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Mao Tse-tung, N. S. Khrushchov shaking hands with Japanese Communist leader Nosaka, and Ajoy Ghosh photographed at a reception in Peking.

AJOY GHOSH, after visit to Peking, says when interviewed . . .

possible. India-China friendship was of vital importance to their countries as well, forming as it did the bulwark of Asian solidarity. They were also sure that the statesmen of the two countries would soon enough find a way out.

These comrades from the fraternal parties of Asia also gave graphic pictures of the situation in their own countries and there was a fertile exchange of experiences. The dominant theme was common, despite all the differences of context—the urgent need to defend and consolidate national independence, to defend and extend democracy.

In almost all these countries a big offensive has been launched by reactionary elements aimed at blowing up

comrades looked askance at Khrushchov's visit to the United States. In their public speeches and in the discussions warm tributes were paid to the Soviet Premier and the thaw in the cold war that his bold initiatives had brought about.

"As for my visit to Moscow, it was mainly to have a routine medical check-up, which could not be completed last time I was in the Soviet Union since I had to leave earlier than scheduled. Naturally I also met Soviet Party leaders this time and exchanged views about different questions. But Moscow-Peking differences—well, let certain gentlemen hug their illusions."

To conclude the interview, the General Secretary of the Party said he found it extremely difficult to adequately convey his impressions of the immense vitality and joy of the Chinese people as they celebrated the tenth birthday of their State. The October 1 demonstration was a massive and tumultuous affair, something that only a highly conscious and fully emancipated people could make possible.

Being busy with discussions and due to ill-health he could not go outside Peking. But China's capital itself had changed almost beyond recognition and the atmosphere seemed surcharged with people's buoyancy, optimism and love for the new life.

To be able to join the great festival of the Chinese people and to witness the tangible achievements of their Big Leap Forward, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China, was a great privilege and a deep inspiration. A people, masters of their destiny and invincible in their awareness, proud of their achievements and desiring friendship with all—that was the China seen again, though briefly, by Ajoy Ghosh.

—MOHIT SEN

(October 21)

* CEC AND NATIONAL *
* COUNCIL TO MEET *
* THE Secretariat of *
* the National Council *
* of the Communist *
* Party will meet in Delhi *
* on October 27 and 28. *
* The Central Executive *
* Committee of the Party *
* will meet in Delhi from *
* November 4 to 9, and the *
* National Council in *
* Meerut from November *
* 10 to 15. *

"From Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai to the young Chinese comrades who attended to our daily needs, just everybody in China was keen to stress and express the firmest friendship with India," was Ajoy Ghosh's reply to the question about the predominant impression he formed during his brief stay in the People's Republic.

Chou En-lai, all were enormously keen that the border dispute be settled through friendly negotiations as quickly as possible. Such settlement would further strengthen and consolidate the great friendship.

"The Chinese leaders

THROUGH discussions with China's leaders, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India found that they were deeply conscious of the great role India-China friendship has played and has to play and, therefore, of the serious consequences that would follow should India-China relations worsen. They were much concerned with the deterioration in these relations that had unfortunately already taken place. Such deterioration could only bring cheer to the common enemy—Western imperialism, especially the United States.

There Was No Alarm

"But anxiety did not denote alarm. Mao Tse-tung in his characteristically poetic language told me that the stream of India-China friendship could never dry up but would keep flowing strong and serene. This was because of the long-established traditions and the common experience of over a century of bitter struggle against the same foe.

"Mao pointed out that the social system in India was different from that in China, but that this was no barrier to deep friendship. He further stated that the Chinese people and the Indian people would live under such systems as they themselves chose and would wish each other happiness," said Ajoy Ghosh.

The Chinese leaders were warm in their appreciation of the role that India had played—and was playing—in the common struggle for peace in the world and the anti-imperialist solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples. They pointed out time and again that it was India and China

CHINA KEEN TO PRESERVE FRIENDSHIP WITH INDIA

who had given a model to the whole world by basing their mutual relations on Panch Sheel—the word was the same in Chinese.

Contrary to some mischievous and inspired reports, the delegation of the CPI found not the slightest manifestation of anti-Indianism or any so-called atmosphere of hysteria and excitement. The Chinese leaders as well as the common people were, of course, fully appraised of the present border dispute between the two countries.

Temporary Phenomenon

"In this connection I may state that in the course of our talks Mao Tse-tung returned more than once to the theme that the border disputes were a temporary phenomenon, an episode in the long, long years unmarked by any conflicts. Whether it was Mao, Liu Shao-chi or

were quite confident that such a settlement would be brought about. They said that they were quite conscious of the fact that Premier Nehru and the Indian Government were also anxious for a settlement. It was this mutual desire to end the dispute amicably that would, they were convinced, find fruition in establishing a firm frontier of abiding amity, welcomed by the peoples and Governments of both the mighty Asian countries.

"The talks were frank and fruitful."

Ajoy Ghosh found that the India-China border dispute was causing concern to all the other foreign delegations who had come to Peking, especially those from the Asian countries. Discussions with representatives of the Communist Parties of Indonesia, Iraq, Nepal, etc., showed that these comrades were also most anxious that settlement be arrived at as expeditiously as

democracy, undermining national independence and establishing authoritarian, militarist regimes. In these countries, the Communist Parties were in the forefront of the patriotic and democratic forces and doing their utmost to achieve maximum mobilisation and unity to hurl back this reactionary attack.

Sino-Soviet Accord

Derisive laughter greeted the news that some enterprising Indian papers had put out—Mao had refused to allow Ajoy Ghosh to meet Khrushchov in Peking and hence the flight to Moscow.

"It is just utter nonsense. I actually was able to meet Khrushchov in Peking but not in Moscow! He had not reached back by the time I left Moscow.

"It is an absolute canard to suggest that the Chinese

Ensure Fair Elections In Kerala

Editorial

While illegally dismissing the Kerala Ministry in July, the Central Government and the Congress laid stress on elections as a democratic way out of the unstable situation engineered by themselves. They took up the pose of defending democratic and constitutional forms and standing for a constitutional way to gauge the trend and strength of public opinion.

Many among the people were misled by this manoeuvre. They thought the elections would be fair and free and afford a peaceful way out of a situation full of violence and anarchy.

Recent events in Kerala have, however, revealed the true character of this manoeuvre. The Congress is doing its utmost to prevent fair and free elections. It knows that in spite of the marching phalanx of its new allies, it cannot escape the indictment and verdict of the people if they are allowed to express their opinion according to the Constitution. Hence every step is being taken or encouraged with the connivance or help of the administration to frustrate an impartial verdict.

In the first place, an illegal and unconstitutional attempt is made to influence popular opinion by withholding Central consent to a number of beneficial Acts passed by the Kerala legislature.

What is the reason? One reason is, of course, the fact that Congress and its allies represent the landed and other vested interests. Another valid and very important reason is that implementation of these Acts will enable the masses to see what the former Ministry did for them and open the eyes of those hitherto following the Congress. The Congress fears that the execution of these Acts will enable the people of Kerala to reach objective conclusions and exercise their verdict in their own interests. That means that it will go against the Congress. That is why in the partisan interests of the Congress, consent to the Acts has been withheld.

The Communist Party in Kerala has every right to demand that the enactments passed by the legislature be immediately implemented so that the people can record their verdict on the work of the Ministry. But this is exactly what is being denied.

Simultaneously as the background to this election, there is the harrowing tale of oppression of the agricultural workers, most of whom are Harijans and support the Communist Party. A mass terror is being organised in Central Travancore specially. Harijan families with women and children are attacked; there has been an exodus from some places. By forcing exodus on hundreds, the Congress and its allies want to make these areas electorally safe for themselves.

No party parades its solicitude for the Harijans more egregiously than the Congress Party. But now it is obvious that for this verbal solicitude the Harijan and agricultural worker must bind himself hand and foot to the Congress and must vote for it; otherwise, he will have no right to vote; he will be driven from his home and village.

The collusion between the Congress and the administration is too open in certain places to be missed. Landlord goondas and police terror, encouraged and supported by the Congress, form the background to the forthcoming elections.

Under the Indian election law, it is illegal to make a communal and caste appeal in elections. But so far the allies of the Congress are concerned, the law does not seem to exist. A number of Catholic Bishops have warned Catholics against voting for Communists. It is obvious that if this outrageous and illegal directive is not complied with, the faithful will be threatened with ostracism and hell. This is how an objective and democratic verdict is sought by the Kerala Congress in the mid-term election.

The fanatical appeal to religion and caste-divisions is the last word of the Congress leadership in its fight for democracy and Indian constitution.

And finally comes the news of foreign help—American help being rendered to the Congress-Catholic coalition in Kerala. Certain reports indicate that till now help worth Rs. 12 crores has been received. That colossal sum is being received from mysterious quarters and is clear from the statement of Mannath Padmanabhan that 50 lakhs were spent in the few days of the "liberation" struggle. The question is—can the Indian people keep quiet when a foreign power is attempting to influence the results of elections in Kerala by bribery and corruption? Is this not open interference in our internal affairs? And what can one say of the patriotic bona fides of certain Congress leaders who accept this help? The Nehru Government and the Congress Party have never clarified the situation about "liberation" funds. They will not say anything now either. But the Congress alliance with the Catholic Church which is being liberally supplied with funds from abroad is a dangerous portent. It shows the length to which certain Congress leaders can go for the sake of their partisan interests.

SCRAP-BOOK

"OPERATION WRECK"

THE Right wing is enormously upset. They are now talking of a peace offensive from China and feel nervous that this might beguile Nehru. Hindustan Times, Organizer and the PSP National Executive all want that India's reply to Chinese overtures should be sabre-rattling. Their postures are quite of the expected pattern and not much to bother about.

Disturbing, however, are signs that India's officialdom is going ahead with "Operation Wreck" to smash up India-China amity. It is widely rumoured, for example, that the scurrilous series of articles on China now appearing in the Statesman come from the pen of an employee of All-India Radio.

This gentleman, it seems, went on a Government of India scholarship to Peking to study the Chinese language but instead indulged in suspicious activities, far removed from studies—so much so that fellow students felt ashamed and alarmed that a prominent British agent was in their midst. He returns China's hospitality with a long list of lies and slanders. It is said to be a rule that no Government employee may publish articles without the permission of the authorities. One wonders how this permission was given and why?

Even more dangerous is the news that 5,000 Tibetan refugees have been sent into Sikkim from Mirsamari and Buxa, ostensibly for purposes of road-building. These refugees have scarcely endeared themselves to the Sikki-mese. Raping young girls, cutting down carromom bushes and trampling standing crops seem to be among their more harmless pastimes.

Many of them are either Khamti tribesmen, who have always been a scourge, or members of the Dalai Lama's army. They are said to be constantly attempting to establish contacts with fellow gangsters across the Tibetan border. The peril is that unless very closely guarded, they will jump the border and create serious incidents.

What was the sense—or was there method in the madness?—in sending these refugees at this stage to Sikkim? Will the Government of India move quickly to end this menace? Finally, we have Arthur Lall, our diplomatic representative in Austria.

If the Congress triumphs with these unprincipled methods, it will have succeeded not against the Communist Party of India but against Indian sovereignty and the Constitution and fair and free elections.

It is the duty of all democratic forces to see that the Kerala elections represent a free and fair verdict of the people of Kerala—unhindered by threats from religious heads and goonda terror. No party, no Government can be allowed to violate the right to vote of any citizen. It is the duty of all Indians to see that that is ensured for the people of Kerala. If this is done, the genuine voice and there is no doubt it will speak decisively in favour of further democratic advance. There is no doubt the forces of reaction will be utterly routed in a free and fair election.

directly contradicting our Prime Minister. Nehru has asked the Chinese to "vaccinate aggression" but added that two great countries are not going to come into conflict on this issue. A day later Lall chirps in with the statement that there would be a clash with the Chinese precisely on this issue. Will he be pulled up?

PILGRIMAGE TO JANTAR MANTAR

THE AICC office at Jantar, Mantar Road presented last week an unseemly sight—but true. The Congress factions from the DCC level upwards were there in strength to woo the High Command.

It is reported that the all-India leaders had a tough time. Tempers had to be soothed and accurate assessments made as to the local power position so that support was not given to the weaker faction. It is reported that rival Congressmen from the same locality had to be met on different days and places or non-violent fist-fights might have resulted. These Congress warriors buttholed anybody and everybody they met—even Congress office clerks had their day. Tea and coffee flowed—to get prior interviews. Of the scores of interesting tit-bits only three can be given this week.

One set of Allgarh Congressmen seemed to be in mortal terror. They were said to belong to the Mohanlal Gautam group and reported that their Congress opponents had taken to armed struggle. Some six Congressmen are supposed to have been shot dead in the bitter rivalry. The latest in the series was the attempt on the life of a Congress MLA, who was sleeping in a Community Development Rest House.

From Nampur in Kangra a set of stolid Congressmen had come to complain that most of the panchayats in their tehsil had been directed by the authorities to contribute Rs. 50 each to the City Congress Committee at Nampur. They claimed that this could be verified from the latest report of the audit department of the Punjab Government.

It did not worry them that this was a gross violation of all the rules and a glaring case of Government patronage of a political party. Their grouse was that this money—Sarkar ka Rupiah—was being disbursed by the ruling clique to their proteges and not to all the loyal Congressmen.

From Jhunjhunu District in Rajasthan came the story of a battle for forms. The Jhunjhunu DCC rulers refused to give the rival group forms for enrolment of primary members. But these were soon enough obtained from the Jaipur DCC who had their own scores to settle. But these Jaipur forms were refused recognition at Jhunjhunu. The rival leaders rushed to the AICC who directed that these forms be accepted and those whose names appeared on them be treated as primary members of the Congress.

The Jhunjhunu satraps, however, refused to publish any lists and have now made their pilgrimage to Jantar Mantar Road. They hope to convince Indira Behn that their rivals are hidden Reds! This is the Congress today.

UNHOLY RACKET

WE have been told that the Home Ministry is making good use of the letters addressed to the Communist Party offices seized by it and the extensive telephone-tapping apparatus. Apart from direct action against those guilty of exposing Government misdeeds, they have found this a good bait for some gullible, though high-placed, journalists.

It is said these learned correspondents—special and political from two leading Delhi dailies and one southern paper—are shown so-called photostats of letters, made to listen in to some concocted tape-recordings and then regaled with the usual fairy-tales.

One can't blame the Home Ministry—it has to do something against the damnable Reds, even if it means violating the Constitution. But should journalists worthy of their calling be so responsive to the overtures of police agents and spies? Should they not practice once in a while their perorations about democracy and expose this unholy racket? —ONLOOKER

October 20

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CALCUTTA, October 19

The flood situation in West Bengal continues to be grave. Although the water level has been falling, vast areas in the nine affected districts are still submerged.

THE catastrophic floods and cyclonic storm have left behind a trail of terrific devastation. According to latest reports, as many as 47 lakhs of people out of the State's total population of three crores, are in acute distress. The death toll has mounted to 172. Sixty-four thanas have been completely devastated. About 200,000 houses have been destroyed and over 12 lakhs of people rendered homeless.

Standing crops on about 20 lakh acres of land have been either severely damaged or totally destroyed. The most serious loss is the destruction of the aman paddy on about 14.5 lakhs acres. Aman, it should be remembered, is the main food crop of West Bengal.

Apart from this disastrous damage to crops, large areas of very fertile lands have been covered by sand. This means that, for at least two years to come, paddy cannot be sown on these extensive stretches of land.

It is now officially estimated that the total amount of the loss is about Rs. 70 crores. This figure is only Rs. nine crores less than the revenue estimates in the State's budget for the current year.

Nearly half of over 30 lakh East Pakistan refugees, now living in Government and other colonies, are among those worst hit by the floods. The damage caused to these colonies is particularly severe because most of them are in low-lying areas or on char land and also because drainage facilities are deplorable.

Residents of most of the Government colonies have virtually no means of subsistence. Refugees in a large number of other colonies lead a precarious existence. The Government itself admits that nearly 50 per cent of the refugees are yet to be fully rehabilitated.

EPIDEMICS

With the receding of the flood waters, the menace of epidemics has become very real. The West Bengal Government announced in a Press-Note on October 13 that the outbreak of cholera in an epidemic form was apprehended in 72 municipal areas of ten districts of the State.

Till the time of writing, 39 deaths from cholera have been reported from three districts. Sixteen of these deaths occurred in a refugee colony, in Calcutta too, 56 suspected cholera cases were removed to hospital between October 12 and 18. Normally, cholera does not break out at this time of the year. Catle epidemic has also started. There are no two opinions among the people here about the magnitude of the disaster and the extent of relief urgently needed by the distressed.

But the State Government holds a different view. Food and Relief Minister P. C. Sen who loves to juggle with statistics, tried to give an impression to Pressmen on October 12, that "adequate" relief had been despatched by the Government. Claiming that one crore of rupees had been already spent on relief, he declared that "emergency relief measures of the first phase" had ended. He further said that the second phase of the work—distribution of seeds, loans, etc.—would start shortly.

Roy Govt. Continues To Play With People's Lives

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

of the Damodar. Relief distributed so far does not meet even a fraction of the requirements of the people. On top of it, corruption is rampant and there is shameful partisanship in the distribution of relief.

On their return from a tour of Ghatal, Daspur and Panchkura thanas, the worst affected areas in Midnapore district, Communist leaders Ranen Sen, M.L.A., and Biswanath Mukherjee pointed out in a statement that during the entire period from the first week of September, when the first spell of the floods

inundated these areas, till October 14, the only relief given was a dry dole of two seers of food grains per head. In some cases, only four to five seers of foodgrains were given to a family of four or five. The fodder distributed was no more than one-half to one seer per head of cattle.

Relating his experiences about devastations in the severely affected areas of Murshidabad district, Jyoti Basu said that 75 to 100 per cent of the crops had been destroyed in several unions in Kandi sub-division. Thousands of people were in

extreme distress. But so far the Government had distributed only 50 to 150 maunds of rice and atta.

Five starvation deaths and one case of suicide in the affected areas have been reported in the Press.

What has further worsened the situation is the utterly partisan attitude of the Government of distributing relief through local Congressmen or Congress committees or Congress-dominated relief organisations.

Little wonder, then, that the main beneficiaries of the relief are henchmen of the Congress and those who had voted for it in the last General Elections. Secondly, the constituencies of Ministers and leading Congressmen in the affected areas are receiving particular attention.

In the initial stages of relief operations, officials in some districts accepted the cooperation offered by non-official organisations and also the Communist Party. But their attitude stiffened immediately after the Chief Minister had stated at a Press Conference that he did not feel the need to enlist the cooperation of Opposition parties.

The Congress worker of No. 4 Debipur Union in Falta Thana of 24-Parganas district, who has been put in charge of distribution of relief in this area bluntly told the distressed people that he had received instructions "from above" that no relief should be given to those who had gone to Calcutta on August 31 last to participate in the mass demonstration for food or those who had been arrested for defiance of law in connection with the food movement!

The Communist Party and the People's Relief Committee (PRC) are making utmost efforts to rush relief to the flood-stricken people. In every area, which has not been devastated by the floods, Communist Party squads are making mass collections. Hundreds of volunteers have been working in the affected areas.

In the course of a few days, over Rs. 6,000 in cash, 65 maunds of rice and 30,000 pieces of cloth were collected. The Siliguri Town Committee of the Party collected in one day Rs. 733 and two maunds of rice. The PRC has been rendering splendid service. It has already sent 13 medical squads to seven districts.

All Akber Khan, a sarodist of international repute, gave a recital of his superb art in aid of flood relief. Several well-known artists and litterateurs of Calcutta went out on street collection of funds, etc. on October 18.

Organised by the West Bengal Yuba Sangha and the BPSF, about 400 students collected on October 14 3,000 pieces of cloth and Rs. 1,500 in cash. Four days later, they collected over Rs. 500, 15 maunds of foodgrains and 5,000 pieces of cloth on October 18.

But the devastation caused by the floods are of such dimensions that coordinated relief work is essential.

TRADE GAPS

THE U. N. economists had reported some time ago on the adverse effects of the recession in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries on the economies in the underdeveloped world. Now their findings have found a confirmation in the 1958-59 Administrative Report of the Export and Import Trade Control Organisation "of the Indian Government."

Like the earlier survey the Report also depicts a picture of declining export earnings, due mainly to fall in prices, and accentuating payments problems because of resistance of prices of manufactured goods to show the same trends.

The result has obviously been reduction in "benefits" accruing to underdeveloped countries from aid given to them with a view to going to fill the yawning trade gaps.

India Also Suffers

India, too, had to suffer the same woes as afflicted the other parts of the underdeveloped world. Her exports during 1958-59 fell by Rs. 51 crores, as compared to the previous year. And this, in spite of a series of measures to liberalise controls and promote exports. The worst sufferers were such traditional items as jute and mineral ores, which were the first casualties of the recessionary trends. Total exports to the United States fell by Rs. 12 crores while the adverse balance with OEEC countries was still larger.

The only area whose imports of Indian goods did not only not suffer but showed an increase during the year was that of the Socialist countries with which India had rupee agreements. Exports to the USSR alone showed an increase of Rs. five crores.

Thus while the rest of the world let India down, West Germany and other advanced capitalist countries might make marginal adjustments in imports from India if the counsels currently being given to them really prevail. Their principal mode of "interest" in India and other underdeveloped countries will, however, remain export of their private capital to her. Already, the West German Government is reported to have finalised a scheme to cover its entrepreneurs against risks of nationalisation, expropriation, etc.—while the United States is credited with sending a draft convention to New Delhi re-

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

India Limiteds

The U. S. has devised yet another mechanism of getting a foothold in the Indian economy. Aware of the inadequacies of New Delhi's efforts to raise agricultural production, and also of its resultant dependence on P. L. 480, the authorities in Washington will now set up a trust about 40 per cent of the rupee proceeds of foodgrains, imported from the USA to float joint Indo-U. S. ventures in the private sector. If this scheme is accepted we will witness a mushroom growth of (India) Limiteds—operated not from New Delhi but from Washington.

Thus, on one side is the prospect of expansion of export trade to increase foreign exchange earnings, to obtain capital goods for basic industries on easy terms—and on the other restriction of export opportunities and insistence on taking credits which may bring in foreign vested interests to strengthen the private sector. Can there be any doubt that the Government has to progressively go in for the first if it really means to utilise foreign trade for taking the country forward to economic independence?

ESSEN

October 20

INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

PRO-Western reactionaries within our country, duly inspired, aided and guided by their patrons abroad, had hoped to go on exploiting India-China differences in such a way as to keep the tension constantly rising and use the artificially heated political atmosphere to rush through their reactionary aims all along the line. They had a field day for a few months and their confidence grew unbowed. They are meeting with their first failures now and their angry words help reveal their true political breed.

THE TIBET VOTE

Despite their political lobbying and mass campaigning, they could not persuade the Indian Government to sponsor the cause of Tibetan rebels in the U.N. When the Anglo-U.S. rulers got their stooge Governments of Malaya and Philippines to raise the issue, Indonesia cast a negative vote along with the Socialist countries. Majority of Afro-Asian nations remained neutral. India refused to cast its vote. It is a matter of deep regret that Nehru's India took a weaker position than Soekarno's Indonesia. If India had shown similar courage there is no doubt that most of the representatives of the Afro-Asian bloc would have cast the negative vote and not remained neutral. It would have been a mighty and significant demonstration of Afro-Asian unity against U.S. machinations.

Last week we noted the grave upset felt by the PSP Executive. This week, the ravings of the rest of the gang are available and deserve serious thought.

The Birla-owned and Morarji-patronised Hindustan Times (October 15) in its editorial entitled "Degrading" writes: "The country has borne patiently enough with the involvements and tortuosity of the policy of non-alignment. But if Mr. Krishna Menon's immoral and degrading performance at the U.N. on the Tibet question is non-alignment, then let us down it here and now, deeper than did ever plummet sound."

If the Indian representative does not dutifully line up behind the U.S. inside the U.N., he is "degrading" our country!

When they find that the Tibetan issue cannot be used to get India away from its traditional policy of non-alignment, they frontally attack the national policy of non-alignment itself!

What more could be clearer? Let us not forget that the Hindustan Times is in close association with and reflects to a considerable extent the viewpoint of the Right inside the ruling party.

The Organiser (October 19), Jan Sangh mouthpiece, goes one step further. Under the caption, "A Modern Falchand" it writes: "So Comrade Menon has done it again... the rape of Tibet... he, on behalf

of India, abstained from voting. As though genocide in Tibet was of no concern to us! "Comrade Menon's action in the U.N. is a lie—a libel—on the people of India."

It plays up the story: "We are not at all sure that it is an action in pursuance of a Cabinet decision. The Nehru-Menon axis—or is it two sides of the same coin?—thinks it is more important than the Cabinet, Parliament and people combined."

It seeks to drive home the lesson: "Here is a snot of a Prime Minister who has known little else in life than an inherited leadership, followed by grave speeches and generally comfortable jailing—and of course jail jaings and garlands... And here is a Defence-cum-Super Defence Minister, a gaunt ugly, offensive, doubtful character whose only interest in life seems to be to advance the interests of Communism and of course, his own comradeship. The one is unable, as the other is unwilling to do anything about the Chinese aggression. Between the impatience of the one and the unpatriotism of the other, the country's most vital interests go to pieces."

If India refuses to move when the U.S. imperialists order "Fire", let us note against whom the gunmen of the Jan Sangh fire their volleys. These ominous words of the Jan Sangh must stir the deepest thought of Congressmen who think that the Communist Party is alien but the Jan Sangh to an extent is national.

J. P. has tried to contribute the element of pathos to this drama. In a statement (Hindustan Times, October 8) he stated that "it was saddening that while the West stood by Tibet, an eastern country, the East forsook her." To the imperialist West, Tibet was only a pretext, to the anti-imperialist East it was a diversion and its Governments wisely sidestepped the trap set. This has made Jeewandani J. P. sad but we know for what cause his Jeevan is now dan.

REARGUARD ACTION

Indian public opinion has heartily welcomed the Peking initiatives to restore friendly contacts with our representatives in Peking and Lhasa and help clear the atmosphere for mutual talks. China's national day in Peking witnessed toasts of friendship, and solemn pledges to solve all outstanding problems, through peaceful negotiations, between the representatives of Indonesia, Burma, Nepal and People's China. Their significance, too, has been noted in New Delhi.

This, however, does not suit those who were fishing in troubled waters and wanting to keep India's eyes red and the fist clenched vis a vis China. For example, the notorious pro-U.S. columnist Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani is so upset as to write that "optimists" both in the External Affairs Ministry and in the Press are jumping with joy like whirling dervishes...

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Delhi has begun to expect some tentative proposals."

It has been left to the lot of the National Executive of the PSP to broadcast the new slogan of the pro-U.S. anti-China lobby for the new phase when the clouds of misunderstanding between India and China are lifting:

"The Party regards it a duty to warn the Government against the danger of a weak-kneed policy towards an aggressor."

It is clear enough that their rearguard action against restoring India-China amity and cooperation is going to be fought by mounting a political offensive against the Indian Government not to "weaken" and making impossible demands upon the Chinese in the well-known style of Dulles vis a vis the USSR, as preconditions for negotiations.

Our General Secretary, back home from China, stated: "The only thing that I have to say now is that, every one whom I met, there was very keen that this dispute should be settled as quickly as possible and that negotiations should be started between the two countries."

Hostility between India and China is unnatural, against the interests of both.

Friendship between India and China is natural and in the interests of both.

Enough is happening inside the two countries to raise the hope that misunderstandings will be removed and friendship restored. Let the leaders of the PSP and their like reread the old tale about the stork, the sands and the sky!

INDO-PAK RELATIONS

The very sections of the Indian Press and news-agencies that used to be irrationally hostile to Pakistan are busy giving a big Press build-up to Indo-Pak negotiations that are currently on.

The PSP Executive has also welcomed the lessening of tension between India and Pakistan and expressed the hope of further improvement in the relations between the two countries. It has simultaneously "emphasised the need to face the slowly maturing threat from China as a crucial challenge to the country's independence, territorial integrity and its chosen way of life..." (Times of India, October 18). It just stops short of openly pleading for an Indo-Pak defence alliance against the supposed common threat, from imaginary Chinese aggression!

THE SOURCE

New Age readers are familiar with our view that U.S. rulers are behind the new shift in Pak attitude towards India and that we should remain vigilant, etc. Below are extracts from a U.S. National Security Council Working Paper which should help us understand the new U.S. strategy.

"In essence the emerging policy affirms the potential importance of a 500-million strong South Asian regional power centre as a counterforce to Communist China; emphasises full U.S. participation in a multilateral Indus Development Fund; points to the possibilities for setting in motion increased Indo-Pakistani trade starting with cement and steel needed for the new Indus Canals and dams, and looks to a gradually improving atmosphere accompanying the Indus settlement, in the course of which both countries will freeze their military establishments for the time being at present levels...."

"The post-Tibet hardening of Indian opinion which was one factor behind the Central Government decision to upset Communist control of Kerala makes this the opportune moment for a whole-hog revision of policy."

We now know from where the PSP leaders get their light and also what the U.S. seeks to achieve by pretending to improve Indo-Pak relations.

We are for building neighbourly relations with Pakistan. We only want our countrymen not to put on new blinkers. The above U.S. statement gives the necessary background to come to a more realistic assessment of the results of the two Indo-Pak Conferences that are on.

CASH CLAIMS

During the week in Karachi, a conference was held between the official representatives of the two countries to settle the outstanding financial claims based on the partition debt issue which has remained unsettled all these long years.

India's claims are for Rs. 330 crores from Pakistan on this account. The Pak claim has been greatly varying and mounting higher. In 1950 in an official communication from the Pakistan Government to the Indian Government it was stated to be Rs. 100 crores. More recently in August 1957, the figure mentioned in the Pak National Assembly was also Rs. 100 crores. The latest Pak claim has risen sharply to Rs. 180 crores.

The talks opened in "extremely cordial atmosphere" (Times of India, October 16). They concluded amidst "general satisfaction." The two delegations discussed the overall picture of the balance-sheet. They will now present the results to their Finance Ministers who will take the final decisions. It is not known whether the official delegates have come to a commonly agreed balance-sheet or what has been agreed upon and what not. There is no concrete agreement reached contrary to the expectations raised by Press propaganda.

ON BORDER DISPUTES

Simultaneously another conference on the Indo-Pak border problems was held at

Delhi and its venue was shifted to Dacca and Shillong to get on the spot atmosphere and experience. The delegates are back at Delhi where they will conclude the discussions but at the time of writing the communique is not yet out.

The agenda of this conference was to end border firings, settle border disputes, come to grips with differing interpretations of the Bagge Award which leaves parts of the border undemarcated and normalise travel and trade in the border region. All the papers reported the "promising" start of the conference and "hopeful results" to follow. Nothing of that sort has, however, happened.

The only solid achievement of this conference appears to be agreement on "ground rules" for the armed guards of the two sides which should lessen the unfortunate border firings.

On the other vital and hitherto controversial issues, "no firm conclusions" have been reached according to the well-informed Special Representative of the Statesman (October 16). The Press reports that the border disputes have yet defied solution and no agreement could be reached about the undemarcated zone. Indian representative Sardar Swaran Singh stated that they are trying to create machinery which will set in motion a trend for the solution of problems. In his words, the conference had helped to "come to grips with the problems" though it is equally important to note that they are far from being solved yet. Once again this very much publicised conference has produced no corresponding results yet.

TRAP AND TASK

Every sensible Indian heartily desires the normalisation of Indo-Pak relations. The U.S. rulers and their Pak agents are making the faint of seeking to improve Indo-Pak relations and simultaneously trying to worsen India-China relations. We stress the imperialist stratagem only to rouse the vigilance of our country and Government. We are all for bold and persistent efforts to restore Indo-Pak amity. We hope our Government will have the understanding and elasticity to exploit all the new opportunities that open up whatever be the motives of U.S. and Pak rulers, and the wisdom not to fall into the trap but break through it, and step by step come to what-ever friendly understanding is possible with Pakistan in the spirit of good neighbourliness and in the interests of our two peoples.

It is India's duty and responsibility to tirelessly and simultaneously work to improve relations with Pakistan and China both. Every success scored will bring new laurels to our famed foreign policy of which the nation is proud and which our enemies seek to divert and change.

—P. C. JOSHI

(October 21)

CENTRAL KISAN COUNCIL MEETS

THE Central Kisan Council of the All-India Kisan Sabha met in the last week of September, with the AIKS President in the chair.

The meeting was being held in Calcutta against the background of the glorious people's struggles for food in West Bengal, which the Government had sought to suppress with unparalleled brutality. Not only the fact that 80 persons were killed, 3,000 injured and over 18,000 imprisoned, but also the inhuman treatment of the wounded and half-dead, shooting down of people who remained indoors and the killing of women, children and the old recklessly and at random created new records in suppression of a popular movement.

In a resolution on the food movement in West Bengal, the Council denounced the repressive measures adopted by the West Bengal Government as the "violation of all human standards, the rule of law and parliamentary democracy." The Council demanded that an immediate judicial enquiry must be instituted into the police firings and other repressive measures. It condemned the Government for its refusal to come to terms with the Price-Increase-and-Famine-Resistance Committee for the solution of the State's food problem and demanded immediate steps for the purpose. It was pointed out that despite the claims made by the Government, no improvement was visible in the food situation in the State.

Initiative Of The Masses

In the course of its deliberations on the people's struggle for food, the Council noted with great admiration the wonderful initiative and courage of the masses, particularly the kisans and Kisan Sabha workers. Despite the arrest and imprisonment of the effective organisers of the movement on a vast scale, and despite the reign of terror let loose by the Government, every step in fulfilment of the programme of the movement was carried out according to plan, thanks to the determination and consciousness of the rank and file of the Kisan Sabha and the parties of the PIFRC.

The All-India Kisan Sabha is proud of its martyrs and the cadres who kept the banner of the Sabha gloriously flying in midst of the ruthless attack of the Government and its police. It extends its sympathy to the people whose near and dear had laid down their lives during the black days of August and September.

The report from Bihar about the satyagraha against price-increase and the enhancement of taxes, revealed that the food movement was not confined to West Bengal alone. This is a source of strength not only to the food movement in West Bengal but also to the All-India Kisan Sabha itself, because it was the kisans of Bihar who constituted the main force of the struggle.

The movement was directed against enhancement of the dual burden of prices and taxes. While rice was selling at Rs. 25

★ FOOD AND LAND STRUGGLES REVIEWED ★ CALL FOR AID TO FLOOD VICTIMS

to 35 per maund, four new taxes were imposed on the common people by the State Government in the face of countrywide opposition. The multipoint sales tax levied since July 1, 1959, had been severely hitting the small traders, the professional tax levied by the municipalities under the compulsion of the State Government since April 1, 1959, was the highest municipal rate in India; the other two taxes were the new Education Cess and the proposed Betterment Levy.

The total incidence of all these taxes is said to be Rs. six cores a year, at a time when the general standard of living is deteriorating. Against these taxes, complete hartal was observed in almost all the 110 urban and rural trading centres on April 15 and then the Statewide satyagraha was begun.

The Committee considered the situation in Punjab after the withdrawal of the struggle against betterment levy. The Punjab Provincial Kisan Sabha which was heading the movement had withdrawn it as a gesture of good will to pave the way for an amicable settlement through negotiations.

This step was appreciated by all sections of the people, but unfortunately the State Government did not respond to it. The Central Kisan Council endorsed the appeal made by the Punjab Provincial Kisan Sabha to the Prime Minister for his intervention and advice to the State Government to open negotiations with the Punjab Provincial Kisan Sabha so that the peasants may not have to be compelled to resume the struggle once again. The Committee greeted the heroic Punjab peasants who, in spite of severe repression and provocation from the side of the Government, stood firmly united, peaceful and determined to secure the demands.

Struggle For Waste Land

Besides the movement for food and against exorbitant taxes, the struggle for the distribution of waste land in the possession of the Government to landless agricultural labourers was another important item on the programmatic decisions of the Mayavaram session of the AIKS.

The Central Kisan Council noted with satisfaction that in certain States, the issue had been taken up by the agricultural workers themselves. The report from Maharashtra in this respect was the most encouraging. In three districts—Khandesh, Nasik and Ahmednagar—the agricultural labourers under the leadership of the Republican Party and others are conducting

a satyagraha movement and already 5,000 of them have been convicted. The Council offered its full support to the struggle and greeted the heroic agricultural workers of Maharashtra. It expressed the hope that the movement would be extended to other districts and the Government compelled to distribute waste land in its possession.

A movement for distribution of land in the possession of the Government is growing in Assam also. The importance of this movement in Assam can be appreciated from the fact that there are one million acres of waste land in the possession of the State Government. The plantations account for 16 lakh acres, but 75 per cent of them are lying fallow. As against this the number of landless peasants is two million out of the total ten million population of Assam. Satyagraha is already in progress in Jorhat district where 400 satyagrahis have been arrested.

Reports from the Andhra Pradesh Kisan Sabha revealed that the movement, had secured a partial victory in Andhra.

In this State more than eight lakh acres of waste land in the possession of the Government are being cultivated by agricultural workers and poor peasants for several de-

by
BHOWANI SEN
General Secretary
ALL-INDIA KISAN SABHA

There is no reason why its consent for a Brahmaputra scheme to prevent floods in Assam cannot be obtained. In view of the annual flood havoc in Assam, the callousness of the Government deserves condemnation.

Next to Assam, the most serious conditions have been created by floods in Orissa. In this State, as a result of this year's flood, 15,000 houses have collapsed, five persons have lost their lives and the autumn crop has been entirely damaged, partial damage to winter crops is also apprehended.

The Utkal Provincial Kisan Sabha has taken up the issue of food relief as one of the four big issues of campaign. The other issues are land reform, distribution of fallow land in the possession of the Government and the reduction of rent.

Floods And Water Logging

The problem concerning widespread floods throughout the country was one of the most important items on the agenda of the Calcutta session of the Central Kisan Council. From Punjab, the report was that in that State 45 lakh acres of land have become waterlogged due to unscientific canal schemes. As a solution to this problem, four measures were suggested: ce-

ment-lining of the canals so that water may not seep through the canal-bed; pumping of water from the water-logged area into the canals; suitable arrangements for drainage; and construction of culverts in the roads so that water can flow from one side to the other.

The flood problem in Assam has assumed serious dimensions as a result of excessive rains. (The C.K.C. met before the devastating floods in West Bengal.—Editor.) It has become an agrarian problem in the sense that due to these floods, agricultural production is being hampered.

Failure Of Embankments

The Council is of opinion that embankments for the purpose of flood control have proved to be a failure. A scheme for the control of the Brahmaputra and its tributaries is an urgent need of the hour. But the Government has so long avoided the adoption of such a scheme on the alleged ground that the Government of Bhutan may oppose it, but it is reported that the subject has not yet been raised with the Government of Bhutan. The Council feels that in view of the friendly relations existing between our country and Bhutan,

The result has not been distribution of land but increasing eviction of poor tillers of the soil. In the opinion of the All-India Kisan Sabha, there can be no upsurge of agricultural production until an end is put to this state of affairs. The Mayavaram session of the AIKS, therefore, urged that the campaign for land reform must be raised to the national plane and all forces of the Kisan movement be released for the same.

The Council decided to meet again on November 10 and 11 in New Delhi to consider this problem in all its details in order to prepare for a country-wide peasant movement for genuine land reform.

Finally, the Council considered a letter received from the Secretariat of the All-India Peace Council, extending its invitation to the Kisan Sabha to send a representative to the Surat Session of the Council. In this letter, C. N. Malaviya had written, on behalf of the Secretariat of the AIPC, that the new attack on India's foreign policy from reactionary quarters made it incumbent that "all peace forces of India should join hands and act in time." The Council wholeheartedly endorsed this view and elected A. K. Gopalan, the President of the AIKS, to represent the organisation in the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Peace Council.

help the victims of floods. The Council further urged upon the units of the AIKS to organise campaign for the draining of waterlogged areas. The recurring floods undermined the failure of the Government's flood control projects owing to the fact that they were one-sided and piecemeal. A complete reversal of the policy has become urgent in order to dovetail the big projects with small projects and drainage schemes.

Memorandum On Plan

All these specific problems, the Council felt, must be thoroughly dealt with in the memorandum to be submitted to the Planning Commission as the contribution of the All-India Kisan Sabha to the discussion of the Third Five-Year Plan.

The memorandum to be prepared must, of course, make land reform the central issue of the Third Five-Year Plan and in this respect, the various measures of ceiling introduced by various State Governments require drastic alteration. In the opinion of the All-India Kisan Sabha, the opposition to the policy of imposing a ceiling on landholdings, organised by the vested interests on a big scale, is succeeding to the extent that various State Governments are seeking to impose such high ceilings and with such loopholes that ultimately distributable surplus land is bound to disappear through the crafty devices of the large landholders. Much of it has already disappeared through transfers and partition.

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Delegate To Peace Council

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A memorandum drawing the attention of the State Government to the seriousness of the food and price situation in Madras State and suggesting measures to meet it was submitted to the Madras Chief Minister and the Minister for Food and Agriculture on October 12 by a deputation representing various political parties and mass organisations.

THE deputation consisted of M. R. Venkataraman, Secretary of the Tamilnad Council of the Communist Party, K. Apparaj and S. C. C. Anthony Pillai representing the Tamilnad Socialist Party, S. Guruswamy, President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, B. Srinivasa Rao from the Tamilnad Kisan Sabha, T. R. Ganesan, General Secretary of the Tamilnad Trade Union Congress, T. S. Ramanujam, President of the Madras City Trade Union Council, and S. Krishnamoorthy, member of the Madras City Corporation.

The memorandum has pointed out that it is not only the price of rice that has risen steeply but also of all other essential articles of daily use.

Production Has Gone Up

In a White Paper circulated in September to the members of the Legislative Assembly, the Government had admitted that production of rice had gone up by 60,000 tons in 1958-59 compared with the previous year and by a lakh tons compared with 1956-57. Similarly, output of millets in 1958-59 was 1.96 lakhs more than in the previous year and 2.40 lakh tons more than in 1956-57.

Thus the total increase in the State's foodgrains production in two years was about 2.5 lakh tons. Obviously the price-rise cannot be due to scarcity conditions, it is the distribution system that has to be held primarily responsible for it.

It is widely known how the big landlords and big traders with enough financial backing have been hoarding stocks and minting money at the expense of the common people. According to a recent statement by the State Government, 13½ lakh bags (48 Madras measures to a bag) of rice are marketed every month in the State. With an increase in price of about eight rupees per bag from last year, it can be seen that about a crore of rupees or more are going every month into the pockets of the big landlords and profiteers.

Finding that appeals to the profiteers did not bring forth any results, the Government had itself, in November 1958, decided to embark on State trading in foodgrains with the declared intention of holding the price-line by supplying rice to the fair-price shops during the lean months. The target of procurement was fixed at two lakh tons.

By the end of September 1959, seven months after the main harvest, the Government had succeeded in procuring only about 1.22 lakh tons.

The main reason given by the Government for the failure in reaching the procurement target was the movement of rice from Madras to Kerala.

But the figures given

by the Government itself tell a different tale—that the rice exports to Kerala were the lowest in 1958-59, less than 1.25 lakh tons compared with 2.5 lakh tons in the preceding year. Moreover the import of rice from Andhra was to the order of 60,000 tons against 18,000 tons the previous year. So the reason for the failure in procurement has to be found elsewhere and that is the Government's reliance on the wholesale merchants and rice-millers for execution of its plan. The Government White Paper itself has had to admit that evasion has taken place on a large scale under various pretexts—“by means of merchants pretending to be commission agents, millers pretending to be producers and by means of splitting up sales and stocks.”

And yet the Government took no action against anyone for such evasion.

Story Of Fair Price Shops

The Government had opened a number of fair price shops in July and August throughout the State. But the Government's own figures show that despite these measures, prices have steadily gone up. For instance, in Kumbakonam in Tanjore District, the rice granary of Tamilnad, the price of se-

Softness Towards Big Landlords And Traders

cond variety rice had jumped up from Rs. 17 per maund in April 1959 to Rs. 21.07 by May and Rs. 22.82 in July—an increase of 35 per cent.

The State Food Minister himself had admitted that the fair-price shops touched only the fringe of the problem. In Greater Madras, for instance, with a population of about 19 lakhs whose monthly requirement would be about 20,000 tons the amount of rice distributed through fair-price shops was a little over 3,000 tons for the four weeks beginning July 15, 1959. Hardly one-eighth of the requirements of the population was thus met and for the rest, they had to depend on the open market.

If this is the position in Madras City, which comparatively speaking has received more relief than other areas, one can imagine the difficulties of the people in the rest of the State.

The total population of Madras City, the municipal towns and the major panchayats is nearly 75 lakhs, the overwhelming majority of whom has to buy rice. Nearly 80 per cent of the marketed rice in the State is sold in these areas. Their annual requirement will be about ten lakh tons of rice. Unless the Government comes

forward to distribute at least half of this, it is futile to expect that any step taken by it will seriously influence prices.

With this as the background, the memorandum has suggested the following measures to be immediately undertaken by the Government:

- 1. Immediately the price of the ordinary variety of rice that the common people consume should be reduced to 12 annas per Madras measure in the fair-price shops.
- 2. Government should open fair-price shops in all municipal and major panchayat areas at the rate of one shop for every 500 families and supply edible rice through them.
- 3. Rice distribution through these fair price shops should be through a family card and each family should be allowed to buy its quota up to a week at a time.
- 4. Popular committees should be set up to supervise distribution through fair-price shops. Families in which there is a member who is assessed to income-tax need not be served by such shops.
- 5. Such fair-price shops should be opened in dry rural areas also. In these shops in addition to rice, millets should also be sold at

three Madras measures per rupee.

In other areas, arrangements should be made to open fair-price shops as and when necessary. In order to ensure this, Government should build up a stock of about five lakh tons annually. The bulk of this should be obtained by internal procurement from the producers.

All landholders with holdings of less than ten acres of wet land in extent should be exempted from any compulsory procurement and must be free to dispose of their produce in the open market.

Landholders holding wet lands of ten acres and more should be subjected to a compulsory statutory levy. Such levy should be fixed in each area on the basis of a percentage of average production per acre in the area. The levy should start at 50 per cent of the average production and go up to 75 per cent as the size of the holdings increases.

Arrangements should be made to buy paddy at controlled rates from those who offer to sell it at village sites and for prompt payment of the purchase price. Government must subsidise any loss if necessary for such a scheme.

After This Admission Of Defeat

FREE REIN TO PROFITEERS

THE Government of Madras, on October 1 last, announced its decision to give up procurement of foodgrains. Commenting on this decision, Communist leaders P. Ramamoorti and M. R. Venkataraman said in a statement:

The statement by M. Bakthavatsalam, Madras Food Minister, on October 1 announcing the decision of the Government to give up procurement is really an admission of defeat of the Government at the hands of the big landlords and profiteers. The Minister has in effect announced the abandonment of the policy of procurement and thereby given the green signal to the big stockists to play havoc with people's food. It is really an abdication by the Government of its responsibility to make available to the common people food at reasonable prices.

After the loud trumpeting of Government's firm decision to undertake State trading in foodgrains for months together, this announcement has come as an anti-climax. This

was inevitable from the policy the Government has been pursuing. Its reliance on the merchants for procuring its target of two lakh tons of rice has led to failure in procurement. Even though, on Government's own admission, prices had risen steeply as early as April 1959 over even the higher price at the harvest season, still the Government waited till the middle of July for opening a few fair-price shops.

By that time prices had risen to an average of Rs. 22.5 per maund, according to figures furnished by the Minister himself in the Assembly. And then the Government fixed the price in these fair-price shops at just a little lower than the market price, viz. Re. 21.12. Had the Government any intention of bringing down prices it would never have fixed this high rate for the rice it sells through the fair-price shops which admittedly is of the poorest quality.

Today the Minister talks of increasing the supply to the fair-price shops provided the offtake justifies it. This itself is the biggest commentary on the so-called fair-price shops for it is unthinkable that people will not go in for edible rice if it is sold by Government at cheaper rates.

If the Government is to discharge its responsibility to the people in these conditions and effectively hold the price line which is very necessary for our economic advancement, it has to step in running a large number of fair-price shops and ensure at least 50 per cent of the requirements of the urban population in the municipal and major panchayat areas at considerably lower prices, say 12 annas per Madras Measure. Without this the Government will never be able to make an impression on the free market sufficient to bring down the prices.

This means the Government must give up its policy of relying on the big merchants for any procurement and must go directly to the big producers. The requisite quantity can be procured by imposing a steeply graded levy based on a percentage of the average production per

acre on landholders holding more than ten acres. Procurement will be necessary even in the Kuruvai crop which is exported from the State. There are poor sections who consume this quality. Evidently the Government does not want to attack their main supporters in the rural areas. The Government is trying to sidetrack this whole issue by talking of the composition of the zone and by raising the cry that Government's import and procurement scheme was failing due mainly to the flow of rice to Kerala. Actually the Minister's own statistics belie his assertion. The flow has been far less than at any time during the last five years. Secondly, even if Madras was split up into a separate zone, being a marginal and not a highly surplus State the problem of price-increase will still remain.

The bringing down of the price of rice plays a vital role in bringing down the prices of other articles of daily consumption. Despite the complacency of the Government, we are sure that people will compel the Government to revise its policies.

U. P. CONGRESS : Armed Truce Between Factions Coming To End

Once again the murky pot of the Congress in U. P. is beginning to boil. If the activities and the statements (private and public) of some of the ring-leaders of dissident Congressmen are any indication, the armed truce between the Ministerial and the C. B. Gupta group is about to come to an end.

SOME time ago, as the result of tremendous pressure from the Congress High Command as well as due to their own interests, the warring groups had come to an agreement. The three-point formula evolved was: formal collective expression of regret by the rebel MLAs to the High Command, no disciplinary action against any individuals of the dissident group and reshuffling of the Ministry, after a lapse of a respectable distance of time. The details of the changes that were to be incorporated in the Cabinet had not been worked out. They were to depend on the behaviour of the dissidents.

After this incident, the dissidents feel that they are mere prisoners in the Congress organisation. Until and unless the attitude of the High Command is changed they can never expect to get

Dissidents' Hopes

The dissidents had accepted this formula with a plan of their own. They had their eyes on the forthcoming elections to the Congress Committees. The elections were to begin from 4th October at the Mandal level and were to be completed with the election of the provincial bodies by the end of November. Confident that they would be able to capture an overwhelming majority of the DCCs and the PCC, the Guptaites had thought that after that, they would be able to speak from a position of strength. They had hoped that their chances to refashion the Ministry according to their choice would then be much greater.

To defeat them in this game the Ministerialists then decided to create difficulties in the way of elections. Objections were raised to the membership rolls. In representations to the High Command it was charged that at least fifty per cent of the 'record' 25-lakh Congress membership of the State this year was bogus. Accusations led to counter-accusations. Then with the intervention of the High Command, a Committee of three, namely Tarkeshwar Pandey, M. P. (Ministerial group), Mangia Prasad, former Minister of State and Chief Whip (Gupta group) and Wasi Naqvi (called 'neutral'), was set up to scrutinise the lists. They were asked to finish their labours by the end of September 1959.

But, according to the statements of the Guptaites, the Ministerialists put so many hurdles that till now the work of checking up of the rolls has been completed only in 28 of the 52 districts. It has taken nearly seven months to come so far. It is, therefore, certain that with this snail's pace another six months or more would be required to complete the scrutiny.

Meanwhile, there was another development which made the dissidents impatient and even less confident. After the scrutiny in the above-mentioned 28 districts, the Returning Officer had ordered elections to be held in nine districts. The Ministerial group, however, once again

got the High Command to intervene on its side. Under its instructions the elections have been cancelled till probably the whole business of scrutiny is over.

This intervention has acted as almost the last straw, according to some of their spokesmen. They say this shows gross partiality on the part of the High Command. They accuse some important members of the High Command to be in league with the Ministerial group. The others, they say, are being bamboozled by the Sampurnanand-Kamlapati Tripathi-Mohanalal Gautam clique in the name of 'stability of the Congress Government in the State'.

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★ DISSIDENTS PLAN CONVENTION ★ CORPORATION ELECTIONS BRING ROT TO PUBLIC GAZE

a fair deal and they see no signs whatsoever of even the possibility of this change. They also feel that only an adequate show of strength may persuade the High Command to change its attitude.

The date and the venue of the convention have not yet been fixed, but it is said that they will be fixed after seeing the results of the Corporation elections which are being held in the five big cities of Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad, Agra and Varanasi (Banaras) on October 25.

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Fight For Candidature

The gruelling struggle that is going on inside the Congress has been fully reflected in the wranglings connected with the Corporation elections also.

In one of the five cities has the Congress been able to draw up agreed lists of Congress candidates for the Corporations. At the time when they were trying to be sweet to each other they had set up at the State level joint advisory committees of both the groups to help in the selection of candidates in each city. But the task proved to be impossible and as the situation deteriorated the reactions became more and more violent.

Hundreds of Congress workers have resigned in Lucknow,

the country had been completed. The spokesman of the Ministerial group went on: "If we cannot prevent the elections altogether we shall delay them as long as we can so that either they (the Guptaites) get demoralised and come over to us, or do something desperate to invite disciplinary action..." His line was clear.

"Would you then like them to get out of the Congress ...?" I asked. "Why not, if so they wish? It is obvious that there is no more room for both the groups in the

two lists of Congress candidates for allotting the Congress symbol. One had been sent directly by the President of the UPCC, Chaturbhuj Sharma (belonging to the Gupta group) through a personal emissary, and another was submitted by the President of the local City Congress Committee! There was only one name common to both the lists. Both groups were openly threatening to walk out of the organisation if their list was not accepted.

In every city there are also cases of many respectable citizens and even good Congressmen who when approached to stand on the Congress ticket politely turned down the offer. In all the five cities about 20 of them refused to contest even after tickets had been given to them.

To some in the Congress organisation the selection of candidates has been a source of great income. They have earned thousands of rupees. In Agra, it was even reported in the Press that some people, in touch with some hawks, were seen openly hawking the Congress symbol for a couple of hundred rupees.

While talking to some Congress friends I happened to refer to the communal elements of both the communities whom they are utilising in their elections. They laughed and said that perhaps I was "still living in the pre-Independence era of the anti-imperialist national movement. Now all Indians are equal and the same. Don't you see what we are doing in Kerala?" It was undoubtedly a dig at the High Command but there was no regret in it.

Dissident Congressmen, whenever their convention is held, will discuss the question of how to "defeat the game of the Congress High Command" in U. P. The question of leaving the Congress and joining the Swatantra Party, or forming another party will also be discussed. Watching their thinking and work at close quarters one is sorrowfully driven to the conclusion that these Congressmen can do anything.

Two Lists Of Candidates

In Agra, in the election officers were in great difficulty because they had been sent

to seek elections as rival candidates. They belong to both the groups. Many of them belong to no group at all. Since they were not selected as candidates they lost all interest in the Congress and resigned. By now the number of such persons has passed the 500 mark.

In the capital, Lucknow, two Mandal Congress Committees, namely those of the Ganesganj and the Aminabad wards, tendered resignations en masse and, through resolutions formally passed advised their members to seek elections as independent candidates. These and others set up their candidates in scores against the official Congress candidates. They are, in Lucknow as well as in Kanpur, going about openly

to some in the Congress organisation the selection of candidates has been a source of great income. They have earned thousands of rupees. In Agra, it was even reported in the Press that some people, in touch with some hawks, were seen openly hawking the Congress symbol for a couple of hundred rupees.

Depths To Which They Have Sunk

All talk of principles or standards of behaviour in elections, etc., is considered more than useless in Congress circles—it is considered hypocrisy and a unnecessary nuisance. This is true of all levels—but even more so of the higher levels. One has to listen to the ribald answers and comments of even those Congressmen who were once good and fairly upright men to realise to what depths the thinking and the practice of the followers of Mahatma Gandhi has reached.

While talking to some Congress friends I happened to refer to the communal elements of both the communities whom they are utilising in their elections. They laughed and said that perhaps I was "still living in the pre-Independence era of the anti-imperialist national movement. Now all Indians are equal and the same. Don't you see what we are doing in Kerala?" It was undoubtedly a dig at the High Command but there was no regret in it.

Dissident Congressmen, whenever their convention is held, will discuss the question of how to "defeat the game of the Congress High Command" in U. P. The question of leaving the Congress and joining the Swatantra Party, or forming another party will also be discussed. Watching their thinking and work at close quarters one is sorrowfully driven to the conclusion that these Congressmen can do anything.

Two Lists Of Candidates

In Agra, in the election officers were in great difficulty because they had been sent

FOR STABILITY, FOR KERALA'S DEVELOPMENT

The Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party which met at Ernakulam from October 10 to 16, 1959, under the presidency of E. K. Nayanar has adopted the following resolution on the current political situation in the State:

AFTER the unjust and undemocratic dismissal of the elected Communist-led Government, the 15 million people in the State are facing a new serious situation. All the progressive and development measures initiated by the Communist Government which give protection to different sections of the people in our State, like the Agrarian Relations Bill, Jemikkaram Abolition Bill, Education Act, extension of the field of cooperation, measures to give more powers to panchayats and to establish elected District Councils, thus bringing about decentralisation of administration, the Master Plan for utilisation of water resources, launching of more than 900 minor irrigation projects, the Debt Relief Amendment Bill, fixation of minimum wages, the Industrial Relations Bill, fulfilment of Plan targets—all these developmental measures remain blocked at least temporarily.

It is true that Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly stated that the Congress is not opposed to the progressive legislative measures of the Communist Government such as the Education Act and the Agrarian Relations Bill. But experience in Kerala has shown just the opposite.

The people in the State well know that the leaders of the Congress and other Opposition parties openly opposed inside and outside the Assembly all progressive legislations introduced by the Communist Government including the Agrarian Relations Bill. Nobody could have forgotten the fact that the leaders of the liberation struggle representing the vested interests started their campaign to overthrow the Communist Government with the declaration that the Education Act and the Agrarian Relations Bill would be thrown into the Arabian Sea.

Reversing Gains

Even today frantic efforts are being made to wipe out all the reforms introduced and gains conceded to different sections of people by the Communist Government. The present Presidential administration in Kerala, submitting itself to pressure from Congress leaders and other reactionary interests, has begun to change many executive orders passed and to suspend various developmental works started by the Communist Government.

It is significant that the Adviser's regime has not yet taken any effective measures to put an end to the brutal attacks on agricultural workers, toddy tappers and other sections of backward communities and thus to remove tension and create conditions for making the forthcoming mid-term elections just and democratic.

The Adviser's regime has not hesitated to change various executive orders passed by the Communist Gov-

ernment and even take steps for amending the Education Act which received Presidential assent after scrutiny by the Supreme Court, so as to please the vested interests. In fact, the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party wishes to point out that the Adviser's regime is acting not as an interim caretaker Government till the elections, but as the full-fledged one-party rule of the Congress.

As far as the Central Government is concerned, it has not yet given assent to the various Bills passed by the dissolved Kerala Assembly such as the Agrarian Relations Bill, Jemikkaram Abolition Bill, Agriculturists Debt Relief Amendment Bill, Court Fees Bill, etc. While protesting against this criminal delay and negligence, the State Committee appeals to the President of the Indian Republic to do justice to the people of Kerala by giving speedy assent to these Bills passed by the State legisla-

ture and putting them on the Statute Book.

A very important task is facing the people of Kerala. It has become their unavoidable and urgent duty to oppose and defeat the attempts being made to save the reactionary vested interests from the legislative measures like the Education Act and Agrarian Relations Bill and from other progressive popular measures beneficial to the people taken by the Communist Government.

Working and other democratic-minded sections of the people in the State must come forward to defend the gains won by them under the Communist Government and to defeat the reactionary assault on those gains. The State Committee is confident that even those sections of the common people, who had participated in the struggle to remove the Communist Government and who have differences of opinion with the Communist Party for whatever reason, will join hand with other sections of the people to defend the gains they themselves will get from the Agrarian Relations and such other mea-

VOTE COMMUNIST

—RESOLUTION OF THE KERALA STATE COMMITTEE

the best interests of the workers and other toiling sections of the people.

In fact this is the time when the entire people of Kerala have to work unitedly for implementing the development plans, for developing industry and agriculture through national reconstruction and thus to raise the living standards of the people. During the ten years after Independence the Congress leaders who ruled the State did not care to satisfy these aspirations of our people.

The economically backward Kerala State was neglected both in the First and in the Second Five-Year Plan. Now discussions have already started on the Third Plan. We have realised through long and bitter experience that the interests of Kerala State will not be safeguarded if left in the hands of some

officers or of the all-India Congress leaders. We have to stand united and carry on a campaign from now onwards itself to demand that at least in the Third Plan the interests of Kerala State should be safeguarded and industries and other developmental projects due to Kerala should be included.

To carry out developmental activities efficiently, it is imperative that there should be a stable Government in Kerala. But just as in the matter of implementing Five-Year Plans, similarly the Congress leadership in Kerala has failed till now in the matter of ensuring a stable Government also.

Who does not know that the Congress leaders could not all these years form a stable Government in Kerala because they surrendered to vested interests against the

interests of the million of common people and because of the inevitable group rivalries inside their own party.

That was why the people in Kerala came forward in the last General Elections to uproot Congress rule. The State Committee proudly reminds that the Communist Party did not betray the trust bestowed on it by the people.

FIRST, a stable Government in Kerala was formed for the first time in 1957 only after the Communist Party won a majority. Though there was a majority of only just two members in the Assembly, the Communist Government and the Communist Legislative Party stood as one till the very end. This is something which did not happen at any time before in the history of Kerala.

SECONDLY, even the Governor had to publicly admit that it was when the Communist-led Government was in office that Kerala State which stood very low in the matter of Plan implementation was raised to the second position among the different States in India.

Despite the opposition from the reactionary leaders of the Opposition parties with



E. M. S. Namboodiripad has begun the second round of his tour of Indian States to mobilise support for the democratic forces in Kerala. This time he will visit Assam, Orissa, Tripura, Bihar and U. P. Picture above is of E. M. S. in Jodhpur during his last tour with a Rajasthani turban the people have placed on his head.

Fight For Seats In Power-Seekers' Front

WHAT has happened in Kerala since the division of seats between the three parties of the anti-Communist front is not at all unexpected, in fact it is very difficult to resist the temptation of saying, "we told you so."

From the day the agreement on the seat division was signed and sealed at Ernakulam in the presence of Lal Bahadur Shastri and Asoka Mehta, the cacophony has been becoming more and more strident—with mutual recriminations between the PSP, Congress and the RSP and a real tug-of-war inside each party for grabbing the seats allocated.

A united front should normally inspire the people and rally ever bigger sections of the people behind it—if it is a united front which holds aloft the banner of people's interests. Kerala itself in the past had the experience of such popular united fronts—the Communist-KMPP alliance in the first General Elections in the Malabar area and the United Front of Leftists of the Communists, PSP, RSP and KSP in Travancore-Cochin. These were united fronts with specific programmes of service to the people.

In both the cases, the united fronts had been able to infuse the masses with a new confidence and they had been able to deal crushing blows to the Congress.

But today? Today the Congress, the PSP and the Muslim League by coming together have done anything but that. They have no joint manifesto to place before the people, they have no common programme as to what they will do once the elections are over. They have not been able to tell the people that in case they win a majority they will form a Government, ensure stability for this State and

implement a popular programme. This by itself would have been bad enough. But the wrangles that have developed since then have made matters worse for the three parties and the front into which they have come together.

The moment the details of the division of seats were known, there was an uproar in the Congress.

Congressmen Protest

The first to protest was the Trivandrum District Congress Committee. Out of the 12 seats in the district, nine had been signed away to the PSP. Many Congress leaders who had hopes of getting seats found that with only three seats to go round they did not have any chance. Specially, the President of the Trivandrum DCC, G. Chandrasekhara Pillai, who was expecting to become a Minister, found to his dismay that the Congress was not getting any seat in Neyyattinkara taluk.

There was even talk of setting up Independents and supporting them to defeat the PSP. Editorials were written attacking PSP boss Pattom Thanu Pillai for insisting on all the seats and not leaving at least one seat for G. Chandrasekhara Pillai in Neyyattinkara taluk.

Next to protest was the Palghat District Congress Committee. The PSP and the Muslim League had not won a single seat in this district in the last elections, but this time the PSP had been given three seats and the Muslim League three. In the whole of the Malabar area, these Congressmen said, the PSP should have been allotted only four seats instead of the present 12. There were open protests, telegrams were sent one after another to the KPCC leaders. The protests from the Anda-

thode constituency were the most interesting. Here during the "liberation" struggle, Congressmen themselves had set up a number of Muslim League Committees to show the "mass upsurge" among the Muslims. Now these Congressmen used the same Muslim League committees to send telegrams against giving the seat to the League.

The third place from where very strong protests came was from the Kurumbraan taluk of Kozhikode District. Congressmen here said that this was the taluk which had produced some of the topmost leaders of the Congress like K. Kelappan, but all the seats there had been given to the PSP without leaving even one seat for a Congress leader of the stature of C. K. Govindan Nair. And they were openly saying that they would rather keep out of the election campaign than help the PSP win the seats.

As these protests mounted, it became very doubtful whether the PSP would get the willing support of the local Congress in many of the 35 seats allotted to it.

As against this barrage from Congress circles against his greed for seats, Pattom Thanu Pillai made a number of public statements. He had been further incensed by another campaign that was being run against him demanding that he should not contest the elections at all and by the statement of RSP leader Srikanth Nair that Pattom would anyway be defeated in his own constituency.

He said that it was the Congress which had dictated the division of seats and for the sake of unity, the PSP had, though unwillingly, accepted it. Many of the seats the Congress had given, he said, were those which the Congress was not confident of winning.

He pointed out, for instance, that in Kottayam District, apart from Pullyannoor constituency which a PSPer had won last time, the Congress was not prepared to concede any other seat. And it was only after a lot of bargaining that another seat was given—Devoliam General which, according to Pattom, the Congress had no hopes of winning, and let us add, neither has the PSP.

About Trivandrum District, Pattom said, that if these Congressmen who were protesting looked beyond their own group interests and considered the interests of the State, they would have no reason to object to the division agreed to.

This wordy battle in the open Press between Pattom and the rest is still continuing—with the only result that relations at the local level between the Congress and PSP are getting more and more exacerbated.

But the problem is not confined to the PSP and Congress alone. The handing over of nine seats in Trivandrum District to the PSP has enraged another section—the linguistic minority of Nadars.

The Nadar Revolt

If the Nadars have any strong feelings against any individual in Kerala it is Pattom Thanu Pillai and if there is any party to which they have objections it is the PSP. And for the very good reason that Pattom as Chief Minister of the State twice had made it his policy to suppress them. Their grievance is that the Congress, knowing this, has given nine seats to the PSP in the one district in which they live in a large number.

In two constituencies in the district they are in a majority and in three others their votes are decisive. One of these seats is retained by the Congress and

a Nadar who was elected last time is expected to contest again. But in the four other seats, it is the PSP and Pattom Thanu Pillai, according to the Nadars their arch enemy, who will decide the candidates, a situation which the Nadar leaders feel they cannot tolerate.

So a convention was recently held in Trivandrum attended by about 300 Nadar representatives and this convention has demanded that at least in four seats in the district Nadar representatives should be put up. A struggle committee of 13 was set up by the convention and a new organisation—the Nadar Mahajanasabha.

Around the demand for four seats for Nadars a movement is developing in the southern end of the State which will considerably affect the prospects of the anti-Communist front. Even if they do not set up their own candidates, passions have been roused so much that the Nadars in large numbers are likely to vote against the PSP, despite its alliance with the Congress.

An equally serious problem has been created by the RSP. According to the Ernakulam division of seats, the Congress was given 79 seats with the understanding that the RSP would be allotted some seats from the Congress quota.

On the basis of this, RSP leaders met Congress leaders. Not satisfied, they held consultations with the PSP leaders. The demands the RSP made necessitated consultations between the Congress and the PSP. And finally tripartite negotiations between representatives of all the three parties were conducted. But the problem remains unsolved.

The RSP is said to have asked for at least ten seats. The Congress was prepared to concede at the most three seats.

Negotiations with the PSP and the League did not lead anywhere since neither party was prepared to give up even one seat allotted to them.

The problem has been further complicated by the RSP's insistence on getting certain seats like Karunagapilly, Kottarakara, etc. These seats have either been allotted to the PSP and the PSP is not willing to make any adjustments or local Congress aspirants refuse to give them up in favour of the RSP.

Meanwhile, protests are growing in the RSP rank-and-file and the RSP leaders have begun playing to the gallery threatening to contest 20 seats. It is yet to be seen whether the RSP will dare to implement this threat after its experience in the last elections—when it did not win a single seat and lost its deposit in most.

KSP's Resentment

Next in the list of trouble-makers for the anti-Communist front is the Kerala Socialist Party.

The Kerala Socialist Party was a component of the United Front of Leftists in the first General Elections and the mid-term elections in Travancore-Cochin. But, on the eve of the Second General Elections, the KSP leaders suddenly realised that since the Kerala State had been won and since Congress had accepted Socialism, there was no need for the KSP to contest the elections, that it would support the Congress. This good sense of the KSP had then drawn compliments from Prime Minister Nehru himself.

The KSP was not heard of since then, but during the "liberation" struggle, it again raised its head as a very active participant in the struggle. Lal Bahadur Shastri when

he was in Kerala was reported to have met some KSP leaders. But now KPCC President Sanakar denies everything and says that while the Congress will continue negotiations with the RSP, it will not talk with the KSP.

To add insult to injury, former PSP MLA Joseph Ckakkad is reported to have said that if the KSP is so insistent on having some seats in the Assembly, the question of allotting a few in the Visitor's Gallery to them permanently could be considered. And another leader of the front has said that even if the KSP contests all the 126 seats it would not make any difference to anybody.

All this has drawn a sharp rejoinder from the General Secretary of the KSP who has said that the KSP is not prepared to accept the practice of some parties taking decisions and imposing them on others and of one political party begging for seats. If there is no unity between all the anti-Communist parties, the KSP will not have unity with the Congress alone. Hence the KSP will fight on its own. Reports are that the KSP is thinking of putting up candidates in about 20 constituencies.

The Lohia Socialists have also declared their intention to put candidates in some constituencies without any alliance with any other party.

To add to the problems of the anti-Communist front, the Jan Sangh, too, has come on the scene with its demands. The Jan Sangh bases its claim for seats on the role it played in the "liberation" struggle, but when seats were divided it was ignored. And to add to its fury, its claims have been ignored by the same Congress which has shown no compunction in having an alliance with the Muslim League.

So the Sangh is also planning to fight about ten seats on its own.

Yet another new entrant with its own claims is the Karnatak landlord section in the northern end of the State. The Anti-Eviction Act, the Debt Relief Bill, the Land Relations Bill, etc., which have been welcomed by the peasants are not at all to the liking of these landlords who want the territory to be transferred to Mysore as early as possible to escape these measures. But the Congress, PSP and League are all against conceding even one inch to Mysore. Some Karnatak Congress leaders in this area have, therefore, decided to make the elections the occasions to find out the people's verdict on the question of going over to Mysore and they have decided to contest two seats.

This is the picture of the "unity" that has been forged to fight the Communists. No wonder the people refuse to be enthused, particularly when they see that right at this moment real democratic unity is being built in Kerala by the Communists with all those who are interested in the development of the State and the well-being of its people.

This is not the end of the problems. Each of the anti-Communist parties is facing a crisis today. RSP committees are dissolving themselves, Congress Muslims are holding out threats, PSPers are becoming Congressmen overnight, Catholic Congress leaders and Nair Congress leaders are at each other's throats, the base of the Muslim League is being shaken. The second instalment of this despatch, to be printed next week, will deal with the situation inside the various parties.

This is something which the Congress was never able to achieve during the eleven years of its rule.

THIRDLY, even the enemies of the Communist Party had to admit that the measures and legislations undertaken by the Communist Government to improve the living standards of different sections of the people like the agricultural workers, industrial labour, teachers, non-gazetted Government employees, backward communities, peasants, village officers, etc., are unprecedented in the history of Kerala and that the Communist Government during just two years introduced far more democratic reforms than in any other State during so many years of Congress rule.

These are things which the Congress leaders in Kerala can never do.

The Communist Party does not claim that during the 23 months of its regime it did not commit any mistake or there were no weaknesses. There were mistakes, weaknesses and omissions because of inexperience as well as carelessness. And the Communist Party itself had taken the initiative to rectify those weaknesses and go forward.

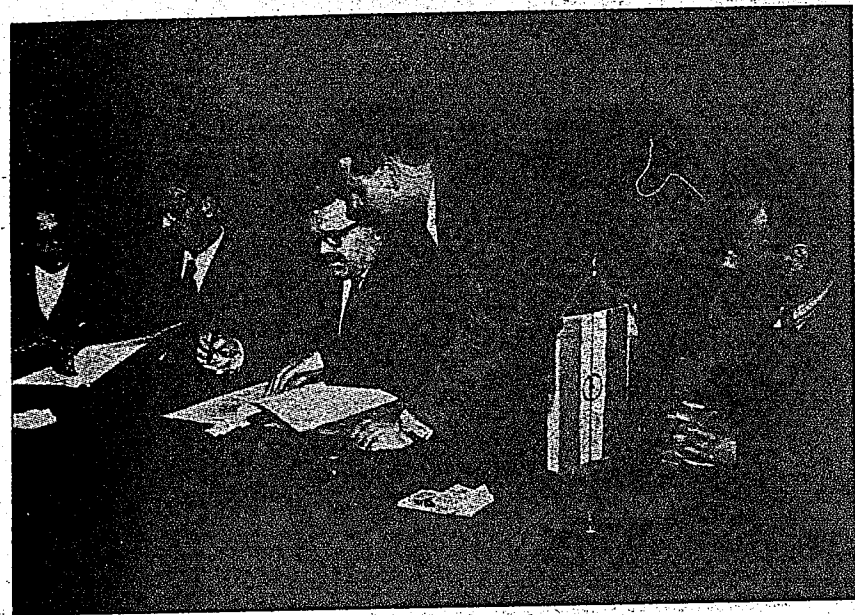
But nobody can deny one fact: the policies and measures of the Communist Party and the Government led by it were basically correct, were aimed at the progress of the Kerala State, were helpful to defend the interests of the majority of the people.

And that is the very reason why the reactionary leaders of the anti-Communist parties are spreading their dishonest lies and slanders against the Communist Party and trying to establish a Government of the vested interests controlled by the Congress. If this conspiracy to turn the wheel of history back were to succeed, it means that the onward march of Kerala will be blocked; it means the life of the common people will further deteriorate; it means that political and governmental instability will persist.

For, the unholy and negative alliance hatched by the leaders of the Congress, PSP and Muslim League with the sole object of defeating the Communist Party, is not capable of healing the contradictions and rivalries between those parties and inside each party. They have not yet been able

GROWING INDO-BULGARIAN TRADE TIES

by TODOR POPOV



At the signing of the new Trade Agreement between India and Bulgaria in Sofia in May 1959.

The end of the Second World War and utter defeat of the Nazi military machine wrought radical changes in the world. Many countries, including Bulgaria, broke off from the capitalist system and took the path of Socialist development. The colonial system of imperialism was shaken to its very foundations, and a great many of the countries under colonial bondage won national freedom, amongst them India.

HAVING shaken of capitalist and colonial bondage, these countries rapidly developed their productive forces, industry and agriculture, which paved the way

* SEE FACING PAGE



At the children's consultation centre in one of Sofia's districts.

At present Bulgaria manufactures hundreds of drugs such as penicillin, biomyacin (aureomycin), streptomycin, vitamin B12 and other antibiotics, antipyretics—pyramidon, phenacetin, morphine preparations of Bulgarian opium, santonin, nivalin of Bulgarian snowdrop, drugs against the after-effects of polio and so on. Medical instruments and apparatuses, X-ray apparatuses, dressing materials, etc., are produced as well as all the necessary sera, vaccine and other biopreparations with the exception of the Salk vaccine. A great part of the drugs produced are exported.

Under the People's Government medical science has greatly progressed. Two medical schools, a special institute for medical post-graduate specialisation and 14 research institutes work on problems of vital importance for the country and help practice adopt the latest achievements of medical science.

Longer Life, Less Illness

The organisation of health preservation in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the better medical treatment and the steady improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the population has had a most favourable effect on people's health.

A number of dangerous diseases which were a scourge for the people have now sharply decreased while some have disappeared altogether. There has been no case of cholera and smallpox in Bulgaria for many years. Only six cases of typhus were recorded in 1958. From 18.5 per 100,000 in 1942, typhoid fever dropped to 2.2 per 100,000 in 1958 and diphtheria from 51.2 in 1942 to 5.8 per 100,000 in 1958. There were only 59 malaria patients in 1958 as against 131,400 in 1952, i.e. 2,000 times less.

Inoculation against contagious diseases is employed on a large scale in this country. All newborns are vaccinated against smallpox and TB and then revaccinated. All school children are inoculated against diphtheria. Immunisation against typhoid fever and paratyphoid, dysentery, whooping cough, and tetanus is carried out according to epidemics indices. More than 350,000 children got the Salk vaccine last year. All this immunisation is absolutely free of charge.

As a result of all this, the death rate is rapidly falling. From 14.5 per thousand in 1945 it dropped to 10.2 in 1950, 9.0 in 1955 and 7.9 in 1958. In 1958 infant mortality was 5.16 per one hundred newborns as against 14.5 in 1945.

The average longevity is steadily growing. During 1921-26, it was only 44.35 years for men and 44.89 for women, in 1935-49—50.7 years and 52.29 years respectively, and now it is 64 for men and 68 for women.

Bulgarian public health organisations are making good progress also thanks to their close contact with the health organisations in the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries.

Under Communism working people will live longer with less diseases and ailments, in full health, strength and energy. Bulgarian health workers are fully aware of their share in this noble task and, rallied round the Bulgarian Communist Party, they will continue to contribute to the welfare of the Bulgarian people and the progress of their Socialist homeland.

STRUGGLE FOR LAND IN MAHARASHTRA DISTRICTS

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

FOR over a month-and-a-half now, a struggle is being waged by the landless peasants in some districts of Maharashtra to win their demand for distribution of waste land belonging to the Government.

The Republican Party initiated this satyagraha in the districts of East and West Khandesh on August 30 last, and since then it has spread to Nashik and Ahmednagar and the districts of the Vidarbha region. A resolution of the Central Kisan Council congratulating the agricultural workers who are conducting the struggle has said that already 5,000 of them have been convicted.

It is an undisputed fact that there has been a systematic and continuous rise in the number of landless peasants. Concentration of land in the hands of a few and the mass evictions that have gone on under the patronage of the Congress regimes have, among other reasons, contributed to the addition to the ranks of the landless.

It is not as if no land is available to at least partially alleviate the problem of the landless. But the Congress Governments which talk so much about increasing production, have not taken the elementary first step of distributing at least cultivable waste lands in their own possession. On the contrary, in Maharashtra itself, as in many other Congress-ruled States, the Government itself has evicted peasants from its lands.

Land Is There

It is estimated that in East and West Khandesh there are more than four lakh acres of cultivable waste lands in the possession of the Government.

From a study of the classification of land in the Vidarbha region, it can be seen that 32 per cent of the total land is covered under "forest", eight per cent is classified as land unsuitable for cultivation, six per cent of the land is admittedly available and suitable for cultivation, 7.7 per cent of the land is separately classified as "waste and fallow" though there is really no difference

between this and cultivable waste lands. This means that about 13 per cent of the total land—nearly 25 to 30 lakh acres—are readily available with the Government for distribution to the landless. A more methodical survey, etc., may show that there will be even bigger acreage available.

Thousands of landless peasants in East and West Khandesh districts applied for Government waste land and a few thousands of rupees were also deposited for the same on behalf of some cooperative societies. But all these efforts proved fruitless because the Government was unwilling to take any step for distribution of the waste land.

In the Vidarbha region, the then Madhya Pradesh Government did not make any attempt to reclaim the waste lands. Problems were created even about the land allotted under the grow-more food campaign because the Government would not make the tenancy rights permanent and the peasant had, therefore, no incentive to make long-term investment in the land.

The Landless Demand

It is in this background that the landless peasants in these districts of Maharashtra have launched their determined struggle for land.

Their immediate demands are:

1. Government tenants on lands allotted to them under grow-more-food campaigns (on yearly renewal basis) should get permanent tenancy rights.

2. All lands available and suitable for cultivation should be immediately distributed to the landless. For this purpose, broad committees should be formed in all taluks and revenue circles to classify these lands.

3. A fresh survey should be undertaken to classify forest and other available lands so that only forest lands and other available lands may be exempted and the rest should be brought under cultivation.

4. Ceilings should be so fixed—without any delay—that the maximum number of landless could be made cultivators.

5. All facilities for such reclamations of lands in cash and kind should be afforded to the landless in order to facilitate the new cultivation.

6. To avoid the usual bureaucratic bungling, the entire distribution scheme should be implemented with the active participation of local elected committees.

W. GERMAN MINERS FIGHT AGAINST SHUT-DOWNS

ON September 26, 60,000 Ruhr miners held a demonstration in Bonn in protest against the failure of the Adenauer Government to deal with the two-year old coal crisis. The crisis caused by coal glut has brought untold suffering to the miners.

Early in the morning, the miners rushed to Bonn by special trains, steamboats and buses. They marched in thirteen columns through the streets of the West German capital for more than six hours. Bonn residents turned out en masse to watch the demonstrators pass by.

The demonstrators carried black flags and placards with words, "Stop Mass Dismissals", "Security for us", "Adenauer promised no pit closures" and "Adenauer promised no dismissals." The hands of the

miners beat drums at a funeral march tempo.

The demonstrators also carried charts which showed that from 1945 to the end of 1958, more than 8,000 miners died of accidents in the mines and another 22,000 fell victim to tuberculosis contracted from working in pits.

The Bonn police were reinforced by 1,600 men in an attempt to intimidate the marchers. Helicopters of the police flew overhead all the time during the demonstration. Three persons were arrested for distributing leaflets.

This is the first and biggest protest march in Bonn in the past ten years since the establishment of the West German Government. Since the end of last August, seven protest meetings and marches have been held in Dortmund, Oberhausen and five other

places in the Ruhr with the participation of 110,000 miners.

Stocks of coal in the Ruhr have reached more than 18 million tons. These plus the stocks in the hands of the consumers total more than 30 million tons.

According to statistics released by the miners' trade union, losses of wages to the miners due to suspension of shifts have totalled 130 million marks. Since the beginning of the crisis some two years ago, more than 50,000 workers have been compelled to quit the mines. At the same time, labour intensity has increased.

Despite repeated protests by the miners, the employers are still resorting to pit closures as a means of passing the burden of the coal crisis on to the miners.

PROSPECTS OF TRADE WITH BULGARIA

★ FROM FACING PAGE

towards a rising volume of foreign trade.

Trade relations were established between countries which in the past had never had direct diplomatic or commercial contact.

Not only were direct commercial contacts between India and Bulgaria entirely lacking in the past, but even plain knowledge in one country about the other was very vague and obscure. In Bulgaria it added up to the fact that India was a vast and very distant land; a country with an ancient culture, suffering under British colonial bondage; a country bringing untold riches into the hands of the maharajas and the ruling colonialists, and dooming to want and privation the great mass of the people.

The few Bulgarian travellers or businessmen visiting the country spoke of it as a fairyland, with relics and monuments whose origin has been lost in antiquity, as a land battling with the jungle, with elephants and haunting tigers. A few condiments, the black pepper in particular, were more tangible proof of her existence.

The first commercial agreement between India and Bulgaria was signed on April 17, 1953, and it established direct contact between the Bulgarian foreign trade enterprises and broad Indian business circles.

The agreement provides for commercial turnover based on the principle of free negotiation, in keeping with the existing foreign trade regulations of each country.

Under Communism working people will live longer with less diseases and ailments, in full health, strength and energy. Bulgarian health workers are fully aware of their share in this noble task and, rallied round the Bulgarian Communist Party, they will continue to contribute to the welfare of the Bulgarian people and the progress of their Socialist homeland.

Formalities once over, it was necessary to get down to business. After an initial period of studying the reciprocal market conditions, the first deals were negotiated in 1953. India imported its first

Bulgarian sodium sulphate, raw silk and window panes in exchange for black pepper and cardamom. Not much, but nevertheless a beginning.

On February 9, 1955, India and Bulgaria signed a Protocol extending the duration of the Agreement. In the meantime, both countries had made headway in their economic development, which led to an increasing volume of reciprocal trade.

Bulgaria had successfully fulfilled its First Five-Year Plan and was well on the road to accomplishing the Second. Industrial production was now 5.5 times higher than in 1939 and national income had doubled.

India, on her part, was working on her First Five-Year Plan, providing for a considerable increase of industrial production and the mechanisation of agriculture.

In this setting a second Commercial Agreement was signed in New Delhi on April 18, 1956, for a term expiring on December 31, 1959, and covering in large measure the issues arising out of the flow of trade between India and Bulgaria.

A new arrangement was reached on the current accounts, with the provision that payments are to be made henceforth not in pounds sterling, but in rupees. The list of goods drawn in 1957 and extended in 1958 saw considerable new additions.

An Agreement signed in Sofia on March 29, 1958, between the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and the Indian State Trading Corporation has done much to promote closer trade relations between the two countries. The flow of goods from each country is reckoned in unnegotiable rupees, to be used only for reciprocal purchases in the other contracting party.

The results have been promising. From Rs. 81,000 in 1955, the commercial turnover between the two countries rose to Rs. 2,000,000 in 1959. India imported its first

1957. Deals negotiated in the first quarter of the current year alone totalled two million rupees for Bulgarian exports to India.

Bulgarian imports from India have correspondingly grown. In 1958 Bulgaria bought 200,000 jute bags, and a similar shipment arrived during the first quarter of 1959, with negotiations under way for more.

The Bulgarian market is showing a lively interest in Indian goods and products.

An Indian delegation came to Sofia in the middle of May for extending still further the field of trade between the two countries. The friendly negotiations ended on May 18 with an exchange of letters and a Protocol on the commercial exchange and payments between India and Bulgaria.

The new 1959 lists provide for Bulgarian exports to India of machinery, spare parts and equipment, forging presses, wood-processing machines, lathes, etc., electric power generators, electric insulation materials, electric motors, loading machines and conveyors, chemicals—including soda ash, caustic soda, sulphur powder, ammonium bicarbonate, bicarbonate of soda, red lead, medicines and pharmaceutical preparations, including insecticides, serums and vaccines; equipment for the textile industry, raw silk, steel and steelware, etc.

Bulgaria will import from India black pepper, tea, coffee, jute bags, various skins and hides, vegetable oils including linseed oil, linoleum, sewing machines, goods made out of coconut fibre, cashew nuts, shellac, motion pictures, artisan goods, and others.

The rapid development of the Bulgarian Socialist economy will give broad opportunities for increasing the production and export of machinery, equipment and complete installations, chemical, pharmaceuticals and the products of light industry.

Bigger deliveries to India will mean bigger purchases of mass consumer goods from her, which she is in a good position to supply.

There is every outlook for trade relations between India and Bulgaria to reach broad proportions, in a spirit of good friendship, and best mutual advantage.

NEW AGE

OCTOBER 25, 1959

IN BULGARIA People's Health Is State's Concern

PUBLIC health is a matter of great concern for any Government which devotes its attention to the welfare of the people and in this regard a great deal is being done in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Medical treatment is free for all Bulgarian citizens, irrespective of who they are and where they work, of their nationality and material status. It embraces both medical examination and treatment (dental treatment included) at the polyclinics, and if necessary at patients' homes, as well as treatment at hospitals, sanatoria and other health establishments.

Free medical treatment includes also all kinds of laboratory, X-ray and other examinations, operations, drugs, food, dressing materials and all other services. Patients pay only for drugs used at home and then at reasonable fixed prices to be had at the State chemist shops.

Larger Allocations

The People's Government in Bulgaria allocates from the State budget considerable funds for the maintenance of health establishments—1,134,000,000 leva were spent in 1958, and 1,200,000,000 leva are provided for the 1959, not taking into account the handsome sums spent by the social insurance establishments and various enterprises for relief in case of disability due to illness, funds to maintain preventoria and night sanatoria, canteens, serving dietetic meals, rest stations and similar measures.

The Socialist State annually earmarks about 160 leva per head of the population for health preservation

lution for health preservation while the bourgeois Governments prior to September 9, 1944, spent a mere six leva per head of the population annually on health establishments.

Today there are no private hospitals, sanatoria, chemist shops and laboratories in this country. All physicians, dentists and pharmacists are guaranteed jobs at the State health establishments. Dentists and physicians are allowed to have private practice only in their spare time off duty.

Hospitals Increase

In each district—they total 27 plus three cities—there is a hospital with all kinds of specialised wards and surgeries, with 200-500 beds as well as out-patients' hospital attached to it. In addition there are specialised hospitals, sanatoria, TB, cancer hospitals, mental and nervous diseases hospitals.

A hospital with up to 300 beds, a polyclinic and the main wards attached to it has been set up in each town. Each village People's Council has a health service of its own consisting of a small village hospital with up to 35 beds, an out-patients' department, a dentist, a maternity home as well as doctor or doctor's assistant health centres in the neighbouring villages.

The people's rule has set up a great many other sanitary and prophylactic establishments such as district sanitation and antiepidemic stations with laboratories to fight infectious diseases and a sanitation control of food products, of restaurants, of water and air and working conditions; centres for health education, women's and child-

ren's consulting rooms in every village.

There are 156 hospitals, 46 sanatoria, 268 village hospitals, 783 village maternity hospitals, 1,586 out-patients' departments, doctors' and assistant doctors' centres in the countryside, as well as 39 medical and sanitary units and 223 independent health centres at the industrial enterprises.

In all these health establishments there are over 50,000 beds which makes 55 beds per 10,000 persons in this country and together with the sanatoria—66 beds for every 10,000. Before the war there were only ten beds for every 10,000 people.

Under the people's rule the number of physicians, dentists and pharmacists has increased fourfold. At present there is one physician for about 700 people, whereas during the bourgeois-fascist regime there was just one physician for every 2,000 people. There are 31 health officers per every 10,000 persons.

Health Resorts

Bulgaria is rich in mineral springs and natural scenery. But it was after Bulgaria's liberation from fascism that holiday resorts were really developed. Within 15 years, the People's Government set up dozens of children's balneo-sanatoria, balneo-stations, earth-cure stations and resort polyclinics, hundreds of holiday stations in the mountains and at the seaside. Hundreds of thousands of working people spend a pleasant holiday rest or cure at the Bulgarian resorts. The number of foreign visitors to these holiday resorts is also growing.

The production of medicines also marked a rapid progress after the war. An anti-biotics works has been built with Soviet help. At present Bulgaria manufactures hundreds of drugs such as penicillin, biomyacin (aureomycin), streptomycin, vitamin B12 and other antibiotics, antipyretics—pyramidon, phenacetin, morphine preparations of Bulgarian opium, santonin, nivalin of Bulgarian snowdrop, drugs against the after-effects of polio and so on. Medical instruments and apparatuses, X-ray apparatuses, dressing materials, etc., are produced as well as all the necessary sera, vaccine and other biopreparations with the exception of the Salk vaccine. A great part of the drugs produced are exported.

NEW AGE

OCTOBER 25, 1959

Rahulji Describes China's Communes

BOOK REVIEW

CHIN KE COMMUNE (COMMUNES OF CHINA) by Rahula Sankrityayana. People's Publishing House (P) Ltd., New Delhi. Price: 75 naye Paise.

LAST year Rahulji left for China on his way to Tibet. He had been to that country before. But this was a visit with a difference. In the past, he had to arrange for everything himself. In the absence of any help from persons in power, he had to be content with only makeshift arrangements (viz., an ordinary camera for making photo-copies of rare manuscripts). While in Tibet, he could not get protection even against ordinary decoits infesting the roads of the "little country ruled by a God King."

This time he was travelling as the guest of a People's Government which offered to provide all facilities for research. Judging from what he had brought from his earlier visits, this one would have been extremely fruitful. He had, therefore, the blessings of everyone interested in Indology. But unfortunately, he fell ill and could not undertake a journey to the highland of Tibet.

Eye-Witness Account

This little booklet is a result of what he saw instead in China. Since the communes in China had

just started getting organised at that time, he visited six of them in different regions of the country. These represent a cross-section of the entire country. It is an eye-witness account by an author who is not only genuinely interested in the land reform question in India but who has also made many sacrifices to help achieve the same.

The book is divided into six chapters in which six communes are described. The account starts with the location of the commune, followed by some vital statistics, such as the total area, number of members (active and inactive men and women), crops grown, yield per acre, number of schools, etc. In the lines that follow, interesting remarks are made on food habits, where parallels are drawn from food habits in India as also on methods of cultivation which can be of use to an Indian farmer as well. Each account is interspersed with remarks on some aspects of Chinese culture, such as the disadvantages of the Chinese hieroglyphs, which are now being replaced by the Roman scripts or about the earliest savants who went from India to China.

As the Chinese communes are actively engaged in industrialising the countryside, so as to reduce the imbalance between industry and agriculture, these have to be seen from close quarters. In such cases, mistakes are likely to be made but what is important is that local initiative is aroused and that mistakes are corrected in good time and admitted before everybody.

Small-Scale Steel

In his reference to the small-scale steel furnaces set up two years ago, practically all over the country, the author shows the remarkable initiative developed by the Chinese peasants and makes it clear that when it was found that the extremely small furnaces were unremunerative they were closed down, efforts being concentrated on relatively larger furnaces. The point to note here is the initiative taken by the ordinary people themselves.

In fact, it was the release of energy at the lowest level which had given rise to the communes themselves. The author tells us how, in certain cooperative farms, the villagers themselves grew weary of the limitations of private property and decided to pool all their resources so as to be able to do jobs on a much larger scale. It was only after a number of communes

had been set up that the Government and the Communist Party stepped in to approve and popularise the commune and to give it legal sanction.

After reading this short account, it becomes clear that the commune movement has come to stay in China, although, as is quite natural, its development will have to be on the basis of consolidating its gains and correcting its mistakes.

We may draw the attention of the readers to the account of the little-known but extremely important Grand Canal of China which plays

such a useful role in the life of China. Used as a means of communication and as a source of fish supply for many centuries, it has now been pressed into service for irrigation also.

While recommending this little book to all those interested in China, our only regret is that the learned author has not given as much space as one would desire to such questions as that of a change in morals, typical of which is the young girl who walks back alone to her home at midnight or to the changed relationship between man and woman, resulting from the liberation of the overwhelming majority of women from the drudgery of household chores. We hope that Rahulji will devote some space to these questions in the other two books planned by him.

—RAN VARMA

WHY WAR?

THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR THREE by C. Wright Mills. Martin Secker and Warburg, London. Price 15 sh.

AMERICAN "new" thinking has now become a fashion, with Chester Bowles and Kennan as two of the top models of this new vogue of ideological dress. One welcomes the fresh curve and style but, perhaps, only as a relief from the dread and dreariness of the Dulles type. Beyond this change of tactics there is not much to commend, far less to inspire, in this kind of so-called departure towards realism.

C. Wright Mills is also different from the predominant propagandists of Washington, but different with a difference. A distinguished sociologist and author of two amazing studies White Collar and Power Elite, he is in the best traditions of American radicalism, approximating the level of the Marxist approach. Boldness of vision and courage in stating unpalatable views combine in him with depth of scholarship and critical acumen. He is one of the American authors who invoke some respect for his country.

Causes Of War

In the book under review the author has launched a most powerful offensive against the "drift" and "thrust" towards World War Three. Very convincingly he has shown how the three intertwined elements of the American power elite—the monopolists, militarists and the professional politicians—are quite consciously pushing the world to the brink.

of the Soviet Union and the United States. While a distinction is drawn, particularly with reference to the paths of industrialisation, the author tends to emphasise the similarities of technological and industrial structure and to draw from this the moral that the social mores and values, the infernal political power situation is more or less equivalent. This when his programme for peace is so close to the repeated Soviet proposals.

Any serious student of sociology, let alone a radical or Marxist, would hesitate, to say the least, to come to such a conclusion in face of preponderant contrary evidence. Wright Mills should have, at least, made this finding of his much more tentative—it is just assumed and lacks the rich data that he adduces in favour of his concepts about America. This seriously vitiates the book and shows how strong are the chains of cold war prejudice.

SECONDLY, while none would dispute the very important role assigned to the intellectuals, one would be inclined to be somewhat sceptical of the response that the author's ideas would find among them. Intellectuals, per se in advanced capitalist countries may not turn out to be initiators of change so much as the reflectors of change wrought by others. Here, too, asking for dialogue among intellectuals alone might not be as fruitful as confrontation and alliance between them and, to begin with, the workers. Surely, the crucial change for intellectuals would be to break out of the charmed circle of incest. Failure to see the bearer of progress in a class, which must give "given the weapon of philosophy" is, perhaps, the central failure of this otherwise exceptional intelligent and stimulating book.

—HOHIT SEN

Dr. P. K. Gopalakrishnan

DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC IDEAS IN INDIA

This is a historical study describing each important stage in the evolution of Indian economic ideas as represented by the most brilliant economist of the time.

OUT ON OCTOBER 26

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE PRIVATE LTD., Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi.

THE C-IN-C RETURNS

THE Pooma Correspondent writes that Indira Gandhi has left behind her in Maharashtra a trail of sweet memories and rosy expectations. Maharashtra has been more fortunate in this—the trail she has left behind in Kerala has been anything but "sweet" and "rosy" for her own party.

The agreement on division of seats which was sealed in the presence of Lal Bahadur Shastri had to be reopened already by Sucheta Kripalani because of the protests in Congress ranks and their threatened revolt, while the RSP, KSP and Jan Sangh are already in revolt.

And as if all this was not enough to give sleepless nights to the leaders of the anti-Communist front, the Commander-in-Chief of the Liberation Army, Bharat Kesari Mani Padmanabhan, fresh from moral rearmament in Switzerland and a hurried round of Western Europe, has landed here at the most inopportune moment.

Days were, and not so long ago, when Mannam was the most revered figure among the anti-Communists and everybody was advising everybody else to implicitly obey him.

But now he has become a rather inconvenient factor. In his absence, and disregarding all the advice which he had so liberally given them, the Congress, PSP and League leaders had partitioned the 126 seats—"as if the Assembly was their family property." They would have liked to keep the C-in-C out at least till after the nominations were filed.

Unfortunately for them, not only has he come back but he has begun to repeat—and that, too in the open Press—his earlier advice. He was not for each party asking for so many seats, he would favour the choice of good and patriotic men (i.e. his own lieutenants) from the respective constituencies, irrespective of their community (add: preferably non-Christian) or political affiliations.

If he had said all this and afterwards kept quiet, things wouldn't have been so bad. But the C-in-C threatens that "he could draw up a list of candidates at any rate" for the Travancore part. This is the signal for which a number of people had been waiting to begin pressing their claims for seats with the backing of the C-in-C. And now you can look out for the fireworks.

PANAMPILLY MAKES US LAUGH



liberate Kerala from Communist rule? In Panampilly's eyes, perhaps, they are all the poor exploited people of Kerala and he their stoutest champion.

But the peach was yet to come. Panampilly said: "The intelligent people of the State must see that the Congress and its allies win. Then these parties together can ensure a stable Government."

My mind went back to a day five years ago when the same Panampilly had come before the Assembly—

he was then the Chief Minister—and with great difficulty—he was sobbing to the advice of the Government of India with a view to securing greater coordination and more intensive effort."

If that were really the purpose, then the two existing committees which had proved their worth should have been allowed to continue.

Still earlier the Congress

had all the seats in the Assembly—but its Government couldn't last more than a few months. And yet Panampilly says the same Congress with the PSP and the League will provide stability. What can we do except laugh when we hear such claims.

PARTISAN RULE

KERALA'S record in the Small Savings Campaign has been universally acclaimed. In the financial year 1958-59, collections were Rs. 147 lakhs; the highest so far, and Rs. 11 lakhs more than in the previous year.

Central Government officials were all praise for the two committees that had been functioning—the State Advisory Committee for Small Savings with the then Finance Minister C. Achutha Menon as Chairman and the State Advisory Board of Women's Savings Campaign with Maharani Sethu Parvathai as the Chairman.

Now these two committees have been dissolved and a new committee has been appointed, "according to the advice of the Government of India with a view to securing greater coordination and more intensive effort."

But the real reason becomes obvious when one looks at the composition of the new committee. It has a majority of Congress members on it and the Chairman is a Congress ex-MLA.

The Communist Government used to give reserved large representation to the Opposition.

—OBSERVER

Even then there was a charge that Communist-controlled committees were being set up. But, now?

And what is the Adviser doing? Is he supposed to function as a caretaker till the elections or is he a Congress Chief Minister?

NEVER WHEN COMMUNISTS RULED

EVERYBODY present had the same comment to make: this would not have happened under Communist rule.

It was in Changanassery on October 10. A party of 25 policemen led by a Sub-Inspector had entered a Muslim house. They had beaten a Muslim youth inside the house, dragged him on the road and then thrown him into the waiting van.

Next to be brought out was his young unmarried sister. They tore off her clothes, dragged her naked on the road and dumped her into the van. The people who had run to the place hearing the commotion stood absolutely stupefied.

Two more were brought out of the house—another pregnant sister and their mother. They were also beaten.

They had all become victims of this inhuman attack because the police had earlier in the day tried to arrest another member of the family, but he had escaped.

Such things had happened in Kerala before April 5, 1957. They are again happening now.

The lesson—and the people are already drawing it: Re-elect the Communists—with a bigger majority this time.

—OBSERVER

KERALA RESOLUTION

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

to take a common stand even in regard to scrapping the progressive legislative and executive measures introduced by the Communist Government.

That is why they dare not speak a word about a single problem that affects the people. They are under the illusion that they can hide this basic weakness of theirs under the cover of anti-Communism.

The Congress which once won big majorities in the Assembly is not strong enough today even to contest in all the seats. They have decided to put up candidates only in some seventy and odd seats. All-India Congress leaders themselves have conceded that the Congress was not contesting the other seats because they were not sure of winning them. That was why all the other seats were given to other parties.

Even to contest these seventy and odd seats with a fair chance of victory, they had to throw to the winds all their declared policies and principles and enter into an unholy alliance with the Muslim League and the PSP. Such is the pitiable plight of the Congress.

Will the Congress even then get a majority for itself in the Assembly after the elections? For a majority it must win at least 64 seats. Many of the constituencies in which the Congress is going to put up candidates are seats from which Communist candidates won last time with

more than fifty per cent of the votes polled. Thus the Congress—by itself can never become the majority party in the next State Assembly. That is certain.

Neither the PSP nor the Muslim League dare even put up candidates in a majority of seats. So it is clear that no anti-Communist Party by itself can fight the Communist Party and win the majority of seats and form its own Government.

Let that be. Will all those parties be able to join together and form a coalition Government? How can we believe that the Congress, which could not remain united even when it won all the seats in the Assembly, will be able to unite with other parties and form a stable Government? Prime Minister Nehru has anyway declared that he could not even think of a Congress Government in coalition with the Muslim League.

It is clear to all who can see that the reactionaries are forging all these artificial alliances, not to create conditions for Governmental stability, but for perpetuating political instability and creating conditions for continued exploitation of the people by big landlords and other vested interests.

There are, therefore, only two paths before the people of Kerala: Either support the Communist Party and those democratic independent individuals who wish to build a

new prosperous Kerala in unity with the Communists so that they are able to win with a big majority and thus defend the real interests of the State and the people.

Or endanger the true interests of the State and the people by creating the ground for political and governmental instability and not allow the formation of a stable Government.

We have no doubt that all the people of Kerala who desire and believe in the welfare and progress of our State will choose the first path.

The reactionaries are labouring to hide this reality with anti-Communist demagoguery.

Those who keep away all other parties from the implementation of our national Five-Year Plans, those who try to maintain all governmental machinery as the monopoly preserve of the Congress, those who trample underfoot the interests of the majority of the people, are today going about shouting that the Communist Party is a party of totalitarians.

What they call democracy is that system which throws the tolling millions into the clutches of unbridled feudal exploitation and into the hellfire of police repression. In their eyes, promulgating emergency legislations to safeguard the interests of the people and to improve their living standards and introducing administrative reforms to give a greater share for the common people in the exercise of political power, are totalitarian tendencies. Certain reactionary leaders, who were not seen anywhere

during the freedom struggle, who were serving the autocratic Devan's rule during the movement for responsible Government and who rallied themselves to the side of the vested interests when they saw the advance of the worker and peasant masses in the struggle for national freedom, are today frantically trying to divert the attention of the people by shouting in a most provocative manner that the Communists are traitors.

But all this false propaganda will be of no avail. The State Committee has no doubt that the people will place only such value as they deserve on these ravings against the Communist Party and its members. For, the Communists in Kerala have actively participated in the struggle for Indian freedom and in the movement for responsible Government in Travancore and Cochin; they have suffered and sacrificed in that struggle more than any other party in Kerala; they faced every kind of repression and persecution from the vested interests and the Governments representing those interests; still they worked among and organised the workers, peasants and other sections of the tolling masses and unflinchingly fought for their demands; they stood in the forefront of every campaign and movement for united Kerala and for the national advance of Kerala. And finally when they were elected to the Government, during two - years-and-a-half of their regime they took the

first steps towards building a new prosperous Kerala through various measures of social and economic reforms.

There are in Kerala not only anti-Communists who demanded Central intervention against the Communist Government but also Communist sympathisers who opposed such intervention. There are millions of people in Kerala who have known from their experience the difference between the 28 months of Communist Government and the previous Congress and PSP Governments. There are millions of people in the State who are not Communists but who stand for progress. There are many genuine democrats and patriots who are independent and belong to no party and who really love India and Kerala.

No alliance of the anti-Communists can succeed in defeating the Communist Party which is trying to build a new prosperous Kerala in unity with all these genuine democrats and patriots.

In fact anti-Communism can solve no problem facing Kerala. Hence the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party appeals to all sections of the people who believe in democracy and progress, not to be carried away by the false propaganda of the reactionary leaders of the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League, but to go forward with greater confidence and on a broader basis with their activities for solving the immediate problems facing our people today and to lead Kerala to prosperity and progress.

NEW CHINA'S MILLIONS CELEBRATE DECADE OF VICTORY

by BOMESH CHANDRA

"The East is Red", the 1,000-strong band played this popular tune, as the leaders of the Communist Party and the Government of China appeared on the rostrum of the Tien An Men (Gate of Heavenly Peace) at Peking a few minutes before ten on the morning of October 1.

WITH Chairman Mao Khrushchov heading the Soviet Government delegation: the two leaders stood side by side at the centre of the rostrum and acknowledged the almost never-ending cheers and slogans in support of Sino-Soviet solidarity, of the unity of the Socialist camp, of the unity of the peoples of the whole world.

A record number of foreign guests from over 80 countries—Government delegations from the Socialist and several Afro-Asian countries, Communist Party delegations from all the continents, friendship and cultural groups, delegations from world organisations—crowded the reviewing stands, waving to the lakhs marching through or standing in the beautiful Tien An Men Square.

Twenty Years In One Day

The Square, changed and enlarged beyond recognition, flanked by the most magnificent buildings, was itself a monument to the creative might of the Chinese people, who were racing forward at a speed unsurpassed in human history, a speed, as the Chinese saying goes of "twenty years concentrated in a day."

On the west side of the Square is the Great Hall of the People (Renmin Dahui tang) with a floor space greater than that of all the buildings of the huge old imperial palaces put together—including a main hall to seat 10,000 people with earphones for simultaneous translation in 12 languages (is there another like it anywhere?); a banquet hall where five thousand guests can be accommodated sitting at tables, a score of other large beautiful halls and innumerable rooms which will now accommodate the offices of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. And miracle of miracles, the whole gigantic building was completed in ten months—an undertaking which would take years even in a most advanced capitalist country.

The Great Hall of the People was only one of millions of tributes in the form of

creative labour paid by the Chinese working masses to the Tenth Anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic. From every corner of the country, reports were pouring in of records broken in production, of new innovations, of stupendous feats performed by individuals, groups, teams, whole communities or cities, provinces—in honour of the National Day.

A Moving Record

What we were witnessing from the rostrum of the Tien An Men Square was not just a "parade" but a moving record of ten years of the making of history by 650 million people, freed from their bondage and participating actively in building a new China. It was a record of the mass movements of millions of people—who with their own hands, destroyed their shackles and who, again with their own hands, were creating their own happiness.

Whose heart did not surge with pride and joy as the eyes scanned the Tien An Men Square? Over a lakh of people stood in orderly rows in the Square opposite, carrying paper flowers, which when raised, became at one moment in bright colours, the Chinese national emblem and the years "1949-1959" and at another moment, the Chinese characters for "National Day."

The Square was decorated with portraits of Chairman Mao, of Dr. Sun Yatsen, of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, streamers suspended from balloons, slogans hailing the People's Republic, the Communist Party, Marxism-Leninism, the People's Communism, the Big Leap Forward and supporting the General Line ("Go all out, aim high and get greater, quicker, better and more economical results to build Socialism"). Banners hailed the great solidarity of the peoples of the whole world and the unity of all nationalities of the Chinese People's Republic.

Mayor of Peking Peng Chen opened the rally. The national anthem, the artillery boomed in salute.



Students on parade cheer "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung" while waving bunches of flowers to the Tien An Men rostrum.

given a warm and affectionate welcome by the thousands who had thronged to see the parade.

Together with the First October Parade were numerous other important functions. A banquet on the eve of the Anniversary was given by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling and Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai. More than 5,000 attended this banquet, the highlights of which were speeches by N. S. Khrushchov and Chou En-lai emphasising the great achievements of People's China and the victories scored by the Socialist camp and the peoples of the world for peace.

Dancing And Singing

On October First night, a big fireworks display saw a million people gathered on the Tien An Men Square and in the streets around, dancing to the tunes of scores of little amateur bands and orchestras, laughing, singing with the joy which only a people, whose creative energies have been released from the fetters of oppression and class rule, can have.

There was a National Sports Meet where many world records were broken; the opening of new exhibitions; cultural performances; and, of course, the historic two-day celebration meeting, addressed by the leaders of all foreign delegations, present in Peking, on September 28 and 29.

The Chinese people's love for world peace and friendship with all the countries of the world was an essential part of the Anniversary celebrations. Everywhere in the parade were slogans of "Long Live World Peace," "Long live the Friendship of the Peoples of the World." And the friendly smiles which met every foreigner—from whatever country he may come—from men, women, children—in every village, in every street were proof that peace and friendship are deeply sown in the people's hearts.

Friendship For India

For India particularly there was warmth and affection. The Indian Communist Party delegation was always given the very highest respect and the warmest welcome. Wherever we went, we met with statements of confidence that the present differences will be solved soon through peaceful negotiations and that nothing could put an obstacle in the way of our friendship.

At the huge Agricultural Exhibition in Peking, we were particularly shown a variety of sugar-cane ("Coimbatore 290") from India. "This is a

* SEE FACING PAGE

RECEDING SUMMIT

WITH the British elections receding into the background and the American elections still very far ahead, with the Bonn-Paris axis effectively continuing to exercise its veto, the Summit so earnestly desired by people everywhere and so solemnly promised by both Eisenhower and Macmillan is once again being seriously jeopardised.

All that the British Foreign Office could say last week was, "Consultations are continuing."

Consultations continued while Chancellor Adenauer was announcing to the Foreign Press Association at Bad Godesberg on October 13 that he could agree to no form of disengagement and emphasising that "big preparations" were still needed before a Summit could be held. He admitted that Khrushchov's visit to the U.S. "had a bigger success than I had expected." But he was determined to put his foot down. Disengagement according to Adenauer would mean a "political downgrading" of West Germany and the Rapacki Plan would mean the end of NATO.

Consultations continued while President Eisenhower according to American officials assured Adenauer that nothing objectionable to him would be proposed to the Soviet Union.

That very day French Premier Debre summed up before the National Assembly his Government's position by demanding "maintenance of the status quo in Germany." He claimed that France had shown herself in favour of a Summit meeting as much as anyone. Trotting out the discredited argument of more preparations he declared, "It would be serious to fail. It would be still more serious to lend oneself, to eleventh hour concessions to give the impression of success."

Differences

Finally, from Washington itself the A.P. and Times of India News Service reported that Macmillan and Eisenhower were "falling out of step again on their march to a Summit meeting with the Soviet Premier." On issues due for negotiations, said the report, the policy gap appeared to be even greater between Macmillan and the French President: "Gen. de Gaulle shares the stern non-concession views of the West German Chancellor, Dr. Konrad Adenauer."

The U.S. imperialists are obviously more irritated with Macmillan's behaviour than concerned over Franco-West German intransigence. For the same report goes on to say:

"His (Macmillan's) pressure has surprised American officials who had thought he would attach less urgency to a Summit meeting once the British elections were over."

(American officials, however, are only being naive, for they know full well the serious differences that exist between Britain and West

Germany over issues like the European Common Market and the proposed European Free Trade Zone.)

Absurd Debate

At the U.N., the game of sidetracking the main issues and raking up the cold war has gone a bit too far, even by respectable British standards. Referring to the Tibet debate, the Daily Express (London) wrote under the caption, "Threat to Summit," last week:

"A foolish and ill-timed debate is due to take place in the United Nations. The debate is sponsored by Western countries including the United States...."

"Total effect of all the noisy argument will be to make negotiation for a Summit meeting more difficult. Yet it is to the Summit that peoples of the world look with hope. While from the U.N. comes nothing but futile squabbles that endanger a settlement...."

And the Leftist weekly, Tribune, making fun of the move said:

"The pretence that China does not exist yielded, this week, a fresh absurdity; a debate on Tibet's fate at the United Nations Assembly in China's absence and on the initiative of two nations as closely concerned as Malaya and Ireland."

Tibet's March

Apart from the futility and the harmfulness of raising the issue so far as its substance was concerned the acting head of Tibet's local Government, Fanchen Erdem, made the issues very clear in his report delivered last week before the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress:

Since the suppression of the feudal serf-owners' rebellion it was revealed that no less than 360,000 serfs and 20,000 slaves had been liberated. Peasants' associations had taken over political power in the rural areas. Already on a quarter million of acres about the same number of tons of crops this year went straight to the former serfs for the first time in history.

The march of history in this part of the world would not be stopped by the U.N. discussing the question or the Dalai Lama misusing the soil of India for mouthing his political sermons.

Fabrications

Another blow to U.S. schemes of missing the U.N. came this week from a Japanese paper—the Asahi Shimbun. Quoting sources close to Shinichi Shibusawa, Chairman of the Illegal U.N. Committee sent to investigate the situation in Laos, the paper reported that no decisive evidence had been found to endorse the Royal Lao Government's claim that North Vietnamese troops had "invaded" Laos. The Committee was reported to have found no non-Laotians among the prisoners captured.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

Notwithstanding this lack of evidence the U.S. is persisting in imposing the U.N. Committee as its permanent agents in Laos, displacing the International Supervisory Commission which had been functioning there under the terms of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

Steel Strike

The U.S. Government, by invoking the Taft-Hartley laws against the over three-months-old strike of five lakh American steel workers is coming out openly as the servant of the big steel monopolies.

This is not for the first time that the steel workers of the U.S. have been forced to put up a hard fight in defence of their living and working conditions. Since the end of World War II, they have waged five big strikes of which this, the latest, undoubtedly has been the hardest. (Earlier strikes: 1946—28 days; 1949—37 days; 1952—55 days; 1956—43 days.)

Since the last collective agreement signed after the 1956 strike, new factors that had appeared in the situation were:

● Big increase in productivity. Hourly output per worker since the end of war has been constantly rising, thanks to increasing mechanisation and automation. While in 1945, the time required to produce one ton of steel was 19.1 hours, in May 1959 it had come down to 10.7 hours only. Between 1957 and May 1959, the time needed to produce one ton of steel was cut by 21.5 per cent.

● The technological unemployment provoked by the introduction of mechanisation and automation together with unemployment resulting from the economic recession had combined to make the situation and the working conditions of the workers, as well as the employment conditions throughout the steel industry increasingly difficult.

During 1958, six lakh members of the Steel Workers' Union were working fewer than five days a week. Although during the first six months of 1959 the steel plants were working full capacity, an important number of workers were not reabsorbed into the industry. Over one lakh are considered to have been definitely excluded, and if the employers were to have the final say in the present conflict, another lakh would run the risk of being dismissed in one or two years' time.

● The third factor in the situation was the enormous increase in profits made by the steel monopolies. The price of steel has been raised 3 times since the end of the last war from 55 to 161 dollars per ton. The share of labour costs has been constantly diminishing. In 1949, they amounted to 31.8 per cent of the sales price of one ton of steel. Today they amount to only 24 per cent. Thus it was not wage increase that was responsible for higher prices, but the policy of maximum profit pursued by the monopolies which raised three dollars in the price for each dollar increase

in labour costs. They even continued to raise prices with impunity right through the recession and despite the downward trend in raw materials prices.

As a result during the recession year of 1958 with the steel industry working on an average at only 65 per cent of its capacity the steel companies made a total profit of \$748,889,000.

During the first six months of the current year profits broke all records. They amounted to \$370,634,000, i.e. an increase of 151.3 per cent as compared with the same period in 1958. One firm alone—U.S. Steel—made a profit of \$254,948,496 in these six months.

Compared to the pre-war profits of 21 cents per working hour, the steel monopolies were making 76 cents of profit per working hour in 1958—an increase of 282 per cent.

● In this situation, for some time past the big steel companies had been making preparations to resist the workers' struggle and thought that the moment had come to go over to the attack. They wanted to eliminate certain economic and social concessions which they had been obliged to make as a result of earlier struggles and to call in question the role and structure of the trade unions in the factories.

Blackmail

It was not merely a question of resisting the modest increase that the workers' union demanded but, above all, it was blackmail to change certain clauses of the earlier collective agreements. They demanded a free hand to introduce and establish production methods, working conditions, hiring, dismissal and displacement of workers, hours of work, seniority, etc., thus replacing the established practices of consultation and agreement with unions. They sought elimination of the sliding scale—that is, dearness allowance being pegged to cost of living. They also demanded strengthening of the clauses against strikes and picketing and go-slow.

In preparation for the attack, the monopolies began at the opening of the year to prepare for a long strike. While the estimated annual requirements of steel stood at 90-95 million tons as against a capacity of 140 million, they started forcing up the production. In April-June, they raised it to 90 per cent of the capacity. Thus a large reserve stock was built up.

Entrained behind this position, the representatives of the twelve steel companies responsible for nine-tenths of total steel output dealt offhandedly with the workers' representatives during the ten weeks of negotiations which preceded the strike. A responsible spokesman of the employers is reported to have told the workers' representatives that the latter had bothered them for 18 years and now the time had come to show them where they got off! Different indeed from the talk of people's capital-

ism, partnership in industry and so on.

The Government, throughout, connived at and helped the employers in their game and now when the accumulated reserve of steel has come to an end, it has stepped in to force the workers to go back to work.

The strike, however, has played a big role in reviving and galvanising the trade union movement in the United States. This was reflected on September 1, Labour Day. For the first time since before World War I, the trade unions of New York City had a 115,000-strong parade through New York streets. It lasted eight hours and some four lakhs watched it.

The wide support and tremendous solidarity movement around the steel strike has itself been a great advance for American labour and it will be difficult for the monopolies and Government to wipe out its gains.

—ZIAUL HAQ
(October 20)

INDIA-CHINA FRIENDSHIP

* FROM FACING PAGE

symbol of our friendship—the sweetness which exists between our two peoples." Again at the Evergreen People's Commune near Peking, I saw a variety of green apples. From India, we were told—another symbol of friendship.

We were told by Indian friends living or working in China for some time that everyone they met in recent days, had shown even greater affection than before and confidently told them of their belief that our friendship will grow and the present differences will be resolved through negotiations, very soon.

We shall always remember the words of Chairman Mao Tse-tung who said, when he met the Indian Communist Party delegation:

"THE STREAM OF THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND INDIAN PEOPLES WILL RUN ON FOREVER."

It was a privilege for us all to be present in Peking for the Anniversary Celebrations. Comrade Khrushchov said at the celebration banquet:

"The fight for freedom and national independence and the building of Socialism, have enabled the Chinese people to display all their riches of spirit. As little brooks converge into great rivers in full flow, so the labour of millions of workers, peasants, and intellectuals forms the ocean of the people's creativity."

We saw with our own eyes the little brooks and saw glimpses of the ocean they had produced. And we knew as never before, through books but with the assistance of our own eyes—the transformation which Socialism alone can enable a whole people to bring about in their own lives.

NEWS FROM THE CAPITAL

India's Support To Algeria's Freedom Struggle

PURSE OF RS. 12,300 PRESENTED

ON behalf of the Algeria Aid Committee, Smt. Rameshwari Nehru presented to Cheriff Guellal, representative of the Algerian National Front in India, a sum of Rs. 12,300 on October 15, 1959. The meeting on this occasion was addressed by Pandit Sundarlal, Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, Smt. Rameshwari Nehru and the representative of the Algerian people Cheriff Guellal.

A report presented on behalf of the Committee stated that the Algerian Aid Committee in cooperation with the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and other bodies organised a tour of Cheriff Guellal and Towfiq, another representative of the Algerian Front for National Liberation.

It was pointed out that in most places reception committees were set up which included people from various parties

and organisations and wherever the two Algerian representatives went, there was warm response and wholehearted support for Algeria's freedom struggle.

Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, speaking for the Committee, assured the Algerian people India's full support in their struggle for freedom.

A resolution passed at the meeting warmly greeted the people of Algeria struggling for their independence. The resolution said, "the Provisional Government of Algeria is the only authority to speak and negotiate for the Algerian people. We are in full agreement with the declaration made by Mr. Ferhat Abbas, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria, on the proposals of General de Gaulle."

The resolution asked the people and Government of India to give full support to the Provisional Government of Algeria.

Addressing the meeting Cheriff Guellal said: "What we demand in Algeria is the recognition of our right to determine freely our future. What we demand in Algeria is what France and Great Britain and the U.S. put in the forefront of their way of life, viz. the right of each and every individual to freedom and justice."

He further said, "Our present struggle is not only directed towards political liberation but towards a basic objective—the establishment of a society built along true democratic lines, a society in which every individual, irrespective of his race or religion can live his life free from exploitation and discrimination and with confidence in the future."

The meeting was organised under the auspices of the Algeria Aid Committee and the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

STUDENTS' STRIKE IN SIXTH WEEK

THE students in the Department of Architecture, Delhi Polytechnic, are on an indefinite strike since September 10. The students had demanded a judicial inquiry into the mass failure of students. Other demands on which they started the agitation were lack of staff and re-affiliation of the department with the Delhi University.

In support of the demands nearly 1,500 students of the Delhi Polytechnic went on a strike on September 14. In a memorandum presented to the Government and the Delhi University the students reiterated their demands.

This year, the pass percentage at the final year architecture examination was 33. In previous years the percentage has been between 75 and 85. The Delhi University considered these demands and decided to hold a supplementary examination in January and also recommended that students should be given special instructions for three months in a particular paper.

This, however, did not

satisfy the students because the other demand regarding the affiliation of the department was not considered. The architecture students point out that the decision to affiliate the department to the School of Town and Country Planning had been taken by the Government in order to reduce the expenditure on this school as there was some criticism in Parliament about it last year. There are at present only 16 students in the school against 364 in the architecture department. The students have all along opposed the decision to affiliate them to the school on this ground.

The Ministry of Education has not responded to the students' demands so far. The students have threatened to go on hunger-strike. A recent poster issued by them says: "Authorities! Awake while there is still time for it. Are you waiting for a hunger-strike? We have neither been violent nor indisciplined so far."

The adamant attitude of the authorities, it is feared, may lead to an unhappy situation in the Polytechnic.

Land Racketeers Flourish On Master Plan

Delhi, the Capital of India, despite Pandit Nehru's angry speeches for removing slums and his emphasis on planning, presents a tragic picture. Big buildings have been built; luxurious hotels have come into existence but the common man cannot find a room on reasonable rent. The workers and employees have to live far from the city, and cycle the long distances or wait vainly for buses. Housing and transport have assumed notorious importance and there seems to be no relief in the offing.

FIVE years ago, in 1955 some steps were taken to plan the development of the city. An interim plan outlining certain "residential areas," "green belts," industrial areas, etc., was published in 1956. Having spent Rs. 27 lakhs, the Town Planning Organisation of the Government of India has produced nothing but a scan-

dal—the celebrated leakage of the Master Plan.

The members of the Corporation strongly criticised the Town Planning Organisation for this alleged leakage. It was referred to as a "hoax," "a farce" and "a plan of scandals."

The Councillors alleged that certain officials of the Town Planning Organisation, in co-

lusion with some influential politicians and certain colonisers were responsible for the land racket in Delhi. They pointed out that transactions worth more than a crore of rupees have taken place in recent months as a result of leakage of information to certain colonisers.

They demanded a judicial enquiry into these allegations and through a resolution passed unanimously at the meeting, asked for early publication of the Master Plan.

Under pressure of public opinion, the Union Health Ministry asked the Chief Commissioner of Delhi to hold an "immediate enquiry" into the alle-

gations. But the Councillors have expressed dissatisfaction over the way it was being conducted. Prem Sagar Gupta, leader of the Communist Group in the Corporation, told New Age that this enquiry would be an "eyewash" if it continued to follow the procedure it has adopted.

Explaining this, he pointed out that unless all the documents in connection with the Master Plan were seized and studied in relation to the transactions in land, no conclusion could be drawn. "All evidence is circumstantial," he said.

Prem Sagar Gupta then pointed out what he thought would be necessary for the success of the Master Plan: "it should have a services plan attached to it and secondly, must be backed by a financial plan." Both these guarantees seem to be lacking in the Master Plan and that is why he thought it was not likely to succeed.

Explaining it he said that even before construction started in a colony, it was necessary to provide it with such necessities as water, transport, electricity, etc. If this was not done, it would create further difficulties in the planned development of the city. If private initiative was allowed, the colonies would be built but without amenities.

Secondly, he felt there would be financial difficulties. The plan that was being prepared did not have financial guarantees from the Government. In his opinion, the new colonies should be built by the Government so that the plan does not remain on paper—leaving it to private agencies, would make it more costly for the common man.

Thirdly, if the Government wanted to check the increasing price of land, it should "freeze" all transactions on that account so that the prices do not rise. He referred to the "psycholo-

gical resistance" of the slum dwellers in shifting to new colonies. "They do not want to shift to far-away colonies unless their present work is guaranteed and cheap transport is made available," he said.

He said that big colonisers like the DLF had influential people, including some important members of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, on their board. With their influence, it is said that they were able to secure changes in the plan. Even some high officials are reported to have secured land at cheap prices.

If the Government really wanted to stop this racketeering it should freeze all such transactions and shift such areas as would be found to have been included as a result of illegal pressure. But the prerequisites for any effective action is a thorough inquiry.

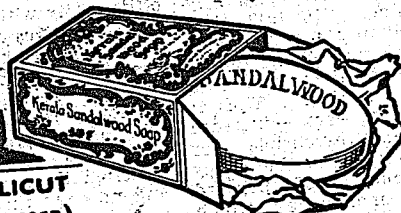


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