example, the news agency CTK announced:

"The Central Council of Cooperatives has given various goods, mainly tools, worth 500,000 korunas. The same amount has been given to the fund by the regional Union of Consumer Cooperatives of the Central Slovakian region. A high average -- 23 korunas per worker -- has been obtained in the Jihlava and Trebis districts. The collection was expected to end at the beginning of the year, but it will not be closed; the Vietnam account will not be closed at a time when the American aggressors are escalating their barbarous air raids on the territory of the DRV."

Czechoslovak media does not, of course, give any details on the conditions under which these "donations" were extracted nor does it give any report on the reaction which followed the announcement that the

collection campaign -- often enforced by deductions from payrolls in advance -- would not be closed at the end of 1966. One can easily surmise, however, the reaction which must have greeted the announcement on 20 March (see section on "Training" below) that 2,100 Vietnamese apprentices would be straining already overcrowded Czechoslovak facilities "for the next three to five years."

Poland

Mindful of the Poznan workers' riots of 1956 and the widespread reaction against measures to suppress Catholic Church celebrations of the country's Millenium a year ago, the Polish Government apparently is not pushing the Moscow directed campaign to collect money, blood, and other items from workers and peasants throughout Poland to send to Vietnam. Last April, there were signs in the Poznan area that definite opposition to the aid campaign was growing to serious proportions, and this might well explain the paucity of references in Polish media during the past year to the collections.

Prior to last April contributions to the Vietnam aid fund at the large Cegielski Works were taken from collective funds, with only a very few individual donations added to them. At this point the workers became increasingly irritated with new compulsory collections of 100 zlotys and more each which were imposed on them, and as a result their attendance at city-wide meetings was excused since local Communist Party leaders feared they would be unable to control the workers' reaction to an obviously unpopular campaign.

This February, however, there were a few reports on Warsaw Radio which showed that students were now being pressed to lead the campaign. On February 15, for example, the radio announced that "a total of 8,000 zlotys has been collected by students and lecturers of the Second Warsaw Teachers Conference to aid fighting Vietnam." The previous week the radio carried another report which showed how youth had been organized to run the campaign which the Government had apparently decided could no longer be imposed on workers' groups. On February 11 it announced:

"A total of 307 cases of medicines, dressing material, and surgical instruments have been collected in Pomerania for fighting Vietnam. Taking part in the collection were Union of Socialist Youth Circles, committees of the National Unity Front, school social organizations, and youth teams in enterprises from all of Bydgoszcz Voivodship."

There was another indication the same month of popular dissatisfaction with the Polish Government's policies. In addition to youth groups another organization which Communist regimes usually exploit for such campaigns is the Church. In Poland, some aid-for-Vietnam-campaign responsibilities have been assigned to Protestant groups, as witnessed by a report dis-

seminated by the Polish News Agency on the 18 February meeting of the North Vietnamese Ambassador to Poland with the Superintendent of the Reformed Evangelical Church and the Bishop of the Augsburg Evangelical Church in Poland. It stated:

"During the meeting the Ambassador was told of the charity work carried on by the Polish Ecumenical Council and churches affiliated to it on behalf of the victims of bombings in the DRV and of the assistance of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, which has transferred 20,000 U.S. dollars to the Polish Ecumenical Council for aid to Vietnam."

Significantly, the Polish News Agency did not mention how much -- or how little -- money the Church had been able to raise from the people of Poland themselves.

#### Hungary

Indications that the Hungarian people have been disillusioned with demands for contributions to Vietnam date back to at least late 1965. Jenó Fock, a Deputy Premier and Member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, felt constrained to make the following claim, obviously in an attempt to refute rumors to the contrary, in a speech at a chemical factory reported by the Hungarian News Agency on November 29, 1965:

"Anybody is mistaken who assumes that in the question of assistance the Hungarian working people are in disagreement with the Government. The Hungarian workers are urging the leaders -- and this is common knowledge here at home -- that we should send even more aid to Vietnam..."

Other officials have made statements lamely attributing Hungary's small amount of aid to its limited capabilities, rather than to popular disinterest among youth and workers. On November 1, 1965, for example, Hungarian Youth League Secretary Lajos Mehes declared that "we are proud of the fact that, according to its ability, Hungary is helping the fighting people of Vietnam both morally and materially."

By the end of 1966, however, the Communist Party had hit upon a scheme for organizing aid collections for Vietnam without interfering too much with Hungary's own needs at home: it "encouraged" people to work overtime or on Sunday and to "donate" their earnings to the campaign to send school and hospital equipment to Vietnam. On December 24, for example, the Budapest Radio reported:

"As proof of the Hungarian people's readiness to help and their sentiments of solidarity, in a year 30 million forints have been collected to aid the people of Vietnam. Following the initiative of students of Budapest Lorand Eotvos University and young workers of



the Cespel iron and metal works, young people gave up part of their free time and put in overtime or worked Sunday shifts in order to donate their extra earnings to Vietnam aid schemes. Some 21.5 million forints were paid into the Communist Youth League solidarity account, from which 10.5 million forints were drawn out last summer and converted into gifts taken by a youth delegation to Hanoi. This month 9 million forints were collected through the National Peace Council's 'One School and One Hospital for Vietnam' drive, and 2 million forints were contributed to the medical aid fund."

#### Rumania

Judging by the amount of references to "aid" for Vietnam in the Rumanian press and on the radio, very little is being done. The Bucharest radio on March 19, 1967, carried a report on a statement by North Vietnamese Ambassador Hoang Tu at a meeting the previous day at the Students House of Culture. He reportedly said in conclusion: "We express our sincere gratitude to the Rumanian Party, Government, and fraternal people for the valuable political, moral, and material support and aid given." The Ambassador did not, however, give any statistics.

One indication of how the people have greeted these continuing demands to "donate" to such causes, and in particular the disillusionment of the professional people in Rumania who have been forced to give their time, was printed in the July 27, 1966, issue of the Bucharest newspaper MUNCA. Doctor Magdalena Ungureanu was quoted as stating that she did not mind the extra demands placed on her to coordinate health prevention campaigns in her own district, but:

"I do not consider it reasonable that the physician is obliged to mobilize the citizens, ask people to attend lectures, or recruit blood donors."

#### Bulgaria

A lack of interest in the "aid" campaigns is also shown by Bulgarian media, where the few scattered references to it are invariably prefaced by remarks concerning the limited resources Bulgaria has for this. The February 15, 1967, issue of Sofia's RABOTNICHESKO DELO, denouncing in vivid terms the "barbaric" air raids of the "imperialists" on the Vietnamese, quickly added, however, that "despite the difficulties which they encounter in assisting the heroic Vietnamese people, their friends will not abandon them." One can only guess what those "difficulties" are.

In a similar vein, a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry in Sofia was quoted by the Bulgarian News Agency on March 16, 1967, as stating:

"The Bulgarian people must resolutely condemn this new and dangerous expansion of U.S. aggression and in the future will continue, according to their possibilities, to render moral, political, and material assistance to the fraternal Vietnamese people."

Albania

No popular dissatisfaction has been reported from Albania -- for apparently the Albanians are too poor to send any individual aid to North Vietnam themselves. As a matter of fact, while the other East European countries were announcing the collection of blood and money to be sent abroad, the Tirana Radio on January 26, 1967, reported that the crew of the Adem Reka drydock in Durres port had just received a shipment of gifts from the Third Company of the 411th military unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

And even if the poor Albanians did have anything to send they might find it difficult to do so because of the lack of shipping facilities; it is doubtful that the Russians would carry it on their ships because of Albania's support of the Chinese in the Moscow-Peking rift.

Apparently Albanian "aid" to North Vietnam is limited to vocal expressions of comradeship, as evidenced in this Tirana Radio report of a press conference statement at the North Vietnamese Embassy on December 16, 1966:

"The DRV ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary spoke about the assistance which the Albanian people have given and continue to give to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle. He said that the Albanian people are always following the struggle of the Vietnamese people with the feelings of comrade in arms. The Albanian people are very happy about the successes achieved by the Vietnamese people and are greatly shocked by the crimes committed by the American imperialists against the Vietnamese people in the North as well as in the South. On this occasion, the DRV ambassador, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, expressed his gratitude for this assistance."

Training

On March 20 the Prague radio carried this news item: "For 2,100 Vietnamese families the name of Czechoslovakia will now have a special meaning because members of their families will spend the next three to five years in Czechoslovakia. The first group of about 500 apprentices will arrive in Czechoslovakia at the beginning of July. In addition to the 2,100 apprentices who will be trained in Czechoslovakia, an additional 20,000 Vietnamese have already left or will leave for other countries of the Socialist camp for similar training. The entire program is understandably directed toward the postwar reconstruction of Vietnam."

For all of the East European countries this means just one more added burden being imposed on them to support the already unpopular war in Vietnam. Furthermore, it will add a very serious strain on local school facilities. The Soviet Government paper IZVESTIA on January 17 devoted a major article to the problems of education in the USSR, in particular the shortage of school accommodations. On March 22 Moscow Radio noted that "during the past year alone 500 Vietnamese were graduated from Soviet higher educational establishments and became doctors, agronomists, teachers, and engineers," and on February 13 it had reported that there were now 3,000 Vietnamese studying in the USSR.

What will be the reaction when the additional thousands of Vietnamese which Radio Prague mentioned have to be accommodated? One indication is given in the February 12 issue of Budapest's MAGYARORSZAG which had these remarks, among others, to make about the caliber and cost of foreign students in Hungary:

"This school year the largest number of students coming to our homeland is from Vietnam, 30 more than last year...It has been found that secondary instruction in the developing countries is very different from Hungarian training. The length of preparatory study courses depends on the quality of the secondary schools of the home country and on the linguistic abilities of the student...Students who qualify and are selected are invited by our homeland, which provides the money for their studies. On the other hand, scholarship students from Socialist countries study on the basis of exchange agreements and their own homeland supports them..."

Undoubtedly each East European country will have to pay the cost for educating the Vietnamese "scholarship" students, whose previous scholastic training is apparently regarded as insufficient by them.

#### Volunteers

In a report from the United Nations headquarters published in the 2 April 1967 WASHINGTON POST, Robert Estabrook notes that East Europeans are expressing their fears in private, in contrast to their public statements, that the effect of continued conflict in Vietnam may be to damage their countries' independence from the Soviet Union. Mr. Estabrook continued:

"Already Communist-bloc countries are feeling a variety of pressures from Moscow indirectly attributable to the war. Some representatives here are worried lest Soviet involvement in North Vietnam increase and a demand be made on them for 'volunteers.'"

It seems unlikely, however, that the Soviet Union will chance the blow to its international prestige by making another vain bid to stir up enthusiasm in the East European satellites for "volunteers" to go fight the "imperialists" in Vietnam. Earlier attempts to do this failed. The few young men who did sign up did so, it later became apparent, in the hope that they would be captured in Vietnam and thus escape to the Free World.

Note in the section on Czechoslovakia above that this country says it is "willing to send volunteers if asked" by North Vietnam; Prague radio's listeners in Africa can infer, however, that Czechoslovakia hopes it will not be asked and that it would be a better idea for people in the Third World to "volunteer" instead. This suspicion is borne out by the fact that the subject of "volunteers" for Vietnam is not publicized inside Communist countries today; it is apparently only for export. On 7 February 1967 the Uruguayan Communist Party paper EL POPULAR printed an interview

with Vadim Nekrasov, the assistant director of the Soviet Communist Party paper PRAVDA who remarked in passing, but with no further details:

"Our promise to send volunteers to North Vietnam, should it be requested, still stands. Thousands of our youth are ready to go as volunteers to fight shoulder to shoulder with their Vietnamese brothers."

Not only are the Communists merely paying lip service for foreign audiences to the "volunteer" offer, but they are also putting the squeeze on foreign students in their countries to "contribute" from their scanty allowances to the monetary aid collections. A dispatch by the Czechoslovak News Agency on 26 January 1967, for example, reported that "a gift of money to aid the struggle of the people of Vietnam was handed over to the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam bureau in Prague today by a three-member delegation representing the Union of Syrian Students studying in Prague." A somewhat similar "bite" was being taken out of the earnings of foreign artists, as became apparent when the East German news agency ADN reported on 29 December 1966 that the East German Artists Agency was holding a "solidarity drive" for Vietnam which had collected over 8,000 marks from more than 400 artists from Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Cuba, Brazil, Japan, and other countries.

#### Aid Material

Finally, as if all the problems enumerated above were not enough, the quality and quantity of aid goods being sent from East Europe to North Vietnam pose a very large question. Can the Vietnamese really count on reliable aid continuing?

Some East European countries are reported to be sending as "aid" goods which they cannot sell on the open market to the non-Communist world. Others are using material which is produced "above plan" or by tired workers on overtime shifts -- in other words, that which is left over after the domestic needs of the East European countries are met. What this means in terms of foodstuffs packaged in substandard metal containers and subjected to the heats and pressures of the long trip to Vietnam can only be guessed.

In a lighter vein, the problems faced -- and one wonders how successfully solved -- by workers in fashioning aid supplies to meet the special requirements of the Vietnamese were highlighted by Willi Zahlbaum, secretary of the East German Vietnam Committee, in the February 1967 ARMEE RUNDSCHAU:

"I must mention the 'One Thousand Bicycles for Vietnam' drive, which required specially constructed bicycles to meet the relatively small size of the Vietnamese as well as the geographic conditions of the country. We try very hard to support our Vietnamese comrades in maintaining their civilian production."

But however much the Communist Party officials in East Europe try to solve the problems at home of collecting and producing aid for Vietnam, the much more serious problem of getting the material to the Vietnamese in its original condition -- good, bad, or indifferent -- and amount has been complicated by the recent moves of the Chinese Communists to interfere with all supplies coming through China from the Soviet Union.

The LONDON TIMES correspondent in Japan reported on 8 March 1967 that there was an "almost total disruption of communications and intense shortages of food and fuel" in North Vietnam. He continued:

"Specifically, it is said that there is a dire shortage of rice and no certainty that a million tons needed from China will be forthcoming...Aid from Communist countries, it is stated with a shrug, can give little respite in this disaster. These statements are, of course, unexampled in that they come from Communist representatives sympathetic to Hanoi."

More details of this problem appeared eight days later in a report by the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR correspondent in Saigon who did give a number of examples -- which the Communist sources cited by the London correspondent were seemingly unwilling to do -- of how the ideological dispute between Peking and Moscow was putting a "squeeze" on Hanoi. The MONITOR correspondent also noted:

"When the Soviets recently charged China with slowing and even stealing aid goods being transshipped to Vietnam, Hanoi Radio blamed the misunderstanding on fabricated stories by Western news agencies. 'China has wholeheartedly helped transport to Vietnam adequately and according to schedule the aid goods from the Soviet Union,' the broadcast said."

Of course Hanoi might have been only attempting to play both ends against the middle in this case by seeming to side with Peking, which it knows has not been sending sufficient aid of its own, and at the same time subtly calling to Moscow's attention its feeling that the Soviets and East Europeans have not only decreased their aid but have also sent stocks of obsolescent material under the apparent pretext that the North Vietnamese are incapable of using better goods and equipment.

Moscow has charged in a number of newspaper articles and in broadcasts for both the Soviet and foreign audiences that the Chinese Communists are interfering in the aid being sent to Vietnam. A broadcast in Mandarin on 5 February, for example, charged that the Chinese with "arbitrary hindrance" and "deliberate destruction" of aid supplies. Two weeks later, the Prague daily RUDE PRAVO published a report of a statement by Soviet expert N. Federov, who had recently returned from North Vietnam. One can easily imagine what the readers of the Czechoslovak Communist Party organ thought about the continuing demands being placed on them to supply aid when they saw this in the article:

"Sometimes it happens that this or that equipment does get to North Vietnam but cannot be put into operation. Why? Because somewhere in China the curious Red Guards dismantled the equipment and then forgot to return some important component. It is clear that such 'curiosity' must be paid for by the Vietnamese people themselves. Moreover, the transport of Soviet shipments for Vietnam over Chinese territory is delayed several weeks...My Soviet colleagues and Vietnamese comrades also know of some cases where the latest types of Soviet combat equipment, such as supersonic fighter aircraft, were replaced by Chinese officials with used, obsolete models from the Chinese Army."

If, as one is led to believe by the question noted in the section on Czechoslovakia above and by an article in the November 1966 issue of DER NATIONALE DEMOKRAT of East Berlin, there is a fear of a better armed Communist China among East Europeans -- the paper noted that "in several party meetings the fear has been expressed for months of the so-called yellow peril...emanating from China's possession of the atomic bomb and the adventurist policy propagated by the Chinese leaders" -- then it seems highly likely that the East Europeans will be more and more reluctant to respond to future demands to supply aid for Vietnam which may be seized by the Chinese on the way.

April 1967

Miscellaneous from newspaper stories:

Vietnamese and Free World experts are engaged in a growing effort to restore agricultural production so that the country may once again become one of Asia's major rice exporters. Last year, 1.5 million acres (600,000 hectares) of crops were treated for insects and plant diseases. And 78,000 acres (31,000 hectares) were brought under cultivation.

More than 30 nations have assisted South Vietnam to make great strides in education - even in the midst of war. In 1966, 4,600 new school classrooms were built, 4,000 new teachers were trained and 8 million textbooks were distributed.

In 1966 public health was given a boost by Free World nations and volunteer medical teams from several countries helped administer over 12 million immunizations against contagious diseases. These teams also treated more than 500,000 Vietnamese for various illnesses.

By the end of 1966, 27,000 South Vietnamese had been specially trained in "pacification" or "revolutionary development" techniques. Organized in 59-man teams, they are being sent back to their native provinces to restore order and to help bring back normal life in the hamlets. More of these teams are being trained in 1967.

The first Australian medical team arrived from Melbourne's Alfred Hospital in early 1966. It was headed by Dr. Ian Ferguson whose team took on abnormally large case loads of both civilian and military-caused casualties. The Australians were operating morning and afternoon to handle the 200 or more surgical cases assigned them every month and within six months the post-operative incidence of infection was remarkably low; also greatly reduced was the length of time required for patient recovery. In addition to giving lectures at Saigon's teaching hospital, Cho Ray, the Australians gave on-the-job demonstrations and instructions, and treated many cases peculiar to the tropics such as tuberculosis.

Australia was one of the first nations to respond to the need for medical services in Vietnam. Staff members from the Royal Melbourne Hospital and from St. Vincent's Hospital, also in Melbourne, were the first to answer the Government of Australia's call for volunteers in October 1964. Other volunteer medical teams and individuals have gone to South Vietnam from around the world including the Republic of China, Italy, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, New Zealand, and the Netherlands.

WESTERN REFUGEES  
CARRY MERCY  
TO VIETNAM REFUGEES

# helping hands

TEXT AND PHOTOS BY JAMES H. PICKERELL

QUANG NGAI, VIETNAM

Dr. Ernst Fenelon, 30, a stocky Haitian, and Antonio Olivera, 34, a tall, slender male nurse from Cuba, know through bitter experience the loneliness and forlorn plight of the refugee.

It was not long ago that both escaped from danger and oppression in their Latin American homelands. But they were scarcely settled in the United States when the plight of the refugee caught up with them again—in reverse.

They volunteered for Vietnam service with the International Rescue Committee's medical team. This is a crew of 14 doctors and nurses, more than half ex-refugees, who bring mercy and medicine under great difficulty to refugees and villagers in rural Vietnam.

That they often are under the guns of the Viet Cong is only one problem as the I.R.C. team cares for long lines of ill-clad and barefoot patients, many with war wounds including napalm burns.

Comments from Olivera and Dr. Fenelon and the others suggest the tough conditions in which they carry on—danger, shortages, remoteness, ignorance and neglect. Some examples:

- "We go to sleep every night with the music of the shooting of the Viet Cong in the woods not far from the encampment."

- "We already have acquired the affection of the Vietnamese . . . because we are the only ones who go out to work in the remote districts. . . ."

- "A sick mother with a dying child . . . and three other feverish children impressed me the most. For the dying child I could do nothing because I did not have the proper medicine."

A recent morning found Fenelon and Olivera bouncing northwest from this provincial capital in a station wagon. Around them the countryside was under strict V.C. control. Under them, buried in the rutted road, was the possibility of V.C. mines.

But, most important, ahead of them lay the district town of Son Tinh with a small dispensary and a waiting line of patients ranging from shrieking infants to wrinkled oldsters.

Olivera nodded as Fenelon explained: "Everything around here on both sides of the road belongs to the V.C., but this is the only way to get to the dispensary, and the people will be expecting us."

It appears that the V.C. tolerates medical teams—and for a practical reason: Often the V.C. infiltrates its own sick and wounded into the dispensary lines. Also, the V.C. knows that the I.R.C. healers regularly treat V.C. prisoners in Vietnam camps.

The day PARADE accompanied Fenelon and Olivera to Son Tinh, the run was made without incident, and, sure enough, the one-story frame dispensary was jammed with outpatients — men, women, boys, girls, babies, old crones.

There are plenty of problems:

Not only the war produces a plethora of patients. The long neglect of old ailments also contributes. In addition, Vietnamese aides must be watched — some use the same hypodermic on arm after arm without sterilization. Hygiene is hit and miss—cure a man's skin disease, and he'll go out and catch it anew.

And, there's lots of superstition. When Fenelon turned away from a mother and newborn baby, an old woman sneaked in and burned incense under the mother's breasts. It's an ancient Chinese custom believed to bring a mother's milk faster and richer.

Direct war emergencies arise. A South Korean soldier on guard at Son Tinh was

rushed in, hit in abdomen and hand by shrapnel. Fenelon patched him up and sent him to the larger provincial hospital.

Perhaps this comment from one of the ex-refugee doctors best explains not only the situation, but the devotion of the medical team:

"The V.C. prisoners are very ill, and after you give them care, their eyes, full of fear and hatred, change to an expression of affection and gratitude. . . . The other day one of the prisoners was practically rotten with disease. . . . We cured him. You should have seen the look of gratitude . . . for he was suffering horribly.

"I think taking care of the prisoners is terribly important as they don't know anything about us except what their Communist leaders tell them. . . ."

And so it goes with these Western refugees so devoted to helping Eastern refugees. Fenelon and Olivera — both university graduates in earlier days in their homelands—are in for at least an 18-month hitch.

After that, they can settle down at last. Their families are waiting. Marie-Ange Fenelon and her two children are counting the days in Brooklyn, N.Y., while Filomena Sanchez Guarde de Olivera and her child do the same in Miami, Fla.—and the war goes on.

Parade • Mar. 12, 1967



# Third Year Of Service In S. VN

CPYRGHT  
CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

Dr. James W. Turpin, founder of "Project Concern," and Dr. Godfrey Gapp, Australian surgeon and physician, who were responsible for starting Project Concern's medical outpost at Dampao three years ago, will return during the latter part of March to celebrate Project Concern's Third Anniversary in South Vietnam.

Dampao hospital was just a dream in February 1964. Today it is a busy medical facility serving some 40,000 Montagnards and Vietnamese living in hamlets surrounding the hospital, which is 30 miles southwest of Dalat in the Central Highlands. Over 100,000 Vietnamese patients, who have received medical care, however, don't consider it a dream.

Dr. Godfrey Gapp headed up the advance medical team in March of 1964 from Project Concern's Hong Kong clinics. In the first team were Miss Bertha Saechz, American Nurse; Mr. Frank Hooper, Canadian Laboratory Technician; and Miss Hazel Hunt an American volunteer, and Dr. Turpin.

The medical team immediately began a training program for village and hospital medical assistants in April 1964, and opened its first class with ten students from the surrounding hamlets and villages.

Teaching was done through interpreters in Vietnamese and Koho, and English were also given daily. The first training program was for six months. Three months of instruction and three months of practical experience working in the hospital and with the village medical visiting team. The curriculum included courses in anatomy and physiology, preventive medicine, duties of the village medical assistant, and a introduction to the hospital.

After graduation the students either became a Village Medical or a Hospital Medical Assistant. Those returning to their village would be trained to diagnose and treat about 90% of the illnesses to which the Koho and Vietnamese in the Central Highlands are most susceptible to.

The Mobile village medical team was established to reach apprehensive, those unable to travel, and those too distant to walk to the hospital. Some twenty five hamlets were serviced by vehicles, with two requiring helicopter service, being inaccessible by car.

The average daily village visit serves eighty Montagnards. The mobile team consists of a doctor, nurse, hospital and a village medical assistant. Drugs dispensed are written and spoken to the Koho's in their native language. No charges are made for either drugs or services to the tribespeople.

In thirteen (13) villages there are Village Medical clinics for the tribespeople with a trained medical assistant on duty to provide basic first aid, dispense drugs, and treat the majority of illnesses. Just recently a program has been started to permit individuals and organizations in America and throughout the world to sponsor a Village Medical Assistant and its village. Today most villages are sponsored at a cost of fifty dollars per month, which pays the salary of the Medical Assistant and the necessary medicines.

Project Concern Vietnam has an international team of volunteers. From Hong Kong two doctors: Dr Lam Ling Tak and Dr Hui Wing Hong; from Canada a laboratory technician - Mr Frank Hooper and nurse Miss Pat Cooper; from England Administrative assistant Miss Barbara Martin and head nurse Miss Jane Gledhill; and

from America Chief Medical Director Dr. James Turpin, Area Director Mr. Chet Lightbizer, Secretary Mrs Virginia Lightbizer, and nurse Miss Doris Ropertson.

Project Concern is a non-profit international medical relief organization incorporated under the laws of California without political, religious, or governmental affiliation. A people-to-people medical assistance program created for refugees, it has four out-patient, clinics in Hong Kong, and a clinic in Tijuana, Mexico. It was founded in November 1961 by Dr. and Mrs James W. Turpin in Coronado, California.

SAIGON POST  
26 September 1966

## Japan's 2nd Medical Team Due Here Soon

SAIGON, Sept. 25 (VP)- Sources from Japan-Vietnam Friendship Association disclosed that a group of Japanese doctors sponsored by the private Zen-A-Kyokai of Tokyo is scheduled to arrive in Vietnam soon to help the Vietnamese people living in areas short of medical facilities. It will be the second group of doctors from the Zen - A - Kyokai to be sent to Vietnam.

The first group was sent to Phu Quoc Island and Banmethuot at the end of 1965 for one month with great success. The group gave medical care and distributed drugs to the population in both areas.

The forthcoming team will include four doctors who also have the additional responsibility of making necessary preparations for the establishment of a hospital to be operated by Japanese doctors and equipped with Japanese medical material to be financed by private Japanese contributions. At present, members of the Zen - A - Kyokai are participating in the drive for funds.

The same sources also disclosed that under the program for the development of Japan-Vietnam Friendship, their Association has been assisting the Fuji Telecasting Company in the realization of a three-hour documentary film for the purpose of introducing Vietnam to the Japanese people.

SAIGON POST \* March 9

# NZ Escalates Aid To Vietnam

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CPYRGHT

WELLINGTON, New Zealand, March 8 (AP)— Prime Minister Keith J. Holyoake announced Wednesday that New Zealand's aid to South Vietnam will be more than doubled.

New Zealand's present military force, totaling 150 men in an artillery battery, will be raised to 360 by the addition of one infantry company with supporting elements, he said.

The additional contribution will be drawn largely from the New Zealand battalion stationed in Malaysia as part of the commonwealth strategic reserve, plus some troops from New Zealand.

Holyoake also announced a decision to send a 16-man joint services medical team to be based at Bong Son, in Binh Dinh province.

The team, he said, will replace a U.S. military medical team which is due to be withdrawn from the area about June.

Holyoake said:

«We hope by these complementary steps to hasten the day when peace returns to South Vietnam and to relieve the suffering its people have so long endured.

«We have an obligation to help the people of South Vietnam resist the imposition on them by force of arms a system of government they have shown no wish to accept. We also have an obligation, in all humanity, to sustain the victims of aggression.

«This is a further indication of the New Zealand government's determination to fulfill both these obligations.

«We could not escape the conclusion that in the light of New Zealand's obligations under the Manila Treaty.

CPYRGHT

## Thai Troops Ready Soon

CPYRGHT

BANGKOK, March 10 (AP)— Thai deputy Prime Minister Praphas Charusathien Thursday was reported as saying that final selection of Thailand's 2,205-man battalion to South Vietnam would be made on March 20.

Nearly 30,000 young Thais have volunteered for service with Thailand's expeditionary forces to Vietnam and the best elements will be picked from among them to compose the 2,205-man contingent.

In a statement published Thursday in the local press Praphas, who is concurrently defense minister, said special training to the contingent would begin very soon.

He did not say when the men will depart for South Vietnam to fight alongside the allies against the Communists.

SAIGON POST \* March 17

## China Helps Improve V.N. Poultry Breeding

SAIGON, March 16 (VP).— Early this week, the Government of the Republic of China airlifted one thousand Leghorn and New Hampshire chicken eggs to Saigon to help improve the quality of poultry raised in Vietnam, according to Mr. C.H. Liu, Chief of the Chinese Agricultural and Technical Mission to Vietnam.

The eggs have been sent for incubation and the chickens will later be distributed to farmers in the three model villages established by the Chinese mission in Hue, Bien Hoa, and An Giang.

This is the first dispatch of improved quality chicken eggs. A total of 3,000 eggs were pledged by the Chinese Government during the third session of the Sino-Vietnamese Economic Cooperation Conference held in Taipei.

THE SAIGON POST\*

TIME

2 September 1966

CPYRGHT

### The Boy-State

Neither bullets nor ballots will produce the ultimate victory in Viet Nam. What is needed is an effort by the Vietnamese themselves to rebuild their society in towns and villages. Last week Premier Ky paid tribute to a unique example of Vietnamese self-help. It took root a year ago, when a dozen youth leaders petitioned him to let them take over an entire province and demonstrate what they could offer in leadership. Ky would not go that far, but to their surprise handed them complete administrative control of Saigon's District 8—a squalid, 3-sq.-mi. slum packed with 30,000 war refugees.

Replacing district officials, the youths marshaled 1,000 student friends, embarked on an ambitious improvement scheme. Nguyen Tan Phuoc, 19, a high school graduate, has been started for 600 families. One hospital and 17 health centers have been built to combat, among other ills, the cholera and plague that endanger the area. In all, some 200 projects are completed or under way, and the government estimates that the youths, with a budget of 10 million piastres (\$84,700), have generated 30 million piastres (\$254,200) worth of construction.

**Cots & Cottages.** The district headquarters, a stately home usually occupied exclusively by the district chief, has been converted into a campground for the new cadres, looks like an unsupervised fraternity house with its clutter of cots and guitars. The new district chief, Mai Nhu Manh, a graduate of the National Institute of Administration, boasts only a corner bed with a mosquito net. Says a young colleague, Law Graduate Doan Thanh Liem: "The only thing that is important to us is a change in mentality, a sense of community." Only one American, a 24-year-old named Charles Sweet, is advising the youths, and he was not allowed into the district for three months.

In an address dedicating the district's first student-built housing, a row of cottages freshly painted Dutch yellow with blue and green shutters, Ky said: "I can only hope to renew the government as your cadres have renewed this hamlet." Moreover, he has given the young reformers the go-ahead to take over two adjoining districts, which with District 8 will comprise a boy-state of 600,000 inhabitants. The ultimate compliment is that Viet Cong infiltration to and from the capital through District 8, thanks to a growing flow of information on Communist activities by its inhabitants, has been virtually wiped out.

←-8"  
PRESS RELEASE  
External Aid Office, Canada  
Canadian Government  
August 2, 1966

April 1967

The Honorable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, announced today that 165,000 Saigon schoolchildren will be immunized against poliomyelitis this fall with oral vaccine supplied under Canada's External Aid program.

The immunization has been undertaken by the Vietnamese Ministry of Health as a pilot project in a planned campaign to protect all Vietnamese children from six months to 12 years against a disease which ranks with tuberculosis and malaria as a serious health problem in southeast Asia.

(In Canada, following intensive vaccination programs, the disease has been virtually eradicated. Complete eradication of the disease in Canada is considered by medical authorities to be a reasonable goal.)

Mr. Martin's announcement marked the latest development in Canada's program of medical aid to Vietnam, to which more than a million dollars has been allocated this year. Last month, Canada shipped the first of ten pre-packaged emergency hospital units for integration into South Vietnam's provincial hospitals system and work was begun on a tuberculosis clinic at Quang Ngai.

Mr. Martin said that while the Canadian program of assistance in Vietnam has grown considerably in the past three years, "one cannot minimise the difficulties of mounting quickly a large and effective program in the circumstances which now prevail in that country."

Since 1953, Canada has allocated almost \$6 million to development assistance in Vietnam. A total of 339 students has been brought to Canada and 183 of them, the largest trainee group from any country, are now studying in academic and technical training institutes, working mainly in the French language.

(First page only of release as printed here.)

Free World Assistance to Viet-Nam  
as of January 6, 1967

Free World Assistance Program

Thirty nations have assisted Viet-Nam under the Free World Assistance Program. Several others have offered help. The contributions of six other countries and of the UN are listed at the end of this paper. A detailed listing by geographic area follows:

FAR EAST  
Australia

Australia is providing a wide and substantial range of aid to Viet-Nam under the Colombo Plan and by direct bilateral assistance.

Military aid consists of:

1. Approximately 4,500 combat troops including a brigade and support.
2. 100 combat advisors (primarily specialists in jungle warfare).
3. A 73-man air force unit at Vung Tau with six Australian Caribou planes which fly daily logistical transport missions in support of Vietnamese military forces.

Prime Minister Holt has announced an increase in Australian combat forces to about 6,300 men will take place early in 1967 consisting of 900 army service men, a squadron of 8 Canberra bombers and a guided missile destroyer.

Economic and technical assistance has totalled nearly \$10 million in the past two years including:

1. Three surgical teams, totalling 37 personnel, in 3 provincial hospitals. These teams, in addition to performing major operations, have established a blood bank and are giving lessons in nursing.
2. A group of civil engineers working on water supply and road construction projects.
3. Three experts in dairy and crop practices and radio techniques.
4. Training of 130 Vietnamese in Australia.
5. In goods and materials: 1,250,000 textbooks in Vietnamese for rural schools; 3,300 tons of corrugated roofing for Vietnamese military

(Cont.)

dependents' housing; 6 large community windmills; 15,750 sets of hand tools; 400 radio sets and 2,400 loud-speakers, 16,000 blankets and 14,000 cases of condensed milk.

6. A 55 kilowatt broadcasting station at Ban Me Thout.

#### Republic of China

The Republic of China has provided:

1. An 80-man agricultural team.
2. An 18-man military psychological warfare team.
3. A 12-man electrical power mission under the leadership of Taipower.
4. A 10-man surgical team.

China has also provided training for more than 200 Vietnamese in Taiwan. In the way of goods and materials, they have provided 26 aluminum prefabricated warehouses, agricultural tools, seeds and fertilizers, 500,000 copies of mathematics textbooks and an electrical power substation.

#### Japan

Japan has provided over \$55 million worth of economic assistance to Viet-Nam, chiefly through reparations. Japan has sent two medical teams, considerable amounts of medical goods (4,544 cases), 20,000 transistor radios and 25 ambulances. It has provided technical personnel and funds for the construction of a large power dam across the Da Nhim River and electrical transmission line and agreed to participate in the construction of a bridge over the Mekong River near Vinh Long.

#### Korea

Korea has sent approximately 45,000 troops including:

1. 2 Combat divisions
2. A 130-man Mobile Army Surgical Hospital (MASH).
3. 10 Military instructors in Korean karate for training Vietnamese military in hand-to-hand combat.
4. A 2,200-man Task Force Unit composed of the following elements:

- 1 Army engineer battalion
- 1 Headquarters group
- 1 Army Transportation company
- 1 Marine Corps Engineer company
- 1 Infantry battalion
- 1 LST and 2 LSM's
- 1 Composite support unit (communications, medical supplies, etc.)

Korean military medical personnel are providing some medical care to the local population in areas where ROK troops are stationed. In addition, 7 civilian medical teams totalling 118 doctors, nurses and support personnel are working in provincial health programs.

Laos

One million kip (\$4,167) for flood relief in February, 1965.

Malaysia

Since 1962, Malaysia has trained about 2,000 Vietnamese military and police officers. Groups of 30-60 are regularly sent for about a month's training in counterinsurgency with Malaysian Police Special Constabulary. Malaysia has previously provided substantial amounts of counterinsurgency materials, primarily military and police transport such as armored vehicles.

New Zealand

New Zealand has sent a 6-howitzer artillery battery of approximately 125 men. It also has provided a 25-man army engineer detachment.

In non-military aid, New Zealand has sent an 8-man surgical team, and a professor in English language for the University of Saigon. They are presently training 62 Vietnamese in New Zealand and have provided £7,500 (\$21,000) for equipment for a technical high school. They are also assisting by providing approximately \$600,000 for a science building at the University of Saigon.

Philippines

The Philippine Government has sent a 2,000-man military engineering unit with security support personnel, a station hospital, and rural health and civic action teams.

In non-military aid, approximately 60 Philippine civic action personnel including military and civilian medical teams have been working in Viet-Nam for several years.

Thailand

The Thai Government announced on January 3 that it will send a 1,000-man mixed battalion to Viet-Nam. A 200-man Thai naval group manning an LST and PGM patrol craft arrived in Viet-Nam in December. A 35-man air force contingent has been flying operational transport missions for the Vietnamese forces. The Thais have also been providing jet training for Vietnamese pilots in Thailand.

In non-military aid, the Thai have provided rice for refugees and cement and zinc roofing materials. At the Manila Conference, the Thai offered the Vietnamese a \$20 million rice credit. The Thai have recently announced they will send a medical unit to Viet-Nam.

MIDDLE EAST

Greece

Greece has contributed \$15,000 worth of medical supplies.

Iran

Iran has contributed 1,000 tons of petroleum products to Viet-Nam and has despatched a 20-man medical team to Viet-Nam.

Turkey

Turkey has provided medicines and also offered to provide a substantial amount of cement.

EUROPE

Austria

Austria has offered to supply medical supplies, blankets, tents, through the Austrian Red Cross.

Belgium

Belgium has provided medicines and an ambulance and has given scholarships for 9 Vietnamese to study in Belgium.

Denmark

Denmark has provided medical supplies and offered to train Vietnamese nurses in Denmark.

Germany

Personnel in Viet-Nam:

Seven Germans, a director and six instructors, are teaching at the new Vietnamese-German Technical High School at Thu Duc near Saigon. At Hue University there are five Germans: three physicians in the Medical School, a professor of music, a professor of German language, and one expert in forestry is working at the Department of Rural Affairs, Saigon.

A 3,000-ton hospital ship, the "Helgoland" with 8 doctors, 30 other medical personnel and 145 beds is on duty in Viet-Nam.

Vietnamese in Germany: Forty have gone, Germany has agreed to accept 30 more primarily for training as future instructors in the technical high school. A considerable number have previously been trained.

Goods and materials:

The Germans have provided the following credits: 1) DM 15 million



(\$3.75 million) for import of German products such as machine tools, fertilizer, etc. The piastre funds generated go to the National Office of Agricultural Credit to aid farmers, particularly with loans; 2) a credit of DM 50 million (\$12.5 million) for development of the major industrial complex at An Hoan-Nong Son; 3) a credit for DM 20 million (\$5 million) for construction of an abattoir at Saigon-Cholon, and three coastal vessels; 4) a credit of DM 500,000 (\$125,000) for equipment at the Vietnamese-German Technical High School at Thu Duc.

In April 1966, the Germans announced a gift of DM 17.5 million (\$4.4 million) worth of pharmaceuticals, the first shipments of which have arrived. Also in the medical field, they have provided two mobile dental clinics and 30 ambulances for the Ministry of Health.

On June 29, the Cabinet voted DM 25 million (US \$6.25 million) for new aid to Viet-Nam including: 1) sending 25 experts to establish a refugee center; 2) building a home for wayward youths; 3) expansion of 8 social centers and construction of a ninth; 4) establishment of a training center for social workers, and 5) the gift of 100 buses and a maintenance and repair facility in Saigon.

#### Italy

The Italians have provided a 10-man surgical team and have offered science scholarships to 10 Vietnamese to study in Italy.

#### Luxembourg

Luxembourg has provided plasma and blood transfusion equipment.

#### The Netherlands

The Dutch have undertaken to build 5 tuberculosis centers in Saigon; sites for 3 have been selected. In August, the Netherlands announced a contribution of \$355,000 for a 4-year UN project in social welfare, part of the \$1 million they have earmarked for UN projects in Viet-Nam. In 1964, the Dutch gave antibiotics and 4 scholarships for Vietnamese. They previously provided a dredge.

#### Spain

Spain has provided 800 pounds of medicines, medical equipment and blankets and has sent a 12-man medical team to Viet-Nam.

#### United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has provided six civilians for the British Advisory Mission and a Professor of English at Hue University. Twenty-one Vietnamese are receiving training in the United Kingdom. A pediatric team of four British doctors and six nurses went to Viet-Nam in August, 1966.

In 1963-64 the United Kingdom provided the following goods and materials: Laboratory equipment for Saigon University; a typesetting machine for the Government Printing Office; a cobalt deep-ray therapy unit for the National Cancer Institute; various equipment for the Faculties of Medicine, Science and Pharmacy at Saigon University, the Meteorological Service and the Agricultural School at Saigon, and Atomic Research Establishment at Dalat and the Faculty of Education at Hue. In 1965-66, British economic aid totalled £81,000 (\$226,800) for roadbuilding equipment, diesel fishing boat engines, and portable anesthetic machines.

LATIN AMERICA  
Argentina

Argentina has sent 5,000 tons of wheat flour.

Brazil

Brazil has sent a substantial quantity of medical supplies which was carried to Viet-Nam by a Brazilian Air Force plane and has also provided coffee.

Dominican Republic

Cement has been offered by the Dominican Republic for use in Viet-Nam.

Ecuador

Ecuador has sent medical supplies to viet-Nam.

Guatemala

Guatemala has sent 15,000 doses of typhoid-paratyphoid serum for use in Viet-Nam.

Honduras

Honduras is contributing drugs and dry goods for refugees in Viet-Nam.

Uruguay

Uruguay has contributed \$21,500 for relief supplies and medicines for Viet-Nam.

Venezuela

Venezuela has provided 500 tons of rice for refugee relief, and two civilian doctors are working in Viet-Nam.

AFRICA  
Liberia

A contribution of \$50,000 has been made by Liberia for the purchase of hospital equipment and other medical supplies for Viet-Nam.

Tunisia

Recently Tunisia has made available a number of scholarship for Vietnamese.

NORTH AMERICA  
Canada

Almost \$6 million of development assistance to Viet-Nam has been provided by Canada.

1. Personnel in Viet-Nam: A Canadian Supervisor has been at Quang Ngai supervising construction of a small TB Clinic which the Canadians are funding. The Canadians have sent two doctors and four nurses to staff the clinic. A professor of orthopedics is working at Cho Ray Hospital, Saigon, and there is a Canadian teacher at the University of Hue.
2. Vietnamese in Canada: 379 Colombo Plan trainees and 462 trainees under all programs, including those sponsored by other agencies and third countries (as well as Colombo Plan), have been trained in Canada. There are currently 228 Colombo Plan trainees in Canada.
3. Since 1958, Canada has provided \$850,000 worth of food aid for Viet-Nam. Funds generated by sales are used for capital construction projects in Viet-Nam.
4. A new science building for the medical faculty at the University of Hue is being built costing about \$333,000, drawn from counterpart funds generated by sales of food supplied by Canada. Construction has passed the half-way mark, with completion expected this year.

The Canadians have also agreed to construct an auditorium for the Faculty of Sciences at Hue University which will cost about \$125,000.

Canada is increasing its aid to South Viet-Nam and has allocated \$1 million for medical assistance this fiscal year including providing ten 200-bed emergency hospital units. The first two units have arrived and have been installed at Phan Tiet and at Phu Tho near Saigon. A Canadian doctor and technicians visited Viet-Nam in the fall to inspect potential sites. Canada has sent over half a million doses of polio vaccine for Vietnamese school children, and another 150,000 doses are being prepared for shipment to Viet-Nam.

OTHER ASSISTANCE

Six other nations whose help does not fall under the Free World Assistance Program have provided valuable assistance to Viet-Nam in economic and humanitarian fields.

France

Since 1956, France has contributed about \$111 million in assistance to South Viet-Nam.

France has nearly 500 persons serving in South Viet-Nam. Among them are 65 experts under France's program of economic and technical assistance, including 32 physicians, professors and other medical personnel. Under its cultural programs, 471 professors (350 French and 121 Vietnamese) are teaching at 9 French teaching institutions, and 30 French professors are at Vietnamese institutions. France provided in 1965 for Vietnamese to study in France, 55 fellowships for technical training, and 85 academic fellowships.

France has provided low-interest credits of 100 million francs (20 million dollars) for financing imports of French equipment for Vietnamese industry, a grant of 500,000 francs (\$100,000) for equipment for L'Ecole Nationale d'Ingenieurs des Arts Industriels.

In 1960 France extended a low-interest credit of 70 million francs (\$12 million) to aid construction of the major coal and chemical complex at An Hoa-Nong Son south of Da Nang which is well underway. It also provided a low-interest, five-year credit of 60 million francs (\$12 million) for construction of Viet-Nam's largest cement-producing complex with plants at Hatien and Thu Duc. In 1964, France provided a 930,000 franc (\$186,000) grant for the installation of a training center for electrical technicians, and in 1965 a gift of 1.25 million francs (\*\$250,000) for teaching equipment, primarily in the medical field.

Ireland

The Irish people have contributed £1,000 (\$2,800) for Vietnamese flood victims through their Red Cross.

Israel

Israel made a gift of pharmaceutical supplies for flood victims.

Norway

Norway sent a contribution through the International Red Cross for flood victims in February 1965.

Pakistan

Pakistan made a financial contribution for assistance to flood victims and donated clothing for them.

Switzerland

The Swiss have provided microscopes for the University of Saigon. The Swiss Red Cross has sent an 11-man medical team through the International Committee of the Red Cross to work in a provincial hospital in the Central Highlands of South Viet-Nam.

UN System Aid to Viet-Nam

The United Nations and its specialized agencies are also making significant contributions to the social and economic development of Viet-Nam. Under the UN Development Program at least 37 technical assistance programs are being implemented this year and more are being planned for 1967 and 1968. These programs range across such varied fields as maternal and child health, soil survey, labor administration, educational planning, telecommunications and postal services. Among the participating agencies are ILO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, ICAO, ITU, IAEA, UPU, and the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the UN. In addition, UNICEF is lending financial support to a number of programs in the health and child care fields.

Several major projects financed by the Special Fund of the UN Development Program are about to get under way. A National Technical Center (total international contribution approximately \$1.5 million), with UNESCO as the executing agency, has been approved by the Governing Council of the UNDP and is now becoming operational. Near-agreement has been reached on a Fisheries Institute including exploratory and experimental fishing in the waters of the South China Sea, to be executed by FAO, and on a Social Welfare Training Center to be executed by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the UN. ECAFE is also pressing ahead with projects of benefit to all the nations in the Mekong Basin, and has undertaken surveys of irrigation, hydro-electric facilities, and bridge construction projects in Viet-Nam.

Results of Legislative Assembly Elections - 1967

STATES	Total Seats	Cong.	Swat.	J.S.	CPI/R	CPI/L	PSP	SSP	RPI	Other Parties	Inds.
ANDHRA PRADESH	287	165	29	3	10	9		1	2		68
ASSAM	126	73	2		7		5	4		9	25
BIHAR	318	128	3	26	24	4	18	68	1		46
GUJARAT	168	93	64	1			3			2	5
HARYANA	81	48	3	12					2		16
KERALA	133	9			19	52		19		28	6
MADHYA PRADESH	296	167	7	78	1		9	10		4	20
MADRAS	234	49	20		2	11	4	2		138	7
MAHARASHTRA	270	202		4	10	1	8	4	5	19	16
MYSORE	216	126	16	4	2		20	6	2		40
ORISSA	140	30	49		7	1	21	2		26	3
PUNJAB	104	48		9	5	3		1	3	26	9
RAJASTHAN	184	89	49	22	1			8			15
UTTAR PRADESH	425	198	12	97	14	1	11	44	9		37
WEST BENGAL	280	127	1	1	16	43	7	7		13	65
J. & K.	75	60		3						8	2
HIMACHAL PRADESH	60	33		7	2						13
GOA, DIU, DAMAN	30										
MANIPUR	30										
PONDICHERRY	30										
TRIPURA	30	27			1	2					
T O T A L :	3,517	1,672	256	267	121	127	106	175	24	273	393

RESULTS OF LOK SABHA ELECTIONS - 1962 and 1967

Party	1962	1967
Congress	361	282
CPI/R	---	24
CPI/L	29	19
Swatantra	22	44
Jan Sangh	14	35
Praja Socialists (PSP)	12	13
Semyukta Socialists (SSP)	6	23
Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)	7	25
Independents & Other Parties	43	52
Undecided	---	8
Totals	494	521

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[NEW TIMES-Moscow-No. 10. March 8, 1967]

INDIA held her fourth general election on February 15-21. Eight national and eleven regional parties competed for the 521 seats in the Lok Sabha (House of the People) and the 3,563 seats in the Legislative Assemblies of 16 states and 8 territories. There were no elections in Nagaland state and in two Union Territories.

The final results are not yet known at this writing, but the general picture is clear enough. The Indian National Congress party has again won a majority and will form the new government. But it is a greatly reduced majority: it has 278 seats in the new Lok Sabha, compared with 361 in the last one.

Its losses were still greater in the state elections. It was defeated in Kerala, Madras, West Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar, where the new governments will be formed by opposition parties. In three other states, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan, it might be able to form a government in co-operation with other parties and independents.

This is the worst defeat the Congress has suffered in the twenty years since independence. And not only because it lost so many seats, but also because some of its prominent leaders were unseated. The list includes the party's President, Mr. Kamaraj, the Chief Ministers of Punjab, Bihar, Madras and West Bengal, and ten Ministers of the central government. Among the latter are Choudhuri (Finance), Subramaniam (Food and Agriculture), S. K. Patil (Railways), Manubhai Shah (Commerce). More than 50 Congressmen who held ministerial posts in the various states were defeated too. All the defeated Ministers have tendered their resignations.

A map of India will be found on the back cover of this issue.

## The Indian Elections

N. PASTUKHOV

The Lok Sabha is meeting in Delhi on March 13 to approve the budget after which it will be dissolved and Mrs. Gandhi's government will resign. The National Congress Parliamentary Party is meeting on March 12 to elect a leader, who will form the new government. A new President of the Republic is also to be elected.

These elections were a serious test for all parties. India has had to contend with many difficulties in recent years. There were border clashes, which weighed heavily on the national finances and increased political tension. The reactionary forces have been more active, and ever since the death of Nehru in 1964 there has been more confusion within the Congress. Still another factor is the sharpening division in the democratic mass movement.

Living standards, never high, have been further depressed by rising prices and taxes. The position has been aggravated by chronic food shortages, and actual famine in some areas. As a result, the economic position has deteriorated sharply; India's external debt now stands at about 50,000 million rupees.

The election returns show how the people reacted to this and to the policy of the government party.

I witnessed the three previous parliamentary elections and, frankly speaking, I did not expect the National Congress to lose so much of its prestige and authority, built up particularly in the struggle for independence.

However, the election figures are contradictory. Some prominent Right-wing Congressmen, among them S. K. Patil and Atulya Ghosh, were defeated, but so were prominent Left-wingers, Krishna Menon (who withdrew from the Congress shortly before the elections) and K. D. Malaviya. True, the Indian press emphasizes that the Rightists made a special effort to prevent their re-election.

The results show a marked accretion of strength for Rightist parties both in the Lok Sabha and in several states. The Swatantra, which speaks for Big Business and the big landowners, increased its Lok Sabha representation from 18 to 43, and the chauvinist Jan Sangh from 14 to 35. They will probably try to form anti-Congress governments in Orissa and Bihar in alliance with other reactionary groups. The Congress sustained a heavy defeat also in Madras, where Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, a South-Indian nationalistic party, will apparently form a one-party government.

The Rightists adroitly exploited the widespread discontent over economic difficulties, religious and communal prejudices, linguistic, territorial and other issues, and in some areas also separatist trends. The Right-wing parties were financed by Indian and foreign capital and supported by some U.S. agencies. The Bombay weekly *Blitz* says these agencies used part of the rupee revenue from the supply of PL 480 American wheat to finance obliging candidates. The *Indian Express*

Washington correspondent says the U.S. wanted to see Swatantra strong enough to be reckoned with.

It would be wrong, nevertheless, to believe that these were the only factors which enabled the Rightists to strengthen their position in the Lok Sabha and the state assemblies. There were other factors, first of all the failure of the Congress government to carry out its programme of raising living standards, effectively checking the growth of prices, taxes and unemployment and solving India's formidable food problem.

The contradictory results of the elections can be seen also in the fact that many leading reactionary candidates suffered defeat. Mention might be made of Swatantra President, N. G. Ranga, and one of the more rabid anti-Communists, Acharja Kripalani, who stood as an "independent."

The Left democratic forces made certain progress. The Communists increased their Lok Sabha representation from 29 to 40 (the Communist Party 21 seats, and the parallel Communist Party 19). The United Socialist Party, founded in 1964, won 23 seats. The United Left Front, which included the CPI and the parallel Party, won a spectacular victory in Kerala, gaining 116 out of the 133 seats in the Legislative Assembly. In West Bengal the contest was won by the United Left Front, the People's United Left Front and the Po-

pular Socialist Party which after the elections agreed to form a coalition government.

There is every evidence that the Left could have gained much more were it not for differences and division in its ranks, including the Communist movement. It will be recalled that three years ago, in 1964, the Communist Party split and a parallel party was formed. With the exception of Kerala, it refused to join with the Communist Party in a united Left bloc. More, in some constituencies (West Bengal, for instance) it fought the Communist candidates. The Indian press says that this disoriented democratic-minded voters, worsened the position of Left candidates and played into the hands of reaction. Wherever the Left forces united, they scored impressive victories.

The new Congress government will evidently have to reckon with the lessons of the elections in shaping its policy. The election setbacks, the *Hindustan Times* says, do not mean that the Congress has entirely lost the confidence of the people, but they are sure to shake up the party.

That is true, for though the Congress still commands a majority in the Lok Sabha, the election results have in many ways created a new political situation in India.



NEWSWEEK

March 13, 1967

## After the Fall—Who Will Lead?

Though the echoes of its election crash were still reverberating from Madras to Uttar Pradesh, the time came last week for India's once-proud Congress Party to gather up the fragments. Painfully, it began pulling itself together for what may well be the bitterest task that can befall a badly battered political party: continuing to govern the populace that has rebuffed it.

The trouble was that India's voters, though clearly seized with a massive urge to "throw the rascals out," had not been able to agree at all on whom to put in the rascals' place. In Kerala, the electorate turned to the Communists. But in neighboring Madras, a group of Tamil regionalists called the Dravidian Progressive Federation (D.M.K.) carried the day. And in Orissa, the nod went to a coalition of maharajas centered around the conservative Swatantra Party. And so, for want of any real nationwide alternative, Congress crept back into power in Parliament, chastened but still top dog.

Its majority in the Lok Sabha (the lower house of Parliament), once a towering 221, was lopped down to a mere 35. But another statistic was far more telling: while Congress was reduced to 278 seats, the second largest party, Swatantra, boasted a mere 44. Indeed, India's Parliament, except for the Congress Party, is still a tangle of factions. The Communists come in two flavors—pro-Moscow and pro-Peking. There are two types of socialists, called Praja and Samyukta. There are two splinters of the right wing: the business-oriented Swatantra and the populist, fervently Hindu Jan Sangh. And there seemed little chance that on the national level all these factions could cooperate—except on negative propositions.

**Strange Embraces:** In the state governments, however, things were different. In the balloting in sixteen of India's states, Congress lost its majority in no fewer than eight legislatures. And in these states, wherever a single anti-Congress party did not win outright control, elaborate coalitions were hatched to keep Congress out at almost any cost. This produced some strange and seemingly unholy alliances; in Rajasthan, the Communists joined hands with Jan Sangh and Swatantra while in Uttar Pradesh, Jan Sangh teamed up with the Samyukta socialists. Startling as some of these embraces were, however, they

suggested a moderation of factional extremism which boded well for the future of a genuine democratic opposition in India. Jan Sangh spokesmen turned their attention from the controversial slaughter of cows toward the critical housing shortage, and the pro-Peking Communists, noted one American observer, "seem pathetically eager to get rid of their pro-Chinese tag."

For the moment, though, all this was of less interest than the question which obsesses New Delhi: could Indira Gandhi hold on to her job? As Prime Minister during a year marked by food shortages and repeated outbreaks of mass violence, Mrs. Gandhi's record has been no better than indifferent, and such a pilot would normally be dropped after steering her party onto such a damaging electoral reef. But it will not be easy to displace her from the helm. While other Congress leaders—including some of her main detractors such as party president Kumaramswami Kamaraj—were routed at the polls, Indira Gandhi scored a resounding victory in her home constituency.

**Cassandra:** Mrs. Gandhi's potential rivals for the Prime Ministership, moreover, have handicaps of their own. Former Finance Minister Morarji Desai, a tough 71-year-old ascetic who twice before has sought the top job in vain, has never concealed his contempt for Mrs. Gandhi's administration. "Present leadership has failed," he told NEWSWEEK last week. "If it continues along the present lines, it will be a disaster both to the party and the country." But his self-appointed role as Congress's Cassandra since 1963 and his distinct lack of humility have never endeared Desai to the party.

Perhaps the best man for the job would be the strong and skillful Home Minister, Y.B. Chavan, whom Nehru brought into the Cabinet in 1963 when V.K. Krishna Menon was forced out during the Chinese border debacle. But at 53—which is young by Congress Party standards—Chavan is generally conceded to be Mrs. Gandhi's logical successor whenever she departs, and he is sufficiently astute not to jeopardize that status by overeagerness. "I shall support Indira Gandhi," he has announced repeatedly in recent weeks. By the same token, Mrs. Gandhi would probably throw her support to him if that appeared the only way to head off a victory for Desai.

**Just a Reprieve:** Most likely, however, when the Congress Party's parliamentary representatives meet this weekend to decide upon their leadership, Mrs. Gandhi will again be chosen. But this will be a reprieve rather than a final verdict. For the first time since she became Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi stands alone: most of the old Congress kingmakers are gone, and many of her younger advisers were also swept away in the electoral debacle. Urgent decisions have been long postponed, and now, many Indian pundits believe, Mrs. Gandhi must either prove her capacity for leadership or else face the prospect of being ousted from office within a year.

### End of an Epoch

*Inevitably, the dramatic changes in India's political spectrum have inspired considerable gloomy punditry. There has been talk of looming political stalemate in the world's largest democracy and even the nervous suggestion that India's central government may have been dangerously weakened in its authority. But from New Delhi last week, NEWSWEEK correspondent Edward Behr, who served with the British Army in India in World War II and has revisited the country nearly every year since, filed the following rather different interpretation of the setback suffered by the Congress Party:*

Jawaharlal Nehru died in May 1964, but was buried politically only last week when the Congress Party he had organized and led suffered shattering losses in India's fourth general election. Congress's disaster was a triumph for neither right nor left; it was quite simply, a nationwide rejection of the monolithic party that has held power since India became independent twenty years ago.

By rights, the defeat should have come years earlier. But this is a land of political life after death: leaders are revered long after they have fallen and their policies are preserved as a token of pious respect. Even here, however, memories pale as generations pass. The rout of the Congress Party had many causes, but not the least of them was that almost half of India's 250 million voters were babes in arms when Gandhi was killed in 1947. "The Congress image, with its constant references to the struggles of long ago, its emphasis on home-

spun clothes, its pious blend of quietism and socialism, just isn't relevant to India any more," reflected one distinguished Indian political observer last week.

Indira Gandhi, elected to the Prime Ministership last year largely because she is Nehru's daughter and strikingly resembles him, has had more than her share of bad luck, including two disastrous crop failures within a year. Put the Congress leadership, as a whole, richly deserved its fate. Long before Nehru's death, Congress had begun a steady downward slide. "Somewhere along the line," admits one prominent party official, "we lost our idealism, our purity and our sense of dedication."

**'All Thieves':** In recent years, the rule of the Congress Party has come to be derided as "government of the politician, by the politician, for the politician." At its best, the effectiveness of Congress leaders was that of manipulators rather than statesmen. With some notable exceptions, the party's bosses—especially in the state governments—became tarnished with corruption. "If you can point to one single honest minister in this state," challenged the Rani of Gwalior in her election campaign, "I'll take back everything I have said." And always the crowd roared back "*Sabh chor hain!*" ("They're all thieves!")

Before this election, many Congress politicians treated their constituents as little more than automatic voting devices. Party treasurer Atulva Ghosh (who, significantly, was defeated this time) used to visit his Bengal district once every five years—to register as a candidate. While food shortages became increasingly grave and prices increasingly inflated, Congress politicians bickered endlessly over which state should have the next steel mill.

Finally last month, India's electorate showed that it had had enough. And though 75 per cent of Indian voters are still illiterate, they displayed surprising sophistication at the polls. Their thrashing of the Congress Party was administered on a remarkably selective basis; by and large, they selected for political oblivion the candidates most worthy of it. "What happened in India," marveled one Latin American diplomat, "is an example to Latin America and to the world. It is proof that democracy can exist in a poor and developing nation."

Salutary as it may be in the long run, the toppling of Congress creates a host of new problems for India. Up to now, for example, any disputes between the states and central government were settled by Congress Party bosses, because Congress ruled both (except for the Communists' brief domination of Kerala). Now, with opposition parties in a dominant or blocking position in several state capitals, the relations between New Delhi and the states will become quite different politically. "For the first time," one constitutional expert says, "federal democracy in India will be put to the test."

There are those who worry that these strains may lead to secession by some states. But the election has infused India with a new vitality, and almost all citizens of influence—the aristocrats, the industrialists, the leaders of the armed forces, the responsible public servants—consider a split unthinkable. Even the avowedly separatist D.M.K. movement, which unexpectedly captured the Madras state government, shelved its secessionist plank as soon as it saw the prospect of exercising power.

**Crucial Choice:** One important force for unity will, most likely, be the Presi-

dency. India's constitution grants the President considerable powers, particularly in adjudicating differences between the federal government and states. These powers have rarely been used so far, but now that Congress has fallen from omnipotence, the President's role will assume a completely new dimension, and the choice of the new President next May will be as crucial as the recent election. The present incumbent, philosopher Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, who, at 78, is ailing and almost blind, will step down. His successor will almost certainly be a forceful independent figure—not, as was once feared, an old Congress war-horse put out to pasture.

All things considered, the election results offer considerable cause for optimism about India's future. The parties that have wrested state control away from Congress are committed to giving the country a taste of "good government," and, for the most part, they have already abandoned their more extremist rallying cries. And Congress itself is under clear notice from the voters to mend its ways or suffer a more catastrophic reverse next time.

Paradoxically, the setback may actually strengthen Indira Gandhi's hand. If she remains in office, she may well be able to press urgent and unpopular measures through Parliament more easily than before, since she need no longer bow to the whims of the discredited party pandrums who put political and personal interests above the national welfare. And if she is replaced, her two likeliest successors—Morarji Desai and Y.B. Chavan—are both forceful men eager to prove that though Congress has lost one battle, it is quite capable of regrouping for the next one.

# India on the eve of elections

S. A. DANGE [Chairman, Communist Party of India]

CPYRGHT

INDIA'S RULING CLASS politicians are very fond of telling the world that India is the largest democracy in the world. They will not agree to qualify it and say that it is the largest bourgeois democracy.

And due to realism or perhaps scorn, they will also not call it socialist democracy, despite the fact that for the last fifteen years they have been claiming to build "socialism" in India.

No, it is just democracy—and the largest one. They advertise this particularly when in America.

India touched the figure of 500 million population last year.

Thus, it is the second largest population in the world, China's being the first.

The most outstanding fact that makes it a democracy is that India is governed by a Parliament, which is elected every five years on the basis of adult franchise. Since independence came in 1947 and the Constitution of the Republic of the Indian Union was adopted on January 26, 1950 we have had three general elections—first, in 1952, second in 1957 and third in 1962. And the fourth is coming in February 1967.

We are a democracy in this sense. Moreover, the Constitution guarantees to every citizen not only to vote and elect a Parliament and Government. It also guarantees certain fundamental democratic rights and lays down directive principles to guide state policy. The rights and principles by themselves are no doubt good, if properly implemented. For example, it was because these rights came to be established in 1950 that the Communist Party, trade union and other organizations which had been declared illegal and suppressed in 1948 were legalized and thousands of our people were released from prison.

But within the framework of this very Constitution and the Fundamental Rights, a new law called the Preventive Detention Act was passed in 1952 under which once again many political workers continued to be imprisoned.

And since 1962 and the India-China conflict, the country has been under a state of Emergency, by which, though the Parliament sits and deliberates as before, all the Fundamental Rights, which were claimed to be the basic ingredients of this largest democracy, have been suspended, without any remedy before the Supreme Court of the land.

In view of this state of Emergency and the Defense of India Rules, the necessity for which vanished long ago, thousands have been sent to jail for the mere expression of political opinions or for conducting strikes or other struggles for the defense of people's rights and living.

In short, we have a Parliament and we have elections to the Parliament despite the state of Emergency. You may say that elections are free, as far as they can be in a bourgeois democracy, where the power of the purse, the press and the policy is in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie and its landlord allies. You may form any political party and nominate candidates. And if your candidate gets the highest vote as against his other rivals, he is declared elected. The vote is cast by the name of each candidate and his symbol which is given to him for identification by illiterate voters. The vote is not for the Party as is the case in some countries. Nor is there proportional representation in the voting system.

Out of a population of 500 million people, 240 million are registered voters in this year. In the 1962 elections they numbered 216 million. Thus one can see that the number of registered voters in India is fifty million more than the total population of America, and ten million more than the population of the USSR. The vastness of this number itself would show how difficult it is for a party not in power and without the vast resources of the bourgeoisie to mobilize the people for the vote.

We have direct elections to the Parliament of the whole country. But the country is divided into 17 States roughly on linguistic and historical basis. Then there are 9 territorial areas under the Union Government.

The 17 State Assemblies also are elected on the same day by the same voter in the same booth but with a separate ballot box. The following table shows the number of voters, seats and booths in the coming elections.

	1967	1962
Registered voters (million)	240	216
Parliament—seats	521	497
State Assemblies—seats	3,563	3,405
Polling Stations—Number	270,000	250,000

Each booth serves 1,000 voters and it would require at least five cadres for a party to man one booth. Thus if a party were to contest all

the seats, it would have to put into the field on the polling day at least one million organizers, which is beyond the capacity of any democratic opposition party in the present conditions.

In the existing Parliament (as of January 20, 1965) there are 504 members. The ruling Congress Party holds 365 seats and all the opposition parties and individuals make up the remaining 133 (in which three were vacant). The ruling party has an overwhelming majority over all the opposition parties together.

In this opposition total, the Communist Party of India (before the split) held 30 seats out of 133. Even then we were given the first role in the opposition as no other single party by itself had as many seats as ours.

After the split in the Party, we retained 18 members of Parliament, and they numbered 12. The three other parties of importance are the Sangukta Socialist Party with 16 Members of Parliament, Jan Sangh with 13 members and the Swatantra Party with 16.

There are 13 other parties with about 30 MPs but since they did not get five per cent of the votes cast, they are not acknowledged as all-India parties for the purpose of listing in the Parliament. Such parties worth noting are, for example, the Republican Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Moslem League, the Hindu Mahasabha. Some parties like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) are limited to certain states and areas only, though they have a sizable following. The next election battles are going to be fought around the platforms of these parties and their fronts or combinations, on an all-India and local scales.

The Congress Party remains the most formidable force in power. It is being opposed mainly by two forces—one representing the progressive democratic masses of the toiling people drawn from the working-class, the peasantry, the middle classes, as also from sections of the national bourgeoisie opposed to monopoly capital, and the other representing Right reaction. There are intermediary groups who hover between the two on the basis of group interests and not purely on programs and policies.

The elections this time will show some new features and new combinations and upsets in almost all parties, including the ruling Congress Party and the opposition parties of the democratic Left and the reactionary Right.

## II.

The Indian electoral system is based on the majority vote and not on proportional representation. The majority-vote system has had the peculiar result that the Congress Party in India has been in power without

ever getting the majority of the votes of the total poll in all the three elections. Of the total votes cast in the three elections, the Congress Party got

45.02 per cent votes in 1951-52  
47.78 per cent votes in 1957  
45.06 per cent votes in 1962.

And yet with such a minority of the popular vote, the Congress Party secured the overwhelming majority of the seats, both in the Parliament and in the States. Only once in Kerala, the Congress Party was defeated by the Communist Party which got three more seats than all the other parties combined and formed the first Communist Ministry in India, which remained in power for two years and four months. But that result was an unexpected one for all, and was not repeated in the next two elections in Kerala.

The major reason why the Congress Party wins the majority of seats on a minority of votes is that the block of the majority votes is divided between several parties, who not only oppose the Congress Party but oppose each other also. In the 1962 elections, for example, on the basis of 45.06 per cent of the popular vote for the Parliament, the Congress Party obtained 73.2 per cent of the seats.

With the growing discontent of the masses against the policies of the Congress Party and the consequent mass struggles, fought with heavy sacrifice in the last two years and particularly in this year since the crisis of devaluation, a large number of political parties of the democratic opposition have come to recognize the need for a left democratic front to oppose the Congress Party in day-to-day struggles as well as in elections.

Not that such proposals were not there in 1952, 1957 or 1962. Our Party has all along proposed to all the parties of the democratic left opposition that unless they united on the basis of a minimum program aimed against the capitalist-landlord policies of the Government, the country will not attain complete economic independence, the masses will not reap the benefit of the growing wealth of the nation and the nation as a whole will be subject to neo-colonialist pressures despite the general line of non-alignment followed by the ruling party. But many of the parties of the left democratic opposition, adopting the postures of "anti-communism," well-known as the postures of the Right wing of the Social Democratic leadership in Europe, fought our Party more than the Congress or the parties of Right reaction. Some had the theory of "equi-distance" between communism and communalism. Some opposed the very idea of democratic or united front on the alleged ground of guarding the so-called "purity of their own principles and program." Some

would agree with us on joint strike struggles but keep the trade unions separate or dis-united. Some would have common action and common trade union work but would not have a common political front.

Some opposed us on the ground that we, as Communists, did not believe in parliamentary democracy though we agreed to participate in Parliamentary elections and in bringing about changes in the state power and national economy through parliamentary democratic methods as long as the bourgeoisie allowed us to do so. We declared this in the Constitution and platform of the Party especially in the Amritsar Party Congress of 1958. But neither the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, who suppressed the masses and us with all the violence at their command, nor the comrades and friends of the democratic left who were themselves victims of that violence and who with us shared common blows and common prisons, would agree to believe in our statements. The Congress Party as a whole took pains to foster this anti-communism, though some of its leaders may not have fully relished such a crusade.

Some of the left democratic parties accused us of not being "patriotic" and hence not trustworthy in the matter of defense of the country. Even when we took up the position of national defense against the Chinese invasion in 1962 and called it a "manifestation of their narrow nationalistic and chauvinist ambitions," some of these parties attacked us, taking advantage of the equivocal positions taken by some party leaders, who later on split the Party and formed a rival one. But now this question has been cleared up so far as our Party is concerned, removing one of the hurdles in the formation of a united democratic front.

The growing political and economic crisis leading to common struggles in which our Party stood shoulder to shoulder with the suffering masses and led them has helped to weaken the anti-Communist hysteria, for the time being at least. Our two big demonstrations before the Parliament in Delhi wherein we mobilized under our banner nearly a quarter of a million people from all over the country, once on the 13th of September, 1963, and again on the 1st of September, 1966, facilitated preparing the ground for the formation of joint fronts or electoral adjustments among the left democratic forces, as also in bringing about more united common mass actions in the trade union and other fields.

One of the peculiarities of the Indian situation is that while the masses are greatly attracted by socialism, due to the successes of the socialist camp in eradicating poverty, unemployment and backwardness and espousing the cause of world revolution and national liberation, none of the parties in India that swear by socialism has clearly defined what it means by socialism. When even the ruling

Congress Party, the Hindu Nationalist Party and some monopolists declare their goal as "socialism," it is no wonder that almost every party of the left democratic opposition declares socialism to be its goal also. But very few of them have ever defined socialism in terms of the working class or in terms of Marxism-Leninism.

In the left democratic opposition in India we have now two Communist Parties, namely, the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party (Marxist) as the other party calls itself for election purposes. In day-to-day propaganda, however, the other party uses our name to confuse the people. We have in India the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), the Revolutionary Communist Party of India (RCPI), the Bolshevik Party, the Forward Bloc (Marxist), the Samgukta Socialist Party (SSP), the Praja Socialist Party (PSP), the Peasants and Workers Party, the Lal Kishan Party, the Janata Parishad, and so on. Some of them function on a local state level. Some are of an all-India character. And all of them have socialism as their goal, some of them arguing it in terms of Marxism as they understand it.

The three parties of the left democratic opposition who today provide the main forces and the main initiative for forming the bloc of left democratic candidates to fight the Congress Party are—*one*, the Communist Party of India; *two*—the Communist Party (Marxist); and *three*, the Samgukta Socialist Party (SSP).

These three parties mainly rely on the revolutionary working class, on the town intelligentsia and on sections of the working peasantry. But unfortunately, all the three have no united platform or approach though some sort of minimum program has been agreed to by all.

The SSP, led by Dr. Lohia, S. M. Joshi, Madhu Limaye, George Fernandez and others, while allying with the parties of the Left, is also entering into alliance or understanding with such parties of the Right reaction as the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party. They say that the main need of the hour is removal of the Congress Party from power, no matter with whose help. A minimum program for the election should be a single-line program—*Defeat the Congress.*

What will you do and how will you run the country if you defeat it in conjunction with the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra is no question for them. Leave it to history, they say.

As for the Communist Party (Marxist), while their leadership in Kerala has arrived at a democratic front with us and the SSP, RSP and others, their leadership in West Bengal and other states, has decided to fight our Party as the main enemy and if in the process they help the Congress Party they have no scruples in doing so. In fact, they welcome it and facilitate it. They also try to

split the trade unions and other mass organizations.

They proceed from the reasoning that undiluted Right reaction in power at one end of the pole helps to broaden the base of the revolution and enables the masses at the other end to understand its need better. Hence the victory of utter reaction, whether from inside the Congress or outside, need not worry the democratic forces. Secondly, the elimination of all groups and parties except their own, which, they consider, is the only "truly revolutionary and pure Communist Party," bringing about a situation in which they and reaction alone will confront each other, is the only road to the success of the revolution. They consider our Party the main "revisionist" impediment in the revolution and hence it must be liquidated first. Hence unity with us on any question is ruled out.

In Kerala, however, the leadership of EMS Namboodiripad, while serving the largest number of seats for itself, has agreed to be in a united front with us along with others, because the greatest possibility of defeating the Congress and forming a Government of the democratic coalition exists there and in the coalition the Communist Party (Marxist) there will have a majority. The whole problem of Kerala has its own peculiarities and exceptions. And hence the CPM there has chosen its own line, despite their general agreement with the main approach of their Party Center in West Bengal.

The traditional stronghold of Communist vote in all the three previous elections has been the states of Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal. Hence the split in the Party has affected these three states most and has thereby strengthened the Congress Party in those very states where it faced the challenge from the left democratic forces most.

Due to certain historical reasons, when the Party suffered a split in 1964, the majority of the cadres in Kerala and West Bengal went with the rival party. Hence they retained the opposition leadership in the states in their hands, which they now want to use to destroy our Party. But in Kerala, as already stated, some realism has helped to establish a united front, though it has been otherwise in other states.

Our Party has all along refused to put up rival candidates against the CPM, in the interests of defeating the Congress and building a united front.

But the CPM leadership is putting up its candidates in all the major areas in the whole country against our Party and refuses to come to an overall understanding to defeat the Congress. Wipe out the Communist Party of India wherever possible, even at the cost of letting the reactionaries win—is their slogan. Hence in Bengal, even in their strongholds, they refused to put up candidates against the most reactionary Congress leaders and Minis-

ters, while they are fighting our main and major leaders, including sitting members of Parliament and Assemblies.

And by this splitting tactic, they are working up a position to do a lot of harm to our Party candidates.

In this, the CPM people are also helped by certain leading Congressmen of the Rightist variety and many Rightist groups in the country and some ultra-left elements. One reason for this is that the Right reactionaries inside and outside the Congress consider our Party as a serious danger to their power, because of our strength in the working class and because of our sober and realistic approach to the problems of the country and the need for the Democratic Front. Hence they consider us a greater potential menace. And the other reason is that our Party is not prepared to enter into opportunist compromises for a temporary gain which ultimately may land us in the camp of counter-revolution or facilitate its advance.

The discontent against the Congress regime is being utilized by parties of the Right and also by such agencies as the American CIA, whose agents are very active in India these days. The crisis of the capitalist system, the system that the Congress Party has been building in the country, has inevitably affected its own organization also. The Congress Party as the political party of the national bourgeoisie is now undergoing splits in its own leadership. The various sections and factions of the bourgeois-landlord classes, in their wolfish cut-throat competition to seize the resources and the wealth of the country and to exploit the labor of the working people, are trying to seize the Governmental machine for their own factional and sectional interests, without bothering about the interests of their class as a whole inside the country or the menace of the imperialists and their neo-colonial maneuvers from outside. Except for the dissident Congress in West Bengal, the splitting sections are generally on the extreme Right and are backed by Rightists in the Congress. These forces are making alliances with the Jan Sangh and Swatantra parties. Together, they hope to capture the State legislature in the three states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujerat.

The economic and political crisis of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system in India is being used by the feudal princes who, though deprived of their State power, continued to retain their economic assets in land and capital and certain of their personal privileges and pensions. This helped them also to retain their hold over the people in the areas where they once had their princely states.

Another peculiarity of the situation is that well-known monopoly houses who formerly were content with financing the Congress

Party and wielding influence from behind, have now split among themselves and some of them are standing for election against the Congress, which also has its own monopolists and princes in its fold and on its list of candidates.

The forces of extreme reaction have forced a split on the ruling Congress Party, in order to make it come out wholly on their side and give up whatever of non-alignment or anti-colonialism and independent development is left in its policies. The forces of the Right are consolidating at a faster pace than before.

At such a time, the democratic opposition should have united faster and better. But they have not done so. That is the most serious lag in the situation which, if not overcome, may lead to a situation detrimental to the independence of the country and the well-being of the people. Some say that if this is the situation, would it not be wise for the left democratic parties to unite with those elements in the Congress who are definitely opposed to Right reaction who favor the monopolies and the neo-colonialists? Such an alliance with the Congress organization and leadership, as it is, would be quite out of place, as was decided by the Vijayawada Congress of our Party. There are hardly any crystallized Left forces in the leadership of the Congress, whether at top or lower levels. The Rightists in it have become powerful. But what remains of the centrist or "left" in its leadership is in confusion. This was very vividly seen when Krishna Menon, ex-Defense Minister and close friend of Nehru, was thrown out of his constituency by the Rightist pro-American group of S. K. Patil and others and had to resign from the Congress. The Left Democratic Opposition Parties have declared their support for Mr. Krishna Menon. They have also made an electoral front with that section of the Congress which split away from the Rightist group in West Bengal and formed the Bangla Congress.

A general alliance with the Congress Party by the Left Democratic Opposition with the idea of saving it from the Rightist reaction would simply repel the masses and strengthen the hand of the reactionaries whom we wish to fight. The left Democratic Opposition forces must try to fight and defeat the Congress Party and in that process help the progressive elements therein to expel the reactionaries or form a new organization.

### III.

How is it that the Congress Party, which headed the anti-imperialist liberation movement and which ruled the country under the leadership of the late Jawaharlal Nehru, faces the prospect of being defeated in three states by the forces of reaction, while elsewhere it will be severely weakened, though it may

succeed in retaining its majority with depreciated strength in the Parliament and elsewhere? How is it that in two states the Left Democratic Alliance also may displace it from power?

It has happened because the Congress, as the party of the national bourgeoisie, after attaining state power, pursued the path of capitalist development, betrayed its promises to the people, failed to develop the economy even as a fully developed capitalist economy and has been succumbing gradually to the influence of U.S. imperialism, while retaining its economic links with the socialist camp and its verbal loyalty to phrases of socialism and democracy. The present crisis in the Congress Party and in the country is the inevitable accompaniment of the growth of monopoly capitalism. That is why even after attaining independence and taking power as the leading party of the anti-imperialist struggle, the Congress never secured a majority of the popular vote in the three countrywide general elections. Nor will it do so in this election.

Hence, the Election Manifesto of our Party describes the situation in the following words:

"All objective conditions for the overthrow of the hated Congress rule and for carrying forward the national democratic revolution to completion are now maturing as never before."

But the greatest lag in the situation is the absence of a unified organized revolutionary leadership having a hold on the masses and capable of leading, boldly and yet soberly, the unprecedented mass movements that are sweeping over the country. Our Manifesto says:

"The pre-election year of 1966 has witnessed the largest number of political strikes and bandhs. In defense of their wages, their rights and their living standards, the working people all over the country in their tens of millions have gone into massive political and economic actions. Middle class employees have been drawn into mass actions in ever greater numbers and in varied forms. One remarkable feature of the present-day mass upheaval is the country's student upsurge before which the barriers of so-called discipline have collapsed. The heroic student community has faced the fury of the Congress and the bullets of its police during the just struggle for much-needed but long-denied academic amenities so that the boys and girls can get proper education, secure gainful employment and grow up as worthy citizens of our republic.

"In rural India, the vast peasant masses, land-starved and stricken, are in a restless mood and in many places they too have moved

"People's rightful protests and movements are, however, met with wanton police firings and orgies of violence. Even the army is called out to put down legitimate popular protests. Leaders and workers of mass move-

ments are imprisoned in thousands and not even members of Parliament and state assemblies are spared persecution and humiliation at the hands of the police . . ."

What is the record of the Congress regime in the most vital matters of national life? As the Manifesto says:

"The record of Congress regime since the last general election five years ago has been one of dismal failures almost in every sphere of our national life. Our agriculture, especially food production, is stagnant, notwithstanding heavy financial outlays. Famine and near-famine conditions, largely the creation of man, stalk the land. Even at this moment, starvation deaths are taking place in Bihar and in UP and in other parts of the country and the government refuses even to declare them as famine areas. It is the greatest indictment that after 19 years of uninterrupted power, the Congress has failed to ensure even the minimum food requirements for the masses, who are either starving or live on the borderline of starvation.

"Under Congress rule the plunder of India's wealth by imperialist exploiters continues. Foreign private investments in our economy, which are a source of this loot, today amount to nearly Rs. 900 crores and every year tens of crores of rupees are siphoned off from this country by British and American monopolies. Add to this the huge foreign debts which the Congress government has incurred. India is the biggest debtor among the newly-free countries; its external debts, mostly to the USA, stand around Rs. 5,000 crores, involving annual repayment liabilities in principal and interest of over Rs. 100 crores . . .

"The Congress regime is unable to keep the industry running. Transport is in chaos and fatal accidents on the railways go on increasing.

"The rate of growth in our national income has fallen and the rate of increase in per capita income has declined still further. The rupee has drastically lost value due to runaway, sky-rocketing prices. People are groaning under crushing tax burdens. Rising prices, as well as taxes on the common man, are of course the inevitable result of Congress government policies to fatten the millionaires and feed the greedy bureaucratic state machine. Plunder of the toiling people goes side by side with colossal but unchecked administrative waste.

"The Congress regime is now a hotbed of corruption. The source of this rampant corruption and graft is the unholy link-up between the Congress Ministers and Congress leaders with the Birlas and other big business families as well as the corrupt top bureaucracy that thrives on bribery . . .

"The ruling Congress party is ridden with factions and power groups, each jockeying for position for self-aggrandizement. Their

aim is to utilize the huge funds that flow under the five-year plans to build themselves up, as well as their bourgeois-landlord circles, into thriving capricious millionaires. Every Ministry is disorganized and disrupted by internal rivalries, by graft and corruption. The leadership of the Congress Party and the government has lost its prestige and it has no moral stature at all. The awe and terror in which the state machine seeks to hold the people is gradually ceasing to frighten them. All these years the Congress rulers have been pampering the reactionary monopolies. They are now making prodigious concessions to American imperialists. This line of appeasement and surrender has been lately climaxed by the blackest national betrayal since independence—DEVALUATION . . .

"American imperialists are today out to exploit the hunger of our people in order to cripple and sabotage our economy in crucial sectors. They are out to destroy our independence and humiliate our country.

"In spite of India's friendly relations and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which are undoubtedly very beneficial to our nation, the Congress rulers restrict the scope of this cooperation under pressure of Indian and foreign monopolists and rely heavily on imperialist 'aid' even at the cost of national self-respect and paramount national interests."

In the recent period, particularly since the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the U.S. imperialists have been holding up supplies of machinery, raw materials and food, which they had promised so far. Instead of utilizing the crisis to carry out independent and self-reliant development and swift agrarian reforms, whose failures have been the cause of the food and raw material crisis, the Government of the Congress Party began to further vacillate in its postures of non-alignment. It has failed to condemn the American aggression in Vietnam and lend firm support to the Vietnamese people. It has failed to give recognition to the German Democratic Republic for fear of West German and U.S. displeasure.

Even then, during the food and industrial crisis, it appealed to the Soviet Union for aid, which was promptly given. The dispatch of 200,000 tons of grain as a free gift to the people of the drought-ridden areas came as a surprise and shock to the vilifiers of the Soviet Union, and within hours the Americans rushed to announce their "aid" which they had been so far holding back.

But being tied to the apron strings of monopoly capital, the Congress regime is unable to utilize all the goodwill that India draws from people all over the world to forge a democratic path of development, free from imperialist, monopolist and landlord influences. Hence the need to defeat the Congress Party in the coming elections.



IV.

**FOR SAVING THE NATION AND SERVING  
THE MASSES: PROGRAM OF IMMEDIATE  
MEASURES**

Life has shown that the Congress party cannot be trusted with power any more. In its hands, even the existing gains of our people's struggles are not safe. What the nation desperately needs is far-reaching, radical changes in our present economic and political structure.

With this objective in view, the Communist Party of India places before the people a positive program, implementation of which will save the country from the present crisis, stimulate production in industry and agriculture, ensure at least minimum needs of living, strengthen and extend democracy and avert the danger of India falling a helpless victim to American neo-colonialism.

**1. End foreign exploitation**

The Communist Party of India stands for the total elimination of foreign monopolies from our national economy in order to secure economic independence. All industrial concerns, financial and business enterprises owned by foreign monopolies—oil, tea plantations, jute mills, etc.—will be nationalized.

It demands an immediate ban on remittance of profits, dividends, royalties, etc., and repatriation of foreign capital and moratorium on all debt repayments.

The Communist Party of India stands at present for taking over by the state all export-import trade. Along with this, in order rapidly to reduce our dependence on the world imperialist market and to save the country from imperialist exploitation through non-equivalent exchange, progressive planned diversion of our foreign trade towards the socialist states and Afro-Asian countries is necessary. It is also necessary to see that all trade is conducted as far as possible on a rupee basis.

The Communist Party of India stands also for organizing and rapidly developing the movement for self-reliance and import substitution, enlisting the full cooperation of our scientists, technicians, intelligentsia and the trade unions, and for compulsory employment and utilization of Indian know-how by Indian industry.

**2. Curb monopolies**

Effective measures to curb the monopolists and to break up in particular the 75 monopoly houses exposed in the Monopolies Commission Report are necessary.

With that end in view, some sections of private industry and capital must be taken over by the state immediately.

Coal-mining, non-ferrous metals like copper and zinc, and electricity must also be in the hands of the state, as also the manufacture of cars and trucks since they are needed

not only for civilian use but also for the army.

The medium and small-scale industrialists will get all the help they need without waiting at the doors of the bureaucrats or losing the cream of their gains to the overriding monopolists.

Reasonable compensation will be paid on the merits of each case. The Communist Party wants to make it clear that it does not think that all industries and trade can or should be nationalized at the present stage of development.

**3. Nationalization of banks**

The entire financial capital, accumulated in the banks and now used according to the will of the millionaires for their private gain, must be brought under the most effective state control and planning. For this purpose, all banks must be nationalized.

**4. Close speculative markets and exchanges**

The speculative markets and exchanges, whether in shares, bullion or commodities, are the worst disturbers of the economy and will be eliminated.

**5. Resources for development**

Resources for national development must be raised through such means as nationalization of banks, earnings from nationalized foreign trade, state-trading, by mopping up the accumulated wealth of the monopolists and former princes, by stopping the payment of compensation to the big landlords and cancellation of privy purses by unearthing black money, by more efficient running of the state-owned industries, by drastically reducing wasteful top-heavy administrative expenditure and by further improving trade and other economic relations with the socialist countries.

**6. Tax relief for the people**

The Communist Party stands for overhauling the entire present tax-structure which fleeces the poor, hits and harasses the middle sections and allows the wealthy all avenues of escape and evasion. The Communist Party demands that land revenue should be abolished and replaced by a steeply graded tax on agricultural incomes, with exemption for all uneconomic holdings.

**7. Democratize and reorganize the public sector.**

The Communist Party of India stands for a comprehensive program of rapid industrial development in which the public sector must have the commanding positions and the capital-goods industries pride of place. The public sector must be democratized and the ICS and IAS officials, who carry with them their obsolete rules and often sabotaging practices, must be replaced by suitable technical personnel. Production and pricing policies will be radically changed, enlisting the cooperation of the trade unions so that the public sector becomes an effective weapon for curbing and fighting monopoly.

The Communist Party demands that the

state sector be rapidly expanded and become the dominant sector of our economy in all branches.

#### 8. Management and trade unions

A conference of all the trade unions, unit-wise and industry-wise, will discuss the problems of production and make concrete proposals and undertake fulfilment of tasks as democratically decided by them. The management will participate in these conferences and make suggestions.

Then the execution and fulfilment will be a joint responsibility, with the technical managerial head being the day-to-day authority in execution.

There is at present only supervision of the workers by the boss. There is no supervision of the boss by the workers. Unless the two are combined, the present chaos and sabotage cannot be overcome. This combination alone will stop corruption and root out the agents of the imperialists, the CIA and others who sabotage production, as transpired in the Ranchi Plant fires, or as is happening in the case of many railway accidents.

All trade union rights and laws must be scrupulously observed.

#### 9. Workers' conditions and rights

The working class will be assured the minimum need-based wage as agreed upon in the tripartite agreement and wages and working conditions will be decided on a national and industrial level by means of collective bargaining between unions and employers. The right to strike will be guaranteed and democratically exercised and the category of so-called illegal strikes abolished.

All unions will be asked to find ways and means of uniting in one organization, which will have full rights of recognition.

The state will introduce new legislation or improve existing laws, as the case may be, to ensure proper linking of dearness allowance with the cost-of-living index, rightful share of the workers in profit as bonus, unemployment insurance, improvement of social security schemes, including a gratuity scheme for retirement, etc.

All schemes of automation will be subject to the decisions of the workers' organizations who will be asked to show ways and means of reorganizing work and speeding it up without unemployment or increase in the work load, and ensuring human safety as in transport, aeronautics, atomic research, etc.

#### 10. Peasantry, agriculture and food production

Our country is in the grip of an acute and chronic food crisis. The first and foremost requirement to solve the problem of food production and raw materials is to enforce effective and far-reaching land reforms which would break up the present land concentration, give full security of ownership and tenure to actual cultivators, share-croppers or otherwise.

All surplus land secured by imposing a ceiling on holdings should be distributed among agricultural laborers and poor peasants. The burden of onerous rents and survivals of the feudal past will be done away with.

Along with the implementation of these agrarian reforms, the peasantry should be provided in an adequate measure with the wherewithal to improve and develop production on modern lines, by provision of cheap and adequate credit, machines and tractors, fertilizers, irrigation, fuel supply and fair price for the produce.

The present system of land taxation should be thoroughly overhauled in order to strengthen the capacity of the peasantry to invest more in land.

**Agricultural Laborers:** Agricultural laborers who form quite a large percentage of the rural population are economically the worst exploited sections of our society. The majority, belonging as they do to the scheduled castes are also subjected to social oppression by high castes in various walks of life. This section of society has to be given the maximum consideration by the government in all matters relating to their economic, social and cultural life. The agricultural laborers must be ensured decent living wages and proper conditions of life and work.

#### 11. Uneven development and the states

The demarcation of linguistic states, a principle accepted by the Congress long ago as a necessary corollary of democracy and wantonly violated by it at the behest of exploiting interests, is now more or less accomplished. Some areas of injustice and conflicts have still been kept to divide the people. All internal problems of border disputes must be solved by faithfully adhering to the triple principle of linguistic and cultural homogeneity, geographical contiguity and taking the village as the unit, not *tehsil* or *taluq* or district which were mostly created in the old days according to the convenience of the British.

Following the growth of monopoly capital and concentration of industry and capital in a few hands, in certain regions a demand for removal of regional disparities arising from the unevenness of capitalist development by a democratic and balanced plan of development has gathered momentum. This just demand for removal of disparities in location of new industries and investments is, however, used by the various sections of the bourgeoisie and the factions of the ruling party for their own aggrandizement. The Communist Party stands for effective measures to reduce and overcome regional disparities and help the industrially backward states and regions to forge ahead.

#### 12. Tribal problems

India has many tribal societies at different levels of growth. The capitalist-dominated economy and administration of the Congress Party has ruined their ancient organization

of the kind that the rest of the country has. Hence, there is general revolt among them, such as among the Nagas, the Mizos, the Gonds, etc., which again the government seeks to suppress with the use of armed force.

The Communist Party of India has always held that the key to the solution of the problem of the tribal peoples lies not in military suppression and police terror but in conferring upon them autonomous statehood wherever possible or regional autonomy, depending upon their size, area they live in, etc., which would open further their own avenues of employment, education, culture and democratic advancement in all fields.

#### 13. Languages

Abolition of English and the introduction of Hindi as the all-India official link language shall be done in a gradual manner, with the consent of non-Hindi speaking states; full encouragement and development of the regional mother-tongues will be ensured in the states for all purposes including education up to the university stage.

#### 14. Muslim and other minorities

Muslims, who constitute the second biggest community in India and occupy a distinctive place in our national life, shall be guaranteed full protection in regard to their specific cultural, social and religious rights. Every form of discrimination against the minorities, whether in recruitment to government services, in trade and commerce and administration or in the sphere of educational and cultural development must be ended.

Communalism in India is a serious danger to our democracy, freedom and progress and as such must be ruthlessly combated and conditions created to give both the majority and minority communities equal rights and opportunities to grow and flourish together as inseparable, integral parts of one Indian nation.

#### 15. Scheduled castes

Large sections of our people officially described as scheduled castes continue to suffer humiliation in all spheres of life, whether in services, trade, education, political status or social and personal equality. Of course, laws have been passed against untouchability and all Congress leaders speak against it. But in actual life it still exists, though not in the old virulent form. In the factories and towns it is less so, but it survives quite strongly in the villages.

Millions of person belonging to the so-called scheduled castes embraced Buddhism. In many places, they have given up claiming special privileges as scheduled castes. All this however should not mean that the state should not give them special help to overcome their backward conditions of living, work and education, and due place in services.

#### 16. Castelism and class unity

The Communist Party of India believes that a strong ideological campaign and edu-

cation attacking and eradicating the very roots of casteist thinking in all layers of the society and especially the working class is the prime duty of all progressive and socialist forces. Remnants of caste are a hindrance to the solidarity of the working class as the standard bearer of the future society of democracy, equality and socialism.

#### 17. Clean up the state machine

In order to ensure rapid and faithful implementation of urgently-needed democratic reforms, the first step will be to clean up and overhaul the state administration.

With this end in view, the parliamentary system will be strengthened in form and substance by bringing it increasingly close to the democratic urges and aspirations of the masses and extending democracy in all spheres of the state.

The useless, wasteful and parasitic institution of the Governor, as also the paraphernalia of the upper chamber, will be abolished.

Proportional representation shall be introduced in all elections so that public opinion is duly reflected in the elected bodies and the monopoly of power for any single party based on minority of votes is ended once and for all. All the legislators shall be subject to recall to ensure their accountability to the electors and assert the latter's supremacy over those whom they may elect.

All the old British-trained ICS officers who are still in service will be forthwith retired and pensioned off.

However, those who have shown a patriotic and democratic approach in their work will be given useful employment in order to utilize their abilities.

A top-heavy highly-paid government apparatus will be drastically pruned without causing unemployment and salaries scaled down to around Rs. 1,000.

Police administration will be reformed and handed over to the local elected organs of the people.

Long-term political prisoners languishing behind prison bars for many years shall be immediately released, unexecuted warrants and pending cases shall be annulled and political vendetta against those valiant leaders of the people shall be ended.

#### 18. Education

The educational system even after 19 years of Congress rule has not yet been radically changed to meet the needs of a developing India. The burden of fees and price of textbooks has become unbearable for the ordinary student, and not all who are lucky enough to get through their higher education find a living or a job.

When the student rebels against this the ruling party tries to silence him with police repressions. It even proposes to invest the heads of educational institutions with police powers. The sanctity of educational institutions and the dignity of teachers and students are violated.

The Communist Party of India therefore stands for:

—Free and compulsory education up to secondary stage for all boys and girls and total reorganization of the entire education system to suit the needs of a modern industrial India and reduce cost of education, with provision for adequate salaries for the teaching staff, provision for industrial training for workers, ensuring the democratic rights of students and freedom of the academic bodies from police interference.

#### 19. Women

In order to liberate women who are doubly oppressed—by the rule of capital and by evils inherited from feudalism such as disabilities and unequal treatment on the basis of sex—it is necessary to take all measures to ensure them equal rights in every sphere of our national life including inheritance of property; maternity benefits, creches and other amenities; equal pay for equal work; special facilities in education, including higher and technical education.

#### 20. Protection of cattle

Under Article 48 of the Constitution of India (directive principles) the state is required to take steps "for preserving and improving the breeds and prohibiting the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle" for the promotion of "agriculture and animal husbandry," which the Party supports.

At the same time, the Communist Party cannot support the demand for a total ban without discrimination throughout the country on slaughter of cattle as this demand is unscientific, harmful and against the interests of the poor peasant himself.

The present agitation for a ban on cow-slaughter is conducted in a manner which is repugnant to the concept of India as a secular and multi-religious state. This agitation creates an atmosphere of hysteria and intolerance, harms the unity of the democratic masses, and goes against the social habits of minority communities like Muslims, Christians and other sections. Further, this agitation in its present form is utilized by imperialist and reactionary forces to divert the people's anti-Congress wrath into wrong and disruptive channels. The Communist Party warns the people against falling victim to this conspiracy.

#### 21. The armed forces

The armed forces of our country, both the ranks and the officer-cadre, are drawn from all the states and in a way represent the federal unity of India. In the recent conflict they have shown patriotism, skill and heroism.

But still retained in the defense forces are many of the inhibitions, nuances and anti-democratic and obsolete practices of the old imperial army. India has yet to build her armed forces with a national-democratic ideology, imbued with pride in our great na-

tion and equipped with Indian-made weaponry. Our top officers and cadres still carry the imprint of the British Sandhurst imperial army training.

Our soldier-jawan must be allowed to become a citizen and defender, democrat and army-man, combined in one, in ideology, outlook and culture. More sons of the working class, peasantry and middle class must be promoted to ranks of officer and command corps. Such an army alone can be a mighty bulwark of peace and democracy and national independence.

#### 22. Defense, taxes and profits

Our party supports the strengthening of the defense of our country. At the same time, it is opposed to levying unconscionable taxes on the toiling people in the name of defense. Defense expenditure has become the source of high profits for many and the utility value of every rupee spent on so-called defense is far less than it ought to be, because in the capitalist system the life of the jawan and the defense of the country are also made into a source of private profit and graft, which ultimately spells danger to the whole nation.

#### 23. Foreign policy

The Congress Government generally pursues a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism which should serve to strengthen independence and give her international prestige.

But it is accompanied by vacillations and compromises under the pressure of Anglo-American blackmail. In recent times, it has made a series of concessions which weaken and undermine these policies and in particular emasculate their anti-imperialist content.

The new escalation of aggressive activities by imperialism, particularly by U.S. imperialism, demands that our non-alignment policy be strengthened and firmly based on active and consistent anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism particularly in regard to the following questions:

—full support to the heroic struggle of the Vietnam people against U.S. aggression, effective action together with other non-aligned powers to halt the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, complete withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam and recognition of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front as the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people;

—granting diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic which is a factor for peace and against West German re-vanchism;

—safeguard the Tashkent spirit, work for the further realization of normal relations between India and Pakistan;

—despite the continued hostile attitude of China, it is in the interest of the Indian people and the country as a whole to explore all

avenues for a peaceful settlement with China either directly or through the good offices of friendly neutral powers and propose a no-war pact to China.

—India should quit the British Commonwealth.

#### 24. Parliament

The Congress Party is trying to rule more and more by the use of force, bypassing even the well-established ways of parliamentary institutions and the constitutional rights of the people. The Congress Government has been rightly accused by eminent jurists of "tending to become a constitutional dictatorship." The Communist Party will fight such subversion of India's nascent parliamentary system. It will try to make parliamentary democracy a genuine instrument of national democracy, reflecting the will and interests of the masses and all other anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic forces.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA APPEALS

In recent years, as in the past, the Communist Party of India has been in the forefront of all struggles to uphold the independence, honor and integrity of our nation. Our Party has been second to none in organizing heroic economic and political mass actions of the working people throughout the country for the defense of their vital rights and interests, against plunder and oppression by the ruling classes. In this our party has never faltered or spared any sacrifice. Members of our party have faced police bullets and suffered imprisonment in their hundreds all over the country. Our party's record has been one of unflagging devotion to our great cause and of ungrudging suffering for the good of our people. It is this credential of humble but fearless service that gives us the title to claim the support of our people in the coming election.

To build a new India of the dreams of our martyrs and of the living generations and to fulfil the challenging task of the new era in the service of the toiling millions of our country, of its independence, its democracy, its economic rejuvenation and its all-round prosperity, its cultural, scientific and spiritual values, resting on world peace, freedom, democracy and socialism, the Party appeals to the people of India that the candidates of the CPI and its allies be elected everywhere.

ASIAN ANALYST

March 1967

## INDIA'S ELECTIONS IN RETROSPECT

**T**HE general election in India, though less spectacular than the violent cultural revolution in neighbouring China, demonstrated the more democratic and peaceful way of effecting changes in the balance of political power.

Although the Congress Party maintained its overall majority despite substantial losses, seven opposition administrations have already been formed in States where the former ruling party failed to win an absolute majority. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, welcomed the emergence of stronger opposition as proof that the elections were free and fair and promised that the people's verdict would be respected. Despite some gloomy forecasts, there were remarkably few disturbances during the polling period—February 15–21—and the outcome was something of a triumph for parliamentary democracy on so massive a scale.

The five major parties of the Opposition (Swatantra, the two factions of the Communist Party—CPI, Jan Sangh, DMK—the Madras Tamil party—and the Samyukta Socialist Party) all increased their strength at Congress's expense. Communist gains, however, were relatively smaller than those of the other parties and, in some areas, considerably below expectation. They have lost their place as the largest opposition party to the Right-wing Swatantra party, their combined strength in the Lok Sabha (Lower House) being 42 seats out of 521. They have slightly improved their position in eight of the State Assemblies but elsewhere are still unrepresented or have had their previous number of seats reduced.

The Communists' greatest success was in the southern State of Kerala, where a united front, headed by the pro-Peking Communists (known as "Marxists" for the elections) obtained an absolute majority. Their leader, E. M. S. Namboodiripad (Chief Minister in Kerala's Communist Government of 1957–59), is to head the new administration. Communists are also likely to play a major part in the West Bengal coalition government, under the dissident Congress leader, Ajoy Mukherjee. The two factions failed to reach any agreement before the elections and fought from two separate united fronts. Both lost leaders in contests against each other and although the pro-Peking faction maintained its lead over its rival as well as over the other parties of the Opposition, its performance was unexpectedly poor. One of its more "moderate" leaders, Jyoti Basu, will hold a key post in the new government.

### *Communist failure*

The Communists' most conspicuous failure came in Andhra, where as a result of a trial of strength between the factions, they lost 32 of their previous 51 seats. The pro-Moscow group was determined to increase its slight lead over its rival, while the Marxists were anxious to demonstrate their greater influence in the rural areas and among the rank and file. The results were almost equally divided and both were the losers.

The two CPI factions are closely matched overall: at the time of writing, the pro-Moscow Communists lead by four seats in the Lok Sabha while in the Assemblies they hold 122 seats against the Marxists' 127. Regionally, the Marxists are still far stronger in Kerala and West Bengal. They are also stronger in Madras, although neither faction is particularly effective. Elsewhere, the pro-Moscow CPI is the stronger. The Marxists regarded the elections as an opportunity to prove themselves the official Communist Party, resisting their rivals' overtures to form united fronts—except in Kerala and Tripura, where they were confident of their lead. (Their confidence was misplaced in the tiny Union territory of Tripura, where even a united front could not prevent the Communists from losing ten of their thirteen seats.) Indicative of the Marxists' approach was the headline on the front page of their newspaper, *People's Democracy*, on February 19, instructing voters to "reject the Right Communists—wherever they have sabotaged popular unity against Congress".

As soon as the elections were over, each faction accused the other of obstructing unity. The Marxists' Politburo claimed on March 1 that "in many cases our failure was brought about by the revisionist party, which deliberately divided the Opposition votes even where it had no chance of victory". The CPI Chairman, S. A. Dange, after declaring that "the initiative for splitting the party was not taken by us", criticised the Marxists' "unseemly fulminations" (*Indian Express*, March 3). Despite his plea for a halt to open polemics for at least six months, a Central Secretariat statement, published two days later in the CPI's weekly organ, *New Age*, denounced the Marxists' "raging campaign of lies and slanders" and accused them of trying to become the "sole party in the Communist movement".

**Unity ruled out** Both groups rule out the possibility of uniting because of their divergent policies and international outlook, but have professed willingness to work together in the Lok Sabha and in coalition governments in the States. This will not be easy, judging from recent remarks by some of the Marxist leaders. Their General Secretary, P. Sundarayya, said at Kerala on March 1 that he did not regard the pro-Moscow group as Communists: "We only call them Dange and his followers. We are the real Communist Party". According to the Delhi daily, *Patriot*, of March 2, Namboodiripad "smoothed this over by saying 'The Right Communists do not consider us as Communists either'."

Soviet reactions to the election results have been contradictory and confused, pleasure at the victory in Kerala being heavily qualified by disappointment at the overall performance of the Communists and the advances made by the Swatantra and Jan Sangh parties. The constant theme has been that of Left-wing unity. A *Moscow Radio* broadcast to South Asia on February 25 described the CPI's performances as a notable success, and added that the Kerala victory was "eloquent proof of the fact that success comes to

the Left-wing forces when there is unity and accord among them". Subsequent broadcasts were less optimistic, but continued to draw the same moral, taking care not to lay the blame for the split on either faction. A programme for South Asia on March 2 found a convenient scapegoat in China, without whose disruptive activities, it alleged, "the Indian Communist Parties could have remained united and the second party in Parliament . . . with more than double the seats it has at present". A Soviet internal broadcast on February 27 argued that the Communists' disunity had contributed substantially to the rise of "Right-wing parties like Swatantra and Jan Sangh". The fact that they were forming their own governments in two States, it declared, was "an alarming symptom of the country's present political development".

The Soviet Union seems likely to be even more ambivalent in its attitude to the new Congress Government than it was to its predecessor. The broadcast on February 25 was to its predecessor. A Moscow broadcast on February 25 skated over the obvious contradiction between its statement that "the slogans put forward by the Communists reflect the people's basic interests" and its emphasis on Soviet approval of the "traditional policies of Congress". These were said to include "close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries" and "opposition to colonialism and imperialism". According to Moscow, "the most convincing victories have as a rule been won by those Congress Party candidates who have stood by these policies". A home broadcast two days later took a much harsher line. The Congress Party's "loss of popularity" had been logical, it said, and went on to criticise its internal policies. "Congress has received a sharp lesson and, if this party wants to regain the confidence it has lost, it will have to prove by deeds and not by words that it genuinely seeks to serve the people".

The terseness of China's comments on the elections suggests that she considers them of passing importance compared with the disturbances in India at the end of last year, to which she gave wide publicity. On February 24 *New China News Agency* announced that the elections had "ended in chaos". Without mentioning either Communist Party, it declared that the Congress Party had "sustained total defeat" in Kerala and that the elections had shown that the "surging tide of the Indian people's struggle against tyranny is irresistible". How this conclusion was reached is unclear, since *NCNA* also asserted that elections in India "are merely a trick of the bourgeoisie to deceive the people and a fig-leaf for bourgeois democracy and can in no way reflect the will of the Indian people".



ASIAN ANALYST  
January 1967

## INDIAN COMMUNISTS' ELECTION DILEMMA

WITH the approach of India's fourth general election (February 15 to 21), both factions of the Communist Party of India (CPI) are apparently undecided whether to attach more importance to defeating its Communist rival or the ruling Congress Party. Both the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Communists (the latter are being known for election purposes as the "Marxists") published violent attacks on the Congress Party in their election manifestos. The CPI said that "the need of the hour is to forge the unity of all Left and democratic forces. . . . This intolerable Congress misrule must be ended here and now". The Marxists struck a more complacent note: "Knowing that division of the democratic opposition plays into the hands of the Congress, . . . the Party is doing its best to get all other Left parties together and face the Congress with a broad electoral front".

Yet the Communists are more deeply divided than ever, each faction accusing the other of deliberately sabotaging its campaign, and in almost every State where they have any significant following, the story of their failure to come to terms has been the same.

The half-heartedness of the Communists' efforts to create a united opposition is partly due to the fact that even if they were undivided their influence nationally would be far too slight to present a serious challenge to the Congress Party. Early last year they had some success in organising Left-wing parties into united fronts and sponsoring riots and strikes against the government, but having no ideological common ground, these alliances soon broke up. Attempts to form electoral fronts continued at State level, but the original aim of establishing common minimum programmes between ill-assorted parties tended to give way to the less ambitious one of avoiding splits in the opposition vote through "no contest" arrangements. The allocation of seats, both for the State Assemblies and the *Lok Sabha* (the Lower House) was based on the relative strength of the parties in each constituency at the last elections in 1962. But because the Communist Party did not split formally until July, 1964, neither faction was prepared to concede that the other was the stronger. Negotiations reached stalemate almost everywhere.

The pro-Moscow Communists' objective is fairly straightforward: to maintain their existing lead over the Marxists and to recover influence where their rivals are stronger, as in West Bengal. Meanwhile, the Marxists have particularly strong reasons for wishing to consolidate their position at the expense of the "revisionists" rather than combine with them in order to gain a few seats from the Congress Party. Not only are they anxious to gain international recognition as the official CPI, but they attach little importance

to parliamentary methods as a means of seizing power. In an interview with the *New Delhi Statesman* on December 2, one of the faction's theoreticians claimed that it was likely to emerge as "the single biggest democratic opposition in Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra and Tripura" and would play a part in unseating Congress in Madras and Punjab.\*

***Split in Kerala***

The one area where expectation of defeating Congress has led the Communists to unite is the southern State of Kerala, which had a Communist administration from 1957 to 1959. Since September, 1964, it has been ruled from New Delhi, elections held in 1965 being inconclusive. A formidable alliance has been reached there between the Communists and other Left-wing parties, dominated by the Marxists, but now even this is threatened by a split in the ranks of the Marxists themselves. Desire to control the faction in the event of its forming a State Ministry has led to a conflict between its extreme pro-Chinese wing and more "moderate" members. Several influential moderates have recently been accused by the extremists of "anti-party activities" during the India-Pakistan conflict in September, 1965. They were said to have made public an inner party controversy in which they had praised India's defence efforts and had taken a patriotic stand. The extremists have succeeded in taking severe disciplinary action against the moderates, including the suspension of the most prominent, but the moderates have protested against the move and its timing, and feelings are running high.

In their election platforms both Communist parties have made great play of agrarian reform, including the redistribution of land among the peasantry. This is particularly significant in Andhra. There are still vivid memories of the 1948-50 riots in the Telengana district, where the Communists tried to seize power, promising the peasants and poorest classes land confiscated from its owners. The Marxists have recently been foremost in fomenting unrest in the area. The State strength of the two factions is about equal, and in early January they were still far from reaching agreement.

External Communist support for the two groups is necessarily limited. Extreme Marxists derive what comfort they can from Chinese propaganda, which has extolled the recent student unrest and strikes in India and stressed their revolutionary significance. A spate of Chinese broadcasts in December also denounced the Congress government as "an instrument of reactionary rule" and a "Fascist dictatorship", against which "Indian workers, peasants and students are stepping up their struggle".

***Close Soviet attention***

While Soviet backing for the CPI would probably do the party less damage than Chinese support for the opposing faction, Moscow is inhibited by the necessity of maintaining good rela-

\*The Marxists have tried hard to unite with the strong Dravidian secessionist party (DMK) in Madras and with the *Akali Dal* (Sikh) party, led by Sant Fateh Singh, in Punjab. So far the CPI has been excluded from the negotiations.

tions with the Indian Government. Nevertheless, the Soviet Press and radio is devoting more attention than usual to political developments in India. Several times in the past few weeks, concern has been expressed over what *Pravda* of December 11 called "the sharply stepped-up activities of the Right-wing forces," and the "reactionary" trend of the Congress Party's Right wing has been strongly criticised. The Russians have also quoted extensively from Indian Left-wing sources as a means of commenting on pre-election developments. The Congress Party's decision to reject the application from the strongly pro-Soviet Krishna Menon for the N.E. Bombay seat drew particularly heavy comment. *Pravda* also quoted Indian Communist sources attacking the government's arrest of the CPI's general secretary, Rajeshwar Rao, on December 11. The Russians have, moreover, been directly attacking the Congress government, as well as individual ministers, on their allegedly "unofficial" *Radio Peace and Progress*.

The CPI is undoubtedly receiving more active support from the Soviet Union behind the scenes. S. A. Dange, the party chairman, is said to have visited Moscow in December, on his way back from a meeting of the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague. In October, when the party brought out a new Bengali daily in Calcutta, *Kalantar*, the printing machinery was reported to have been supplied from abroad, presumably by the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Russians' decision to provide credit for India's fourth Five-Year Plan came at a most opportune moment for the CPI's election campaign. The party's weekly, *New Age*, greeted the loan on December 13 as "another weapon with which to assail the government", because it would help in preparing the ground for an "anti-imperialist, democratic, non-capitalist path of development".

INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY GAINS IN THE 1967 ELECTIONSIntroduction and Summary

In spite of the fact that communist forces in India were split into two political parties often opposing each other in the same constituency, and in spite of the fact that the two parties together polled a smaller percentage of the popular vote than in 1962, they made substantial gains in the elections of 1967. Whereas their percentage gain in number of MP's was more than double their percentage gain in number of Assemblymen, it was in the state governments that this increase was more significant. Because of the reduced strength of the Congress Party therein and the absence of any powerful alternative, communists now participate in coalition Cabinets in 3 states and have a good chance of doing so in a fourth. Moreover, in one of these 3 states the communists hold the chief ministership, and in the other 2 they furnish deputy chief ministers. Finally, the quality of at least some of the communists participating in these Cabinets, as well as in the Lok Sabha, as deduced from their party positions and other past experience, appears to be such that they will have more weight therein than their numbers indicate.

I. At the Center

The 2 Communist Parties of India together increased their representation in the Lok Sabha (lower House of Parliament) from 32 to 43 for a 34 percent gain. As between the CP India/Right and CP India/Left, the gains were roughly equal: 33 percent (from 18 to 24) for the former and 36 percent (from 14 to 19) for the latter. In addition, an openly-declared CP India/Right member elected on the Republican Party ticket and an Independent elected with open CP India/Right support are expected to sit with that party, increasing its total strength to 26. Another successful Independent, elected with the open support of both communist parties, will probably sit with the CP India/Left, bringing its total strength up to 20.

The most noteworthy communist winner was CP India/Right Chairman Shripad Amrit Dange (from Maharashtra), a newly-elected MP who will serve as the leader of his party's legislative group. He is also secretary general of the communist All-Indian Trade Union Congress. His deputy will be Hirendranath Mukherjee (from West Bengal), re-elected MP who had formerly served as the Lok Sabha's Opposition Leader. Other noteworthy CP India/Right winners were Yogindra Sharma (from Bihar), a member of his party's 9-member Central Secretariat,<sup>1</sup> and Jitendra Mohan Biswas, who defeated the West Bengal Congress Party boss in the course of getting elected; both are serving as MP's for the first time. Two members of the CPI/L's 9-member Politburo<sup>2</sup> elected were Ayillath Kutteri Gopalan (from Kerala) and Panchapeksan Ramamurthi (from Madras). Gopalan, who was re-elected to the Lok Sabha, is president of the All-India Kisan Sabha (peasant organization). Ramamurthi was formerly a member of the Rajya Sabha (Upper House).

## II. In the State Governments

Together the 2 communist parties increased their total strength in the state Assemblies by roughly 16 percent, from about 215 to about 250. The CP India/Right's gain was more impressive, about 27 percent, as compared to the CP India/Left's increase of about 11 percent. The concentration of the CP India/Left's strength in Kerala and West Bengal, however, has made it a more powerful factor there than the CP India/Right in any Indian state. The only noteworthy losses by the communists in the Assemblies occurred in Andhra and Tripura, where the greatest communist losses in the Lok Sabha also occurred.

As the dominant member of the ruling 7-party coalition in Kerala, the CP India/Left has 4 Cabinet members, including the chief minister, Elamkulam Mana Sankaram Namboodiripad. Namboodiripad, currently a member of his party's Politburo and formerly (1962-1963) secretary general of the undivided CP India, had also served as Kerala chief minister during 1957-1959. Another CP India/Left Cabinet member, K. R. Gouri (Mrs. T. V. Thomas) returns to her 1957-1959 post as Kerala state revenue minister. Still another, Ezhukuttikal Imbichibava, had served as a member of the Lok Sabha up until this year; he had also served as chief of his party's provisional state secretariat for a short time in 1966. Of the 2 CP India/Right Cabinet members, T. V. Thomas also served in the 1957-1959 Cabinet (though in a different capacity) and M. N. Govindan Nair, an ex-member of the Rajya Sabha, is a member of his party's Central Secretariat. Kerala was one of the few places where the two Communist Parties of India cooperated before the elections, and as a result, the Assembly strength of the CP India/Left rose from 40 to 52 and of the CP India/Right from 3 to 19. (Furthermore, every Lok Sabha candidate endorsed by each of the 2 parties was elected.)

In West Bengal, where the 2 communist parties opposed each other during the electoral campaign, the CP India/Left increased its Assembly representation from 30 to 43 and the CP India/Right from 12 to 16. Both parties now participate in a 10-party coalition government, and though the CP India/Left is the strongest party therein, it has seen fit to allow the second-ranking Bangala Congress to have the chief ministership. CP India/Left Politburo member Jyoti Basu serves as deputy chief minister and finance minister; he had formerly been the Assembly's Opposition Leader. The CP India/Left has 2 more Cabinet members here, making a total of 3, while the CP India/Right has a total of 2.

<sup>1</sup>The Central Secretariat is the highest organ of the CP India/Right.

<sup>2</sup>The Politburo is the highest organ of the CP India/Left.

In Bihar and the Punjab the situation is different on 2 counts: it is the CP India/Right that is the stronger of the 2 communist parties, and the dominant coalitions of which it is a member contain the Jana Sangh and other right wing parties. In Bihar, where the CP India/Right increased its Assembly strength from 10 to 24,<sup>3</sup> it has 3 Cabinet members out of 14 (the CP India/Left with 4 seats supports but does not participate in the ruling group). Indradeep Sinha, the CP India/Right Bihar state secretary, moreover, serves as a deputy chief minister and finance minister. If the 5-member Punjab state Cabinet is expanded as projected it will no doubt include CP India/Right Assembly leader Satya Pal Dang, who defeated the former chief minister in the 1967 elections, and might possibly include CP India/Left Politburo member Harikishan Singh Surjeet, his party's state secretary. Though the Right and Left CP's have little strength in the Punjab Assembly, 5 and 3, respectively, the coalition forces are so split that even now a party with only three Assemblymen has 1 Cabinet minister. As a footnote, it should be added that the CP India/Right in Assam, though still playing an Opposition role, increased its Assembly strength from 0 to 8 and the number of members it elected to the Lok Sabha from 0 to 2.

#### Appendix I

##### Communist Party Members Elected to the Lok Sabha February 1967

#### A. CPI/R (24 elected, plus 2 more expected to sit with party)

##### West Bengal (6, had 7 previously)

1. Indrajit Gupta (CEC<sup>1</sup>) (Alipore), re-elected.
2. Hirendranath Mukherjee (NC<sup>2</sup>) (Calcutta North East), re-elected.
3. Ranendra Nath Sen (NC) (Barasat), re-elected.
4. Jitendra Mohan Biswas (Bankura), newly-elected.
5. Kansari Halder (Mathurapur-SC, newly-elected.

##### Bihar (5, had 1 previously)

6. Yogindra Sharma (SEC<sup>3</sup>) (Begusarai), newly-elected.

<sup>3</sup> It also increased its Lok Sabha representation from this state from 1 to 5.

7. Chandrashekar Singh (NC) (Jehanabad), newly-elected.
8. Bojendra Jha (NC) (Jainagar), newly-elected.
9. Ramavatar Shastri (Patna West), newly-elected.
10. Kamala Mishra Madhukar (Kesarla), newly-elected.

Uttar Pradesh (5, had 2 previously)

11. Jai Bahadur Singh (NC) (Ghosi Azamgarh), re-elected.
12. Sarju Pande (NC) (Ghazipur), re-elected.
13. Ishaq Shambli (Amroha), newly-elected.
14. Latafat Ali Kan (Muzaffarnagar), newly-elected.
15. Jageshwar Yadev (Banda), newly-elected.

Kerala (3, had 3 previously)

16. P. K. Vasudevan Nair (CEC) (Peeramade), re-elected.
17. C. Janardhanan (NC) (Trichur), newly-elected.
18. P. C. Adichan (Adoor-Res), newly-elected.

Maharashtra (2, had none previously)

19. Shripad Amrit Dange (CPI/R chairman) (South Central Bombay), newly-elected.
20. Nana Ramchandra Patil (NC) (Bhir), newly-elected.

Assam (2, had none previously)

21. Promode Chandra Gogoi (Sibsagar), newly-elected.
22. Dhireswar Kalita (Gauhati), newly-elected.

Andhra (1, had 4 previously)

23. Y. Eswara Reddy (Cuddapah), re-elected.

Manipur (1, had none previously)

24. Moirangthan Meghachandra Singh (Inner Manipur), newly-elected.

<sup>1</sup>CP India/Right Central Executive Committee, its second ranking organ.

<sup>2</sup>CP India/Right National Council, its third ranking organ.

<sup>3</sup>CP India/Right Central Secretariat, its ranking organ.

NOTES:

1. Ramji Ram, an open CP India/Right member, was elected to the Republican Party ticket from Akbarpur, Uttar Pradesh, and is expected to sit with his original party.
  2. S. M. Bannerjee, an Independent elected with the open support of the CP India/Right from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh, is also expected to sit with that party.
  3. The CP India/Right also lost one MP from Madhya Pradesh.
- B. CPI/L (19 elected plus 1 more expected to sit with party).  
Kerala  
Kerala (9, had 5 previously)
1. Ayilliath Kutteri Gopalan (PB<sup>1</sup>) (Kasargode), re-elected.
  2. Susheela (Mrs. A. K.) Gopalan (Ambalapuzha), newly-elected.
  3. C. K. Chakrapani (Ponnani), newly-elected.
  4. E. K. Nayanar (Palghat), newly-elected.
  5. K. Anirudhan (Chirayinkil), newly-elected.
  6. Vadakkoottu Viswanath Menon (Ernakulam), newly-elected.
  7. Pattiam Gopalan (Tellicherry), newly-elected.
  8. P. P. Esthose (Moovattupuzha), newly-elected.
  9. K. M. Abraham (Kottayam), newly-elected.
- West Bengal (5, had 2 previously)
10. Ganesh Ghosh (Calcutta South), newly-elected.
  11. Mohammed Ismail (Barrackpore), newly-elected.
  12. Bhagawan Das (Ausgram), newly-elected.
  13. Jyotirmoy Bose (Diamond Harbour), newly-elected.
  14. Bijoy Krishna Modak (Hooghly), newly-elected.



15. Panchapakesan Ramamurthi (PB) (Madurai), newly-elected.
16. R. Umanath Rao (Puchikkotta), re-elected.
17. K. Anandam Nambiar (Tiruchirapallai), re-elected.
18. K. Ramani (Coimbatore), newly-elected.

Uttar Pradesh (1, had none previously)

19. Satyanarain Singh (Varanasi), newly-elected.

NOTES:

1. Anand Narain Mulla, Independent elected from Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, with the support of both communist parties, is expected to sit with the CP India/Left.
2. The CP India/Left lost its 3 Lok Sabha seats in Andhra and its 2 in Tripura.

OVERALL NOTE: The communists in the Lok Sabha can also be expected to receive the support of the following: Revolutionary Socialist Party members N. Srikantan Nair (Quilon, Kerala) and Tridib Kumar Chowdhury (Berhampore, West Bengal), Peasants and Workers Party members Maharani Vijaymala Bhosale (Hatkangale, Maharashtra) and Kunte Dattatraya Kashinath (Kolaba, Maharashtra), Forward Bloc members Amiyath Bose (Arambagh, West Bengal) and Benoy Krishna Das Choudhury (Cooch Behar, West Bengal), and Mahagujerat Janata Parishad member Indulal Kanaiyalal Yagnik (Ahmedabad, Gujerat).

Appendix II

Communist Party Members Serving in State Governments  
as a Result of the 1967 Elections

A. Kerala (4 CPI/L and 2 CPI/R)

1. Elakulam Mana Sankaran Namboodiripad (CPI/L-PB), chief minister.
2. Ezhukuttikal Imbichibava (CPI/L--CC<sup>1</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup>CP India/Left Central Committee, its second ranking organ.

3. K. R. Gouri (Mrs., T. V.) Thomas (CPI/L).
4. M. K. Krishnan (CPI/L).
5. M. N. Govindan Nair (CPI/R-SEC).
6. T. V. Thomas (CPI/R).

B. West Bengal (3 CPI/L and 2 CPI/R).

1. Jyoti Basu (CPI/L-PB), deputy chief minister.
2. Hari Krishna Konar (CPI/L-CC).
3. Niranjan Sen (CPI/L).
4. Somnath Lahiri (CPI/R-NC).
5. Biswanath Mukherjee (CPI/R-NC).

C. Bihar (3 CPI/R)

1. Indradeep Sinha (CPI/R-CEC), deputy chief minister.
2. Chandrasekhar Singh (CPI/R-NC).
3. Tejnarain Jha (CPI/R).

NEW DELHI  
14 April 1967

# Insight and Outlook . . . . By Joseph Kraft

## India in Midpassage

CPYRIGHT

NEW DELHI—The full impact of India's recent general election is only now beginning to come home.

And for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her ruling Congress Party the outlook is much blacker than it was on the morrow of the poll two months ago.

To understand why, it is necessary to make a political distinction that goes beyond the usual division of right versus left or even of central government versus the provinces. It is necessary to distinguish between this country's modern or elite culture and its traditional or mass culture.

The elite culture is typified by the high-caste English-educated Indians of easy circumstances so much detested in the United States because they are so opinionated on all issues. The mass culture is represented by the village peasant mindful only of the most parochial matters of economic and social advantage.

The Congress Party, being stuffed with products of the elite culture, has always had a problem in maintaining a mass following. And for several reasons the problem has sharpened in recent years.

For one thing the passage of the national leadership from Nehru through Shastri on to Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Gandhi, meant a decline in the popular appeal of the chief party figure

Secondly, the Congress Party was increasingly challenged by a group of splinter parties which pitched their programs directly to the different interests in the mass culture.

Thus the Swatantra Party stressed the free enterprise outlook so dear to small peasant landholders; the Communists echoed the grievances of the landless workers; and Jan Sangh Party emphasized the Hindu creed and tongue dominant in the villages of northern India; and the Dravidian Party stressed the Tamil language dominant around Madras.

IN THESE conditions, the Congress Party came more and more to depend upon a group of local party bosses for communications between its elite membership and the masses. These Indian party bosses were very much like their 19th century American counterparts—crude, common, grasping fellows with a remarkable capacity to turn out votes for their party.

But in the election this year the big losers were precisely the Congress Party bosses. Kamaraj, the "big daddy" of Indian politics, went down in Madras; Patil lost in Bombay; and Atulya Ghosh collapsed in Calcutta. It was as if the equivalent of Mayor Richard Daley had been simultaneously extinguished in Chicago, New York and Los Angeles.

The result was not merely that Congress had its majority in Parliament severely reduced while also losing control over seven of the 16 Indian states. Worse still, the chief line of communication between the party elite and the underlying population was broken.

With the Congress leadership thus cut off, second-string politicians have been increasingly tempted to strike out for themselves. The other day a big bloc of Congressmen in India's largest state, Uttar Pradesh, crossed the aisle to team with the opposition in forming a new government. The same thing took place earlier in Haryana State.

THESE EXAMPLES have warned everybody that the desertion of only about 30 Congressmen at the center could put Mrs. Gandhi in the minority. In that atmosphere of unease even formalities such as the naming of a parliamentary speaker or a figurehead president turn out to be difficult operations. And doing something about the food distribution problem is virtually impossible.

Against this decisive weakening of the Indian political center there is one potential offset. There has been set in motion the end of a system which gave power to an elite wholly divorced from the rest of the country.

At long last the suffering masses of this country have found an entree to political life. The Congress Party will either have to strike new roots or disintegrate. For the country as a whole is in midpassage between a Brahmin past that could not endure and a future dominated by plain men.

These may turn out to be far more competent than imagined by those who lorded it over them for so many centuries. But for that they will need time to concentrate on their own problems undisturbed by threats or intrusions from their neighbors in China and Pakistan.



Kraft

NEW YORK TIMES  
5 April 1967

## Indian Opposition Groups Name Joint Candidate for Presidency

CPYRGHT

Special to The New York Times  
NEW DELHI, April 4 — In an effort to outmaneuver and embarrass Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the seven opposition parties in Parliament announced today that they had agreed on candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of India.

Their choice for the Presidency was the Chief Justice of the Indian Supreme Court, K. Subba Rao. For Vice President they proposed a prominent Moslem educator, Dr. Ali Yavar Jung.

The seven parties, which range from the Communists to the right-wing Swatantra party, gave an impressive display of unity simply by agreeing on two names. Neither of the names appears to have been discussed seriously before today. The unanimity of the Opposition puts Mrs. Gandhi's Congress party in an awkward position.

The President and Vice President are to be chosen for five-year terms on May 6 by an electoral college composed of all the members of Parliament and all the members of the state assemblies. Because of the setbacks it suffered in the recent election, the Congress party cannot be sure that its votes will be enough to elect its choices.

It is also widely agreed that it would be best not to have a sharp contest for the two offices, since the President and Vice President are supposed to be above party.

Until now the duties of the President and Vice President have been largely ceremonial. But authorities on the Indian Constitution maintain that the head of state has great powers that he could legitimately wield

without the prior approval of the Prime Minister.

He can dissolve Parliament, summon party leaders to form a new government and suspend governments in the states. He is also commander in chief of the armed forces.

The first two Indian Presidents, Rajendra Prasad and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, could not contemplate exercising these powers because they came to office at a time when there was a single political party of unrivaled power — the Congress led by a towering figure — the late Jawaharlal Nehru.

But now with Mr. Nehru dead and Congress strength dwindling, there is at least a theoretical possibility that the choice of the President could prove to be of more importance in the next few years than the choice of Mrs. Gandhi as Prime Minister last month.

The Congress has been considering only two possibilities for the Presidency — the incumbent, Dr. Radhakrishnan, and Dr. Zakir Husain, now the Vice President.

President Radhakrishnan is 78 and in poor health, but apparently eager to keep his office. Vice President Husain is 72 and also in poor health. Neither man would be disposed to be a strong president.

Mrs. Gandhi is believed to favor Dr. Husain on the ground that the choice of a Moslem would prove India's determination to remain a secular state.

The Congress party's Working Committee, which decides on policy, was supposed to have met tonight to declare its choices for the two offices. But the party leaders were so confounded by the Opposition's announcement that they postponed their meeting until tomorrow.

NEW YORK TIMES  
27 March 1967

## An Analysis of the Indian Election

By JOHN B. OAKES

The largest free electorate in the world proved last month that it still put its faith in democracy. While the disaster to the Congress party, which has ruled all of India for twenty years, may have had a temporarily destabilizing effect, it also showed that despite poverty, illiteracy and inexperience, the Indian voter is willing to take to streets to express his freedom of choice.

Of a quarter of a billion people eligible to vote, more than three-fifths exercised the privilege, or proportionately about as many as in an American Presidential election. Yet the Indian electorate is roughly 70 per cent illiterate; it is largely rural; and it is poor beyond Western conception. Its agricultural production, though improving, is still grossly inefficient; underemployment is endemic; and government is frequently indifferent or corrupt. And still running deep in Indian mores—though technically outlawed—is the caste system that is the very antithesis of the democratic philosophy. Religious, linguistic and regional antagonisms flourish.

That in such a context democracy can still resist the lure of Communism is a tribute to the independence of mind and spirit of the Indian people. While the Communist danger is always present, the total Communist vote amounted to only

8 or 9 per cent overall, about a third that of the normal Communist vote in France or Italy.

The most striking aspect of the Indian election is that the vote was not so much for anything as it was against something. It was against the stagnation of the Congress party, against its twenty years of inaction, its complacency and its ineffective and self-serving leaders who had lost touch with their constituencies. The vote was against rising prices, food shortages and the inefficiency of government services. It was a vote of youth against age.

The old rallying cry of independence on which Congress had built its strength has now faded into history. The generation now voting for the first time never knew a day of British rule. Gandhi and Nehru are figures of the past; and Congress was becoming the party of the past.

Congress was reduced to a majority of barely 20 in the national parliament of over 500; but it was in the state elections that the scope of the disaster became even more clearly evident. While everyone of India's states had previously been in effect under Congress's control, today almost half of them are in other hands—mostly under coalition governments.

In Kerala, the beautiful palm-fringed, densely populated, highly literate, desperately poor, food-deficient state of the southwest coast, a Communist-led united front (that included Mos-

lems of the far Right) triumphed under the guidance of a dynamic leader of the so-called Chinese Communist Party who avers that he has learned as much from Thomas Jefferson as from Mao Tse-tung. In neighboring Madras, the one state where Congress had established a reputation for efficient and honest government, it was routed by a linguistic party with strongly regionalist tendencies. In Orissa, further up the East coast, a decidedly conservative coalition has taken over from the Congress. In New Delhi, the Hindu nationalists (Jan Sangh) gained heavily. The only discernible trend throughout the country was that both Left and Right profited at the expense of Congress.

Questions of foreign policy played virtually no role at all in the election. The extreme left routinely attacked "foreign imperialist" domination of India through both aid and investment. Ironically, some spokesmen for the right also denounced American aid, not because they are anti-American (which they are not) but because of their conviction that American assistance has undermined India's initiative and even its independence.

But this was not a live campaign issue, nor indeed was the always present problem of India's relations with its two most important neighbors, China and Pakistan.

Despite the terrific setback, Congress still received 40 per cent of all votes cast. It lost

control of so many of the states because other parties "ganged up" against it in a more or less united opposition.

It is just possible that from this experience the leaders of India's many splinter groups may have learned the value of unity. A polarization of political parties into broad general groupings of Left, Right and Center could develop. The election must have brought home to Congress the need for younger men in positions of leadership—though the appointment of 70-year-old Moraji Desai as deputy prime Minister hardly suggests that this lesson has been learned. But Congress must at last know that even the most brilliant and exciting of plans—and India has as many plans as she has problems—are of no avail unless the Government has the ability and the determination to follow through.

India's democratic institutions are so young, with constitutional precedents being set almost every day, that no one ever, India's democratic institutions can tell at this juncture just what is going to happen.

On balance, the condition of Indian democracy appears in light of the election to be in a reasonably hopeful state, having successfully weathered a test that might easily have destroyed it.

JOHN B. OAKES, editor of the editorial page, was in India at the time of the election.

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**INDIA TAKES OVER  
STRIFE-TORN STATE****Assumes Rule of Rajasthan  
—Legislature Dissolved**

By J. ANTHONY LUKAS

*Special to The New York Times*

NEW DELHI, March 13 — The central Government imposed Presidential rule on the troubled state of Rajasthan today, bringing it temporarily under direct rule from New Delhi.

President Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan issued a proclamation dissolving the state assembly and taking over the state administration.

The move was the first by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's new Government, which was sworn in this morning. The decision was taken at a meeting of the Cabinet in the evening.

Home minister Y. B. Chavan said later that the step was taken after Mohanlal Sukhadia, the Congress party leader in the state, had told the central Government that he did not want to take responsibility for forming a Government there.

Mr. Chavan said Mr. Sukhadia had said that the Congress party and supporting independents had a majority in the state assembly, but that he had to consider the threat to law and order created by opposition agitation during the last eight days. This agitation might continue if he formed a government, Mr. Sukhadia said.

Since March 6, when the Governor asked Mr. Sukhadia to form a Government again, he opposition parties in the state have been protesting against what they call political "discrimination."

They charge that the Governor Sampurnanand had shown "pique and prejudice" in calling on the Congress party, which had failed to win a majority in the state assembly in last month's elections.

The Congress party emerged as the strongest single party, with 89 seats, four seats short of a majority in the 184-seat assembly.

The combined opposition parties—the right-wing Swatantra (Freedom) party, the Jan Sangh (Peoples) party, the Communists and the Socialists—won 80 seats.

**Independents the Key**

The 15 Independents held the balance of power. When Dr. Sampurnanand turned to Mr. Sukhadia on March 5, the opposition went into the streets of Jaipur, the state capital.

After three days of sporadic violence, there was a major outbreak on March 8, in which at least 8 persons were killed when the police fired into a large crowd in the center of the city.

Since then, the army has been patrolling the streets and a tight curfew has been imposed.

Mr. Chavan said tonight that 150 policemen had been injured, 50 of them seriously, during the disorders.

He said the central government felt that the opposition should not be allowed to "force its way" to power through such agitation.

Therefore, he said, the state is being placed under Presidential rule "for some time" to see whether normal conditions will return.

**Could Last Three Years**

Mr. Chavan gave no indication of how long the central rule might last. Under the Constitution, the assembly can be suspended for up to six months under the original proclamation—and the proclamation can be extended to as much as three years.

Rajasthan was one of eight states where the Congress failed to gain a majority in state assemblies during last month's elections.

The accent on youth in the new central Government was evidenced by the fact that the average age of the 19-man Cabinet was reduced from 59.3 to 55.9. Among the 10 new Cabinet ministers, one is only 36 and three are in their forties.

Among the 14 Ministers of State, the average age was reduced from 53.3 to 48.3.

Mrs. Gandhi also brought a number of specialists into the Cabinet.

In a move that is likely to be widely welcomed, she named 48-year-old Sripati Chandrasekhar, a leading demographer and expert on family planning, as Minister of State for Health and Family Planning. He replaces Dr. Sushila Nayar, who was dropped from the Government.

Among other specialists named were Dr. Triguna Sen, vice chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, as Minister of Education and V.K.R.V. Rao, a well-known economist and former member of the planning commission, as Minister of Transport and Shipping.

However, those who had hoped for a similar change among the senior positions of the Cabinet were disappointed.

**4 Top Aides Retained**

Four of the top ministries remained in the hands of the incumbents. Mr. Chavan retained the Home Ministry, M.C. Chagla the External Affairs Ministry, Swaran Singh the Defense Ministry and Asoka Mehta the Planning Ministry.

The only two changes among the six key ministries—Finance and Food—brought older men into office. This means that the average age of the six ministers who make most of the key decisions in the Government has increased from 59.3 to 61.

As expected, 71-year-old Morarji Desai, who withdrew from the race for Prime Minister, was named Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. He replaced 64-year-old Sachindra Chaudhuri, who was defeated in last month's elections.

The important Food and Agriculture portfolio was entrusted to 60-year-old Jagjivan Ram, a veteran Congress party leader who has been almost continuously in office since 1952.

He replaces 57-year-old Chidambaram Subramaniam, who was also defeated in last month's elections.

The list of the council of ministers follows.

**CABINET MINISTERS**

*Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy—Mrs. Indira Gandhi.*

*Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance—Morarji Desai. Industrial Development and Company Affairs—Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed.*

*External Affairs—M. C. Chagla. Home Affairs—Y. B. Chavan. Commerce—Dinesh Singh.*

*Labor and Rehabilitation—Jal Sukh Lal Hath. Food and Agriculture—Jagjivan Ram.*

*Tourism and Civil Aviation—Dr. Karan Singh.*

*Planning, Petroleum and Chemicals and Social Welfare—Asoka Mehta.*

*Law—Panampilli Govinda Menon. Railways—C. M. Poonacha.*

*Parliamentary Affairs and Communication—Dr. Ram Subhag Singh.*

*Transport and Shipping—Dr. V. K. R. V. Rag. Steel, Mines and Metals—Dr. Chenna Reddy. Education—Dr. Triguna Sen. Information and Broadcasting—K. K. Shah. Defense—Swaran Singh. Minister Without Portfolio—Satya Narayan Sinha.*

**MINISTERS OF STATE**

*Defense—B. R. Bhagat. Health and Family Planning—Dr. Sripati Chandrasekhar. Railways—Farimal Ghosh. Social Welfare—Mrs. Phulrenu Guha.*

*Works and Supply—Jagannath Rao. Labor and Rehabilitation—L. I. Mishra.*

*Finance—K. C. Pant. Law—Kotha Raghuramalah. Irrigation and Power—Dr. K. L. Rao.*

*Industrial Development and Company Affairs—Ragunath Reddi. Steel, Mines and Metals—P. C. Sethi.*

*Education—Prof. Sher Singh. Food and Agriculture—Anna Sahib Shinde.*

*Home—V. C. Shukla.*

All but three of the ministers were sworn in this morning by President Radhakrishnan at a brief ceremony in the Ashoka Hall of the red sandstone Presidential Palace.

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# TOP INDIAN PARTY OUT IN 7TH STATE

Chief Minister of Haryana  
Quits as Deputies Defect.

By J. ANTHONY LUKAS  
Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, March 22 — Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's party lost power today in still another state. The loss was a blow to the already shaken party and could have serious implications elsewhere in the country.

Chief Minister Bhagwat Dayal Sharma of Haryana, in northern India, submitted his resignation to the Governor in Chandigarh, the state's capital. His resignation followed the defection of about a dozen members of the Congress party in the state Assembly.

The dissident members have announced their intention of joining a united front with Opposition parties and independents. If they do so, the front is expected to form a government within a few days.

However, the national leaders of the Congress party were still making frantic efforts to patch up the quarrel within the party and prevent the Opposition from coming to power in Haryana.

### Six Opposition Governments

If the Opposition does form a government in the state, which came into being Nov. 1, 1966, when the Punjab was divided, it will be the seventh opposition state government formed since last month's national elections.

However, Haryana's case is different from those in the six other states, where the Congress party failed to gain a majority in the elections. The party had fared well in Haryana, gaining 48 of the 81 seats in the state Assembly, and appeared to be in an impregnable position after Mr. Sharma's Government took power 12 days ago.

The crisis developed with little warning late last week when the minority faction in the party revolted against Mr. Sharma's allegedly "mean and vindictive" tactics.

The 13-member faction was apparently annoyed chiefly at Mr. Sharma's failure to give it proper representation in the state Cabinet. Only one member of the faction—Minister of Public Works Rizak Ram—was included in the Cabinet.

The revolt erupted over the election of the speaker of the state Assembly. The dissidents, refusing to vote for Mr. Sharma's nominee, helped to elect the Opposition candidate, Rao Virendra Singh.

Mr. Singh, an independent, was named today as the leader of the united front and will be the Chief Minister if the front is called on to form the government. A spokesman for the front said Mr. Singh had already sought an appointment with the Governor.

The spokesman contended that the front now had 46 members in the Assembly to 35 for the Congress party. In addition to the Congress dissidents, the front is made up of three members of the Swatantra (Freedom) party, 12 members of the Jan Sangh (People's) party, two members of the Republican party and 16 independents.

The governmental machinery in India's states closely resembles that of the central Government. Chief ministers, like the national Prime Minister, are selected by the party that controls the state legislature, although the appointment is made officially by the state's governor.

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*India*

## Played like a man

FROM OUR INDIA CORRESPONDENT

Mrs Indira Gandhi starts on her second term as India's prime minister surer of her hold over the ruling Congress party than she was before the elections. The last-minute bargain she struck with Mr Morarji Desai, her only rival for leadership, was a concession to party sentiment and not an admission of weakness. The impressive line-up of state leaders behind her had by then made it clear even to Mr Desai that she would have won by a fair margin if they had had to fight it out.

The compromise reached with Mr Desai gives him the new appointment of deputy prime minister. But he has had to join hands with Mrs Gandhi more or less on her terms. She remains the boss, as she convincingly showed by choosing a cabinet according to her own lights, without deferring to the suggestions that Mr Desai and the party president, Mr Kamaraj, are believed to have made.

Her keenness to give her government a new image explains the importing of outside talent, for instance the appointment of a distinguished demographer to take charge of health and family planning. Even more unorthodox is her choice of Mr Karan Singh, of the Kashmir ruling dynasty, who at the age of 36, has been catapulted from the titular governorship of Kashmir to membership of the cabinet.

ability to survive? The reactions of Mr Kamaraj and Mr S. K. Patil, the Bombay party boss, to her cabinet appointments were perhaps a shade cool—a bad augury. She is secure,

however, in her knowledge that the party has at the moment no alternative to her in sight. She can therefore count on the national organisation's acquiescence while she is consolidating her position in the parliamentary party. This should be easier now that she has neutralised Mr Desai. Her standing with public opinion will depend very largely on what happens to the economy in the coming months. The odds are reckoned at seventy to one against there being a third successive year of poor harvests; it seems reasonable to assume that the worst of the crisis is nearly over. An upturn should enable Mrs Gandhi to regain some of the popular support she lost during the disastrous twelve months of her first term. This could in turn give her greater leverage with the party.

On present form it does not seem that Mr Desai is going to have much impact either on the government's policies or even on its style. Perhaps his main usefulness to Mrs Gandhi as finance minister will be to take responsibility for unpleasant and unpopular decisions and to make them stick against opposition. This negative role suits his personality. The more positive aspects of government policies will be in the care of Mrs Gandhi's friends. Mr Ashoka Mehta has been placed in charge of the controversial petroleum and chemicals

ministry in addition to planning. Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed takes over industry, and Mr Dinesh Singh international trade. Apart from agriculture, these are the areas on which debate with the World Bank and the American aid agency has centred.

The main problem for the prime minister now is to evolve a new relationship between Congress and the opposition parties which control six out of the seventeen states. She has started off on the wrong foot by making herself a party to the manipulations which have put Rajasthan under president's rule after a Congress attempt to form a government there with the help of independents had failed. This has been roundly condemned by all the opposition parties as a move to block an alternative non-Congress government. Quite clearly Mrs Gandhi will have to undo this mistake if the dialogue with the opposition is not to break off even before it has started. She knows she must carry the opposition with her if centre-state tensions are not to get out of hand. Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar are already making demands upon her for food and money which she is in no position to meet. To get them to accept what she has to offer is going to be a test of statesmanship which she cannot meet unless she acts less as a party leader and more as a head of government.

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## INTERPRETIVE REPORT

# India Moving to New Political Lineup

By DAVID VAN PRAAGH  
Special to The Star

NEW DELHI—India in the second year of the Nehru family succession is like a big jigsaw puzzle that suddenly has been turned upside down.

The largest piece—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress party—has landed with its head in the sand.

Many other pieces have swollen and they seem to have as much trouble fitting together as when they were less important to the complex Indian scheme.

This intrinsically conservative country is having trouble adjusting to change.

It is not helped by the fact that there have been few signs of leadership in either Congress or opposition parties.

## First Glimmers

Nevertheless the first glimmers of a new order in the world's most populous non-Communist nation have been sighted. They may easily die aborning or clash as they grow stronger, resulting in anarchy of one kind or another.

But they feebly light the way toward a right-of-center regime based on what are now the free enterprise Swatantra party and the Hindu nationalist Jana Sangh, with the sharp edges of the latter smoothed and the uncertain whole strongly challenged by a Communist-dominated left.

How soon this alignment will come about is anyone's guess. But one of the clearest thinkers in India on political and economic matters, former Gov. Gen. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, believes the existing Congress central government can last only about 15 months before another election is called.

His prediction is no less sound for the fact that at 88 he is attempting to bring non-Communist opposition elements together for what he calls a national government of talents.

He is realistic enough to believe that, up to a point, as

Congress stays in power, valuable time is gained toward shaping a viable alternative.

## May Not Oblige

But Congress may not oblige. It already has lost power in two states because of desertions from the party since the February elections.

In the most populous state of Uttar Pradesh—the home state of Mrs. Gandhi and her father, the late Jawaharlal Nehru—the minority Congress government fell April 1 on a no-confidence vote of 215 to 198 in the legislature.

Earlier, 13 congressmen in the Haryana state legislature turned a Congress majority into a minority and helped form what amounts to a dissident Congress government.

In Uttar Pradesh, both Congress dissidents and the Jana Sangh, the largest non-Congress party, are expected to help form a new coalition government.

If this happens and if normal democratic processes are restored under a new governor in Rajasthan—where central rule was imposed by Mrs. Gandhi's government rather than let a slight anti-Congress majority rule—Congress will find itself controlling only seven of India's 16 major states.

In an era of coalitions, as one Swatantra leader put it, it would only take 25 or 30 Congressmen crossing the floor of the Lok Sabha, or lower house of Parliament, to bring Mrs. Gandhi's government down.

## Can Be Contagious

Every state surrounding the federal capital district of Delhi—Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan—is ruled by a non-Congress coalition or faces this prospect before the end of April. Such a political bug can be dangerously contagious.

The only strong voice in the central government has been

that of deputy prime minister and finance minister Morarji Desai, whose nostrums for India's economic crisis are still uncertain, but who at least sounds decisive.

To her credit, Mrs. Gandhi is supporting Vice President Zakir Hussain, a Moslem, for India's presidency, which can be of crucial importance in moderating the stresses and strains of change.

But partly because the Hindu right, represented by the Jana Sangh, opposes Hussain, other Congress leaders are seeking to have President Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan carry on when his term expires in May.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has expressed his awareness of India's dangerous drift under Congress—which has endeared him to fellow Madras Brahmin Rajagopalachari—but he is feared too weak and ill at 78 to provide the strong independent influence above politics that India needs.

Strains on central Congress unity may increase when Desai, whose acceptance of the No. 2 spot in the government averted a contest for the prime minister's post, tries to cut back the fourth five-year plan—the pet of close advisers to the prime minister.

Many observers believe that Desai will be prime minister within six months. If this should happen, he might be a strong leader but his attempt at centralization would conflict with the desire of the new non-Congress state rulers for more autonomy.

## Laying Groundwork

By far the most active of these state ministers is E. M. Sankaran Nambudiripad, the Left or pro-Peking Communist chief of Kerala.

By charging New Delhi with failing to provide enough rice for his food-deficit state, he is laying the groundwork for unprecedented state moves—such as using foreign exchange earnings to buy rice abroad—that would widen the

gap he already sees between leftist state governments and Congress in the center.

Whether or not Congress becomes a more conservative party and eventually part of a right-of-center coalition, its days as the single national party appear numbered.

As Congress declines, a transitional phase may be necessary. The only way it can be accompanied by order may be by a national non-Communist government with its components modifying extreme demands such as the total cow slaughter ban desired by the Hindu Nationalists.