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# GOOD-BYE TO SOCIALISM

## Congress blue-print for third plan bodes no good for our people



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### Congress-League Front - Challenge To Democracy

NATIONALIST and democratic opinion all over the country is deeply shocked by the opportunist alliance of the Congress in Kerala with the Muslim League.

The echoes of the protest were heard during the AICC Session and though the Congress High Command succeeded in bamboozling the AICC for the time being, still the strength of the opposition can be seen from the fact that Congress President Indira Gandhi had to resort to plain untruths in defending her position. She had to state that there was no alliance—contrary to all the previous and authoritative statements.

Under the British rule, the Muslim League lent its services to the British to see that the common national consciousness did not grow up among the backward sections of the Muslim masses. Today also it appeals to the Muslims as Muslims and not as citizens of India, and keeps them away from the surging national consciousness. Whose interests is the Congress protecting in Kerala by joining hands with the League?

The Central Government intervened in Kerala and dismissed a legally constituted Ministry in the name of upholding the Constitution and democracy. Is Congress defending the Constitution and democracy by its alliance with the League in Kerala—the League which is alien to all sense of nationalism?

The alliance with the League is alliance with a tested and proven anti-national force for the Congress to get back to power anyhow to defend the vested interests. It is an alliance not against the Communist Party only, but against the democratic forces in Kerala, against the spirit of nationalism and the Indian Constitution.

This is one of the most

sinister developments of recent times and one over which Congressmen and all democrats must seriously ponder. For, it reveals the physiognomy of Indian reaction, the way things are likely to shape in face of the advance of the democratic movement. The implications of these developments extend far beyond Kerala.

What do they reveal? They reveal a growing combination of the extreme Congress Right wing which is opposed to all progressive policies and the medieval forces of religious fanaticism and communalism. These latter are not only ideological forces but have always been the basic support of Indian reaction—imperialism in British days—feudal landlords, princes, in short of every kind of conservative interests. The main role is to disrupt the common democratic and national consciousness of the masses, to set one section of mass against another so that it does not unite for a democratic advance. In free India also, the basic source of strength of these forces continues because of the backwardness of big sections of masses.

#### Editorial

The Congress, the national movement, and the democratic forces in India grew by defeating the challenge of these forces at every step and frustrating their attempts to divide the people. Without this constant running battle, India could not have been united into a nation. With British imperialists gone, these forces disintegrated; opposed by all progressive parties, they ceased to be a serious challenge to Indian democracy.

But now for its own selfish ends, the Congress is giving them a fresh lease of life. The reason is that large

sections of masses, seeing through the hollowness of Congress protestations about Socialism, are turning away from it. The gap between Congress profession and practice is seen by the advanced sections of the masses. The Congress is, therefore, turning to the most backward sections who are under the influence of communal reactionary forces. It is an attempt to maintain Congress domination by forging a reactionary alliance against the advanced democratic forces, an alliance against those who demand that the democratic and progressive promises of the Congress be kept. And in the bargain, the extreme Indian reaction is being given a place of honour in Indian political life. Democracy and the Indian Constitution, fundamental rights and Socialism are all seriously endangered by this combination. If it succeeds nothing but stark reaction will reign all over India. The forces of communalism will demand their own price, and that will mean consolidation of the most reactionary vested interests.

The danger of the situation is enhanced by the fact that Pandit Nehru is thick in this unscrupulous and anti-democratic alliance. It is further increased by the fact that the League has now started spreading its tentacles to Bombay and other States.

The Kerala alliance has only highlighted a sinister development that was taking place behind the backs of the people. The election agreement with the Akalis in the last general elections in Punjab, with the Dravida Kazhagam in Tamilnad, the post-election coalition with the feudal Gantantra Parishad in Orissa are all links in the long chain leading to compromise with the forces of communalism.

This then is the challenge posed by the Kerala alliance

by B. T. BANADIVE

The Report of the Congress Planning Sub-Committee, submitted to the AICC Session at Chandigarh and unanimously passed by it, is a sorry document. Pandit Nehru is reported to have described it as the horoscope of the nation. If that is so, so much the worse for this poor nation for, the horoscope holds out bleak prospects for it, notwithstanding heroic talk about Socialism, new values and new order.

FIRST, the Third Plan constitutes a serious national affair and a party—and a ruling party at that—which looks upon it only as its own partisan affair, which does not think in terms of securing the participation of other political parties and organisations of the people, only betrays that it looks upon national planning as an instrument of maintaining its party domination and not as a national and total effort to get rid of poverty.

The Sub-Committee itself states that there has been lack of popular participation in planning efforts. While this is no doubt due to deeper and fundamental causes to which we will come later, it is partly due to the fact that no serious effort has been made by the Congress to enroll the efforts of other political parties and organisations or even respond to the valuable suggestions made by them.

Congress arrogance and complacency and superiority complex have made planning the preserve of the bureaucracy and the Congress and added to the difficulty of planning. One would have thought that the AICC was the proper platform to warn Congressmen against such arrogance and create a climate for a really national effort. But the AICC Sub-Committee shows hardly any consciousness that other parties and organisations exist. In fact, when it talks of people's cooperation, it only talks of cooperation

of all sections of the community but fails to mention political parties. When it mentions voluntary organisations, it mentions for the most part only those that are dominated by Congressmen or pro-Congress elements. This is enough to reveal the "national" outlook the Sub-Committee's report brings to bear on the problem.

#### No Assimilation Of Experience

The Third Five-Year Plan, if it is really to lead to a big national advance and lay the basis of what the Sub-Committee calls a self-generating and self-reliant economy—in common parlance it may be translated as an independent economy producing its own means of production and momentum for further advance—must be based on a proper assimilation of the mistakes, shortcomings, experiences and achievements of the first two Plans. And above all, the basic assumptions and postulates of the two Plans have to be x-rayed for, they have had sufficient trial and their results are now before us.

But the AICC Report does not enter into any such discussion, does not make an objective re-assessment of our achievements and assumptions so as to prepare the country for an ideological take-off. Is it not further necessary to study the experience of Socialist countries who have been doing wonders with their planned economies? Especially the experience of China, who only the other day was a country like ours, but has left us far behind with its breath-taking progress?

First, with regard to the results of the Plans. Anyone who has the good of India at heart and wants the country to progress rapidly towards elimination of poverty cannot but admit that they have been extremely poor, notwithstanding certain notable achievements—especially in the vital sphere of heavy industry—and hold out no prospect of a decent standard of living to the people at the rate at which we are going. Every basic problem stares us in the face as it did when we started on what Nehru calls our pilgrimage to prosperity soon after independence.

It will have to be candidly admitted, unless we want to mislead the people, that not-

(October 14)

\* SEE OVERLEAF



withstanding the huge investments and our claims to build a Socialist pattern of society, our national income is increasing very slowly, and it even declines occasionally during the planning years. Our rate is nothing extraordinary compared with many other countries which neither boast of planning nor Socialist pattern.

**National Income**

Between 1951-56, India's gross national product grew at an average annual rate of 3.9 per cent, the rate of per capita increase was 2.5 per cent. At the same time, countries which U.N. Dhebar and colleagues refer to as "totalitarian" countries have been developing their economies at a terrific rate. According to the figures given in a UNO publication, production in China developed by 13 per cent between 1955 and 1956; while in the previous two years the rate of annual development is six and seven per cent respectively. In Poland, national income measured in constant prices increased approximately at the rate of ten per cent per annum between 1951-57. The annual average rate of national income is about seven per cent between 1951 and 1957 both in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia.

It is further doubtful whether even in terms of our own limited objective of 25 per cent increase in five years the Second Plan will succeed in reaching its target. Taking into consideration recent tentative figures of national income for 1958-59, it appears that national income for the first three years of the Plan will have risen only 10.4 per cent or near about it. Per capita net income at Rs. 290.7 in 1958-59 shows a rise of 6.3 per cent in the first three years. Whereas the target for per capita income is Rs. 325 in 1960-61, it has only increased from Rs. 283.5 to Rs. 290.7 in the first three years. Whether even this progress will be maintained in the succeeding two years is doubtful. The figures for 1958-59 are dominated by a big bumper harvest. The present year does not hold out such high hopes.

**Objectives And Achievement**

The objectives which the Second Plan set before our country were the following: (a) sizable increase in the national income to raise the level of living in the country; (b) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries; (c) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and (d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and more equitable distribution of economic power. What has the Sub-Committee to say about the likely achievement of these objectives? It is plain that for the most part even these modest objectives will remain unfulfilled. As regards sizeable increase in income we have already seen the reality. The industrialisation programme of the Second Plan in the public sector, except for the three big steel plants, may remain unfulfilled to a great extent—though the planners, no doubt, do deserve a good word for seeing through the steel plants. As regards employment opportunities, in spite of creation of new jobs, new opportunities for 6.5 millions, "the likelihood is that the

Third Five-Year Plan will commence with a heavier handicap in the shape of a backlog of seven millions. At the end of the First Five-Year Plan, the backlog of unemployment was about 2.5 million in urban areas and about 2.8 million in the rural areas, making a total of 5.3 million. There are likely to be seven or eight lakh educated unemployed at the end of the Second Plan compared with 5.5 lakhs at its beginning."

The Plan is at its worst so far as distribution of income is concerned. Who can say that there is less economic inequality today. Heavy taxation, deficit-financing leading to inflationary pressures, high prices placing every necessity of life beyond the reach of the common man, have depressed the standard of living of our masses. The fact that the rupee has fallen in value by 29 per cent in recent years, is itself a startling proof that standard of living has been forced down. No one can say that with the depreciation of the rupee, the common peasant has been benefited. Inflationary pressures, high prices, profiteering have combined to transfer the increase in national income to a small strata, leaving a big chunk of the masses worse off than before.

In face of this, it is difficult to take seriously the claim that substantial reduction (in dis-

sources should be utilised, they have been thoroughly unable to do it?

The Congress Sub-Committee knows the reason and is unwilling to mention it. It is, therefore, no accident that the Sub-Committee's Report makes hardly any reference to radical land reforms, imposition of ceilings and releasing land for distribution among the landless, much less to co-operative farming. There is only a cursory reference in one or two places and for the rest, the reader is regaled with platitudes of the above type. This really is an anticlimax after the much advertised Nagpur resolutions which gave mandate to finish land reforms by the end of the year and fix ceilings within the shortest possible time and further indulged in tall talk about cooperative farming.

**Tiller Must Get Land**

The negative experience of our own country, as well as the fruitful and positive experience of Socialist countries proves that the regeneration of Indian agriculture cannot take place without a radical land reform and handing over of land to the tiller. These form the basis of a mighty cooperative movement

and in no case less than five per cent per annum. This rate of growth will afford an increase of nearly four per cent per year in per capita income. The point is, will it be possible to lay the basis of "self-generating" economy and with whose help. The answer seems to be provided by recent newspaper reports. The "totalitarian" Soviet Union seems to be giving liberal aid to Dhebar's "democratic Socialism," while Western democracies are not yet prepared to go much beyond financing the overheads. Has the Sub-Committee drawn any conclusion from this so that our country can profit from it? Will it at least now draw any conclusion from the recent announcements?

With this approach towards agriculture in the Sub-Committee's Report, with its refusal to touch the vested interests, there is no solution of a whole will be going through near-famine conditions during the Third Plan also, American loans being utilised to prevent outright famine. In any case, nothing but marginal living conditions will be possible for the common man. All hopes of a higher standard of life must be deferred to yet another period.

The Sub-Committee is on much sounder ground in relation to industry. "Secondly, we

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**Welcome Emphasis, But...**

If the projects announced in the Press are built with the aid of the USSR and other Socialist countries, if they are not sabotaged for political considerations, then there is no doubt that a basis for a self-generating economy, so far as industry is concerned, will have been laid down; and India will not be dependent on foreign countries for her economic progress.

The emphasis on public sector and heavy industries is no doubt welcome after the repeated attacks against them from the extreme reactionaries. Yet this is not the whole story. The attackers also have got further assurances. "Existing private

**LAND REFORMS BYPASSED: NO SOLUTION TO FOOD PROBLEM**

parties in income, etc.) has taken place in the rural sector and that only in "the industrial and urban sectors of the economy" the steps have not been sufficiently effective.

Typical in this connection is the outlook of the Committee on agricultural development. The failure to solve our food problem has shown the bankruptcy of the policies pursued by the Congress Government and the planners. Their failure to raise agricultural, especially food production acts as a veto on our economic progress, upsets all calculations of the planners, besides inflicting intense suffering on our people, leading to mass movements against the Government as in West Bengal.

**Unwilling To State Facts**

But what does the Sub-Committee say. Consider the following profound formulation: "The key to the improvement of agricultural production lies, above all, in the speedy rise of the yield per acre through the intensification of agriculture, diversification of the rural economy and the organisation of agricultural services through cooperative institutions."

A more platitudinous formulation could not have been made! Why do not the members of the Committee even attempt to explain why these tasks which appear so simple have not been achieved, why, for instance, when the planners profoundly state that our man-power re-

which breaks all traditions and records in agriculture and increases production by leaps and bounds. The Report of the Indian delegation to China on Agrarian Cooperatives has the following to say:

"The achievements in China have been largely influenced by the character of land reforms, which abolished the vestiges of their kulak economy; land was given to all those who wanted to work on it and the maximum holding was reduced to double the average area available per household. The land reforms provided the climate: "The cooperatives would not have been formed but for a deliberate policy of the Chinese Government and the Communist Party to promote and strengthen this form of organisation. After an initial period of successful demonstration, a campaign for co-operativisation was launched and large bodies of peasants joined, motivated as much by considerations of increased production and a higher standard of life as by a patriotic urge for rapid industrialisation and development of Socialism. The movement succeeded because at about the same time, a Socialist transformation was taking place in all the important sectors of the national economy." (ibid., p. 178)

But the Congress Committee has decided to turn its back on this experience. It seems it has decided to give up all talk of

large-scale enterprises should recognise that the ultimate solution of the problem of mass poverty lies in transforming our economy into a self-generating and self-reliant progressive economy, which depends for its future growth on its own resources. The building of an independent economy is a task which still faces us and it will certainly bear emphasis. "Thus the development of basic and capital goods industries occupies a crucial stage in a country's economic growth. In the Third Plan, therefore, we must take a further step in the direction of developing these steel-using industries. We, therefore, consider that at this crucial stage in developmental planning an important place has to be given in the Third Plan and future plans to the establishment of capital goods and machine-building industries." (p. 24)

**Will Lessons Be Drawn?**

Obviously these industries will be established in the public sector. These are good and brave objectives. What chances are there of their being realised? To be able to achieve them, the total investment in the Third Plan might run up to Rs. 10,000 crores. The Sub-Committee itself contemplates a rate of increase in national income of the order of six per cent per annum

large-scale enterprises should broadly speaking continue to remain in the private sector, as any attempt to nationalise them would involve the diversion of public resources for this purpose. (This includes foreign concerns also).... These large-scale units of private enterprises which remain in the private hands will be appropriately controlled and regulated." So far as the question of setting up of new large-scale enterprises is concerned, the Committee first states that the trend will be towards minimising new ventures and at the same time adds, "The issues involved in these have to be decided necessarily from the point of view of optimum economic and social advancement during the period in view. It is not desirable to lay down rigid rules and each case must be judged on its merits." This is virtually a blatant assurance to private enterprise. Barring those fields in which anyway it cannot invest, the entire field is practically left open. Thus encouraged, new ventures in collaboration with foreign private capital are springing up like mushrooms, not only creating foreign vested interests, but strengthening the private sector and making a farce of planned economy. What kind of control of prices, production or profit is possible with this unabated growth of the private sector? This, of course, is a convincing

\* SEE PAGE 14

**BRITISH BLACKMAIL**



DESPITE all the chorus against China, our imperialist friends are not impressed and continue to put the screw on us. Despite all Moraji's mollycoddling, the American he-men refuse to be moved and even the removal of double taxation did not make them any more merciful. The British pleaded that they just cannot help. But they have also decided to emulate Shylock.

ISCON, the British consortium, is building the Durgapur Steel Plant in a way that the "natives" do not get a chance of learning anything and remain dependent. Apart from this, ISCON provided defective piles, which caused quite a scandal, after New Age exposed the racket. ISCON was forced to put matters right at its own cost.

Now they have decided to teach us a lesson. They claim that their contract with our Government provides only for construction and not commissioning. For the latter, they intend to charge a fresh something close to Rs. two crores, we are informed. It is said to be more than what they will have to pay out for changing the defective piles.

Further, the fabulously paid British technicians do not want to leave Durgapur after the plant is built. They are sedulously spreading the scare that since trained Indians won't be available, things may go

wrong once the British leave and ISCON might get the blame. So they insist on being retained to keep Durgapur safe and ISCON free from taint. Of course, they cannot work at "nigger" wages and will have to be paid what they get now—and they can go on acting as agents of the ISCON companies.

We could expect all this from the British since we do not stand in the same awe of them as some of the higher-ups. What is alarming, however, is that the ISCON pressure seems already to be having its effect and Government circles have begun to plead that all this will have to be accepted. These blue-eyed boys are scared out of their wits lest even the steel plants let down the Plan, which is in quite a sorry mess by now.

**NON-EXISTENT SAVINGS**

SMALL savings have always been paraded as a sign that the people of India participate in the Plan and, what is more important for Government propaganda, that the new prosperity enables them to accumulate savings.

We were told by a teacher in one of the Capital's

colleges that these small savings were literally extorted by circulars and other forms of pressure by the college big-wigs. When the teachers complain, these authorities produce irrefutable evidence that they themselves are under pressure to ensure that big amounts flow into the small savings scheme. Still, despite all this extortion, these savings are quickly enough withdrawn.

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha opines that large sums deposited "towards the end of the financial year are withdrawn early in the next financial year." It further states that these large withdrawals occur because the savings are not always voluntary! The net collection of small savings come only to 27 per cent of the gross takings, we are informed.

These strictures did not particularly worry the authorities since they hoped that with all manner of subjects up for discussion, this particular Estimate Committee Report would be missed in Parliament—and it seems it was.

But now Sri Manu Narayan has let the cat loose among the pigeons. He has declared that the whole Small Savings Drive is a farce since savings put in at the

end of one financial year are almost immediately withdrawn at the beginning of the next. Being a worthy member of the Planning Commission, he should know what he is talking about.

Nor is this an accident. The LIC Janata Insurance policies have miserably failed also. And for the same reason—the people cannot make both ends meet, let alone save anything or provide for the future. The sooner the Government publicly acknowledges this, the better—the people will be saved from harassment at any rate.

**THANK YOU, MR. GORWALLA**

ONLY a few days ago Hindustan Times' "S. M." gave the game away by insulting Nepal and Bhutan for not lining up in the hate-China campaign. That this was no aberration becomes clear when we find the great Gorwalla venting his spleen in the same way in the Indian Express of October 12.

"News from Nepal was definitely bad. Its Prime Minister who owed the very existence of his Government to Indian intervention against the neutrality of Nepal..." How unsporn-

ing and ungrateful! The gentleman whom the Nepali people elected should immediately be sacked by Indian intervention again, if Gorwalla had his way!

But worse is to come. Gorwalla is in anguish since "the Nepalese Minister for Development was declaring in Peking that 'the development and progress of China is a matter of glory for every nation in Asia'... Nepal was clearly faltering." So to praise China's phenomenal progress is a sign of faltering! What a pity China cannot oblige this aged civilian and falter along like India's Plan.

On top of all this Nepalese impertinence Gorwalla finds that "the Prime Minister of Bhutan appeared also, from recent statements, to be far less firm than during his visit to Delhi a few weeks ago..."

Not content with thus exposing himself as ready to wreck India's good name as a friend of her smaller neighbours, Gorwalla goes on to attack Krishna Menon and praise Thimayya. His final insult is to his reader's intelligence—he has, after all this, the gumption to claim that Thimayya's resignation had absolutely no political aim! "S. M." and Gorwalla belong to the lunatic fringe, it is true. What is useful about them, however, is that unable to contain themselves, they blurt out the real aims, which others try to conceal beneath subtle and equivocal phrases, of the recent tirades against People's China.

ONLOOKER  
October 12

**KERALA R.S.P. BEGINS TO BREAK UP**

**Rank-and-File Protest Against Leaders' Betrayal**

THE Kozhikode District Committee of the RSP has dissolved itself and all its members will resign forthwith from the Party. This unanimous decision was taken in protest against the present reactionary policy of the RSP which helps only the vested interests and violates all the basic principles and declared policies of the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

In a statement to the Press, the Secretary of the Kozhikode District Committee of the RSP, A. M. Karappan, has explained the decision. He says:

"We are convinced that no purpose will be served by our continuing in the RSP because the party's policy of joining hands with the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League, will only help the advancement of the interests of the reactionaries and the vested interests."

"Till very recently the party taught us that the Congress is the class organisation of the bourgeoisie and hence that organisation is the class enemy of the working class," says the statement and adds: "The party's stand was that there

should be a united front of all Left forces including the Communist Party to overthrow the Congress Government. Even today outside Kerala, especially in West Bengal, the RSP is following the same policy.

"But in Kerala it has taken a line which declares that Communism is its enemy number one and in the name of defeating Communism, the RSP is joining hands with the capitalists and Catholic reactionaries, while on the other hand in Bengal, the Communist Party is the only comrade-in-arms of the RSP and the Congress is its main enemy there.

"Comrade Sreekantan Nair is participating in receptions held all over the State in honour of the leaders of the reactionary vested interests like Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, the leader of the Swatantra Party, Sri V. P. Menon, and Sri Kunbalathu Sanku Pillai who is notorious for his crimes against RSP comrades and who was responsible for hunting out our comrades in the past.

"The party which was criticising the Communist Gov-

ernment for not being revolutionary enough and for not making the Education Act and the Land Bill more revolutionary is now preaching that these legislations should be made more liberal. It is, therefore, working against the Education Act and the Land Bill siding with the forces of reaction and counter-revolution. The Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of the 'working class' is campaigning for such a reactionary reorientation.

"We have tried our best to correct the party from inside. But the leaders have a bureaucratic grip over the party. Party principles are thrown to the winds and the ranks are deprived of their right to participate in formulating the policy of the party. Even the higher committee members have no role and are not permitted to participate in policy-making discussions. A handful of leaders especially Srikantan Nair decide the policy of the party and steam-roller them on the ranks."

The statement then explains how the leaders changed the policies of the party without any discussions—from critical support to the Communist-led Government to organising the overthrow.

"We had challenged the propriety of such actions of the leadership in many committee meeting and also in the Kerala Conference held at Mavelikara. The new policy resolution of cooperation with the Congress to oust the Communist Government could be passed only with a majority of four votes and that too after threats from the leader, Srikantan Nair, that he will resign from the leadership if his resolution was rejected.

"After this the leaders evolved a policy of their own for a united front with the Congress trampling underfoot all the ideological principles of the party. They declared that that they were prepared to make any adjustment to defeat Communism. The leaders have not the courage to call a party conference and get the elec-

ture strategy endorsed. In a bureaucratic way the leaders are forcing their own policy on the party ranks. This is undoubtedly the royal path of counter-revolution. Our conscience does not permit us to continue to work for such a party.

"We know that in Kerala there are many members in the RSP who oppose the leadership's present policy. We feel that there is no use of just waiting for a better tomorrow in the party and remind them of their duty to resign from the party and come out openly.

"Our faith in Marxism-Leninism and its world outlook is unshakable and firm. We believe that mankind's future lies in the hands of the working class and we will continue to work in whatever way possible with that belief."

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## FRIENDS AND FOES

PREMIER Chou's reply to Premier Nehru's greetings on China's National Day has produced the restorative effect of a new tonic on worsening India-China relations. The Political Correspondent of the Statesman (October 8) states: "Its contents have pleased Mr. Nehru and the External Affairs Ministry."

From the Indian side, our Prime Minister has been reiterating India's desire for a peaceful solution and restoration of friendly relations. In his Bombay speech (Hindustan Times, October 5) he stated: "I have always desired that we two should live in friendship. If our relations are strained, it will poison the atmosphere in the whole of Asia." Again, the next day at Poona he stated: "In the interest of peace, in the interest of both, India and China the two nations should continue to remain on friendly terms." These are sane and wise words which betoken better days ahead.

The evil men of the American Lobby who had set their hearts on continuing the India-China conflict are in jitters. An example is the Hindustan Times Editor, who in his signed column, writes: "The lull that is about to ensue is far more perilous, especially if we are going to be fed doses of ever-increasing capacity of the virtues of a foreign policy that friendship begets friendship." They are afraid their game may be up.

Imperialist machinations can exploit a difficult situation, create temporary prob-

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# NOTES OF THE WEEK

lems but they cannot stem the tide of Asian history. India-China friendship is not only ancient heritage but the direct product of new Asian resurgence, destined to serve as the bedrock of Asian solidarity against Western colonialism. It is not easy to turn the wheel of historic destiny backwards, against the common interests and noble aspirations of our two nations. Yet they go on trying, and only expose themselves more and more.

## TIBET IN THE U. N.

THE PSP leaders who were feverishly busy up and down the country, slandering the Communist Party over the India-China dispute have now started raving against the Nehru Government. Its National Executive has, in all seriousness, passed a resolution "deploring" the non-participation by India in the voting to take up the Tibetan issue in the U.N. General Assembly.

According to the PSP it was the question of violation of "human rights" in Tibet "on which surely no civilised nation would abstain." In other words, it is the human duty of the Tibetan people to suffer the worst-ever regime of medieval Lama serf-owners!

The Indian people and the Government recognise Tibet as a part of China, and it inevitably follows that the Chinese Government has the right to suppress any counter-revolution in its own territories. The PSP Executive, however, screams that the Tibetan people "are victims of a shooting war" and would want us to support a pro-imperialist reactionary uprising against our neighbour and cast aside Panch Sheel.

The PSP leadership goes on to scream that "our country faces aggression from China" and would want us to support a pro-imperialist reactionary uprising against our neighbour and cast aside Panch Sheel.

The demand of these crooked men is that the Indian delegation "be instructed to support the Irish-Malay resolution when it comes up before the U.N. General Assembly."

A little background will help to understand whom the PSP leaders seek to serve. It is obvious that they are neither loyal to India's policy nor to Socialist principles and cause.

The United Press reported from Washington that at the end of August and the beginning of September, U.S. Government officials repeatedly expressed the hope that "one Asian nation would sponsor the Tibetan appeal to the U.N." These officials also explained that the reason why the U.S. dared not raise the question itself was due to the fear that American "initiative" would "cause people in neutralist countries to dismiss the matter merely as a cold-war propaganda play."

Our readers will recall that it was about this very time that the Dalai Lama came down to Delhi, and with the support of the PSP and the Jan Sangh publicly expressed in our capital city, he pressed the Prime Minister to raise the Tibetan issue in the U.N. but met with

a refusal. He then went the round of foreign embassies but got no better response. The Dalai Lama then directly appealed to the U.N.

On September 17, U.S. Secretary of State Herter demanded at the session of its General Assembly that the U.N. "must speak out in clear terms" on the so-called Tibetan question. All the well-known backstage wire-pulling was done and on September 28, Ireland and Malaya popped up to submit this question to the U.N. and the U.S. immediately expressed its full support!

Indian representative Krishna Menon explained the Indian stand before a television interview in these plain words "A full-scale debate in the U.N. General Assembly on Tibet would not lead to any constructive action but would promote the cold war and create an unfavourable atmosphere for talks on other issues." (Hindustan Times, October 12)

The PSP is thus championing not the Indian but U.S. foreign policy.

The U.S. cannot keep up the cold war in the West; it seeks to transfer it to the East. Tibet is its stick to stoke the fire.

U.S. imperialists through their agents and links, like the PSP leaders, seek to pressurise India to fan the flames.

The basic aim of U.S. imperialist policy is to sow discord between India and China. Tibet is only the pretext. To set the two biggest nations of Asia against each other, disrupt Asian solidarity and in the process move the uncommitted nations away from cooperation with the Socialist camp and drag them towards its own imperialist camp is the big game and the PSP leadership is only serving this politically and morally despicable but historically doomed cause.

The small men of the PSP can hurl themselves in vain against our national foreign policy.

## DOLLAR INVASION

MORARJI Desai's much-publicised visit to the countries of the Western camp, and its main capital Washington, has drawn a virtual blank and he is coming back home with only the tale of tough terms demanded by the Shylocks of the West.

Times of India's Vohra (October 6) cabled from Washington that there is "no appreciable increase" likely in the Western aid to the backward countries. The IDA will not get going for over a year and even then it will have a "very modest beginning."

Soon after the birth ceremony of the IDA was over, the presiding deity, Eugene Black, declared that it may give "soft loans" but it will be no "soft lender" i.e. it will scrutinise the projects and sanction only those it considers "sound."

The Special Washington Correspondent of Hindustan Times on October 8 revealed that new U.S. aid would be

tied up with conditions. The first is "buy American", irrespective of the higher price of U.S. machinery and goods. The second is that the aid will be given "projectwise", i.e. only for those the U.S. approves of, and not be "general," i.e. to be used for any projects India's planners consider necessary for India's development. The Correspondent calls it "the new hard line on foreign aid."

It was all in the papers, common talk inside the Parliamentary lobby and accepted theme of official spokesmen that "massive U.S. aid" for India's Plan was almost guaranteed but it was conditional upon bulk of it being for the private sector and that India's Finance Minister's job was to get the most of it and on best possible terms. The nation ought to know how far Morarji went in courting the Dollar Kings.

In his New York Press Conference, he "denied that India's ultimate goal was Socialism... We are a democracy and we will never do anything contrary to democratic principles... I do not know what more we can do to assure your investors that their money would be safe and secure in India." (Times of India, October 8)

Again, addressing the U.S. bankers and businessmen in our Consulate-General office there, the Finance Minister appealed to them "to invest in Indian enterprises on the basis of mutual trust and without waiting for too many guarantees from the Government of India. We have no policy of nationalisation. We do not believe in it as a principle and there is little likelihood that we will ever resort to it." (Hindustan Times, October 9)

Pandit Nehru owes an immediate explanation to the nation how far his Finance Minister reflected the policy of his Government. We have no doubt that Morarji Desai will be hauled over the coals when Parliament reassembles and not by the Communists alone.

Let us piece the picture together: Rs 2,500 crores is the big sum we seek. The U.S. is willing to help only if the bulk of it is for the private sector, in partnership with Indian monopolists or as purely U.S. private enterprises, again for projects which the U.S. ap-

proves of and above all, on terms that U.S. capital dictates. What happens to India then? It becomes another Pakistan, Thailand or Philippines.

## INDIA'S OWN STEEL

STEEL is strength. On October 12, India has produced its first steel in the public sector from Bhilai and with Soviet aid. This is yet another landmark in the development of India-Soviet friendship which has meant so much for both countries and for world peace.

Let us put another, very different, picture together. Bhilai (USSR) made the other steel plants possible but has come out first in the race with Durgapur (U.K.) sinking at the foundations and Rourkela (W. German) having "teething troubles."

More, one million ton capacity of Bhilai can be immediately increased to 1.3 million tons and ultimately 2.5 million tons and this will get done with further Soviet aid.

Still more, the new Soviet credits and fraternal aid will enable India to make as much machine-making machinery as the USSR itself had in 1940, on the eve of its entry into World War II. It has agreed to double the capacity of the Ranchi Heavy Machinery Project and set it up in record time. It has agreed to build coal-mining machinery that will help Indian miners dig as much coal as the nation needs. It will help us make oil-refining and prospecting equipment to develop the nation's oil in the public sector and break the imperialist monopoly. It will help set up heavy electrical and new hydro-electric projects and so on.

Let us pause and ask ourselves who is helping us to set up heavy and basic industries and in the public sector? The USSR and other Socialist countries!

Let the anti-Communists howl their heads off. The living experience of the Indian people is rapidly helping them to differentiate the selfless and good friend from the selfish and cunning foe.

(October 14)

—P. C. JOSHI

## NEW AGE

Political Monthly of Communist Party of India.

Editor: B. T. RANADIVE

October Issue Contains:

CHOU EN-LAI: China's Economic Advance

EDITORIAL BOARD: S. A. Dange

JNAN BIKASH MOITRA: Food Struggle in W. Bengal

HARKISHEN SINGH SURJEET: Imperialist Plot Against India

ZIAUL HAQ: Cooperative Farming in Czechoslovakia

B. T. RANADIVE: India-China Relations

## WEST BENGAL

# FORTY LAKHS IN DISTRESS

## Govt. Continues To Play Politics With Relief

\* FROM JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

In more than half of West Bengal vast areas lie submerged under the most devastating floods in its history. The water level, five to twelve feet deep, has just begun to recede; but it is still much above the danger mark.

THERE is no knowing when the flood waters will recede completely. Experts are of the opinion that even if there is no further rain most of the affected areas may remain submerged for another two or three weeks. They point out that drainage has now become one of the most serious problems.

At least forty lakhs of people have been severely affected by this national calamity. The districtwise breakdown of this number is as follows: Nadia—eight lakhs; Midnapore—four lakhs; Howrah—three lakhs; 24-Parganas—three lakhs; Birbhum—two lakhs; Burdwan—seven lakhs; Hooghly—four lakhs; Murshidabad—eight lakhs; other districts—two lakhs.

Even after 12 days, over 500,000 people are still marooned, leading a precarious existence perched on tops of trees and roofs of submerged houses. They are completely cut off from any contact with the outside world, and nobody knows how many of them have fallen victims to starvation and disease.

## Extent Of Devastation

Over 70 people have lost their lives. Numberless cattle have perished. About 6,000 square miles or 25 lakh acres of land under crops have been inundated. Sixty to seventy per cent of the aman paddy, the main crop of the State, has been destroyed. Several lakh houses have either collapsed or have been badly damaged. According to an official estimate, over 70 per cent of houses in some zones have fallen.

On top of all this, the problem of drinking water has become extremely serious because tube-wells and tanks supplying drinking water are still submerged. In some municipal areas like Nabadwip, the water works have been put out of action by the flood waters.

When millions of people are faced with a calamity of such dimensions, a handful of food hoarders and profiteers have taken advantage of the situation to force up the rice prices. Nowhere in the affected areas is rice available for less than Rs. 32 a maund. And, in some areas, it has leapt up to the incredible level of Rs. 60 per maund! The calamity has cast a deep gloom over the entire

State. Little wonder that this year the Dusserah, the most important national festival, was as cheerless as could be—the entire people could not forget that 40 lakhs of their own kith and kin were still waging a grim battle against the merciless floods and stark starvation.

## Heartless Behaviour

When lakhs of people are in such dire distress, the State Government has been behaving in the most callous and heartless manner. No relief worth the name has reached the distressed areas till now while the quantity of food dropped in isolated pockets from the air is just a drop in the ocean.

Rescue operations started full six days after the floods had engulfed the State and the work is being still carried on at a snail's pace, because the number of military assault boats requisitioned for the purpose is totally inadequate. Air dropping of food in inaccessible areas was decided upon only on October 5 and it actually started two days later.

Such has been the efficiency of this Government. Yet it has not prevented the Government from making the claim that about two lakhs of people have been rescued so far. The real fact, however, is that several thousands of them have evacuated to safer zones on their own initiative in rafts and improvised "boats"—big cauldrons used for manufacturing gur.

## Inadequate Relief

The Government claimed on October 10 that 295,062 maunds of rice and atta and 223,866 maunds of wheat had been despatched to the affected districts from Calcutta between October 1 and 6.

Apart from the fact that the quantity—a total of 518,928 maunds—is totally inadequate for 40 lakh starving people, it is not yet known how much of it has actually reached the distressed. One also does not know what the people will do with whole wheat when there are no milling facilities for miles around!

The extreme inadequacy of the relief measures of the Government is evident from the following facts:

● In the Kalna-Katwa-Nabadwip region, over six lakhs of people were able to save their lives through their own efforts. Their most urgent needs now are food and clothes. But the relief that they received between October 3 and 7 was: 22 maunds of chura (beaten rice) and gur, 3,000 maunds of rice and atta and Rs. 2,000 in cash.

● Over a lakh people have been rendered homeless in Purbasthali thana of Burdwan district. But on October 7, four days after the floods had battered the area, 22 maunds of chura and gur and 24 maunds of rice and wheat were distributed.

● In Kallagan thana, the worst affected area in Nadia district, over 30,000 people are in dire distress. But only four bags of chura and gur were airdropped on October 7.

● B. S. Sinha, Land Revenue Minister, admitted that the amount of rice distributed to over 300,000 distressed people in the Kandi sub-division of Murshidabad district worked out at less than one-eighth of a seer per head per day.

## And Now Epidemics

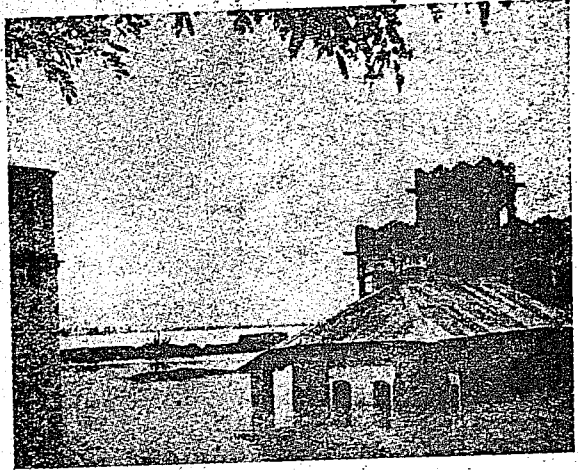
With the slow receding of the flood waters, indications of epidemics are already there. But only 72 Government medical squads have been sent to the vast area. The number is totally inadequate in view of the magnitude of the tasks. In Nadia district alone, where eleven squads have been posted, the district authorities have asked for ten more such units.

The Government is not only callous to the intense sufferings of the people; whatever little relief is being given is sought to be utilised to strengthen the position of the ruling party.

The savage repression let loose by the Government to suppress the food movement has isolated it from vast masses of the people. The Government now regards the disastrous floods as a god-sent opportunity to retrieve some of the lost ground. Little wonder that the Government's attitude regarding distribution of relief is one of shameless "partisanship."

Cooperation of every section of people has been turned down. Opposition parties and non-official organisations have been shut out. All relief is being distributed through official agencies and local Congress Committees.

Dr. B. C. Roy set up a "Flood Relief Committee" on October 6, with himself as Chairman and S. D. Banerjee, former Speaker of the State Assem-



A scene of devastation in Burdwan District—a house half-submerged.



Rescue operations in Burdwan District. Above is an improvised raft of empty cans and below a cauldron used for manufacturing gur.

—Photo: SAMBHU BANERJEE



blly, as General Secretary. The Committee has been packed with the members and supporters of the Congress and with such people who will always abjectly toe the line of the Government.

## Opposition Kept Out

Not a single opposition party or mass organisation is represented on the committee. Even the Leader of the Opposition, Jyoti Basu, has been excluded. But, people like B. M. Birla, Goenka, Khaitan and Lady Mukherjee adorn this "Relief" Committee.

The distressed people have been denied adequate relief, and now the grossest insult has been added to the injury.

When Dr. Roy was asked at his Press Conference on October 7 as to why Opposition parties had not been included in the committee, he haughtily replied that he

found no reason why they should be associated in the name of respective parties when some of them were engaged, in season and out of season, in abusing the Government. "The Government does not find any common ground with them," he added.

But the arguments trotted out by the Chief Minister were so puerile that the Statesman in its editorial of October 8, strongly criticised the openly partisan character of the Relief Committee. It further stressed the point that "when the handling of large sums is entrusted to members of a particular political party, suspicion is created and the charge is almost invariably levelled that funds are being used for party purposes."

This exposure put Dr. Roy and his party in a very tight corner, and the very next day

\* SEE PAGE 13



# U. P. CEILINGS FARCE

The vital question of implementation of the Nagpur Congress resolution on land reforms in U.P. has been drowned in the din of the factional battle going on at present between the warring groups of Ministers and ex-Ministers in the State Congress. Even in the columns of the daily Press, mostly controlled by pro-Congress circles, one does not find much mention of the Bill on Ceiling on Landholdings which has been introduced in the U.P. Vidhan Sabha.

AMONG the Opposition parties only the Communist Party and the Jan Sangh have been most vocal on this problem, the C.P. in support of the Nagpur Congress resolution on land reforms and the Jan Sangh in opposition to it. In the last session of the Assembly the leaders of the Swatantra Party also came forward as leaders of the vested interests.

However, the Swatantraites have good reasons to believe that the interests of the big landholder class, which they represent, are quite safe in the hands of the Congress rulers. The present Congress ruling clique in the U.P. Congress which is making every effort to remain in office against the dissidents of its own party does not have any different view from their rivals so far as the question of land reforms is concerned.

A look at their Bill is sufficient to show that they are more eager to maintain the present land relations than to effect any distribution of surplus land.

## Very High Ceiling

The Bill provides that in future a family of five persons shall be entitled to possess a landholding of 40 acres of fair average quality land. If the family is a big one every additional member shall be able to possess eight acres more subject to a maximum of 24 acres. Thus the landholding of a family of eight persons can go up to 64 acres of average quality land.

The term average quality land means land with a chargeable revenue of over five rupees per acre. If the assessed revenue is between Rs. three and five per acre, the area of land five per acre will be increased under ceiling would be increased by 60 per cent and in case the revenue falls below Rs. three per acre, the holding would be doubled. Thus those persons, who have landholdings on which the assessed revenue is less than Rs. three per acre, will be allowed to retain up to 80 acres of land after the imposition of ceiling.

This limit of 40 acres of average quality land given in the Bill is in no way based on any scientific consideration of the land problem in Uttar Pradesh. According to the National Sample Survey figures of 1956, only 0.83 per cent of families possess landholdings of 40 acres or more and in all they own 9.65 per cent of land. The overwhelming majority of the peasants have less than 15 acres of land. Such tenants constitute 95.28 per cent of families and a break-up of this figure shows that 72.71 per cent of peasant families have less than five acres

at the time of the enforcement of ceiling. same time, all kinds of partitions, whether through a court or by mutual consent among family members, made before this date would be valid. Moreover, even in those cases where some proceeding of partition had been going on on the date mentioned above, partition will be allowed.

All the family members of big landlords are likely to have transferred land among themselves in the name of a family partition and thus managed to possess up to 200 acres of the best land which is named as average quality land.

## Too Many Exemptions

Not content with these provisions, the Congress Government seems to be excluding some more categories of land. Their love for groves and orchards has made the Congress rulers propose that besides these 40 acres, the landlords may be allowed to keep one-tenth of the surplus land with a maximum of ten acres for planting groves. The Government has also considered

The proposal of such a high ceiling as 40 acres would not have been made if the Congress Government had kept in view the need of procuring some land for distribution among landless and poor peasants. Even if this proposal of a ceiling of 40 acres for an ordinary family and 64 acres for a big family is implemented without any other conditions the total land available for distribution would not go beyond four to five lakhs acres.

A ceiling limit of 40 acres in the case of Uttar Pradesh is unjustified in the light of the recommendations of the Planning Commission itself which had said that the limit

than 15 acres of common land the deficit will be made up by including the necessary acreage from the surplus.

It will be no wonder if at the time of fixing ceiling it is found that all the members of big landlord families have overnight become members of cooperative farming societies and thus managed to save their entire land from the provisions of the Bill. The U.P. Government will have a greater number of coop. farming societies to its credit than any other State. Only no land will be left for the poor and the landless.

The wide definition of mechanised farms includes all those farms which are mainly cultivated by tractors. Ownership of tractors by the farm-owners is not a necessary condition.

The surplus land of such mechanised farms will not be taken over for disposal as in other cases. It will be converted into State farms and in the appointment of managers of these State farms preference will be given to their present owners.

In practice this may mean that the cultivation of the landlords-cum-managers' fields will be carried on at Government expense, including the salary of the manager, and the State farms, of course, will suffer more than the usual losses suffered by the present State farms in U.P.

## Universal Criticism

Such a measure cannot be called a Bill for fixing ceiling on landholdings. It is really a measure which seeks to legalise the evasion of ceiling on landholdings. This measure would never have been brought forward if the Congress leaders of Uttar Pradesh had shown even the least amount of sincerity towards the professions of their own party which are incorporated in the Nagpur resolution.

The ceiling of 40 to 60 acres has been criticised not only by the leaders of the Left Oppo-

# GOVT.'S BILL GIVES ALL THE FACILITIES FOR EVASION

by SANKAR DAYAL TEWARI

to landholdings could be fixed at three times an economic holding for a family. In U.P. a holding of 6 2/3 acres of average quality land is regarded as an economic holding and the Bill provides for the retention of more than six economic holdings with the big landowners!

Land falling under several other categories will be exempted from ceiling — including land under plantations, land under chameil (jasmine) plantation, etc. Yet, the most ignominious aspect of this Bill is to be seen in the parts which concern the implementation of the Nagpur Congress resolution on cooperative farming.

## Definition of Family

The provision about partitions and the definition of a family given in the Bill constitute one of the biggest loopholes which would benefit the landlords.

Not only cousins living in a joint Hindu family will be regarded to constitute separate families, but any members of the family who has some land recorded in his name separately will be regarded as a family for the purposes of fixing a ceiling. Thus more than one member of the same family would be entitled to get up to 40 acres of land.

It is a well-known fact that during the last few years, the big landlords have been transferring land in the name of their own family members in order to escape the effects of any ceiling legislation. Now this Bill with such provisions seems to legalise all these mala fide transfers.

About the partitioning of land, the Bill says that all partitions effected after August 15, 1959, will not be taken into account while imposing ceiling. At the

If, after all this, some surplus land is still available for disposal, the owners will get a fairly high rate of compensation for it. The Zamindari Abolition Act had sanctioned eight times the net income of the zamindars as the rate of compensation and a progressively higher rate of rehabilitation grant for smaller zamindars but in this Bill a different rate is given.

## High Rate Of Compensation

Bhumidars will get forty times the land revenue determined at applicable hereditary rates or eighty times the revenue payable, whichever is greater, and where the land revenue payable is less than that determined at applicable hereditary rates an additional amount equal to twenty times the difference between the two.

The payment of compensation will take place in cash or negotiable bonds.

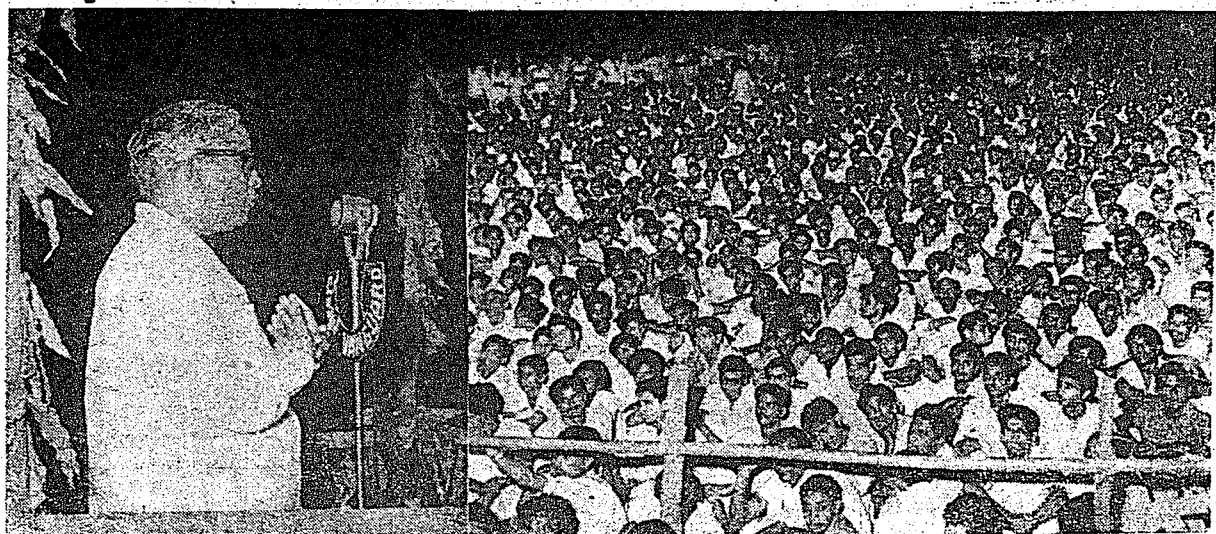
Out of the surplus land thus acquired the common needs of the village will be met and if in any village there is less

sition parties in the Assembly but by the leaders of the Jan Sangh also, knowing the sentiments of the people, have demanded that the limit should be reduced to 50 acres. Eminent economists like Dr. Baljit Singh of the Lucknow University have said that the landholdings should not exceed 15 acres. The Communist Party has been demanding a ceiling on regional basis varying from 12 1/2 to 20 acres in different regions of the State and the PSP resolution passed recently says that ceiling should not be more than 20 acres. Even members of the Congress Assembly Party have said that the limit to landholdings should not exceed 12 1/2 acres if any land is to be provided for distribution among poor and landless peasants.

This criticism of the Bill in the Assembly would be falling on deaf ears if it is not backed by a wide and powerful popular movement outside the Assembly. A unity of all democratic forces in support of a popular demand for ceiling at the proper level is the need of the hour. The Congress rulers of Uttar Pradesh can be prevented from adopting pro-landlord measures and making a farce of ceiling only on the basis of people's strength.

PAGE SEVEN

## Rousing Receptions Despite Heavy Rains and Floods



E. M. S. Namboodiripad addressing a mass rally during his tour of Gujarat.

When E. M. S. Namboodiripad came to Ahmedabad four years ago for a function of the Communist Party very few people gathered to see and hear him. But when he came recently to Gujarat in the course of his visit to various States, a 75,000-strong gathering welcomed him in Ahmedabad. It was an index of the tremendous growth in the democratic consciousness of the Gujarati people acquired in their glorious struggle for Mahagujarat and their interest in the developments in Kerala which they rightly saw as an issue of great importance to the future of democracy in India.

THE meeting in Ahmedabad was no exception. The rallies held in all the centres visited by E. M. S. were big—and this despite the heavy rains and unprecedented floods in the Tapi River which had played havoc in Surat and other places and dislocated railway services between Bombay and Ahmedabad.

On September 27, Namboodiripad travelled from Navsari to Baroda by car. The roads had been so damaged by the rains that he could reach Baroda only four hours late. On the way, he was warmly received by large crowds at Surat, Broach and Palej.

## Midday Rally

Thousands of people in Baroda waited for over two hours in the heat of the midday sun till E. M. S. reached the Azad Maidan. E. M. S. greeted the people with folded hands and said he would make only a short

speech and not keep them long in the sun. But the people insisted that he should not cut short his speech for that reason, and they sat on for another hour listening to his well

ple had gathered in the big compound of the Santram Temple where the public meetings of the Janata Parishad are usually held.

Muljibhai Shah, a prominent merchant of Nadiad and a well-known worker of the Janata Parishad, welcomed E. M. S. while other Janata Parishad leaders like Manmohandas Desai, Vinubhai Gandhi, Dhanvant Shroff, Nagabhai, Madhubhai Desai were all present. E. M. S. made a short speech and thanked the people for the reception and purse of Rs. 350.

When E. M. S. reached Ahmedabad, he was already late by nearly three hours.

men were shot dead on August 8, 1956, and the Janata Parishad had placed a Smarak on August 8, 1958, which was forcibly removed by the Government.

The meeting at Ahmedabad was an unprecedentedly huge gathering. Only the August 8 functions of the Janata Parishad had drawn such vast crowds. Quite a big section of the Janata Parishad leadership participated in it.

The Reception Committee included prominent citizens like Gokuldas Master, Dr. Godani, Dr. Tripathi, Somabhai, Corporators Natvarlal Patel, Manubhai Falkhiwala, Janata

Vajubhai Shukla and Chiman Mehta. Communist leaders, and several other leading citizens were present at the meeting.

Jamnagar was the next stop where E. M. S. addressed a large public meeting before he explained for Bombay in the afternoon.

This flying tour of E. M. S. has left a deep impression on the people of Gujarat. All the poisonous anti-Communist propaganda had failed to prevent the people from gathering to welcome and listen to him in their thousands.

The great sympathy aroused for the Communist Government in Kerala has not

# E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD IN GUJARAT

argued and impressive speech.

From there he went without a moment's rest to the next function—a gathering of prominent citizens of Baroda at the Gandhi Grih Nagar.

E. M. S. then left by car to Nadiad where a rousing reception was given to him by a very large crowd which had been waiting for over two hours. E. M. S. offered flowers at the Shaheed Smarak before going to the public meeting. More than ten thousand peo-

Over seventy-five thousand people, hundreds of women among them, had been waiting from 5 p. m. at the Shaheed Bagh, the extensive grounds were large meetings of the Janata Parishad are held.

Thunderous cheers greeted E. M. S. as he reached the grounds after placing a wreath of flowers at the Shaheed Smarak opposite the Congress House where also thousands of waiting people cheered him. It was here that young

Parishad Vice-President Sutaria, Secretaries Vinod Shukla and G. I. Patel, Communist leaders Vajubhai Shukla, Thakorebhai Shah, Hanumansingh, Abdul Razak, Gordhanbhai Patel, Nalini Mehta, Babubhai Patel and others.

On the 28th E. M. S. though feeling unwell due to the heavy strain of the tour so far, fulfilled several engagements. He spoke to over 2,000 students at the H. A. Commerce College in the morning and at the Gujarat University School of Social Sciences in the afternoon. He also addressed the members and sympathisers of the Communist Party at Ahmedabad.

Before leaving for Viramgam, he spoke at the Harold Laski Institute, where a large audience of intellectuals had gathered. E. M. S. answered a number of questions from them regarding the policies of the Communist Party.

Late at night, he addressed a large public meeting at Viramgam, the town where Gandhiji first offered Satyagraha in 1916.

From Viramgam, he went to Rajkot, the main city of Saurashtra. On the way, he was given receptions at Lakhatar and Surendranagar by hundreds of people who had come to the railway stations after midnight.

At Rajkot, in the morning of the 29th, a big public meeting of over ten thousand people heard E. M. S. Manubhai Thakkar, President of the Bar Association, Babubhai Vaidya, prominent Sarvodaya worker,

only not been affected by the subsequent propaganda against the Communists, it has been strengthened by subsequent events.

The people of Gujarat have seen the Communists fighting in the forefront in the struggle for Mahagujarat. They have known them as the real fighters in the struggle for food in Bengal. They know them today as the defenders of popular unity in Gujarat, as people who are striving to strengthen the unity and organisation of the Janata Parishad.

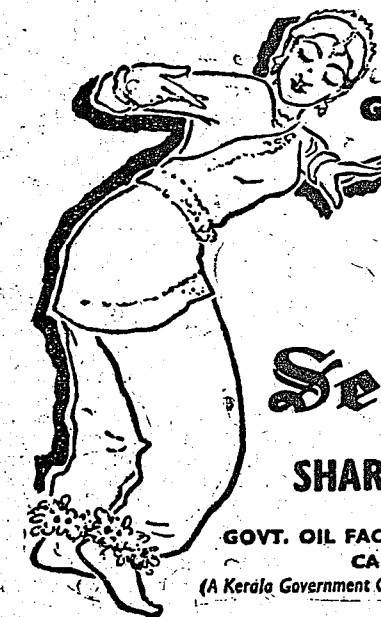
## People Deeply Impressed

They were deeply impressed by his simplicity and sincerity and the Communist Party's respect for the downtrodden. When E. M. S. said at the Ahmedabad meeting that the Communists wanted to see the poor Harijan boy and girl in the villages stand erect before the big landlord, the people cheered him loud and long. In E. M. S. the people of Gujarat found a faithful echo of their newly aroused democratic aspirations.

Everywhere he went, E.M.S. could hear the people enthusiastically expressing their desire for the victory of the democratic forces under Namboodiripad's leadership in the forthcoming Kerala elections.

★ From Our Correspondent

OCTOBER 18, 1959



## GANGA GETS THE APPLAUSE...

Yes, loud & continuous applause. When she was about to enter the stage, mother was however, very apprehensive. Will Ganga also swoon from weakness as did the neighbour's daughter the other day? Father brushed her fears aside saying, she is brought up on

**SeaGold**  
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GOVT. OIL FACTORY  
CALICUT  
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SISTA'S

PAGE SIX

NEW AGE

NEW AGE

OCTOBER 18, 1959



# INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE

THE Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of Indonesia opened at Djakarta on September 7 and continued till September 15.

The Congress heard and discussed a report by General Secretary D. N. Aidit on the national and international situation. The next item was the report by M. H. Lukman, First Deputy General Secretary, on the revision of the Party Constitution. Finally, a new central leadership was elected.

Numerous messages were received from fraternal Parties. Delegates from the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Australia, Italy and Cuba were present, though they were unable to attend the Congress due to a regulation restricting attendance by the Indonesian army authorities at short notice.

Quite a few Ministers, high-ranking officials and political figures sent written messages of greetings to the Party Congress. Among them were the Vice-Chairman of the Provisional Supreme Advisory Council and the Vice-Minister of People's Force Mobilisation.

One of the highlights of the Congress was the address of President Sukarno at a reception held to mark its success. He remarked that strengthening of national unity was needed urgently and that the Communist Party had definitely advocated national unity. "I respect the Indonesian Communist Party," he said. Sukarno reiterated that it was still his ideal to set up a Cooperation Cabinet.

In his report, which was later approved by the Congress, Aidit stated that the political situation in Indonesia was marked by the facts that "the diehard forces have seriously deteriorated, and together with that, the progressive forces have become greater while the middle-of-the-road forces have remained basically the same...." "The Indonesian C. P.'s political line towards these three forces is unchanged, namely, develop the progressive forces, unite with the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the diehard forces. This means carrying out the

## news from brother parties

slogan of 'improve the national front work, further isolate the diehard forces'."

As for the present Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet, the Communist Party will do all it can to assist in the implementation of the Government programme. The Party's attitude was based on the following principle: "Unreservedly support its progressive policies, criticise its vacillating policies so as to make them progressive and oppose those of its policies that are harmful to the people," Aidit stated.

Explaining the Party's attitude to President Sukarno's concept of Guided Democracy,

political with corruption, bureaucracy and inability to solve the basic and important problems of the Indonesian people. Secondly, because of the anti-parliament agitation, in essence, agitation against democratic life, carried out by the promoters of a military junta and other fascist elements.

"The bankruptcy of the liberal democratic system in the eyes of the Indonesian people has not taken place in a situation in which the balance of forces between the Indonesian people on the one hand and the imperialists and the landlords on the other is

is that it is on the one hand anti-military dictatorship and anti-one-man dictatorship, while on the other hand it is anti-liberalism.

"Anti-liberalism in political affairs can mean nothing other than the 100 per cent implementation of the President Sukarno Concept, that is the formation of a 'gotongroyong' Cabinet based on balanced representation of the parties and groups that support the President's concept. Anti-liberalism in economic affairs can mean nothing other than anti-'free-fight liberalism' and this means giving pride of place to the State sector as the condition for directing the entire economy of the country and rooting out the economic domination of foreign capital."

Dealing with the inner-Party situation Aidit pointed out that its membership had increased from 165,206 at the last Congress (March 1954) to over 1,500,000 at present. "From the point of view of its following, the Party, with its voting strength of more than eight millions, is today the biggest party in the country," he declared.

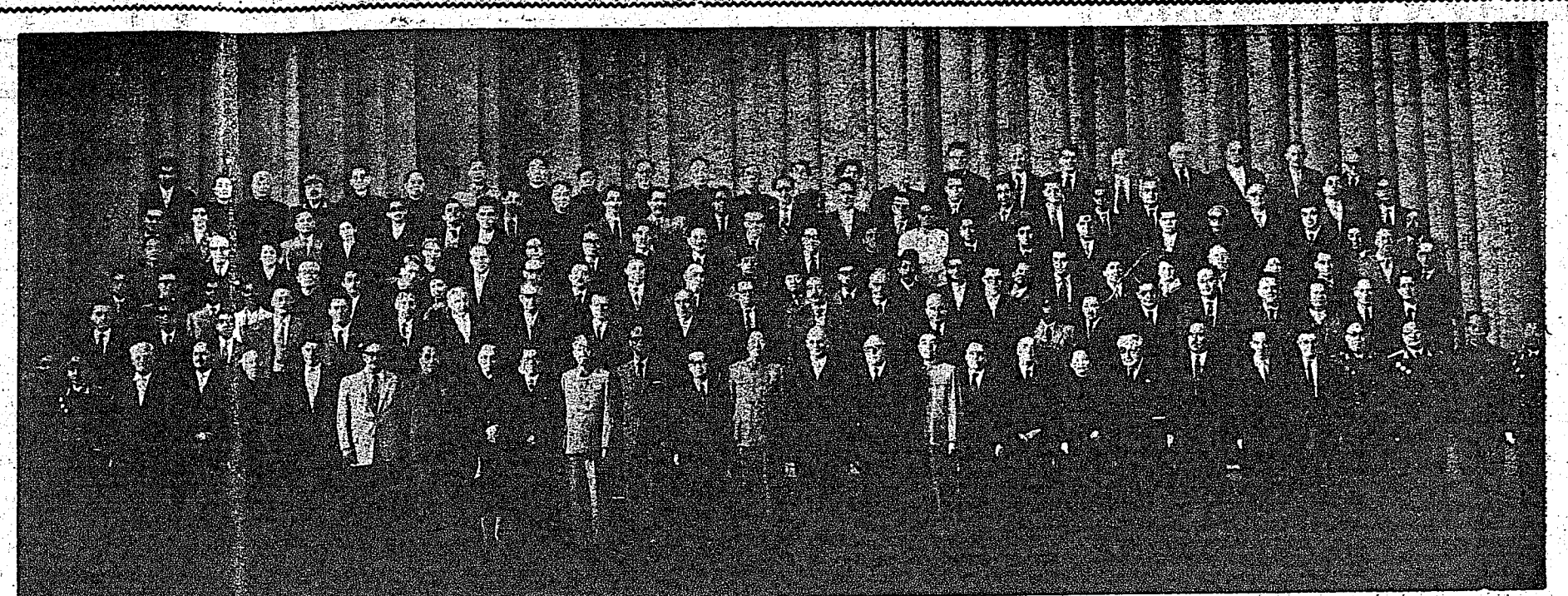
He dwelt at length on the great improvement in the inner-Party position, in the first place ideologically, through the implementation of the First Three-Year Plan on Organisation and Education which began in July 1956. The Party launched a big ideological rectification campaign to smash subjectivism and achieve ideological unity.

In this campaign it was "very important to do two things:

"FIRST, to teach Party members to use Marxist-Leninist methods in analysing the political situation and in estimating the strength of the classes...."

"SECONDLY, direct the attention of the members towards research and study in social and economic affairs." Aidit pointed out that this had to be a constant feature of inner-Party education and style of work.

The newly elected Central Committee consists of 35 members and 11 alternate members. At its first meeting Aidit was elected Chairman, and Lukman and Njoto First and Second Vice-Chairmen respectively.



Leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Republic with delegations and representatives of the fraternal Communist Parties. FRONT ROW: (Right to Left): Ho Lung, Peng Chen, Liu Po-cheng, Lo Yung-huan, Lance Louis Sharkey, Larbi Bouhall, Mohammed Hussein Abu Al-iss, Victorio Codovilla, Soong Ching Ling, Harry Pollitt, Luiz Carlos Prestes, Chou En-lai, Girolamo Li Causi, Waldeck Rochet, Mao Tse-tung, Sanzo Nozaka, Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, Liu Shao-chi, Njoto, Dolores Ibarruri, Chu Teh, Anibal Escalante, Aimo Aaltonen, Tung Pi-wu, Jesus Faria, Johann Kopenig, Lin Piao, Wang Chia-hsiang, Tan Chen-lin. SECOND ROW: (Right to Left): Arnoldo Ferrero, Trvi Breitstein, Victor J. Merchan, Frans Van Den Branden, Tubali, Enrique Rodriguez, Jose Gonzalez, K. P. de Silva, G. Pothoven, Hassan Koraytem, Faud Nassar, Khaled Baghdash, Nelson Clarke, Apostolos Grozos, Guido Cavagna, Dominique Urbany, Hilding Hagberg, Eggert Thorbjarnarson, Robert Sartori, V. G. Wilcox, Alejandro Idrovo, Keshar Jung Raymajhi and Umberto Barull. Other Indian delegates Bhupesh Gupta, Prasada Rao, Romesh Chandra and Parulekar are in the fourth row.

## IN PEKING, ON OCTOBER 1

THE celebration of People's China's Tenth birthday anniversary was a mighty demonstration of the international solidarity of the working class and the Socialist camp and the entire anti-imperialist liberation movement all over the world. "We feel it a great honour" said Polit Bureau Member Peng Chen, addressing the seven lakh rally in Peking on October 1, "to have at our celebration the presence of comrades and friends from 87 foreign countries all over the world, among them leading comrades of the Party and Government of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, leading comrades and representatives of the Communist Parties of other countries, representatives of the Governments of many friendly countries in Asia and Africa and representatives of international people's organisations.

"We are particularly happy," Peng Chen said, "to have the presence at this celebration of Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Min-

isters and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our great ally, who came here after a long trip."

In the central rostrum besides Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders stood N. S. Khrushchov, M. I. Suslov, Ho Chi Minh, Antonin Novotny (Czechoslovakia), Kim Il-sung (North Korea), Umyag Eshednal (Mongolia), Aleksander Zavadski (Poland), Istvan Dobi (Hungary), Dmitri Ganev (Bulgaria), Mehmet Shehu (Albania), Herman Matern (German Democratic Republic), Emil Bodnarus (Rumania). Present also on the central rostrum were delegations of fraternal Communist Parties including those of the Japanese Communist Party led by Sanzo Nozaka, of the French Communist Party led by Waldeck Rochet, of the Indian Communist Party led by Ajoy Ghosh. Also on the rostrum were heads of Government delegations from Afghanistan, Algeria, Iraq, Nepal, Ye-

men as well as representatives of the Government of Burma and the Government of Guinea and the head of the Cultural Delegation of the Government of Sudan.

A celebration meeting was held on September 28 and 29 in the newly constructed Assembly Hall of the National People's Congress. Altogether sixty distinguished guests addressed the rally congratulating the Chinese people on their achievements.

A number of Communist Parties whose representatives could not be personally present to greet the great anniversary sent warm messages on the occasion.

Among them was the C. P. U. S. A. whose Secretary-General, Eugene Dennis, in a message on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party said: "In just ten years, China has advanced in mighty strides from a weak and backward country to a modern agrarian and industrial nation, to the status of a great Power in the world community of nations."

Referring to the international situation and the reactionary policies of the U. S. Government, Dennis stressed: "The unmistakable mood of the American people is to be done with the bankrupt and suicidal cold war policies associated with Dulles and Truman."

He said that in the U. S. "a new and momentous awakening of the will for peace and for friendship, cultural exchange and businesslike relations between Governments and peoples of the East and West, was finding ever more powerful expression." This was manifested, he continued, while N. S. Khrushchov visited the U. S. A. "in a great outpouring of expressions of goodwill and longing for peace, for American-Soviet amity and for summit conference of all the great Powers to ban atomic and hydrogen bombs and to settle all disputed questions by peaceful negotiations."

He said that more and more Americans were calling for a change in the U. S. foreign policy generally

and for "a new initiative toward rapprochement with the People's Republic of China and closer relations with the USSR and all other Socialist countries."

Concerning the U. S. Government's provocative acts and imperialist policies of enmity toward People's China, Dennis emphasised that the self-interest and national honour of the U. S. demanded the withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet from China's territorial waters, the dismantling of U. S. military bases on Taiwan and the offshore islands and the liquidation of the American occupation regime of Chiang Kai-shek on China's insular possessions. It necessitated the restoration of full and equal relations between the U. S. and the Chinese People's Republic. It also required the displacement of the Chiang Kai-shek regime's

representatives in the United Nations by the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic, he said.

The East Pakistan Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan in a letter to the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee said:

"The ringing words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that 'All imperialists are paper-tigers' give us courage and inspiration."

The message stated that Pakistan was passing through critical days. The imperialists "are conspiring to use our country as a war base against the USSR, China and other Socialist and peace-loving countries."

"Our Party, though very small and weak, has taken an unequivocal revolutionary stand against the imperialists and their native collaborators."

Two views of the celebrations in Peking of October 1. LEFT: A part of the civilian demonstration. RIGHT: Workers of the power industry in Peking area carry giant models of new products and new factory buildings.

## CEYLON: SHIFT TO THE RIGHT

THE demand for a full and thorough-going investigation to uncover the reasons and forces behind the brutal assassination of Prime Minister Bandaranaike was made in a resolution adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party on September 26.

The resolution also condemned this criminal outrage and on behalf of the entire Party, conveyed sympathies and condolences to Mrs. Bandaranaike and the other members of the bereaved family.

Amplifying this resolution, Peter Keuneman, Ge-

neral Secretary of the Party, stated:

"No effort should be spared to uncover and expose the forces behind this assassination. In this respect, the statement in the Lankadipa attributed to Mr. D. C. T. Fata, Deputy Inspector General of Police (C. I. D.), to the effect that there was no pre-planned conspiracy behind this shocking murder is most disquieting...."

"The political result of Mr. Bandaranaike's sudden tragic death is that it removes an obstacle to the SLEP Government going further to the Right and clears the path of those

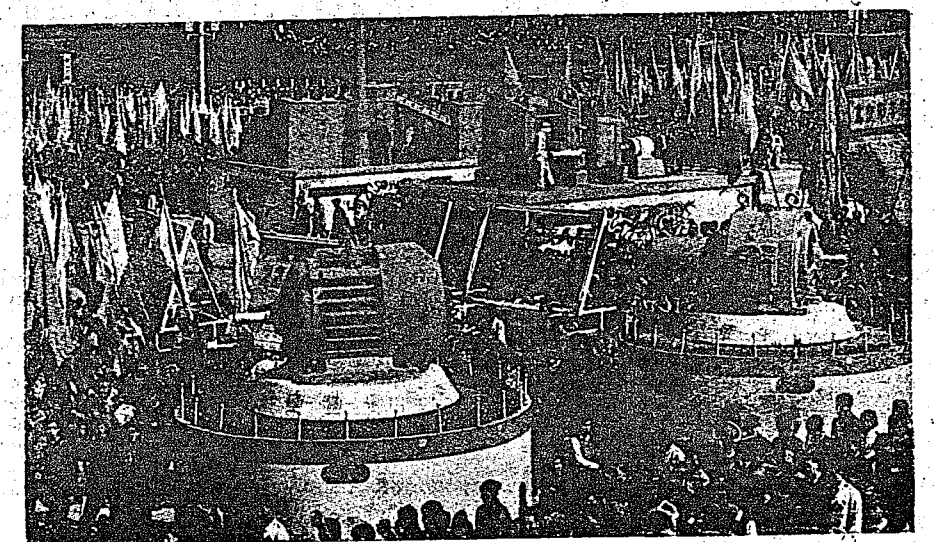
who are working for a coalition of the Right-wing forces in Ceylon.

"The break-up of the MEP and the expulsion from that Government of those who were fighting for progressive policies was the first step in moving the Government to the Right. The Right-wing forces were, however, not able to shift the Government as far to the Right as they wished owing to the fact that Mr. Bandaranaike still functioned as a moderating influence. Now that he is dead, they will try to press forward with their plans but these plans can be upset by the one force they did not take into ac-

count—namely, the people."

Asked for a comment on the character of Mr. Dahanayake's Government, Peter Keuneman said:

"It represents a further move to the Right on the part of the SLEP Government. Handing the cooperatives over to R. G. Senanayake is like entrusting chickens to a wolf. It means that the cooperative movement will be strangled in the interests of the big monopolists in the import-export trade. And why should the police be placed under a Minister who is not an elected member but an appointed Senator?"





# KERALA WORKERS' DEMANDS

## TUC Memo To Govt.

THE Kerala State Trade Union Council (AITUC) recently met and discussed certain urgent issues of great importance to the workers and industries in the State. The General Secretary of the KSTUC later met the Chief Secretary to the Kerala Government and submitted a memorandum. The issues raised and the Chief Secretary's replies are summarised below.

The Chalakudi Potteries in Trichur District, an industrial concern producing porcelain goods and owned by the Kerala Government, has been under lease to a private management during the last twenty years. This up-to-date and well-equipped factory had 114 skilled and experienced workers when it was handed over to the private Company, but now there are only 62. The Communist Ministry had agreed to take over the management of the factory when the lease period ended and run it as a Government concern.

But under President's rule, there was a move to give the management again to a private agency and tenders were called for. The KSTUC memorandum pointed out that this wrong and unequal for move would prevent expansion and improvement of the factory which could be run as a profitable concern. This would also create serious difficulties for the workers with regard to continued employment, gratuity, service, etc.

### Industrial Cooperative

The KSTUC suggested that the Government should either take over the factory or organise an industrial cooperative of workers to manage the factory. If this was not acceptable, the Government should allow the present management to continue only for one more year so that the popularly elected Ministry could take appropriate steps.

The Chief Secretary on behalf of the Government agreed that the management could be handed over to an industrial cooperative formed by the workers alone.

The memorandum raised a number of issues regarding the Government-managed Trichur Sitaram Textile Mills.

First, the workers in the factory used to get as annual bonus one month's total wages. This year the Government, instead, ordered payment of 15 days' wages as advance for Onam, to be recovered in six monthly instalments.

The memorandum pointed out that though the Sitaram workers were receiving only the lowest wages compared to textile workers in other parts of India, the workers were not pressing for wage-increase as they knew well the financial position of the concern. But the KSTUC requested the Government to order one month's wages as bonus this year also.

The Chief Secretary replied that the advance of 15 days' wages paid for Onam would not be recovered for the time being

and that the question of bonus would be considered.

SECOND, the Sitaram Textile Mills management had built a housing colony for the workers according to the Industrial Housing Scheme in the Second Five-Year Plan. The workers were required to pay Rs. 6.50 as rent per month for each house, an equal amount being subsidised by the management. The Scheme for building houses for industrial workers prepared by the Government of India provided for such a subsidy. But the Presidential administration ordered recovery of Rs. 13 as house rent from the workers, disregarding even the provisions of the housing scheme.

The KSTUC demanded that this new order should be immediately cancelled and that an Industrial Housing Board for Kerala should be set up for deciding such matters.

The Chief Secretary assured that no additional amount would be recovered from the workers and they would continue to pay Rs. 6.50 as house rent.

### Compulsory Retirement

THIRDLY, the Presidential administration has ordered that workers in the mills over 60 years of age must be compulsorily pensioned off. When 16 workers were thus asked to retire in 1956, they moved the High Court and got the order stayed.

The KSTUC wanted the Government to allow other workers to continue till the High Court finally disposed the petition by the 16 workers and to take steps to get a speedy decision on the matter from the High Court. The memorandum said that the real issue related to the quantum of compensation to be paid to the workers on retirement. Without settling that, it would be unfair to force the workers to retire.

The Chief Secretary assured that the Government would wait till the High Court gave its decision on the matter.

# LABOUR NOTES

The KSTUC in the memorandum also took up other issues such as payment of bonus to the workers of the Mahalaxmi Cotton Mills, near Trichur, the management of which was taken over by the Government a year ago, and the re-notification for taking over certain bus routes in Trivandrum District, as the previous Government's notification to take over these routes was cancelled on certain technical grounds.

This involved the question of employment for about 100 workers who were previously employed in the private bus services in these routes. The Kerala

State Transport Board had agreed to give preference to these workers thrown out of jobs as a result of nationalisation.

The Chief Secretary agreed to issue renotification without delay and consider the question of absorbing the workers temporarily into the State Transport Service.

The Kerala State Trade Union Council (AITUC) is thus taking up the urgent and pressing problems of the workers, while one wonders what has happened to the INTUC whose leaders were so vociferous in their concern for workers when the Communist-led Government was in office.

three hundred delegates, placed wreaths at the Martyrs' Column in front of the office of the Punalur Paper Mill Workers' Union and ended in a public meeting.

T. V. Thomas, inaugurating the public meeting, explained the difference between the Communist Government and Congress Governments in other States and why the Communist-led Ministry was dismissed.

## New Force In Literature

\* FROM FACING PAGE

and deprive it of its very life-blood. Doubtless, those who have sought to improve the language of Shiv Narayan have honestly tried to serve the cause of literature according to their lights, but we are personally in favour of publishing his manuscripts as they are, only correcting a few minor linguistic errors.

Recently I have had the privilege of meeting Shiv Narain several times. He is firmly devoted to his beliefs, but he has patience and tolerance too towards those who differ from him. His greatest quality is his youth-like enthusiasm. Meeting him I felt as though a new power is rising in the world of literature.

Srivastava may not be a very talented craftsman, but he certainly is in the vanguard of that forward-looking body of writers, that will depict in living language the picture of starving, hopeless and oppressed labouring humanity with a pen of steel.

Let us heartily welcome this new force in literature. In the temple of Saraswati there is no quarrel about 'isms', no difference between rich and poor and here the Communist and the Sarvodaya offer their homage side by side. Indeed this is what we call Panch Sheel.

## Protest Against Price-Rise

THE first annual conference of the Quilon District Trade Union Council (AITUC) was held at Punalur on September 27. Nearly three hundred delegates came to the conference representing different trade unions, affiliated to the KSTUC and the AITUC, from the six taluks of the district in which are located some of the important industries like cashew, minerals, ceramics, aluminium as well as a large number of plantations.

There are about 175,000 workers in the district who are employed in these and other industries. Of them nearly 50,000 workers are organised in trade unions affiliated to the AITUC or the KSTUC.

The conference discussed the report on the activities of the Council and various trade unions which was submitted by P. Bhaskaran, Secretary of the Council and adopted a number of resolutions, among which were those:

● Protesting against the failure of the Presidential administration to take the necessary steps to prevent the skyrocketing of prices of daily ne-

cessities like rice, sugar etc. The resolution pointed out that after the popularly elected Government was removed from office the blackmarketeers and hoarders had been given a free rein and demanded that immediate measures be taken to supply daily necessities of life at fair prices. The resolution called on the workers to take the initiative to build a mass movement against price-increase.

● Protesting against the terror unleashed by 'liberation' goondas on the agricultural workers throughout the State and especially in Central Travancore;

● Demanding upward revision of the statutorily fixed minimum wages of plantation and oil mill workers; and

● Saluting the workers and people of Bengal who are conducting a heroic struggle against price-increase and recording strong protests against the brutal repression unleashed by the B. C. Roy Government.

A huge procession, led by T. V. Thomas, Labour Minister in the dismissed Communist-led Ministry, and R. Sugathan, President of the KSTUC, and the

## Agricultural Workers Fight Back Political Discrimination

CENTRAL Travancore has seen the worst attacks in recent days on agricultural workers by 'liberation' goondas and their leaders are bringing enormous pressure on the agricultural workers in those areas to join the INTUC. Landlords who are also Congress bosses in the area are insisting that no agricultural worker who is not a member of the INTUC will be given work in their fields. The agricultural workers have to produce INTUC membership card before they get work.

Agricultural workers have been resisting this pressure and fighting for their right to work.

Recently, in Pallipad village in the outskirts of Kuttanad, the landlords decided to give work only to those who were in the INTUC. But the majority of the workers refused to join the INTUC and represented the matter to the District Collector who instructed the local sub-inspector of police to effect a settlement.

Police authorities intervened, conducted talks with the landlords many of whom wanted the harvesting to be done in a peaceful atmosphere, and a settlement was arrived at. The landlords agreed to give work to all as usual and not to discriminate against those who did not want to join the INTUC.

So harvesting commenced in peaceful conditions. Those who were more interested in creating trouble and tension were disappointed.



SHIV NARAIN SRIVASTAV

# A WORKER NOVELIST GRADUATED FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF STRUGGLES AND SORROWS

BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

The well-known Hindi writer and Member of Parliament pays his tribute here to the worker novelist, Shiv Narain Srivastav, author of "Dhuan, Aag aur Insan".

THE story is concerned with a village—Madhwarpur in District Basti. A mother in poor circumstances says to her son:

"My boy! I have brought you up with the greatest difficulty. In our village there were a lot of bet trees. When the fruit was only half-ripe, I would pick it with the help of a stick, break it a little, bake it on the fire and feed the children with it.

"In our own field there were ten mango trees. Now these trees are gone. There were two brothers—Satnarayana and Jayanarayana Kayasthas—in village Mulahia. Somehow, heaven knows how, they got your father to sign a paper; then they had the trees felled and a double-storied house constructed there.

"When those trees were being cut down, my son, I felt as unhappy as at the loss of a dear relative. I stood weeping in the field, but there was no one to pay heed to my grief, not even god. I was so unhappy at the loss of those trees, because during the mango season, when the fruit began to swell, I would pluck it with the aid of my stick, tie it up in a bundle and carry it to the market on my head, sell the fruit and buy some grain.

"Thus we lived on the green mangoes for a while, and later on on the ripe fruit. Still later, I collected the mango-stones from under the trees and near other houses in the village. I broke them and dried them, ground them under the milling-stone and kneading the powder in warm water I made bread out of it for you.

"In Asharh, after the rains, when the salad-like *karmuaa* sprouted in the pool and the rice-fields, I cut it and picked it. I cooked it with madua flour and salt and fed you with it. Son, we even ate cow-dung!"

farm in the village. In the farm people had been threshing wheat and barley. The bullocks had swallowed some grain, too, along with the straw. They cannot digest grain. There was a lot of cow-dung all along the farms. I took a basketful of it at twilight to the pond and washed it there. You will ask me, why I did this at twilight? So that no one might see me! I thus gathered a seer of wheat. I brought it home, fried it and offered you part of it to eat. The rest I ground, and mixing it with water and salt gave it to you to drink. Then I had some of it myself!"

principles of Communism are right or wrong—this may be debated, but no writer with any feeling can fail to offer homage and sympathy towards the life of Shiv Narain with all its struggle and trials.

There must be lakhs of workers in this country whose lives have been equally full of strife and suffering, but the special quality in the life of Shiv Narain consists in his ability to emerge safely from this hell-fire. He has drunk this poison and in return given nectar to the Hindi world in the form of a novel and several stories.

His language is occasionally faulty; he is not able generally to spell Sanskrit words correctly. But the emotions of this youth of fifty-two years of age are wonderful. He has suffered from the oppressions of mill-owners; he has been abused by mates and mistresses; some of his teeth, too, have been broken by police-beatings.

### After 36 Years

Tears were brimming in the eyes of the mother and the child of eight or nine years felt quite ashamed, too. This happened about the year 1916.

Now it was 1952. A session of the World Federation of Trade Unions was meeting in Berlin. Shiv Narain was invited to attend it, but he could not go abroad, because he failed to procure a passport. Had his father, Goptar Lal Srivastava, been alive to see his son thus honoured, he would have been greatly happy.

At the age of sixteen, Shiv Narain reached Bombay in search of a job. His life-story during the years 1923 to 1952 is a story of ceaseless struggle waged by a self-respecting worker. The story is as fascinating and stirring as the scenario of a film.

There is no room here to tell how Shiv Narain had to eke out a living during days of unemployment by selling gram and had to live in a tiny room with eleven other people. He worked as a labourer for thirty years in the textile mills of Bombay, Bengal, Bihar, the Punjab, Central India, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh.

He took a leading part in numerous strikes and in the Kanpur general strike of 1938 he stayed in the battle-field for fifty-two days as a militant fighter. Donning red shirt, and red cap, Srivastava was in the picket-line with thousands of volunteers. He was President of the Indore Mazdoor Sabha and the Madhya Bharat Textile Labour Union. He was also elected General Secretary of the Madhya Bharat-Bhopal Trade Union Congress. In 1949, he was elected President of the All-India Textile Labour Federation at its Bombay session.

### Proud To Be A Communist

It is not necessary to state here that Shiv Narain has been intimately connected with the Communist Party. He is a member of that Party and takes pride in the fact. How far the

### Reminds One Of Gorky

Sometimes he has wandered among the northern mountains with the desire of crossing over to the USSR or China. Some-

times, on the Party having been declared illegal, he has had to go underground to work secretly. He has faced lathi-charges and suffered imprisonment. He has been on the run, avoiding arrest. Briefly, we may say that he is a first-class graduate produced by the Workers' University.

During the last few years we have been studying two books side by side. One was the autobiography of the world-famous Russian writer, Gorky, and the other Shiv Narain Srivastava's 'Smoke, Fire and Man' (Dhuan, Aag aur Insan). There is an amazing similarity between these two books, though as far as literary talent goes, Gorky is a million times superior. What we wish to say is just this that Shiv Narain had to drink the same kind of social poison as Gorky. It is difficult to become a

### Language Of The Workers

His greatest quality is that he belongs to the fraternity of workers and he speaks and also writes their language. How good it would have been, if he had written his novel and short stories too in that very language. In that case his books would have become a rich literary treasure-house. We city-folk adorn language with artifices.

\* SEE FACING PAGE

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### Child Couldn't Believe

The child's young mind failed to accept this. He thought to himself, can one ever eat cow-dung? One still ate bet, mango-stones and *karmua*, but how could one eat cow-dung? He asked his mother, "Mother, how can one ever eat cow-dung? Even the pigs don't eat it?"

The mother said, "True, pigs don't eat cow-dung. But listen to me, son! One day we had nothing to eat in the house. We had run through even mango-stones and madua flour. All of you five children had been hungry since the previous evening. My heart twisted in pain at this. But tears are of no avail in a situation like this. At most they relieve the grief a bit.

"I left you all crying at home and picking up my basket went towards the northern



# PROGRESSIVE MUSLIM LEAGUE HAS COME TO STAY IN KERALA

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The Progressive Muslim League (PML) was born in Kerala only recently but it has already taken big and significant strides. The new green flag with the red star on a white square background is fast becoming a challenge to the Muslim League's star and crescent which had held undisputed sway before and after Independence among the Muslim masses in this State.

There has been appreciable response to the new organisation from the Muslim masses including a section of the intelligentsia and even many of the rich and influential personalities in the community who so far had been the mainstay of the Muslim League are now actively working for the new organisation. In many places office-bearers have resigned en bloc from the Muslim League, joined the PML and become office-bearers of the new organisation.

While the major shift is thus from the ranks of the Muslim League, the new organisation has also attracted some of the nationalist Muslims who are feeling unhappy over the Congress alliance with the League. Muslims under the influen-

ce of the Communist Party, who have been in the forefront of the struggle against the communal reactionary policies of the League are also active in the new organisation.

The discontent in the League ranks broke out in open revolt after the recent liberation struggle and the Congress-League electoral alliance.

Even at the time of the Deviclam by-election, when the Muslim League leadership decided to support the Congress candidate, there had been some opposition to it in the League ranks but it was yet too small to make any impression.

The 28 months of Communist rule had shown the Muslim masses that the Commu-

nist Ministry, very much unlike Congress and PSP Ministries, had done everything in its power to protect their rights as a minority. When the League leadership participated in the struggle to overthrow this Government and joined hands with the Congress which during its tenures of office had sought to deprive the Muslims of many of their rights as a minority, the discontent of the masses assumed the proportions of a revolt and the PML came into existence.

In Kozhikode, the centre of the new organisation, about one-third of the ranks of the Muslim League have left to join the PML. Committees have been formed in almost all the wards of the town. The most striking change has come over Kuttichira, a Muslim ward which has till now been a League fortress.

Here, in this town, a band of energetic Muslim youngsters have been holding meetings and conventions, enrolling members in the new organisation. As a culmination of their activities

came the Conference of Progressive Muslims in Kozhikode, attended by over 800 delegates from all parts of the district.

Condemning the dismissal of the Communist-led Government as denial of Provincial autonomy and violation of the Constitution, the resolution adopted by the Conference said:

"As far as the Muslims of Kerala are concerned, the treatment they had received from previous Congress Governments was one of neglect and antipathy. In contrast, the Communist Government had treated them with sympathy and justness.

"The Communist-led Government did nothing which went against the expectations and aspirations of the Muslim and other sections of the people. On the contrary, it took many steps beneficial to the people justifying the confidence reposed in it by the people of Kerala.

"The Prevention of Eviction Act, Agriculturist Debt Relief Act, Education Act, the Agrarian Relations Bill and other legislative measures adopted by the Kerala Assembly as well as the Industrial Relations and Prohibition of Dowry Bills introduced by the Communist Government, the steps taken to fix minimum wages, etc., are some instances.

"Through such measures during the 28 months of office, the Communist Government earned the love and confidence, and not the hatred and opposition, of the people of Kerala."

## Muslim League's Betrayal

Coming to the role of the Muslim League, the resolution says:

"The Conference declares that the Muslim League leadership in Kerala, by joining hands with these forces to overthrow the Communist-led Ministry that respected the interests of the Muslim masses, have betrayed the confidence placed in it by the Muslims.

"This Conference expects that the Muslim masses who want to protect democracy and the minority rights of Muslims will protest against this policy of the League leadership and quit the League."

Condemning the terror unleashed by "liberator" goondas, the resolution says, "We see today in Kerala the spectacle of these parties which have no faith in the people, trying to 'win over' the masses by violence and terror. This Conference wishes to tell all democrats in the country that the hooliganism that is being organised in many parts of the State under cover of anti-Communism, clearly exhibits a tendency towards fascism."

Appealing to the Rashtrapati and the Kerala Governor "not to change the policy decisions of the previous Government till the verdict of the people is known", the resolution ends with an appeal to the "Muslim masses to rally

together with other sections of the people in a big mass movement" for winning their objectives.

Just as in Kozhikode, representative conferences of progressive Muslims are being held elsewhere in the State also.

The Palghat District Progressive Muslim Convention was held on October 4 at Pattambi, nearly three hundred delegates from all parts of the district attending.

A District Council of Progressive Muslims with Janab K. P. Thangal, veteran Muslim leader of South Malabar long associated with the Muslim League, as President was elected.

The Convention adopted a number of resolutions which included a request to the President of the Indian Republic to give early assent to the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill, enforcement of the Kerala Education Act including Section 11 which provides for reservation to backward communities in appointment of teachers in privately managed schools also, and measures for checking the rise in price of sugar and other daily necessities.

The Convention ended with a public rally and meeting attended by a large number of Muslims.

The Trichur District Progressive Muslim League Convention was held at Vadana-palli near Guruvayur, nearly two hundred delegates attending.

The Secretary of the Convention Committee, Janab Moideen Kattakath, submitted a report to the Convention on the activities of the Committee to organise progressive-minded Muslims in the district. He said that committees had been organised in the six taluks of the district and there were at present about fifty primary units.

The Convention discussed and adopted a policy statement and set up a District Committee with Janab Moulvi P. M. Edasseril as President.

An impressive demonstration of five thousand Muslims, and a public meeting attended by 15,000 people ended the Convention.

Janab M. V. Alkoya, leader of the Progressive Muslim movement in Kozhikode, inaugurating the public meeting, said that when he and a few others started the movement, they never thought it would acquire such wide scope and support in so short a time.

He said that the Muslim masses rallied behind the League not for the sake of its leaders, but for defending the rights of the Muslims as a minority. Now it has been proved clearly that the Muslim League is incapable of defending the rights and interests of the common people, the workers and peasants among the Muslims, and so they were joining the PML.

After these district conventions, steps are now being taken to hold a State Conference in the immediate future when the Kerala Progressive Muslim League will be formally inaugurated.

## PANTJI'S CHANGE OF HEART

THE Communist Ministry of Kerala while in office had done its best to do justice to the Muslim minority. Apart from all the other things, it had appointed a Muslim to the Public Service Commission and had suggested a Muslim for appointment as High Court Judge.

Union Home Minister Pant had then turned down this proposal saying there was no qualified Muslim in Kerala and if the Communist Ministry insisted, a Muslim would have to be imported from outside and appointed as High Court Judge.

But the report last week in Trivandrum was that the same Pantji had directed the Kerala Governor to persuade the Chief Justice to include a Muslim name in the panel for selection of High Court Judges.

To those who wonder how this change of heart came, perhaps the name and connections of the person Pantji has recommended might give an explanation.

The name is that of Advocate K. Mohammed Naha. He belongs to a very rich family. And more important, he is a Muslim League.

There are 20 lakh Muslim voters in Kerala and the Congress has an alliance with the Muslim League. So Pantji who couldn't find a qualified Muslim earlier has now suddenly found one in a Leagueur on the eve of the elections.

# KERALA NOTE-BOOK

## PREMIUM ON VIOLENCE

IT was the policy of the Communist Government in Kerala to withdraw cases connected with mass struggles immediately they were settled. But cases involving violence, damage to property, etc., were left to be tried by the judiciary. Even then this was called "disregard of the judiciary," "putting a premium on violence," etc. The Governor made a big point of this in his report to the President.

But now, those who administer the State in the name of the Rashtrapati have decided to let loose on the State about 10,000 people involved in criminal cases. And their crimes included those of setting fire to schools, beating up innocent children, etc.

This is perhaps another change of heart—since it suits the interests of the Congress and its allies.

## WHEN THE FATHER BECAME FATHERLESS

FATHER Joseph Veluthedath is the editor of the Malabar Mail and since the Mail is the organ of the Catholic Church, the Reverend Father is an inmate of the Ernakulam Bishop's Palace.

Father Joseph Vithayathil is the editor of the

Satyadipam and he also takes shelter under the roof of the Bishop's Palace.

Editors of Catholic Church organs, inmates of the Bishop's Palace—one would think the reverend gentlemen are apostles of truth, justice, fairness, etc., etc. But wait and listen to what I have found out.

In the voters' list for Ernakulam, you will find two entries in the Malabar Mail office address:

312/9784 Father Thomas Veluthedath (Thomas) Male, 55 years

313/9784 Father Joseph Vithayathil (Poulose) Male, 53 years

Then from the Bishop's Palace, you will find the following two entries:

346/9786 Thomas Veluthedath (Thomas) Male, 54 years

347/9786 Joseph Vithayathil (Poulose), Male, 54 years

There is a year's difference in the ages, in the second place they have dropped the "Father," but they are the same voters.

When the Reverend Fathers do this how can Catholic believers lag behind? So half a dozen employees of the Malabar Mail have also enrolled themselves in two places.

These are not just isolated instances. I have plenty of such stories involving leaders of the Congress and PSP, let alone their followers. Of course, while they thus qualify for two

votes, all efforts have been made in certain places to exclude those who are likely to vote Communist. Excellent preparations for free and fair elections, no?

## MANDAL RAJ

LOOKING through the transfer and appointment list of the Kerala Government, I came across the announcement that the Cannanore DYSP, Padmanabha Iyer, had been transferred to Alwaye.

The respectable Congressite daily Mathrubhoomi must be happy for it had complained that when V. O. Abraham's room and said: "I have always been against you. Let us forget the past, a change of heart has come over me after seeing the play. And next morning P. T. Chacko repeated the story at a public function. The letter does not say whether the leaders of the MRA who started their movement with faith in God and Hitler said, "Heil Hitler, God bless P. T. Chacko."

Despite such wonders that the MRA can do, reports are that Indira Gandhi is not sending the Kerala Congress, PSP and Muslim League leaders to Caux to see whether they could stop fighting each other and take a little more seriously this business of fighting the Communists.

## RECONCILIATION AT CAUX

AT Caux, Switzerland, which is the headquarters of Moral Rearmament, there were quite a number of Malayalees this year at the annual MRA mela—all

gone to impart to the anti-Communist crusaders from the rest of the world their experience of the liberation struggle.

Bharat Kesari Mannath Padmanabhan was there, Congress leader F. T. Chacko was there, so were V. O. Abraham, President of the Private School Managers' Association, and many others.

A letter from P. Sadasivan Pillai who has accompanied the Bharat Kesari, currently receiving wide publicity in the Liberation Press in Kerala, gives a glimpse of the amazing happenings at Caux.

One night, it seems, P. T. Chacko saw one of the MRA plays on eternal brotherhood and amity. The moment the play ended, with tears in his eyes, P. T. Chacko walked straight to V. O. Abraham's room and said: "I have always been against you. Let us forget the past, a change of heart has come over me after seeing the play. And next morning P. T. Chacko repeated the story at a public function. The letter does not say whether the leaders of the MRA who started their movement with faith in God and Hitler said, "Heil Hitler, God bless P. T. Chacko."

Despite such wonders that the MRA can do, reports are that Indira Gandhi is not sending the Kerala Congress, PSP and Muslim League leaders to Caux to see whether they could stop fighting each other and take a little more seriously this business of fighting the Communists.

—OBSERVER.

October 14.

# Against M. P. Black Bills : United Protest

THE autumn session of the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha which was prorogued on October 10 has demonstrated how criminally the Congress today is conspiring to throttle the democratic rights of the people. This became clear when it introduced the M.P. Public Security Bill and other measures in the Vidhan Sabha.

The Katju Government would like us to believe that Madhya Pradesh is full of dacoits and to meet this menace it is necessary that the Government be given powers to control all kinds of publications and suppress any movement. That is precisely what the Public Security Bill aims at.

The fact, however, remains that the dacoit menace barely finds ten words in the Bill. Not only that, it has also been pointed out that during the last few years the menace has been met under the existing laws.

Nobody denies that dacoits are not there in Madhya Pradesh. Certainly they are there and a major dacoity has been committed — "a dacoity on civil liberties". That is how a member of the Opposition benches described it when the Madhya Pradesh Public Security Bill was moved in the Assembly.

The Opposition parties, the Press, lawyers, workers and all other sections of the people including some Congressmen have questioned the desirability of the measure. Since then it has been condemned as retrograde, unwarranted and undemocratic.

This is not the only anti-democratic act of the Madhya Pradesh Government. In the autumn session of the Assembly itself three other measures were pushed through—the M. P. Industrial Relations Bill, the M. P. Trade Union Amendment Bill and the Essential Services Maintenance Bill. All the trade unions of the State except the INTUC are opposed to them. The critics have pointed out that they were in direct contravention of the 17th Indian Labour Conference in so far as the fundamental issues involved in them were never discussed at a tripartite conference. However this had no effect.

## Monopoly For INTUC

The workers call them Black Bills and demonstrations have been held in different parts of the State. The Opposition members in the Vidhan Sabha belonging to the Communist Party, Praja Socialists, Socialists, Jan Sangh and Independents have criticised these measures.

Speaking about the M. P. Industrial Relations Bill, a PSP member said that it aimed at establishing the monopoly of the INTUC over the working class and gradual elimination of trade unions affiliated to other centres.

Not only Opposition parties and non-INTUC unions, but Government employees also have been compelled to censure the Government. They had to go on a day's strike and another day's threatened strike on October 7 was given up only due to intervention by six MLAs belonging to the

different political parties. Seeing this the Government came forward with the Essential Services Maintenance Bill, according to which a Government servant going on strike can be punished with a fine up to Rs. 200 and six months' imprisonment. An official spokesman justified the measure on the ground that the Government Service Conduct Rules were inadequate.

Against this all-round offensive of the State Government the people of the State are going into action.

On September 28, 24 persons including several Leftist trade union leaders were arrested for defying the ban on entering into the regulated area around the M.P. Vidhan Sabha.

The 24 satyagrahis (including R. A. Sarwate, Communist MLA) were cheered by hundreds of persons outside the area who had come in the joint procession organised by the non-INTUC unions.

On October 6, the Opposition members walked out of the Assembly en bloc in protest against the refusal of Chief Minister Dr. Katju to withdraw the Essential Services Maintenance Bill. Outside the Assembly in the "regulated area," a hundred volunteers led by Communist MLA Shakir Ali Khan shouted the slogan, "Kale Kanoon Murdabad." They too were arrested for violating the ban on entering the regulated area.

On October 10, when the State Assembly passed the Public Security Bill by a voice vote, 87 volunteers led by Communist MLA Homi Daji and Bal Krishna Gupta were arrested.

# Flood-Devastated Bengal

\* FROM PAGE 5

he came out with a long statement, which once again showed up the shameless partisan attitude of the Government. Evidence of how the Government has been trying to make political capital out of the present calamity is piling up daily.

Relating his experiences after a 200-mile tour of the flood-affected parts of Burdwan district, Jyoti Basu said that Government had consistently refused to enlist the cooperation of the people and had paid no heed to the suggestions of political parties other than the Congress.

"Millions of distressed

people in the flood-affected areas cannot be saved if the Government continues to utilise its relief measures to strengthen the position of the Congress Party," he emphasised.

We give a few instances of this scandalous abuse of the people's sufferings.

In the Palasi area of Nadia district, local Congress bosses got hold of the food packets that were dropped from the air on October 7. This food—four bags of chura and gur—was not distributed to all the distressed people in the area, irrespective of their political views, but only to known supporters of the Congress.

In the Kakkwip thana of 24-Parganas district, Maya Banerji, a Deputy Minister, was reliably reported to have bluntly told the distressed people that all relief would be distributed through local Congressmen.

It is learnt that in the Ishwaripur area of the same district the Marwari Relief Society, a well-known humanitarian organisation, was prevented by Government officials from distributing relief!

But even without the minimum help that every civilised community expects of its Government, the people themselves have been waging a heroic battle against the fury of the floods.

On the night of October 3, 400 people of Bagna fought a grim battle for five hours to save the Naonipara embankment from being breached by

the turbulent waters of the Rupnarain river.

Another saga of the fight against the floods has been reported from Guptipara.

At about midnight on September 30, villagers in the area were awakened by the roar of the rushing waters of the Hooghly. All men, women and children hurried to the threatened points in the embankment and with earth, wood and whatever else they could lay their hands on they waged a life-and-death struggle for ten days. Ultimately they succeeded, and were able to save their villages from severe devastation.

The Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha have lunged themselves into the battle against the floods. Most of the top leaders of the Communist Party are in the affected areas, supervising rescue and relief operations.

In all areas, which have not

been hit by the floods, Communist Party squads have been making mass collection of funds, rice and clothes.

On October 10, which was observed by the Party as "All-Bengal Floods Relief Day," several squads made street collections in Calcutta. The people donated about 16 maunds of rice, 5,024 pieces of cloth and Rs. 1,139 in cash. A squad of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association collected four maunds of rice, 2,000 pieces of cloth and Rs. 300. The Association has also donated Rs. 500 to the relief fund.

Several trade unions, the Juba Sangha, clubs and cultural organisations are contributing their mite. The IPTA also brought out a squad for making street collections.

A squad of the medical students, organised by the People's Relief Committee, has left for Nadia with milk powder, clothes and medicines.

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# PLAN TO BUILD CAPITALISM

From Page 2

proof that we are building a Socialist society!

## Emasculated State Sector

The Sub-Committee thus does not want to re-examine the fundamentals of a mixed economy under which the private sector continues to thrive more and more. In fact, it has perhaps realised that a greater impetus to private sector is essential because under the Congress dispensation, it is this sector that will consume the products and capital goods of the State sector. Thus the State sector will be clear to everyone now. Under the guise of building a Socialist pattern of society, a capitalist society is being built with the State sector feeding the private sector. And the entire claim to build Socialism is based on the existence and growing strength of the State sector, which instead of controlling the private sector, is dependent on it for its functioning.

The independent testimony of the U.N. Report is extremely valuable in exposing the claims of building Socialism in India. The "Economic Survey of Asia, etc., for 1957" states: "In a mixed economy of the Indian type, there seems to be ample scope for free enterprise and private capital, and it is not clear that the course of industrial development will necessarily differ in a fundamental way from that of the industrialised economies of the West. It may, incidentally, be observed that, in terms of the actual degree of governmental participation in economic transactions, India ranks considerably below most other countries, including those which adhere to free enterprise principles. In 1954, for example, Government expenditures, expressed as a percentage of gross domestic expenditures, ranked from about nine per cent to nearly 25 per cent for various countries of ECAFE region other than India and were about 19 per cent in the case of the Federal Government of the United States. For India the corresponding figure was only eight per cent for the Central Government or about 12 per cent if the expenditure of the State Governments are included. In other words, the 'financial levers' in the hands of the Government of India cannot in themselves be considered at present a powerful instrument for promoting rapid economic development, and other resources have to be brought into play" (p. 70). "In the sphere of organised industry (industry organised as factory enterprises only) about 3.5 per cent of the total capital stock in existence in the country is at present covered by the State." (p. 69)

So this is the type of Socialism we have been building in India. The AICC wants to continue on the same path of capitalist development. Need we wonder if further suffering is in store for the Indian people?

Naturally such a plan must place reliance on fleecing the common man, through every device conceivable. Having rejected nationalisation of foreign industries or banks, etc., having stated that there is hardly any scope for increasing direct taxation, the Sub-Committee states: "It is clear on the whole that in

the Third Plan, the main reliance will have to be put on commodity taxation (excises, etc.). Such taxation will be necessary to check the growth of consumption of commodities whose supply is restricted and/or for which we depend on imports."

## Burdens On Common Man

Though the Report says that care should be taken that the burden does not fall on those who cannot bear it, yet it is precisely meant to be borne by the common man, as main reliance is placed on it. Taxation is to be used to see that consumption and the standard of living of the common man is restricted. Apart from this, the Sub-Committee suggests other methods some of which are easily acceptable. For instance, resources can be raised from the working of the State concerns. But the Sub-Committee does not try to reason out why it has not been possible to do so, though the State concerns are equipped with the most modern machinery.

# Behind Talk Of Socialism Appeasement Of Free Enterprisers

So long as the bureaucrats behave as the bosses, the workers in public concerns are not given even minimum rights to expose corruption and take initiative in improving production, so long State concerns will continue to show losses. It is difficult to believe that under Congress regime, there can be a radical change in the functioning of the State concerns. The profitability of these concerns will not be fully utilised.

## State Trading Given Up

The Committee cautions against extending State trading to commodities other than food-grains. And the Congress Government has virtually given up all talk of State trading in food-grains either. So our democratic Socialists have formally closed this source of finance also.

It is, however, easy to agree with the following verdict of the Committee: "During the last few years, a sizable proportion of Plan outlay has been financed from budgetary deficits. Deficit financing during the First and Second Plan did not have a large inflationary impact than has been witnessed because we have been importing goods from abroad considerably in excess of our exports and meeting the gap in balance of payment by running down our reserves of sterling balances. Since foreign exchange reserves have already fallen to a very low level and there is little possibility of further running them down... But deficit financing on any significant scale should be

avoided. This is important because development with stability implies that we avoid inflation." (p. 41)

And finally comes foreign assistance. The Committee gives no figures, no estimates, regarding the contribution of each source of finance. It is obvious that for a Plan of Rs. 10,000 crores, the planners must be expecting at least Rs. 3,000 crores from foreign sources. Whether our country can afford to borrow such a huge sum depends mostly on the terms offered. Would it not have been very pertinent on the part of the Committee to state that loans from Socialist countries, especially the USSR cost us less than half of what the American loans cost us? The rate of interest on the former is generally 2.5 per cent, while the latter cost us between four and six per cent. But "democratic Socialism" is shy of admitting that "totalitarian" States lend at cheaper rates than "free democracies" of the West.

In consonance with the ideals of "Socialistic pattern," the Committee rejects the demand for a minimum national wage. The paragraphs dealing

with wage make it appear as if the workers have been demanding unreasonable wages all the while. But facts are otherwise. They show that the real earnings of the workers exceeded the 1940 earnings only once between 1950 and 1957. The index of real earnings of factory workers with base 1939: 100 was 109 in 1940, 100 in 1953, 113 in 1955, 106 in 1956 and 105 in 1957.

## Their Socialism?

The Sub-Committee, while parading its belief in Socialism, has to distinguish its counterfeit coin from the genuine one in the following words:

"It is not easy to define Socialism in any terms. Socialist ideas and programmes have developed in response to the conditions and needs of different communities and periods. In other countries, Socialism grew as a protest against the evils of an anarchic capitalist system, in particular from the increasing concentration of the means of production, distribution and exchange in the hands of a small capitalist class. Its purpose was to cure the evils of capitalism by vesting the ownership, distribution and exchange in the State, and thereby eliminating private property, personal profit as well as the employer-employee relationship." But we have no such ambitions. "Our country has

adopted the objective of a Socialist pattern of society as its goal in a different historical and economic context. In India we are just commencing our journey on the new road. Industrialisation is coming to India in the wake of freedom and there is a full-fledged democratic constitution with adult suffrage to regulate it and guard against its pitfalls." Hence we do not need socialisation of means of production, etc.; nor is it necessary to abolish the profit-motive nor the employer-employee relations.

The next step then is to use "social values," "ethical values" and India's hoary past to recommend present-day planning as a new El Dorado. This is where class blindness is leading the AICC.

## Biggest Condemnation

The basic approach to the Third Plan embodied in the Sub-Committee Report is rooted in all the old premises which have imposed on India a slow rate of progress and increasing suffering for the people. It is not the approach of Socialism but the approach of capitalist industrialisation in a backward, underdeveloped country. The contemplated Plan of Rs. 10,000 crores will have no chance unless heavy foreign aid is possible. And unless this aid comes in a large measure from Socialist countries, there is no chance of our laying the foundation of an independent economy—self-generating and self-sustained. Excessive dependence on West will only mortgage the future of the country.

## Mass Struggles Disfavoured

Thus even the formal trappings of Socialism are laid down and what is recommended is a capitalist society with a State sector and parliamentary institutions. Thus, the final step of appeasing the free enterprisers is already being taken, while the Congress indulges in shadow-boxing against the Swatantra Party.

This leads to disavowing the struggle of the masses for social advance and the Sub-Committee puts it as follows: "We do not think in terms of accentuating the conflict of interest between one class and another (but in reality what do you do when you allow profit-making and land monopoly to continue?). We think in steadily working on positive lines that will enable us to avoid the road to class conflicts."

Socialism without class conflict, without socialising

the means of production, without abolishing the employer-employee relationship, without full employment, without a national minimum wage, without liberation of the mass of peasants—this is what the AICC has approved.

Need we then wonder that the Sub-Committee laments that people are not properly participating in the planning efforts? But instead of examining its own class policies which leave the people without enthusiasm, the Sub-Committee blames the people: "The two all-embracing Plans have left an impression that all of their centuries-old difficulties can be solved simultaneously and with the least of endeavour on their part."

A bigger calamity on our suffering people could not have been pronounced. People are supposed to show great enthusiasm for the huge profits of their employers, and land-mongers of the rural exploiters, for high prices and starvation rations. What is the conclusion drawn? The task is to supply the starving people with new moral and social values.

"It is a question of changing the motivation and sublimating the egotistical impulses and working for nobler causes and objects of life. The acceptance of such an outlook should come more easily to an Indian because there is, so much in our literature, philosophy and tradition which reinforces our basic aim of Socialism."

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The prospect of receiving big Soviet aid and building our heavy industry will no doubt be welcomed by all. But the method of planning pursued by our ruling class does not lay the foundation of Socialism but capitalist development. The AICC Sub-Committee makes this plain. That means, even if we achieve a self-generating economy, people will continue to wallow in poverty and dirt. And that is the biggest condemnation of the ruling class. It shows that notwithstanding the grand help we are likely to receive from the USSR, our rulers have no desire to use it for social transformation, to take the first steps towards elimination of economic inequality and exploitation.

Socialism without class conflict, without socialising

Socialism without class conflict, without socialising

# THE TORY VICTORY INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

ELECTIONS in Britain are over and the Tories have never had it so good. They have bagged 366 seats on the basis of a vote of 13,715,121 while Labour with 12,191,024 votes secured 258 seats.

While Tories all over the world from Adenauer to Ayub Khan and the Swatantraites are celebrating it as a great victory, it is a moment for democratic Socialists, wherever they be, to pause and think.

This election in Britain should not have been won by the Labour Party. The Conservatives' long tenure of office was full of crimes which had roused the indignation of the British people—despite the prosperity built on continuing colonial plunder whose crumbs the ever-fattening monopolies have had to share with the population. These very Tories who have recently rushed to don the garb of champions of the Summit and coexistence and relaxation of tension and so on have been responsible for installing of H-Bomb bases and the crime of Suez and German rearmament against which the British people have in recent years protested so vigorously.

If the people could be made to forget those crimes—crimes which endangered their very existence—and come to believe that the leopard had changed its spots, it is the leadership of the Labour Party which is responsible for it. For, the one thing on which the Labour opposition has been really keen all these years has been its refusal ever to come out as a real Opposition. It was neither an effective opposition inside Parliament nor did anything to lead the people outside Parliament.

As the Tory jitters in the immediate few days of pre-election campaign showed, it was even then possible for Labour to have turned the tide. But Labour chose to fight the campaign on the same old policies, which had brought them defeat in 1951 and 1955. It fought on the basis of Hugh Gaitskell's so-called "new thinking," another name of abjuring Socialism. In its name Left-wing fighters had been thrown out of the Labour Party in recent years.

blatant to be ignored. Churchill, the archpriest of Toryism, it will be recalled, had during Khrushchov's visit cautioned against too hasty a calling off of the cold war. And now the man happiest over Tory victory outside Britain, Adenauer, is working overtime to carry out Churchill's behest.

As the final results came in, he told a luncheon in Munich that it should be seen in connection with Khrushchov's visit to the United States. With his perverted logic, he claimed the result "showed the British people firmly supported NATO." He is now preparing to go to London for talks with Macmillan. Before that, however, he is expected to work out with de Gaulle in Paris the next moves against the Summit and all the efforts at reducing East-West tension.

## Rockets In W. Germany

Both Adenauer and de Gaulle are known to be interested in postponing a Summit as long as possible, if they cannot altogether prevent it. Adenauer particularly fears a disarmament agreement and any sort of provisional agreement on Berlin. He is madly rushing the arming of the Bundeswehr with rockets. On October 8, the day British elections were being held, the Defence Commission of the West German Bundestag en-

tering middle-class vote by abjuring Socialism boomeranged with the Liberals bagging 1,612,540 votes and the militants feeling let down.

The most meaningful comment on the results was the reaction of the stock exchange. In its biggest boom for forty years, it proclaimed Macmillan the imperialist monopolies' dearest ever darling.

If victory goes to the Tories' heads and if they forget that it is a changed world, they might yet bring the greatest catastrophe to Britain which was averted by people's intervention in 1956. The diharid blimps, the criminals of Suez and Hola, will again tend to run amuck and the peoples of Africa who have particularly felt the pain at the outcome of these elections will more than ever need from all over the world support in their fight for justice and freedom.

## Churchill Speaks

While Macmillan gives an impression of earnestly going ahead to fulfil his promises of bringing about an early Summit, the contradictions are too

# ★ Western Contradictions ★ Conspiracy Against Summit ★ Diversion With Tibet ★ Iraq: An Ominous Event

fully equipped with atomic weapons. Thinking in the U.S. ruling circles on progress to Summit and relaxation of tension is also interesting. After Khrushchov's visit it is difficult even for the diharids to oppose this openly—although there is still the lunatic fringe of munitions kings and others represented by men like Army Secretary Wilber M. Frycker, who recently spoke of the "black shadows of Communist aggression darkening the face of the earth," and tried to prove the utter impossibility of disarmament. There are others more subtle who advance ingenious arguments based on situations of their own creation, demanding from others what they themselves have to do.

"How to follow up the recent Eisenhower-Khrushchov talks is engaging the attention of Washington policy-makers," says a Hindu dispatch from its New York correspondent K. Balaraman, reporting further: "While there is no disposition to doubt Russia's desire for peace and relaxation of tension, China's aggressive actions and attitudes have raised the suspicion that while Russia might be seeking an easing of tension agreement and any sort of provisional agreement on Berlin, He is madly rushing the arming of the Bundeswehr with rockets. On October 8, the day British elections were being held, the Defence Commission of the West German Bundestag en-

## Rockets In W. Germany

tering middle-class vote by abjuring Socialism boomeranged with the Liberals bagging 1,612,540 votes and the militants feeling let down.

the reaction of the stock exchange. In its biggest boom for forty years, it proclaimed Macmillan the imperialist monopolies' dearest ever darling.

If victory goes to the Tories' heads and if they forget that it is a changed world, they might yet bring the greatest catastrophe to Britain which was averted by people's intervention in 1956.

dorsed a programme for arming of the Bundeswehr with American "Hawk" type rockets. The programme envisages the setting up of nine rocket battalions.

Besides these three other battalions will be armed with "Nike Ajax" and "Nike Hercules" type of rockets, which can carry nuclear warheads. It was also revealed that Belgian, French and Dutch batteries armed with "Hawk" type rockets will be stationed in the Federal Republic besides West German anti-aircraft rockets already installed.

## French Atom Bomb

Both Adenauer and de Gaulle with Italian Government leaders as a weak third in the Bonn-Paris-Rome axis, are anxious to proceed still further with their armaments plan and thus present the eventual Summit Conference with a fait accompli. In particular they wish to have time for the French atom bomb (constructed with the help of West German money, scientists and technicians) to be exploded and they want the West German army to be

disarmed by force...

Instead of restoring to China its territories and rightful place in the United Nations, the U.S. Government not only charges China with the crime of wanting these back but also wants to make this an argument against relaxation of tension. All their newsagencies have all these weeks been filling the world Press with lies of China not being happy over Khrushchov's visit to the U.S.—despite repeated categorical statements from China proclaiming the contrary. Now they try to utilise suspicions they themselves have been trying to spread for continuation of the cold war.

They do not rest content with that. When the Steering Committee of the United Nations has unanimously decided to give top priority to discuss Khrushchov's "general and complete disarmament within four years"

As soon as the people realised what was happening, they rushed to protect Kassem. A young man covered him with his own body. A taxi-driver from among the crowd rushed and took the place of the slain driver and drove the car, with 43 holes in it, at top speed to a hospital. Without people's bounding love, the conspiracy would have succeeded. One of the gangsters was killed on the spot, another was captured and the rest escaped.

Khrushchov's message pinpoints the danger for all Afro-Asia. "Ceylon yesterday, Iraq today," says Khrushchov in his congratulatory message to Kassem, "all these are the links of one and the same chain of crimes by sinister forces which are trying to halt the indomitable movement of the Eastern peoples towards liberation from the age-old oppression of imperialism and reaction and which realising that they are losing ground, resort to base methods, long since condemned in human society."

## The Cento Opera

The simple issue of East Europe being represented on the Security Council is turned into a cold war issue by their standing up to insist that Turkey is in East Europe and the Security Council seat must go to Turkey.

These very days have been selected by them to stage in Washington the comic operatic-underworld plot of a session of the Ministerial Council of the Baghdad Pact renamed CENTO. Once again the sickening claims are repeated of it being a defensive arrangement covered by the U.N. Charter and the U.S. not being a full member, while it provides the funds and the effective military means and officers and is tied to each member with bonds of bilateral military treaties. Vice-President Nixon gives an address in the set cold-war pattern—demanding "deeds not words" to justify peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition of two systems and Pres-

ident, the Chinese leaders have, on the other hand, intensified their anti-American campaign and are still talking of liberating Taiwan and other islands by force...

The hypocrisy of the CENTO subversionists reached its climax when each of them separately addressed "congratulatory messages to Premier Kassem of Iraq.

## Cold War Again

An event of the most ominous and explosive significance, the attempt on the Iraqi people's beloved leader's life, has shocked all honest people—just as the assassination of Ceylon's Bandaranaike had shocked them only a few days earlier. From the Indian press one would get the impression that the crime had some popular basis. What has become clear from news that has trickled in despite imperialist Press agencies is that it was a small group of gangsters in the pay of imperialists who on the pretense of cheering the leader surrounded his car and riddled it with machine-gun bullets.

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—ZIAUL HAQ  
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# Terror Against Agricultural Workers In Kerala

Terror reigns in Central Travancore today—terror unleashed by Congress and "liberation" goondas against agricultural workers, Communists and their sympathisers. Describing the conditions that exist in that part of the State, M. N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party, said at a Press Conference in Trivandrum recently, "No one can tolerate such conditions in civilised society."

THE Communist leader gave a long list of attacks on agricultural workers in the taluks of Chengannoor, Thiruvalla and Mavelikkara, and said the situation there was very grave and there was no safety either for the person or the property of agricultural workers in certain localities of these taluks.

M. N. Govindan Nair made a very strong criticism of the police who, he said, were abetting these attacks and were themselves beating up and terrorising Communists. In Chengannoor alone, 97 Communists had been brutally beaten in the course of a fortnight.

The terror against agricultural workers in these places began with efforts to force them to join the INTUC. Those who refused to do this were denied work and were assaulted.

Immediately after the Central intervention in Kerala, the situation in Kallupara in Thiruvalla taluk had deteriorated so badly that agricultural workers there could move about only if they held INTUC membership receipts.

## Wholesale Attacks

From such beginnings, it gradually developed into a wholesale attack on agricultural workers who are mostly followers of the Communist Party. Not only were men and women beaten up, they were also thrown out of their homes and these huts were then burnt and razed to the ground. Certain areas were labelled as "red" and anyone coming from there used to be pounced upon and beaten by Congress and "liberation" volunteers who had set up camps in vantage points.

Reports are that from Chengannoor and neighbouring places alone, about 120 families have been evicted from their homes and many of these houses damaged, burnt and destroyed. Unable to stand the terror, many people have left the place and sought safety in other areas. They are finding it impossible to come back and this opportunity is being utilised by Congressmen and others to get their names removed from the electoral rolls.

In Govindan Nair's words, "the maximum trouble is in Pandanad, Ala, Pullyur, Cherlanad and Venmony in Chengannoor taluk, Niranam, Parimala, Kaviyur and Thottapuzhasseril in Thiruvalla taluk and Mavelikkara town, Chenmithala and Nuranad in Mavelikkara taluk.

"Ninetysix people have fled from Niranam and have not

returned. Six houses of agricultural workers have been completely destroyed there.

"In Pandanad, a number of agricultural workers were beaten when they refused to join the INTUC and one house was set fire to. Even INTUC workers were so thoroughly disgusted with what was going on that 50 of them resigned from the organisation.

"After this a regular hunt was organised against agricultural workers in Pandanad. In the middle of September an armed gang of about 300 persons raided almost all the houses of agricultural workers and beat up the men, women and children they could find. Among those thus inhumanly beaten were a girl student of the eighth standard and a boy of the sixth standard.

"There was not a single agricultural worker in Pandanad who did not suffer that day. Houses were broken into and property looted by the rowdies. Following this attack, many people have left the place in fear of their lives.

"The next day, a similar raid and attack took place in Parimala with the only difference that here the goondas had the help of the reserve police also.

"Earlier a procession in Venmony, organised to receive the former Speaker of the Kerala Assembly, Sankaranarayanan Thampi, was attacked and there was a clash. When the police came and made arrests, all the 49

who were arrested were members of the jatha who were victims of the attack. After arrest, they were beaten in the police lock-up also.

"This was followed by further repression by the Sub-Inspector of police, Chengannoor. Fiftyfive persons, including K. G. Sankaran Pillai, member of the Alleppey District Council of the Communist Party, were beaten by the police.

"The houses of three agricultural workers were destroyed completely by the goondas. The hut of another worker was smashed and all the material was thrown into the river. The cattle and poultry of yet another were stolen. After this, many people have fled Venmany for their lives."

The "liberation" goondas seem to be under the impression that they have "liberated" certain areas in Chengannoor taluk. Agricultural workers and known Communists can walk on the streets here only at their peril.

Athalakadavamukku in Ala is such a "liberated" area. Here a number of goondas, led by a "liberation" volunteer, Isaac George, assaulted a blacksmith, Padmanabhan, and then dragged him along the road with a rope round his neck. The victim of this assault is still in hospital. Many similar attacks, though not so beastial, have taken place and are taking place in these areas.

## Communist M.P.s Visit Area

Two Communist Members of Parliament, P. T. Punnoose and P. K. Vasudevan Nair who had visited the area have said in a memorandum they submitted to the Governor that "the terror has been unleashed with the deliberate

intention of paralysing a large number of voters."

The Communist M. P.s say: "During the last few days we were going round various places in the two taluks. We have very clearly seen how the law and order situation has deteriorated in a number of villages in this area. Among the agricultural workers and backward classes in general, there is a widespread feeling of fear and insecurity. Communist Party members and sympathisers are feeling that they are not given due protection by the law in an effective manner."

Even Pressmen who went to the area to make an on-the-spot study were stopped by the goondas. The Communist M.P.s in their memorandum have described this incident. "Before leaving Chengannoor we came to know that the representatives of the Kerala Kaumudi, Janayugom and Kerala Press had proceeded to the same area.

"When we reached a place near the local high school at Pandanad we saw the taxi that took the Pressmen waiting on the side of the road.

"The driver of the taxi came over to us and said that some local people were threatening him and asking him to leave the place immediately. They had told him that his car would be destroyed if he did not leave.

"Narayanan Potti, representative of the Kerala Press, was sitting inside the car. He was not well and had not gone with his colleagues who were walking round the area. He began telling us what had happened.

"The local miscreants who threatened the driver had threatened Potti also. Besides they forcibly took away from the car the notes of the Pressmen. It was very clear to us that the miscreants wanted the driver to leave the place

immediately in order to detain the Pressmen and their guides.

"We immediately informed the police authorities of Chengannoor about what was happening. Fortunately the Pressmen were not detained although their note-books were torn to pieces."

In conclusion, the Communist M. P.s said: "We do not want to list all the individual cases of assault on agricultural workers by the goondas and police. We have seen in the Chengannoor area that the agricultural workers have lost faith in the impartiality of the local police officer.

"We have read the statements issued by the Government that the police will put down violence and lawlessness without party and political considerations. But the Chengannoor police-Sub-Inspector seems to be above this policy enunciated by your Government."

## Congressman's Version

The Correspondent of the Kerala Kaumudi, the independent daily from Trivandrum, reported in his paper after his on-the-spot study of the troubled areas in Chengannoor taluk:

"A good Congressman, the President of the Vanmany Panchayat Board, told Press-Correspondents including me, 'It is true. Poor people have been beaten. It is unfortunate. What else can I say?'

"The Panchayat President was referring to the attack on the procession on September 16.

"He told us that one of the agricultural workers, Kunhan by name, who participated in the jatha ran away to save his life and jumped into the river. The attackers started throwing stones at him. Even after the police came on the scene and asked them to desist from the stone-throwing they did not do so. They stopped only when the police threatened to shoot. And when Kunhan finally got out of the water, he was taken into custody by the police.

"We also saw Kunhan later in the hospital with his left eye injured due to the stone-throwing."

M. N. Govindan Nair at his Press Conference, welcomed the efforts made by the Sarvodaya leader, K. Kelappan, to form peace committees in some of these places and said that the Communist Party would always cooperate with such efforts and do everything possible to relieve tension and maintain peace.

The Communist leader appealed to the non-Communists in the disturbed areas to work to stop and discourage this terror against the agricultural workers. He also called for immediate relief to the hundreds of agricultural workers and Communists who have been victims of the terror and have lost their houses and their jobs.

## Jeep From Vidarbha

### Kerala Election Fund Begins Well

E.M.S. Namboodiripad has received a letter from B. N. Mukherjee from Akola in Vidarbha (Bombay State) saying: "Some friends from Vidarbha have contributed money for purchasing a jeep for the election campaign in Kerala. Accordingly I have purchased a jeep in good working condition." He has asked for a driver to be sent there to take the jeep to Kerala or else he would send the jeep with a driver.

The letter further states: "We are starting cash collections for the election fund and we hope to do well. All comrades and friends wish to convey their fraternal solidarity with the comrades and de-

mocratic people in Kerala in their struggle for democracy, Socialism and progress".

E. M. S. has replied to B. N. Mukherjee and the friends in Vidarbha for their timely help for Kerala and has requested them to send more jeeps and money to Kerala for the struggle for defending democracy.

Another contribution which has reached E. M. S. is a money order of Rs. ten from a Sikh doctor of Ludhiana. He says: "I am a voter of the Indian National Congress. I believe that your Government in Kerala has suffered a gross injustice at the hands of the Congress. Mahatma

Gandhi's spirit, wherever it is, is on 'fast unto death' on account of this injustice. I offer this meagre amount to you with the hope that it will help you to regain your Government in Kerala."

A Bombay Malayalee has donated Rs. 150 from his monthly salary and many Malayalees have promised to give parts of their salary every month till the elections in Kerala and help the Communist Party to win. A Bombay friend who does not want his name acknowledged has donated Rs. 1,000 and has promised more.

The Kerala Fund drive has just started—with a good beginning.