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# NEW AGE

## COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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### THREE-LAKH RALLY IN TRICHUR DECLARES

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT TRICHUR, November 30. It is doubtful whether the Thekkinkad Maidan in this town of Trichur has ever witnessed such a sight. Not that crowds do not gather on the maidan. They do and in their lakhs every year at the time of the Pooram festival which draws people from all over the State.

# WE WILL PUT THE COMMUNISTS

# BACK IN OFFICE IN KERALA

BUT the crowd which assembled on the maidan on November 29 was different. People had come from all over the State, three lakhs of them, but they had not come to see the fireworks or participate in the tamasha of a Pooram festival. It was a crowd determined to make just one declaration: We will put the Communist Party back in office in Kerala. They had assembled in the concluding rally of the Fifth Kerala State Conference of the Communist Party of India.

### Determined People

And their determination had to be seen to be believed. When we have very heavy rains here in Kerala, our older generation will say, the rain-drops are thicker than the trunk of an elephant. And this was said many a time last Sunday evening.

Some said it to point out that the crowd would have been much more than the three lakhs but for the nasty rain. Yet others, ordinary men and women, gave tongue to their surprise and dismay: who would think that people would even go out of their houses when it is raining so hard. But here they are, wet and drenched, still walking in the rain. And how many? There are at least a lakh of them. And they are shouting. Walking and shouting as if they are out for a stroll on a pleasant evening.

I could hear such comments—plenty of them—as I moved from group to group of people sheltered under umbrellas and protected by the awnings of shops and buildings. It was not much of a protection; they were all wet—but none felt the icy-cold rain drops

falling on them—so thrilled were they by what was passing in front of them. "It is not every day that one sees such a thing, it is only on very few occasions in one's whole life time," someone remarked as he took the towel off his head and rinsed it.

It was a magnificent sight. One lakh people marching in serried ranks and as they reached the maidan, one could see the other two lakhs on the maidan, pushing and jostling to get into vantage positions from where they could see and hear the Communist leaders.

The three hundred decorated cars, jeeps and trucks in the van have moved away and the procession is flowing into the maidan and mingling with the crowd already there. At this stage it was difficult to say who was more inspired—those in the procession or those outside watching it.

### Political Slogans

It was just one shout that went up and rent the sky and the slogans were so political unlike the smutty ditties "liberation" volunteers used to sing on the streets only a few months ago. To hear the slogans being shouted this evening was enough to thrill one:

This people's lakh is coming to make the future of our Kerala land! This people's lakh has assembled to defend democracy! Those who murdered democracy, see now a real mass upsurge! The alliance you have knocked together can-

not bring this big Red Flag down! This land will not forget the Party which gave it a stable rule! The peasantry will not forget those who framed the land law! This is a Party the people have bred and this is the Party that will rule the land!

### Massive Support

More and more such slogans came and I remembered what M. N. Govindan Nair had earlier told the delegates, presenting the Political-Organisational Report of the State Committee—that the policies implemented by the Communist-led Government resulted in significant shifts in the people and the Party enjoys more support today than at any time before.

Here was that massive support descending on the maidan like an avalanche. These are scenes unforgettable. Here are the women with children in their hands, their clothes wet and sticking to them. They were hoarse already, but their voice was still strident when they shouted out warnings to those who had plunged the knife into democracy's heart.

Then came a sight which surprised only a few who had thought the Communist leaders would come in motor cars, well protected from the rains, to address the rally.

When they saw in the crowd someone like E. M. S. Nambudiripad, they rubbed their eyes and looked

# A MAGNIFICENT VICTORY

FROM OUR GAUHATI CORRESPONDENT

PHANI BORA, Secretary of the Assam State Council of the Communist Party of India and member of the Party's Central Executive Committee, has won the Assam Legislative by-election from Nowgong with a thumping majority. He defeated the Congress candidate, Devkanta Barooah, by over 5,500 votes. Securing 28,899 votes he polled more than all his rivals combined—Congress 23,355, PSP 1,112 and the RCPI-supported Independent 439. The PSP and the Independent candidates have forfeited their deposits. The by-election was held following the invalidation of the election of Devkanta Barooah by the Election Tribunal. In the 1957 elections, the Congress had won the seat with 26,998

votes against Phani Bora's 25,377 votes. It needs stressing that Devkanta Barooah was the Speaker of the Assam Legislative Assembly, an ex-Congress Working Committee member and one of the most powerful figures in Assam's Congress. In our border State, the Congress in its election campaign made the most shameful partisan use of the present unfortunate border dispute with China in its reckless anti-Communist campaign. It was outdistanced only by the PSP. Despite all this, the Communist Party has won this shattering victory. (General Secretary of the Party Ajoy Ghosh has sent a telegram congratulating Phani Bora and all our comrades in the area on behalf of the entire Party.)

again. It was E. M. S. and he was as drenched as the rest in the procession. Here is A. K. Gopalan in the midst of a jatha of agricultural workers from an out-of-the-way village. And in various places right in the midst of the procession, among the workers, peasants, students, teachers and others who had come from all over the State were M. N. Govindan Nair, P. Ramamurti, K. Damodaran and others.

I had seen these people earlier in the morning coming into the town in small groups. I had enquired of them and found that most of them were agricultural workers and peasants and they had come from thirty and forty miles away. Yes, it was raining in their places also when they started, but can that prevent us from coming to "our Party's meeting". Buses, cars and jeeps were arriving decorated with flags and banners—they were bringing people from the farthest corners of the State.

### Excitement Mounts

And as the villagers walked round the town and these decorated vehicles moved about, excitement began to mount up reaching its climax in the evening when the procession entered the road round the maidan.

Where is the end of the procession? I looked and as far as my eyes could see, at the bend of the road far away, the Red Flags and

banners were still coming—on and on, endlessly. Everybody must have been thinking the same thoughts: where was the isolation of the Communist Party? Who were the people talking about defeating it? Won't the people give them a very short shrift?

It is 6 p.m. The meeting is about to begin. It is still raining hard. The leaders are coming on the dais—E.M.S., Ramamurti, M. N., Achuta Menon and the entire crowd is cheering them like nothing I have seen before.

The programme has been cut short because of the rains. The cultural programme has been cancelled and the leaders are to speak only for 15 minutes each. It is difficult to have any fireworks in these rains, but that does not prevent some enthusiasts from going ahead. And as multi-coloured flowers weave patterns in the skies, Achuta Menon who is presiding has to stop his speech.

E.M.S. began his speech by pointing out to the endless crowd in front of the dais and saying, they show how in vain are the activities of those who wish to wipe the Communist Party off the face not only of Kerala but of India and the world.

The audience roared with laughter when E.M.S. said that the united front of anti-Communist forces which had five or six parties in it at the time of the "liberation" struggle had now grown into a front of three parties.

And this front had no cons-

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## Kerala Communists Meet

The fifth Kerala State Conference of the Communist Party of India was held in Trichur from November 24 to 29 to discuss the Election Manifesto of the Party for the forthcoming mid-term elections and a Political-Organisational Report.

DURING the five days it was in session, the Conference also adopted a number of resolutions among which were one on Kerala and the Third Five-Year Plan demanding that the injustices done to Kerala during the earlier Plans be remedied, another on the soaring prices of foodstuffs and other necessities of daily life (see page 5) and a third one demanding that the Centre locate the second ship-building yard in Cochin.

### Homage To Martyrs

The Conference began with A. K. Gopalan, member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the Party, hoisting the Red Flag on the Thekkinkad Maidan. After saluting the flag, the five hundred and odd delegates with the Kerala Party leaders and P. Ramamurti, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Party, at their head marched to the Martyrs' Column erected in the maidan and paid their homage to the comrades who have laid down their lives in the course of the struggle.

For days before the Conference began, the town was bustling with people engaged in lifting its face to welcome the delegates and visitors and as the delegates marched from the maidan to the venue of the delegates' session, three miles away, they found the entire route a riot of colour with flags, banners, festoons and arches.

The delegates' session began with the election of a Presidium with T. V. Thomas, Rosamma Punnose, N. C. Sekhar, P. Gangadharan and Chathunni Master on it. T. V. Thomas on behalf of the Presidium moved the resolution paying homage to the martyrs "who have laid down their lives in the struggle for the all-round prosperity of India in general and Kerala in particular, for the defence of democracy and for improving the living conditions of the common people."

The resolution continued: "The Conference cherishes the memory of the Party members and sympathisers who, during the period since the formation of the Government under the leadership of the Party, steadfastly fought and sacrificed their lives in the struggle to defend the Party, the Government and the people against the onslaught of the reactionary vested interests."

The Conference pledged "in the name of the entire Party membership", that drawing "inspiration from the lives and sacrifices of these precious comrades", it would "unflinchingly strive to build a prosperous Kerala and to defend the cause of the people, democracy and Socialism."

### Historic Session

K. K. Warriar, Chairman of the Conference Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, reminded them of the Third

Report, Secretary of the Committee M. N. Govindan Nair pointed out that the last three years had been a period of intense activity for the entire Party. The collective wisdom of the whole Party was brought to bear on the new and complicated task facing the Party in a situation which was unique in the world. This enabled the Party to come to correct conclusions on the major issues that faced it, the Government and the common people of the State.

### Proud Record

It was not in a mood of repentance for mistakes and failures but with a sense of pride for achievements that the State Committee was facing the Conference, said M. N. Govindan. Not that there were no failures. But if the achievements and failures of the Party and the Government were considered together, the achievements far outweighed the failures.

Again emphasising what had been said in the course of the report on the National Council session about the terrific onslaught that was being launched by the forces of Right reaction on all that was democratic

# Conference Of Achievement, Confidence In Future

sisting of M. N. Govindan Nair, E. M. S. Nambudripad, C. Achutha Menon, K. Damoranan, C. Unniraja, T. C. Narayanan Nambiar, S. Kumaran, E. Gopalakrishna Menon, V. S. Achuthanandan, P. K. Vasudevan Nair and N. E. Balaram; the Credentials Committee of R. Sugathan, K. T. Jacob and A. V. Kunhambu and the Auditing Committee with K. K. Kunhan, Raghava Pisharodi and T. V. Parameswaran.

The Conference decided to invite the non-Communist members of the dismissed Kerala Ministry—V. R. Krishna Iyer, Dr. A. R. Menon and Prof. Joseph Mundassery—to attend the Conference discussions on the Political-Organisational Report and the Election Manifesto.

### E.M.S. Reports On Meerut

The Report on the Meerut Session of the National Council of the Party was made to the Conference by E. M. S. Nambudripad.

The Meerut decisions of the Party, Nambudripad said, had confounded all those who were building castles in the air in the fond hope that the Party would be split and would disintegrate. E. M. S. explained to the assembled delegates the National Council's resolution on India-China relations and the discussions that had taken place in the Council on the political situation in the country.

Introducing the State Committee's Political-Organisational

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### Work Of The Ministry

AGRIAN REFORMS: We have successfully dealt with this problem. Not only have we given relief to the tenants, poor peasants and landless poor, we have also gone a long way in accommodating the small holder who will be hit to a certain extent by the reforms. A very important task, however, remains—that of convincing the small holder that his salvation lies not in allying himself with the big landlord, but in joining hands with the rural poor in a great campaign for national reconstruction. More should also be done to convince the rural poor that agrarian reforms have to be carried out not so much at the expense of the small holder, but at the expense of the big landlords.

INDUSTRIALISATION: The location of the Rayon Pulp and Rubber Tyre factories in Kerala are creditable achievements, particularly in view of the fact that no single industry was established in Kerala during the years of Congress and FSP rule. It can be stated without any fear of contradiction that ours has so far been the only Government which has earnestly taken up the task of industrialising the State.

It should, of course, be admitted that we have not yet

would work unitedly with them for the progress and development of Kerala. The Report dealt with some of the problems tackled by the Communist Government: Societies) is indisputable; nor is there any doubt that we should do something to rehabilitate them. But this task of rehabilitation should not be done at the expense of extension of the co-operative movement which is a necessity. The resources in money and experience possessed by them should be utilised for other forms of national development, particularly industrialisation.

POLICE POLICY: This is undoubtedly a great achievement. It is a step in the direction of saving the people from police harassment. Certain problems have, however, been posed, such as failure in some cases on the part of the police personnel to take effective steps against anti-social elements.

EDUCATION BILL: This is a democratic reform which is of utmost importance. Even the Congress Governments have adopted similar measures in some States. It should, however, be recognised that the Christian clergy has been able to utilise the feelings of the Christian masses against it. This only underlines the necessity for urgent and persistent work among the Christian masses who, after all, are the beneficiaries of various socio-economic reforms that we have undertaken.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES: We took the correct step of improving the service conditions of Government employees. This was necessary in order to create in them a sense of contentment and willingness to work harder for the nation. We have, however, not yet been able to bring about a cor-

responding increase in the efficiency of the service as a whole, though improvement had undoubtedly taken place as is shown by the greater efficiency in the work of Plan fulfilment.

BACKWARD AND FORWARD COMMUNITIES: We have taken the correct attitude of helping the Scheduled Castes and backward communities to catch up with the forward communities. This, however, has made it possible for the reactionaries in the forward communities to incite the masses in those communities against us. It is, therefore, necessary that patient and persistent work should be carried out among them, pointing out the benefits that accrue to the common masses belonging to all communities from the policies that we are pursuing.

PLAN FULFILMENT: Figures of Plan fulfilment in the various States of India show that while the former State of Travancore-Cochin was below most other States of India (among the 17 States of the Part 'A' and 'B' category, Travancore-Cochin was 14th) during the First Plan period and while the State of Kerala occupied the 12th place among the 13 States of India (except Kashmir) in the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan (which happened to be the year previous to the assumption of office by our Government), it has now come to occupy a place next only to Madras. This is a creditable achievement. It should, however, be noted that there are departments in which the State is still lagging behind.

COOPERATIVES: The great extension of the cooperative movement is a step in the right direction both for Kerala and for the entire country. That this creates some difficulties for certain sections of the people (like the contractors who were displaced by the Labour Contract

Shifts In People

All these measures, said M. N., have enabled us to convince larger and larger sections of the people that our policies are sound; and this has led to important shifts in the positions of various sections of the people. We should, however, be clear that there are still large sections

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# COMMUNISTS, NOT CONGRESSMEN DEFEND NEHRU'S FOREIGN POLICY

From AJOY DAS GUPTA

CALCUTTA, November 30  
The question of India-China relations dominates the political scene of West Bengal. The massive demonstration and meeting held on November 22 have marked the beginning of a mighty campaign in defence of India-China friendship and for rebuffing the Right-wing reactionary offensive. At the same time, the forces of reaction have also stepped up their efforts to whip up anti-Chinese war hysteria and the anti-Communist trade.

A PART from holding meetings and demonstrations at various places, the platform of the State Legislature was sought to be utilised by the Congress, PSP and Forward Bloc for this purpose. They tried to move adjournment motions to discuss the "Chinese imperialist aggression" and "fifth column activities." These were, however, disallowed by the Deputy Speaker, who also disallowed some adjournment motions tabled by the Communist Bloc.

### Congress Resolution

But on November 27, an unofficial resolution tabled by 66 Congress members became the vehicle for discussion of the India-China border question. The resolution talked of "imperialist aggression" by the Republic of China by "forcible occupation of large blocks of territory in the North-western and North-eastern areas of India," "infiltration of undesirable aliens and Chinese nationals," "sinister and anti-State activities of certain political parties and persons" and demanded of the West Bengal Government "to represent to the Central Government to take strong and effective measures against such activities...."

Many Congress members speaking on the resolution

tried to draw a horror-picture of the Chinese army invading India, Chinese spies infesting West Bengal and creating confusion in collusion with traitorous Communists.

Dr. Suresh Banerjee, the PSP leader, went ahead and said, "The Chinese had not only conquered a part of India but had also sent many spies to India, specially Darjeeling, Kalimpong and also Calcutta."

Dr. Prafulla Ghosh, leader of the PSP Group, in supporting the resolution felt that India should not join any bloc.

Sri Jatin Chakravarty, RSP leader, supported the resolution and said that there should be no negotiation between India and China "before China vacates the aggression."

And finally Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister, talked of imminent danger to the security of the country and strong measures against outsiders and foreign agents. He also talked of "fighting shoulder to shoulder" when the time came.

But all the attacks were squarely answered and the resolution was subjected to complete exposure by the members of the Communist Bloc and the Socialist Unity Centre. Jyoti Basu, leader of the Opposition, in a forceful speech said that the resolution was not aimed at

the defence of India or settlement of the border issue. Rather the resolution sought to create obstacles in the way of settlement and worsen the situation when possibilities have opened up for a settlement.

### No Support To Foreign Policy

He pointed out sharply that the resolution did not contain any support or even reference to the foreign policy of Prime Minister Nehru, to the principles of Panchsheel and the policy of non-alignment, rather the resolution was worded in such a manner as to amount to advocacy of the "other path" of war, while Prime Minister Nehru was insisting on settlement by peaceful means. He wondered whether the Congressmen in West Bengal supported their leader, Prime Minister Nehru.

Placing the Communist viewpoint on the question of border disputes, Jyoti Basu said that the Communist Party wanted a speedy solution of the dispute. He said that the continuance of the dispute and tension and any repetition of the unfortunate incident like in Ladakh would cause harm not only to India, but also to China. The cause of the countries of the Afro-Asian region, Afro-Asian solidarity

While the debate was going on inside the Assembly, a large number of meetings and demonstrations were being held throughout West Bengal demanding peaceful settlement of the India-China border dispute and an immediate Nehru-Chou meeting.

Big processions were organised in Dhakuria and Dum-Dum covering more than ten-mile routes. A meeting was held in Narkeldanga addressed by Ramen Sen and also in other parts of Calcutta.

These meetings are being held not only in and around Calcutta but also at such far away places like Siliguri, Kalimpong, and Bhowani in North Bengal, Kharagpur, Burdwan, etc.

The working class is coming out in this campaign. Meetings were held in Khardah, and by four unions in Dum Dum, the

Indian States that the Communist Party had replaced the Congress and formed its first Government.

The historic experiment of the Government led by the Communist Party in Kerala, he said, had inspired the entire democratic forces in India and helped the Party to grow in Tamilnad, too, as elsewhere. The delegation from Tamilnad felt as if they were in their own Conference.

V. B. Kakkillaya, fraternal delegate from the Karnatak State Council of the Party, greeting the Conference said that the struggles fought by the Party in Kerala and its great victories had always inspired the Party in Karnatak. He assured Kerala comrades that all democratic-minded people of Karnatak were eager to do their bit for the victory of the Party and its allies in the coming elections.

Workers in the plantations, factories and fields had already started collecting whatever they could for the Kerala Election Fund. The victory of the Party in the election, he said, was important for the entire democratic movement of our country and he pledged that the Party in Karnatak would do everything possible to ensure this victory.

and the struggle for independence in this region, the cause of world peace and principles of peaceful coexistence would suffer a setback if the tension between the two countries who gave the world Panchsheel persisted.

In face of this strong exposure, Sughrir Roy Choudhury, erstwhile PSP leader now Independent, brought an amendment to give the resolution a somewhat presentable look by stating that "if war is thrust upon her (India), she should be prepared for it without in any way aligning with any foreign Power."

Though the resolution was passed by a large majority, the attempts of the joint forces of the Congress, PSP, RSP and F.B. to whip up anti-China, anti-Communist hysteria was thwarted by the powerful and principled speeches of the Communist, F.B. (Marxist) and Socialist Unity Centre members.

### Meeting And Demonstration

The statement said, "The slogans shouted in the rally and the demonstration were the most patriotic, as they focused the importance of a peaceful settlement instead of creating war hysteria inside the country. We can confidently state that there had been nothing to be ashamed of by the Prime Minister."

The statement further stated, on the other hand, what was expected of him was to condemn the slogans raised and the speeches made in the meetings organised in Calcutta and Howrah on the same day by the Congress, PSP and others. "In those meetings speakers waxed eloquent against the non-alignment policy of the Government of India and for creating war psychosis among the people."

"Was it not unpatriotic to campaign against the declared policy of the Government of India?" it asked.

## KERALA CONFERENCE

\* FROM-FACING PAGE

of the people who have been misled by the political parties and communal organisations, who have ranged themselves against us. There is, therefore, the necessity for us to take a positive attitude to these masses who have taken up their position against us.

After referring to certain problems of Party building and the functioning of Party units, M. N. concluded by calling for a much higher level of activity and organisation of the Party.

The Report was discussed by the delegates in groups. These group discussions were then reported to the Conference and amendments were moved to the Political-Organisational Report.

The draft of the Election Manifesto was presented to the Conference by K. Damodaran.

### Election Manifesto

The Manifesto compared the achievements of the Communist Government during 28 months of its rule with the election promises which the Communist Party had made in its Manifesto for the 1957 General Elections. Damodaran said that more than 75 per cent of the pledges had

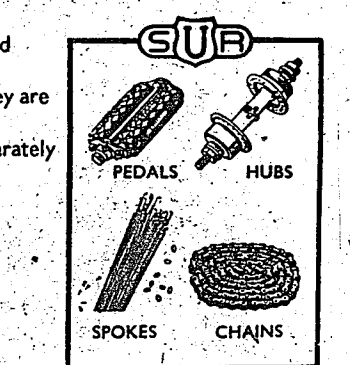
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NEW AGE

## UNION BICYCLE COMPONENTS

Three out of every four bicycles in India are fitted with Union components made by Sen-Raleigh. They are so popular because each Union component is separately tested for quality.

SEN-RALEIGH



WORKERS IN THE PLANTATIONS, FACTORIES AND FIELDS HAD ALREADY STARTED COLLECTING WHATEVER THEY COULD FOR THE KERALA ELECTION FUND.

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NEW AGE

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# Shift In Oil Policy

THE "motley crowd" which threatened to climb the Himalayan peaks to "defect the aggressors from our sacred soil" had no compunction in welcoming in Parliament last week some measures of the Government which surrendered the resources of our soil to the rapacity of foreign monopoly capital.

One such piece was the statement of the Minister for Mines and Oil, K. D. Malaviya, in the Lok Sabha on November 24.

Some alarming facts on the oil question were narrated by the Minister along with a still more alarming shift in the policy on oil. Oil consumption in India, the Minister pointed out, had risen from two million tons in 1947 to six million tons. "Authoritative forecasts, based on present trends and the likely size of the Third Plan, are that consumption would increase to 14 million tons of crude oil equivalent by 1966 and 25 million tons by 1971."

The annual drain due to oil purchases on our meagre foreign exchange resources is already of the order of Rs. 100 crores a year. Indigenous production is hardly 0.5 million tons a year now; but the exploitation of the new oilfields in Assam will raise it to "about four million tons by 1965". The Minister announced that, therefore, "the search for and production of oil within the country will be given the topmost priority in the Third Plan, as for instance, steel was given in the Second Plan."

A very welcome realisation one would imagine. But from this declaration where do we proceed? "Government have, therefore, decided to invite foreign oil explorers to join in the quest for oil in India" and for this purpose they have framed new Petroleum and Natural Gas Rules liberalising the terms of exploration and lease of potential oil-bearing areas.

This new policy declaration once more brings the spectre of world oil cartels into the arena of India's economy. It has been one of the welcome features of the Government's oil policy hitherto that foreign capital in the matter of exploration and production of oil has been kept in check. This is not because the Government has been "dogmatic" about its Socialist ideals.

Just as in the case of steel, foreign capital was not "interested" in developing this basic industry in India. They even spread the canard that India had no potentialities of developing an indigenous oil industry.

Now when the Government itself, through sheer necessity, entered the field of oil exploration, production and refining with encouragement and generous help from Socialist countries, and has been more or less successful in that field, we find foreign capital smacking its lips. And the Government is obligingly "stooping to conquer" the favours of shy foreign capital!

Simultaneously in the Rajya Sabha, the Securities Contracts (Regulation), Amendment Bill

## Press Barons' Misdeeds

The discussion on the Report of the Registrar of Newspapers brought out some very questionable practices indulged in by the Press barons. V. P. Nayyar accused the Government: "Press tycoons have been permitted to import newsprint at the fantastic rate of 2 61 per ton from Sweden while the State Trading Corporation was able to get it at 2 56 per ton, i.e., five pence less."

This is because, Nayyar pointed out, the Press lords were indulging in gross violations of Foreign Exchange Regulations like inflation of import invoices, operation of secret private accounts in foreign countries, etc.

In a forceful speech remarkable for its candour and honesty of purpose, Congressman Joachim Alva posed the problem of the Press: "The danger today is not so much of invasion by China, but of invasion of our liberties, of Rs. 50 lakhs fine being reduced to Rs. five lakhs" (A reference to Times of India boss S. P. Jain's foreign exchange scandal).

The debate on the Law Commission's report in the Rajya Sabha provided a thorough exposure of the Congress Government's betrayal of the solemn promises made to the country during the days of the independence struggle.

"As far ago as 1886, when the National Congress was formed," pointed out Bhupesh Gupta, "the demand came for the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. Ever since, during the past century of struggle, this demand was voiced time and again from the forums of the Congress and by many prominent Congress leaders. The Constitution enjoins on us that we must separate the Judiciary from the Executive. . . . Then what happened? In all these twelve years except in Madras and Bombay, nowhere has this separation been effected. . . . There has been complete neglect of this matter."

## Nationalisation Of Coalmines

Bhupesh Gupta's non-official resolution in Rajya Sabha on the nationalisation of coalmines was an occasion to test the Gov-

# SCRAP-BOOK

## SOUVENIR SKELETON

THE Bangalore session of the Congress is going to be not only the most expensive but also the most scandalous of that party's far from scandal-free history.

We had mentioned some months ago about Congress intrusion into flats meant for the employees of the Hindustan Aircraft Limited, to say nothing of holding a party meeting in a "politics prohibited" area.

Now comes news of what will go down as the Souvenir Skeleton in the Congress cupboard. This glossy collection of notings has always been a far from subtle form of getting businessmen to donate through advertisements.

But now the organisers have become a bit bolder. They have sent out a circular in which, it is said, open mention is made of the fact that the major part of the anticipated expenditure has to be met through the Souvenir which, incidentally, has value also for its weight in the paper market.

Then the most astonishing tariffs are announced—the lowest is Rs. 2,500 and the highest is Rs. 15,000! Even hardened Congress cash suppliers are said to have rubbed their eyes at these fantastic rates.

But the real racket comes right at the end. As if to explain away these sums the organisers state that ample recompense awaits all advertisers—all Indian Embassies are going to circulate the Souvenir!

## PLEASEING THE TATAS

THE National Council for Applied Economic Research is not resting on its laurels after having done a

good advertisement copy for the Managing Agents. It should be remembered that all the credit should not go to them—the Government of India had its thumb in this pie also. Where the Centre takes the lead, the State Ministries can scarcely lag behind. The Bihar State Government had asked them to make a survey of the State. It is reported that Jehangir Ghandy of the Tata group, whose idea thought it a good idea, told his cronies in the Bihar Government and the National Council netted the job.

They have not only done a survey but also submitted a plan for the State, whose authorities have been only too thankful to take it up. Their propensity for acceptance gets enormous every time they get the whiff of the Tatas behind any proposal.

Jehangir Ghandy's initiative, the National Council's labour and the Bihar Government's alacrity were all explained when Chief Minister Srikrishna Sinha delivered a masterly address recently at the annual meeting of the Bihar Chamber of Commerce. After pleasantness he made the big announcement—55 per cent of Bihar's industrial investment funds will be channelled to the private sector. And private sector in Bihar means very little beyond Tatas and its stooges!

## "FREE"—FOR WHAT?

A GLARING instance of an alleged violation of the Companies Act has been brought to our notice.

Bengal Steel Corporation merged some years ago with the Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd. Prior to the merger, the latter company owned some shares in the former. After the merger, these shares were exchanged for the shares of the Indian Iron and Steel Coy.

Now the Companies Act is said to prohibit a company holding its own shares, so these shares were transferred to a company called Dalhousie Holdings Ltd.

The rub comes in the agreement between Indian Iron & Steel and Dalhousie

Holdings. For five years Dalhousie was to hold the shares without any payment, but all dividends, etc., received on them were to be transferred to Indian Iron & Steel. Further, the latter's permission had to be obtained if the shares were to be sold. A curious sale to say the least! But the agreement is alleged to have been duly renewed in December 1957 for another five years.

We can scarcely believe that the Free Enterprisers are so free of respect for Government action, to say nothing of ethics, morals and the law. We would recommend, however, that the Company Law Administration makes a probe, if only to clear the name of Indian Iron & Steel.

## AICC OFFICE IN TURMOIL

THE AICC Office at Jan- tar Mantar Road is in a state of turmoil with Sadu All manifesting an undue amount of nervousness. Some of the AICC staff and leaders were said to have been a trifle too outspoken in their propaganda against Sanjeeva Reddy. They liked his politics, but they feared the man—he has a reputation for ruthlessness in appointing only yes-men and straight scyophants.

Now many in the AICC office would quite measure up to his requirements, but they lack historical convictions with the Andhra strongman. Somebody easy-going like Hanumanthayya would have been far preferable.

Indira Behn had been completely non-interfering. Both her politics and her personnel she left to Dhebarbhal. The President-designate may be of sterner stuff—he may not like to be a cypher.

What is adding to the worry is that nobody knows who has recanted and expressed loyalty to Sanjeeva Garu. Any amount of private correspondence is said to be going on. Our suggestion—let a joint signature campaign be immediately organised.

—ONLOOKER  
December 2, 1959

ernment's readiness to act boldly in the national interests. In the event, the Government was more interested in upholding the Swatantra ideology than in conserving our national resources and so the resolution was steamrollered.

In a well-argued speech, padded by telling quotations from various authorities, Bhupesh Gupta presented a fool-proof case in favour of nationalisation of the coal industry. The slogan of nationalisation of coal mines is not a Communist Party slogan, not an ideological issue. It was argued before the Coal Mining Committee which went into the question as early as 1937. The Coalfields Committee of 1946 again asserted that "it is too late in the day to question theoretically the justification for State ownership and operation. Such ownership and operation may become essential at a further date." Then the National Planning Committee of which

the Prime Minister was Chairman, also advocated nationalisation.

In recent years, the Estimates Committee in 1955, suggested that "taking all these factors into consideration, the Committee have come to the conclusion that in the long run nationalisation of the coal industry is essential in the interest of industrial development."

The dangers of keeping the coal industry in private hands were pointed out by no less an authority than the Coal Commissioner: "If nationalisation is postponed by 25 years and the industry is given a free hand, there will be little left at the end of the period for the country to take over. We will be left with a number of units, which, if not affected by underground fires and other hazardous conditions, would be uneconomic to work."

The INTUC-affiliated Indian

National Mine Workers' Federation has also demanded nationalisation. Nor is nationalised coal-mining a peculiarity of Socialist economies: Britain, France, Italy, etc., have all nationalised their coal industry.

Then the industry is controlled by a small but powerful group of managing agents thus presenting a picture of monopolistic control. The profits are high. But maintenance, conservation, etc., are neglected. They depend on the resources of the State to operate, expand and conserve. Accident rates are high. Production targets are not reached. Thus we get a picture of the industry in utter chaos. "The coal trade in India has been run like a race in which profit always comes first, safety a poor second, sound methods about the First Five-Year Plan. Even in the Second Five-Year Plan prepared in the light of the First Plan, the lot of Kerala was not different.

—K. P. S. HENON

# KERALA AND THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

## Communists Demand: Remove Injustices Done During Second Plan

The text of the resolution on Kerala and the Third Plan adopted by the Fifth Kerala State Conference of the Communist Party held at Trichur:

THE representatives of the Kerala Government are holding discussions with the Planning Commission on the Third Five-Year Plan from November 28 to 29. While all the other States have their elected Governments to press their claims, it is a matter of great concern that Kerala is being represented only by officials in these discussions which are so crucial to the future of our State. The Conference wishes to point out that there was a similar situation when the Second Five-Year Plan was formulated and firmly believes that this was one of the major reasons for Kerala being denied the consideration it deserved in the Second Plan.

The Conference wishes to remind the people that it was because of the unjust and undemocratic action of the Central Government in dismissing the elected Kerala State Government that this unfortunate situation has been created. The Conference demands that the Planning Commission should directly invite the various political parties in the State for discussions on the Plan and that the State's Plan should be given final form only after consulting the State Government to be formed after the coming elections, so that the evil effects of the present situation may be remedied to some extent at least. The Kerala Government hopes that all the political parties in Kerala, irrespective of difference of opinion on other points, will untidely press for this before the Central Government.

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## Neglected In The Past

It is generally said that Kerala is a problem State. There is no dispute that Kerala is, among various States in India, the most deficit in food, most densely populated and has the largest unemployment. Comparatively Kerala State is industrially backward. At the same time it cannot be forgotten that this State earns not less than Rs. 50 crores for the foreign exchange pool of India every year. Because of all these reasons, Kerala is a State that deserves special consideration by the Central Government, but was continuously neglected. That was the experience of Kerala during the First and Second Five-Year Plans. Nothing special need be said about the First Five-Year Plan. Even in the Second Five-Year Plan prepared in the light of the First Plan, the lot of Kerala was not different.

## Least Help From Centre

Kerala had to suffer another injustice in the matter of planning, apart from Central schemes. Difficult conditions are imposed upon Kerala in the matter of financing State projects. The Centre's share in financing State schemes has been the least so far as Kerala is concerned. Orissa gets 90 per cent; Madhya Pradesh 75 per cent; Rajasthan 74 per cent; Punjab 71 per cent; Assam 70 per cent; Andhra 67 per cent; Mysore 66 per cent; Bihar 70 per cent; U.P. 55 per cent; West Bengal 54 per cent; Kerala 45 per cent and Bombay 41 per cent from the Centre, for financing State projects.

It is clear from this that Kerala gets the least help from the Centre except for Bombay. This means that while other States are favoured with liberal aid from the Centre, Kerala has to rely upon its own resources for the prosecution of its developmental plans.

Kerala State was allotted only Rs. 87 crores out of Rs.

4,800 crores for State and Central Plans in the public sector. This was far less than what Kerala deserved whether on the basis of population or by any other standard.

## No Major Project

Kerala did not get even one major project sponsored by the Centre and distributed to various parts of the country. When other States were given such major schemes like Bhilai, Rourkela, Durgapur, Nangal, Sindri, Chittaranjan, Neiveli, Integral Coach Factory, Hindustan Shipyard, what was allotted to Kerala was just a small D.D.T. Factory. The heavy electric goods factory, which it was rumoured would be established in Kerala during the Second Five-Year Plan period, was later established elsewhere. Further, only a very small amount was allocated for improvement of the Cochin harbour which is one of the major ports in India. No beginning has been made on the several small projects included in the Second Plan and sponsored by the Centre in Kerala.

The resolution pointed out that according to Government of India statistics, 735 lakhs tons of foodgrains was available in the country last year. According to these statistics, every person in the country should get more than 16 oz. of foodgrains every day and still there should have been a surplus. But the resolution said that this rise on paper, however, did not find a corresponding expression in the actual life of the people. The resolution pointed out how big mass struggles had been fought in West Bengal, U.P. and other States which brought out the acuteness of the food crisis in our country. The situation today in Kerala is not different.

## Side by side with the rise in prices of foodgrains, prices of other articles of daily necessities have also gone up very much. While there is nearly a 20 per cent rise in the price of rice, for other articles the average rise is from 50 to 100 per cent. The resolution quoting the market reports said that the price of rice in June was Rs. 45 a bag which rose to Rs. 48.50 in October. Sugar price rose from Re. 0.52 nP to Rs. 1.12.

The resolution, while giving figures of rise in prices for mustard, tamarind, etc., pointed out that the average exceeds 100 per cent. At the same time the rise in prices of Kerala's cash crops like coconut oil, oil cakes, tapioca, etc., is comparatively insignificant. Kerala produce like pepper and lemon grass oil exported to the foreign market did not fetch any significant price-increase. The slight increase noticed recently for rubber and lemon grass is, however, only a temporary phenomenon.

As a result of this increase in prices, the life of the working people in Kerala is becoming more and more difficult. It has seriously affected the economic structure of our State.

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The resolution recalled how the Congress leaders in Kerala used to accuse the Communist Government for the State's food difficulty while the fact was that the Central Government was not regularly supplying rice to Kerala to meet her yearly deficit of seven lakh tons. The Congress leaders promised that the removal of the Communist Government from office would help Kerala to solve her food crisis

The experience of the Second Five-Year Plan will clearly show that Kerala has exerted its utmost in tapping its resources. Out of the total amount of Rs. 87 crores necessary for the Second Plan in Kerala State, the State has to raise Rs. 47 crores according to preliminary estimates. The progress up to date has shown clearly that there would be

In the light of these facts, the Conference supports the recommendation of the State Planning Board that the State should be allocated Rs. 250 crores for State Plans and requests the Planning Commission and the Central Government to approve of the same. The Conference firmly opines that the Plan scheme

no difficulty in that respect. If the Centre's contribution were 75 per cent or 66-2/3 per cent instead of the Kerala State having to find 47 per cent or 45 per cent, the State could have fulfilled schemes worth Rs. 188 crores or Rs. 141 crores, with the present resources raised by the State.

It deserves on the basis of population. The Conference further appeals to the Central Government to take special care to give technical assistance for formulating big industrial projects to exploit to the utmost such natural resources of Kerala as fishing, forest, mineral sands, water power, etc.

The resolution adopted by the Fifth Kerala State Conference of the Communist Party has decided to launch an agitation against rising food prices and to mobilise all sections of the people to win the demands it has formulated.

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## Resolutions adopted by the Kerala State Conference of the Communist Party

# Food : Mass Movement Planned Against Rising Prices

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and bring down prices. But after the dismissal of the Government, prices have continued to rise. The Conference expressed its emphatic protest against the failure of the President's administration to take concrete measures to bring down prices as promised by the leaders of the ruling party, when they were agitating against the Communist Government.

## Win These Demands

Under these circumstances, the Conference resolved to launch an agitation mobilising all sections of the people to achieve the following demands:

## Centre Responsible

The resolution said that the responsibility for such a deteriorating situation in Kerala's food and price position should be squarely placed on the bankrupt food policy of the Government of India.

The resolution recalled how the Congress leaders in Kerala used to accuse the Communist Government for the State's food difficulty while the fact was that the Central Government was not regularly supplying rice to Kerala to meet her yearly deficit of seven lakh tons. The Congress leaders promised that the removal of the Communist Government from office would help Kerala to solve her food crisis

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● The publication of the total allotment made by the Central Government to meet Kerala's seven-lakh ton food deficit and the actual demand.

● Convening of a food conference with members of the present Food Advisory Committee, representatives of political parties, industrialists, traders, Kisan Sabhas and trade unions and other mass organisations to discuss Kerala's food problem and to suggest measures to prevent rise in prices and to organise proper distribution.

● Strengthening the work of the fair price shops in order to distribute for every family at least two edangazhis every week.

● Revitalising the work of the District-Taluk Food Advisory Councils, and village-ward Vigilance Committees.

● Purchase of rice from the surplus regions of Kerala, such as Kuttanad and certain areas of Palghat during the harvesting season, giving fair price to agriculturists.

● Distribution of sugar through fair price shops.

The Conference called on all its units to organise a widespread movement in order to win these demands.



# PUNJAB AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' CONFERENCE

The three-day sixth annual session of the Punjab Dehati Mazdoor Sabha (Agricultural Workers' Union) concluded on November 22 with a two-thousand strong procession and a rally of eight thousand in the evening. The procession in whose ranks were many women, went through the streets of village Khanpur, venue of the session, nine miles off Chandigarh, and then proceeded to parade the streets of Kharar, the tehsil headquarters a mile away returning to the conference pandal at about 2-00 p.m.

**P. KODIYAN, M. P.** from Kerala, addressed both the delegates' session in the morning and the open rally at night. He said: "I pay tribute to the brave agricultural workers of the Punjab who have made great sacrifices in the food and anti-betterment levy movements. Your membership has increased to 47,000. That is very good but is still inadequate. The organisation of agricultural workers must spread to every nook and corner of the State".

## Organisation—Only Guarantee

"Organisation is the only guarantee that you will win your demands for land, food, fair wages and employment," continued Kodyan. Illustrating his point from his own experience of Kerala, he said that even under the Communist Ministry minimum wages fixed by the Government could be implemented only where agricultural workers were well-organised. He exhorted the agricultural workers to win the sympathy and support of other sections of the masses, the peasantry in particular, in their struggle for better life.

He spoke in the same strain in the open rally and laid special emphasis on the unity of agricultural workers and peasants against the loot of the landlord and moneylender and the burdens of ever-mounting taxation.

Thousands of agricultural workers and peasants witnessed the cultural shows arranged in the nights of November 21 and 22.

The Kisan Sabha had sent a special delegation consisting of Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, General Secretary, and Shamsheer Singh Josh. Lyallpuri conveyed warm greetings from the Kisan Sabha to the delegates assembled at the Dehati Mazdoor Sabha conference and promised full support to the decisions of their session. The State Trade Union Congress, too, was simultaneously holding its session on the same dates at Phagwara. A telegraphic message of warm greetings was sent by the Dehati Mazdoor Sabha to the Trade Union session on the 21st and the latter responded with a telegraphic message of solidarity in return.

Khanpur, where the session was held, is not a very big village, but the agricultural workers and peasants were united in making commendable arrangements for the session. It is the village of Mehar Singh, Vice-President of the District Dehati Mazdoor Sabha, who has been sarchpanch of the village panchayat for a number of years, though a harijan, despite the fact that big allottees like

tract loans at excessively heavy rates of interest, the price of wheat inclusive of interest, etc., rising up to Rs. 50 per maund in some cases.

Besides the food struggle, the agricultural workers participated also in the anti-betterment levy satyagraha in solidarity with the peasants, 866 of them going to jail.

Thus for the first time in the history of the democratic movement in the State, 1,800 agricultural workers courted imprisonment in a common cause. Three of them—Sikka Singh, Vien Pun, Bibi Bachni of Atiana, and Basant Kaur of Narur—laid down their lives in these struggles, the last two falling victims to wanton firing by the police.

## Notable Achievements

The Sabha movement had some notable achievements to its credit.

● It had been agitating for a number of years for grant of ownership rights

pointed by the State Government had made certain progressive recommendations which conceded a number of the Sabha's demands. The Executive of the Sabha had submitted a memorandum to the Committee.

The Committee has unanimously reported that the minimum wage schedules already fixed by the Punjab Government in 1951 and by the erstwhile PEFPU Government in 1953 had remained a dead letter. The Committee, therefore, recommended that a strict enforcement machinery be set up—Special Inspectors to be appointed under the Labour Department to enforce minimum wages in agriculture, special attention be devoted to such enforcement to begin with in farms of 30 standard acres and above, tripartite committees be set up in the thana areas to secure implementation of minimum wages through persuasive methods, panchayats be legally authorised to hear wage disputes where agricultural workers prefer to file a suit with them, etc.

The Committee recommended the upward revision of minimum wages ranging between

end, the report exhorted units and workers of the Sabha to devote increasing attention to constructive activities in rural life and to fight social evils like untouchability, use of intoxicants, gambling, litigation and extravagance.

Animated discussions took place on the report, 21 delegates from the districts participating. This discussion helped pool State-wide experience and create a sense of unity of the movement and common outlook.

## Important Resolutions

The entire day of November 21 was devoted to discussion of many important resolutions on the land problem, minimum wages, food, evacuee houses, Third Five-Year Plan, new Panchayat and Zilla Parishad Bill, abolition of Octroi duty, greetings to agricultural workers of Maharashtra struggling for land, India-China border dispute and the Summit Conference. About 50 delegates moved amendments to the various resolutions and took part in the discussions. A number of amendments were accepted by the Steering Committee.

● The resolution on land, while welcoming on the one hand the reiteration by the Nagpur Congress Session of the application of ceiling to landholdings and passage of laws on the subject in all States within the year 1959, opposed the handing over of surplus lands to the panchayats.

It demanded distribution of these lands among agricultural workers and poor peasants. Such distribution of land alone could pave the way to the success of the experiment of cooperative farming. Otherwise agricultural workers would merely remain wage-earners in so-called cooperative farms of landowners.

The resolution reiterated the Sabha demand for a ceiling of 20 standard acres on a family holding without any exemption for well-run farms and orchards. But taking a realistic attitude vis-a-vis the stage of the movement, the resolution put forward the immediate demand for declaration of surplus lands even under the defective Punjab and PEFPU Acts and settlement of evicted tenants, agricultural workers and poor peasants thereon forthwith. The session did not deem it appropriate in the immediate interest of the movement to merely repeat basic slogans.

The resolution further demanded the lease for a long period to agricultural workers and poor peasants of all cultivable lands of Government, Nazul lands, reserve evacuee lands, Deh Shamlat lands and waste lands of landlords taken over under the Land Utilisation Act.

In a special resolution, the session greeted the valiant agricultural workers of Maharashtra who are waging a heroic struggle for land and had courted imprisonment in thousands. It urged the Bombay Government to stop repression, release all those arrested

\* SEE FACING PAGE

# DELHI CORPORATION

Belying hopes raised when it was formed, Congress-Jan Sangh partisan politics create frustrating situation

★ by PREM SAGAR GUPTA  
(Leader of Communist Group in Delhi Corporation)

Nearly 20 months have passed since the Delhi Municipal Corporation came into existence in April 1958. Born as a result of the years-old demand for a unified civic administration in Delhi, the establishment of the Corporation had given rise to high hopes amongst the people generally, many of whom were openly jubilant. Inefficiency, nepotism, corruption, improper interference by elected members in the day-to-day administration, use of official positions for personal ends by elected members, etc., associated with the erstwhile local bodies, were no memories of the past but bitter experiences that formed the understanding of the common man in the city.

The confusion that prevails as a result of multiplicity of authorities had prevented the proper and successful tackling of civic problems. It was, therefore, but natural for the people to feel happy at the establishment of this biggest experiment engulfing in its fold not only major parts of the urban areas of this Capital city but also the entire rural areas. Not only the people, the Government of India was also keen to see that this Corporation succeeded in changing the face of the Capital of India and consequently lent to the Corporation services of some of the honest and experienced officers necessary for a new set-up.

Hopes and expectations of the people have, however, given way to feelings of dismay and despair. Feelings of dissatisfaction and sometimes even disgust are being expressed with the manner in which affairs of this local authority are being generally conducted. For the moment it looks as if the process has already begun for this Corporation to become a failure and it has, therefore, become the concern of everybody in the

city to analyse as to what is wrong and where. The Corporation right from its inception faced herculean tasks if it were to succeed in its laudable objectives of—

Improving the standard of civic amenities where these exist, providing services in large areas where these do not exist;

Improving the conditions of living in the dark and dingy Khatras of the city, and huge outlying areas where slums of the worst conceivable type had grown during the previous few years;

Checking adulteration and assuring the people of supply of pure foodstuffs;

Opening new schools and improving the standard of education;

Improving conditions in the host of Government and private rehabilitation colonies, improving living conditions in about 325 agricultural villages;

Solving the problems of unauthorised construction and formulating and implementing plans of development undertaking large-scale housing

construction for slum dwellers and others;

Removing various types of casual, temporary and permanent encroachments on public streets and providing alternative accommodation to thousands of people likely to be displaced;

Augmenting supplies and distribution of pure filtered water;

Providing cheap and efficient transport service for the entire city;

Augmenting generation and supply of electricity for domestic and commercial use besides laying down the basis for an efficient administration by regulating and improving service conditions of about 15,000 municipal employees, etc.

These tasks were really difficult to handle in such a short period, particularly because the Corporation had inherited the legacies of the then existing local authorities, with inadequate finances and bad administrative traditions. It could, therefore, not be expected to do anything wonderful in such a short time. Attempts have already been made in certain directions: a number of new primary schools have been opened, tent schools have been replaced by buildings, the strength of the conservancy staff has been increased, programmes have been formulated for widening and improving certain main roads, the work of

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# Agricultural Workers' Demands

\* FROM FACING PAGE

rested and concede their just demand for land.

● The second most important resolution on minimum wages urged the State Government to accept the recommendations of the Minimum Wage Committee for agriculture and set up an appropriate enforcement machinery to implement revised schedule of minimum rates. At the same time the Sabha reserved the right to agitate for demands it had put forward in its memorandum, in particular the demand for a minimum wage of Rs. 75 per month in Government and big capitalist farms exempted under the Ceiling Act on the ground of being classed as A & B class farms with higher yields.

● Though the food situation at the moment appears to be less acute than in the corresponding period last year, it may worsen in January and February as happened last year. Mid-winter months are the period of serious hardship to agricultural workers, especially the attached workers who get their wages in kind with the coming of the harvest in April-May.

The resolution on food, therefore, demanded the opening of cheap grain depots and of grain banks to these advance loans to these without purchasing power. A ceiling of Rs. 16 per maund was demanded on the sale price of wheat in the retail market. The resolution asked the Government to have in hand at least three lakh tons of food-grains for distribution through depots in the coming months. At the same time the resolution demanded that the prices of sugar and other essential commodities be brought down.

The resolution on evacuee houses expressed satisfaction that the Government had at long last conceded the demand for grant of ownership rights to the displaced harijans, kamins, etc., on payment of Rs. 20 per house. It was regretted, however, that the revenue authorities were not seriously implementing the instructions. Strong action was recommended against officials showing negligence in the discharge of their duties. The Sabha workers were also instructed to make it their foremost job in the coming few months to help displaced poor persons get ownership rights.

It was also demanded that ownership rights be given to the local harijans and kamins who were in occupation of evacuee houses, provided there was no displaced person to be accommodated.

## Proposal For Third Plan

● The session was meeting at a time when talk of the Third Five-Year Plan was very much in the air. Only some weeks earlier, the AICC had met at Chandigarh and discussed its Planning Subcommittee's draft of the Third Plan.

The resolution adopted by the session took note of the fact that during the Second Plan period rural unemployment had increased and the wage of agricultural workers had lagged behind the rise in prices of food and other necessities of life. Large-scale evictions of tenants and further ruin of cottage industry had added to the number of the rural proletariat. Urban industries too had not expanded adequately to absorb

a substantial number of the rural unemployed.

The Sabha had sent a memorandum to the Planning Commission in 1955 when the draft of the Second Plan was under discussion. Constructive proposals had been made there for solution of the problems of land, food, indebtedness, cottage industry and employment, but scant attention had been paid by the Planners to those suggestions.

The resolution, therefore, demanded that the Government reorientate its policies in the Third Plan. A nine-point charter of demands was embodied in the resolution:

1. Completion of agrarian reforms so as to apply ceiling at 20 standard acres and grant land to agricultural workers and poor peasants.

2. With the twin objectives of development of agriculture and provision of employment to rural poor, undertake large-scale reclamation of water-logged lands, culturable waste lands, anti-flood measures, construction of small irrigation dams to hold flood water and provide irrigation to the choe-ravaged tracts of Hoshiarpur and Ambala and other rural projects for development of backward and hilly regions of the State.

3. Implementation of better minimum wage rates for agricultural workers.

4. Special measures for protection and development of cottage industry such as allocation of adequate funds for grants and loans, provision of cheap raw material and marketing facilities, concession in taxation and transport facilities, introduction of better tools and greater facilities for technical training.

5. Special steps to liquidate indebtedness and provide cheap credit, especially to set

up grain banks as protection against extortionate grain usury.

6. Funds for welfare schemes for Scheduled Castes and backward classes be at least doubled with emphasis on economic uplift. Provision be made for free legal aid to the poor and free midday meals to poor school children.

7. On the basis of further development of heavy industry in the public sector, industrialisation of the country be rapidly promoted through simultaneous development of small-scale, medium and large-scale industries with a view to expanding employment opportunities and making available cheap and abundant consumer goods to the people.

8. Social services like education, sanitation, provision of clean drinking water, better housing, medical aid and communications be rapidly extended.

9. Special funds be allocated to provide for relief to the aged and infirm, orphans, widows and unemployed persons without any support.

## Panchayat Reform

● Another important resolution made recommendations to the State Government to incorporate democratic provisions in the proposed Panchayat and Zilla Parishad Bill which is to be placed before the State Assembly in the session beginning on December 14.

It demanded that reservation of seats be provided for harijans, sarpanches be elected by direct vote of electors, only electors be entitled to recall their representatives or dismiss the panchayats, 50 per cent of land revenue be earmarked for panchayat funds, and elections to Block Committees and Zilla Parishads be made by direct vote of adult electors.

● Resolutions were passed demanding a Nehru-Chou meeting at an early date to

settle the border dispute, convening of a Summit Conference to settle peacefully all outstanding disputes, extension of the period of reservation of seats in Parliament and Assemblies for Scheduled Castes and Tribes by another ten years, settlement of betterment levy issue to the satisfaction of the peasantry and return of the fines, withdrawal of the police chowky at village Bhatnal and condemning the cancellation of the permission granted for use of the Phagwara Town Hall for the annual session of the Punjab and Himachal Trade Union Congress just at the eleventh hour.

● The latest Tripartite Labour Conference had agreed that monthly membership fee to be realised for a member of a registered trade union should be four annas per month. A resolution was passed requesting the Central Government not to apply this condition in the case of unions of agricultural labour, for it would militate against organisation of this most unorganised section of rural workers. They are unemployed for six months in the year and their wages are too meagre for their own subsistence. It was decided to apprise the various trade union centres of the hardship that this will cause to agricultural workers, making it impossible for them to get their unions registered.

Election of new office-bearers and a Working Committee of 25 was held in the morning of November 22. Darshan Singh Jhabal and Pt. Bakshi Ram were re-elected. President and General Secretary unanimously for the ensuing year.

The session came to a close on a note of vigorous confidence and pledge to work more enthusiastically and raise the strength of the Sabha membership to 70,000 by the seventh annual session invited to be held in Ferozpur District in 1960.

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# Review Of Struggles And Victories

## Call For Unity And Mobilisation To Face Tasks Ahead

which agricultural workers played a prominent role by participation in demonstrations, dharnas, hunger-marches and hunger-strikes. Of the over 1,700 volunteers who went to jail in the satyagraha morcha, 836 were agricultural workers. In a number of cases, as concretely cited in the report, they went to jail as entire families—husband, wife and children—inspiring examples of heroism and sacrifice.

## Concessions Won

It was as a result of this movement that the adamant Punjab Government which as late as January 30, 1959, had refused point-blank to open cheap grain depots in the rural areas, was a little later compelled to start 871 such depots in the villages. Their number was, however, too inadequate to meet the requirements of rural poor spread over 22,000 villages. Moreover distribution of atta was defective and marred by corruption.

The Sabha's demand for grain banks to advance food loans to the poor at cheap rates of interest was not conceded, with the result that agricultural workers devoid of any ready cash had to con-

over evacuee houses to the displaced rural poor without land. This demand has been conceded by the Government. The Rehabilitation Department had issued a circular letter to all the Deputy Commissioners in March last to the effect that all displaced harijans, kamins, landless tenants and persons belonging to backward classes who had been in occupation of evacuee houses by December 31, 1958, and had property or claim to property anywhere in the country should be granted right of ownership over the evacuee houses in their possession on payment of Rs. 20 per house, provided that its value did not exceed Rs. 1,000.

The report regretted, however, that the circular letter was not being implemented faithfully by the Tehsildars who in some places had even pleaded ignorance of the Government instructions. The Government was urged to secure strict implementation of its orders and to pull up the delinquent officials. The workers and units of the Sabha were exhorted to exert their utmost to secure the gain of the movement in practice for the displaced poor.

● Dealing with the question of wages, the report expressed gratification at the fact that the 12-member Mi-

nimum Wage Committee appointed 12-112 per cent to 33-113 per cent. Minimum wage for certain operation as ploughing, embankment, sowing and manuring has been fixed at Rs. two plus food or Rs. 2.50 per day in the plains. The State has been divided into two regions, hills and plains, instead of three as at present, for fixing minimum rates. The yearly wage for attached worker has been raised to Rs. 400 plus food in the plains instead of Rs. 360 in the Jullundur Division and Rs. 300 in the erstwhile PEFPU and Ambala Division.

The Sabha demand for a wage of Rs. 60 plus food per month in Government and bigger capitalist farms has been rejected, however, on legal-technical grounds. Though these recommendations are defective in some respects, the Government has been urged to accept and implement them forthwith.

## Constructive Activities

Drawing valuable lessons from the movement of last year, the report once more stressed the need for unity of agricultural workers and peasants in the common agrarian movement. At the



# LOK SABHA DEBATES INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

## Prime Minister's Vigorous Defence Of Basic Policies Of Peace And Friendship

### INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

#### BUSINESSMEN DISCUSS THIRD PLAN

**T**HE Seminar on Planning of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) could serve a really useful function if it had pre-supposed acceptance by the businessmen of the basic principles underlying India's economic development. As it is, this acceptance being absent or at best only formal, all that its deliberations have succeeded in conveying is the distance between the nationally accepted Plan objectives and the ends which the leaders of our trade and industry have in view.

The Seminar had been preceded by two outlines of the Plan—one submitted by the FICCI and the other by the Employers' Association of Calcutta. Obviously, it was on the basis of these two documents that the discussions at the Seminar were conducted. Besides these there were three luncheon meetings addressed by an American economist, Prof. Millikan, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan and G. L. Mehta.

The main theme of these documents being apathy towards the growth of a public sector, the Seminar, too, was mainly concerned with finding props to buttress this viewpoint. Significantly, it could not think of any new point to build its case. This does not mean, however, that the Seminar's labour was entirely wasted. It did help to contrive a new terminology to convey the same sense.

G. L. Mehta's concept of "Guided Economy", for example, could very well win the palm as the last word in ingenuity, since sounding like President Soekarno's "guided democracy" it could be taken to mean acceptance of State's guidance of economic programmes. Sri Mehta, however, makes no bones about its real meaning since all that the term denotes to him is imposing of certain curbs and not any regimentation. Since even the U.S. economy is not completely unfettered there could be no sting hidden in his concept for the private sector.

Prof. Millikan, the U.S. economist, also, in talking about giving a "big push" to India's economic development at this stage, tried to pose as an advocate of "bold policies" to "harness untapped reserves of real resources." What he really meant, however, was revealed soon when he termed the idea of "concentrating on priorities as a problem of choice of alternatives" as out of date. In other words his "big push" meant giving incentives to the private sector to set up all sorts of industries, regardless of their worth or import for national development.

Dr. Lokanathan also began well with dubbing as

"pessimistic and wrong" the view of those who advocated a smaller Plan. In according priority to projects "with short gestation periods" and to those "whose foreign exchange components were low" he, too, however, revealed himself as a champion of industries which can be legitimately taken up by the private sector.

Hence, with all its leading lights advocating giving up of priorities the Seminar could not but end with a set of suggestions whose acceptance will mean end of all planning: It advocated "improvement in the internal economic climate" to raise resources for Plan of Rs. 10,000 crores. It held out the Federal Republic of Germany, where unfettered free enterprise has helped regenerate all the old trusts and cartels, as the model to be followed in "reorientating India's tax and other policies which at present adversely affect and retard the progress of the private sector."

In industrialisation—in line with the FICCI's outline which provided for allocating Rs. 3,000 crores to the private sector as against Rs. 1,000 crores to the public sector—it suggests adoption of a "pragmatic" approach, i.e. an approach which does not "preclude the private enterprise from entering into production in specific lines mainly on the ground that these were reserved for the public sector." Also for the view to obliterate all walls between the two sectors—in the matter of treatment at the hands of the authorities—it pleads for putting the two on the same footing in all respects.

All in all, therefore, what the seminar has revealed is the utter lack of sympathy among the sections of trade and industry for the objectives of the Plan. And yet, they have expressed themselves in favour of a Plan outlay of Rs. 10,000 crores for the Third Plan. Obviously, what they intend to achieve through it is the growth of industries under their aegis, and at the expense of the public sector.

The Finance Minister, while inaugurating the Seminar, called the business community an important limb of our economy. To the extent the tendency of this limb is to act independently of the discipline necessitated by the requirements of the situation the action of the body as a whole will suffer. The proper remedy is that case by case rather than allow it to act erratically and put the entire body in danger. Will the Government adopt this remedy by leaving the private sector in no doubt about the limited role, accorded to it in building socialism, or will it whet the FICCI's appetite for more incentives by yielding the way it did at the time of the last budget?

—ESSEN  
November 30, 1959

The keynote of the first day's session of the Lok Sabha debate on November 25 and 26 on the burning issue of India-China relations was the speech by the Prime Minister which was quite remarkable not only for reiteration of basic policies but was distinguished by a vigour of tone and militancy in defence of these basic policies which had come under fire not only from critics outside the Congress but equally from Right-wing elements within Jawaharlal Nehru's own party.

**R**IGHT at the start, the Prime Minister made it clear that behind any proposals the Government of India might make, lie certain basic approaches and basic principles: "Because we cannot act merely in a haphazard or spasmodic way, reacting to events that happen. Naturally we have to react to them, but that reaction has to be conditioned and controlled by the basic policies that we pursue and the objectives that we have."

#### No Military Alliances

The Prime Minister then went on to elaborate what exactly this basic policy and basic approach consisted in. He said: "We have stood for a policy of peace, for a policy of friendship with all nations even though we differ from them, for a policy of non-alignment with Power blocs and avoidance of military pacts and the like...."

"That policy was against cold war and the like because cold war necessarily leads in the direction of hot war and people came to realise that war of that type in the present age was a disaster which could not be even imagined and, therefore, steps must be taken to avoid it."

The Prime Minister then went on to deal vigorously with the proposals for abandonment of our national policy of Panchsheel and for turning to some form of military alliance with Western countries. This demand had been raised vociferously in the Press and in public meetings by very prominent personalities within the Congress and outside. Their plea had been that by following a policy of Panchsheel in the present situation, we would be left without any friends.

Rebutting this argument, the Prime Minister said: "Some Honourable Members sometimes talk of our not having any friends. At the same time their idea of friendship is some kind of iron chain that binds in a military alliance... it is possible, that iron chain breaks often enough. It is not a chain of friendship but a chain of compulsion of events. We do not want such chains to bind us. But we have the friendship of great nations and small, nations with whom we do not agree in many matters and yet we are friends."

"I say these five principles (Panchsheel) are right principles, inevitable principles, for right-thinking people, right-thinking individuals, all right-thinking world. If you move away from them, you move into a world of conflict, a world of conflict today is a world of doom."

While giving the background

to the present regrettable India-China tension, the Prime Minister, quoting a lot of recent history, rather unfortunately slurred over the impact of the Government of India's stand with regard to Tibet during the recent rebellion there. This omission naturally contributed to giving a somewhat wrong focus to the entire dispute.

Then the Prime Minister went on to attack China itself, albeit at the ideological level. "But in regard to China I feel that we have to deal with what might be called, a one-track mind, very much so.... What is more significant—I am not saying this as criticism, but as some kind of appraisal, right or

wrong—this is all a national trait which has existed for a considerable time past because China was a great Power, advanced and powerful country at various stages of history. It spread—and of course it spread by the normal imperialist methods—by war and conquest and built up a great empire repeatedly. Anyhow, very fairly early in history, they had a sense of greatness of the middle kingdom as they call themselves."

Then the Prime Minister went on to talk of the military problems posed by the border dispute and very briefly outlined the strategy that the Government was going to pursue in this sphere.

But, at the same time, the Prime Minister stated: "War is a dangerous policy. I shall avoid war, try to prevent it with every means in our power, because it is a bad thing, it is a dangerous thing. Sri Masani smiles because he evidently thinks differently, he likes war, or he may think that some of his friends from other countries will come and help if there is a war here...."

"Firmness and building up of strength does not mean doing so in a manner which may worsen a situation and which may shut all possible doors to a peaceful settlement.... So I have endeavoured in my reply to Premier Chou En-lai and in all my letters that I have sent to him to state our case with as much clarity as I could com-

mand, but always with a politeness, always with a view that I might help in solving this problem however difficult it might be...."

"Some people come to me and say why don't you eject everybody from Indian territory. Occasions may arise in war when one tries to do so. But, one does not do so except in war... in peace, one tries other means...."

And the Prime Minister very sharply spoke about the interrogation of the Indian policemen captured in Ladakh by the Chinese authorities.

The greatest excitement, however, came when he lashed out at the "odd amendments" and one coming from a "motley group with motley ideas." It seems that his barbed words went home and stung the PSP-Swatantra-Gananatra Parishad crowd to a fury.

However, in characteristic manner, the Prime Minister immediately afterwards went on to refer very disparagingly to

by  
**MOHIT SEN**

Plan, and this and that. That is the real strength of the defence."

The Prime Minister's speech also contained some very forthright condemnation of lightly attacking China and of going forward into a policy of war. He deprecated "drum-beating" and in general warned against the creation of "a bellicose, warlike

### Right Wing Veiled Its Attack But Target Was Obvious: Non-Alignment And Panch Sheel...

mentality—what is normally associated with Hitler or Nazism." He mentioned that where India's honour or its territorial integrity was concerned, there could be no doubt that India would assert herself, that nothing was more precious to our country than the protection of those sacred things. There could be no two opinions on the fact that this appeal to patriotism found deep response in the Lok Sabha.

#### War Is Dangerous

Building Industries

But far more significant was the reference to the building up of the industrial potential of our country, the need for discipline and so on—a theme to which he returned with greater vigour in his concluding speech.

"But apart from these border conflicts, real strength of an army or defence force, it is well known, is the industrial background of the country. If you think in terms of war, it is the industrial background that counts. If the last Great War was won by a certain group of nations, of course, many factors

counted, but it was the enormous industrial productive capacity that counted most. If some Powers today like the United States or the Soviet Union are very great Powers, superior Powers, it is because of the industrial and scientific progress that they have made...."

"The strength of defence is the development, the Five-Year

#### Right Wing On Defensive

After this, the floodgates really opened wide. Following the Prime Minister's strictures against the opponents of non-alignment, nobody thought it prudent to launch upon a frontal attack on this policy. It was more than odd to find Acharya Kripalani, Minoo Masani, Ma-

#### The Acharya's Performance

But a flanking attack was made and in the van were Acharya Kripalani and Minoo Masani. The former attempted rather feeble witticisms against what he termed a policy of "masterly inactivity" and used the odious word "appeasement" to describe the posture adopted by Nehru towards People's China. He followed this up with a call "to get military aid from any quarter" and added, for good measure, "No nation can afford to be so rigid and narrow in the interpretation of its international policy as to abandon the ideas of foreign military aid in a national emergency." To make his position absolutely clear, he made a quite sharp attack on Krishna Menon and heaped praise on Carappa, whose notorious views he "fully endorsed."

Minoo Masani's speech followed the expected pattern—not questioning non-alignment but suggesting a different type of implementation. What was new was the air of arrogance and insolence with which he attacked not only People's China and the Communist Party but the Prime Minister himself. He openly came out against negotiations in any form, since the Communist State was not to be trusted! When he was waxing eloquent about throwing out the Chinese forces, a member's remark "What about Azad Kashmir" neatly punctured his simulated passion.

#### Masani's Blue-Print

He ended his speech with a cold-blooded enunciation of reaction's blue-print: "The great mass of the people demand the appointment of a Defence Minister in whom the armed forces of the country have confidence. Secondly, the need is for the construction of roads and air-fields and the obtaining of equipment wherever it can be found.... The third is, if the Chinese do not withdraw in the next few weeks, the third and final step is the removal of all restraints on our armed forces."

The speeches of three Congress M.P.s—Kasliwal, Shushila Nayar and A. C. Guha—were remarkable for the venom against China and the Communist Party of India. Undeterred by the warning of the Prime Minister not to convert the India-China conflict into a party issue and to avoid irresponsible words, these three M.P.s vied with one another in doing exactly that. While Kasliwal talked of the "Yellow clouds on our horizon," Shushila Nayar tried to contrast the "cultural conquests" of India

with the "military conquests" of China.

She went on to make the following atrocious remarks: "The second point which is very necessary for the defence of our country is neutral or buffer States on our border. We have Nepal, we have Sikkim and Bhutan.... The buffer State of Tibet was a great asset to us."

A. C. Guha tried to raise a scare with mention of Chinese laundry shops and the prospect of a North Korea being enacted in West Bengal. Rather illogically he almost immediately declared: "I feel that Manasrover and Kailash are traditionally parts of India and they should be included within the Indian border"—hardly consistent with his professed love for peace.

D. S. Raju struck a rather healthier note. He stated: "I heartily support the

statement of our Prime Minister. I heartily agree with the basic policy he has been lately pursuing and which he will pursue in future also. So far as the resolution of this conflict is concerned, we must make every effort to resolve it peacefully.... The basic question, as has been pointed out by others, is our foreign policy. I feel that there is no necessity to effect any change in our foreign policy...."

"After all, we are two neighbouring countries and we cannot afford to be permanently in a hostile condition, because it may affect the progress of both the countries. There was no strife between these two great nations for over 2,000 years and there is no reason why there should be any quarrel on these incidents."

An equally sincere and anti-war speech was made by Joachim Alva. While critical of many measures adopted by

the Chinese, he reiterated firmly that the Chinese leaders "were very keen on a settlement of the Sino-Indian border trouble," and despite frequent interruptions, hit out at the Kripalani-Masani group's tactics of attacking the Prime Minister through Krishna Menon. It was good to hear him rebuke the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Lakshmi Menon, for smiling at his remarks praising Nehru.

An extremely significant speech was made on the second day of the debate by Asoka Mehta. Following Kripalani's lead, he tried to make out that the non-alignment policy was above controversy. "It is the natural and inescapable policy of India. It is widely accepted in the country. Today, the super-Powers would be embarr-

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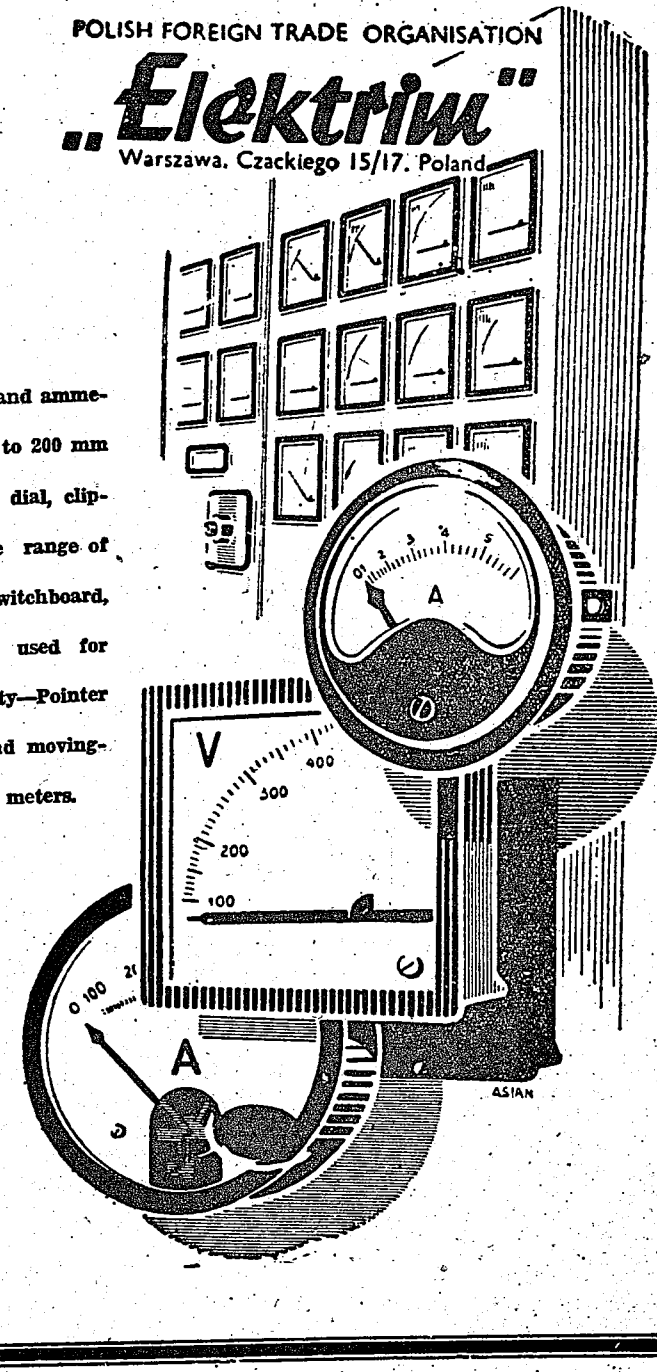
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# Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

## On Eve Of Seventh Congress

**T**HE Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has issued a set of documents highlighting the points to be discussed at the Party Congress which opens on November 30. This will be the Seventh Congress—this figure emphasises the revolutionary tradition in the Hungarian working-class movement and the fact that the Socialist Workers' Party is the heir to the Communist Party and to the Working People's Party which emerged from the fusing of the Communist and Social Democratic parties.

### Important Lessons

The previous Congress was held in 1954. This means that the Central Committee's report will cover a lengthy period, including the difficult days of the counter-revolutionary putsch. Naturally, not only the immediate causes of the counter-revolution but also matters relating to the preceding years will be discussed. The documents, therefore, sum up the important lessons of the fourteen years since the Liberation, and analyse the outstanding events in the life of the Party.

Notwithstanding the grave errors committed during 1949-56, the years of People's Democratic development were years of remarkable democratic and Socialist gains made under the leadership of the Party. But beginning with 1949 the Rakosi cult developed in the Party. Vested with power, Rakosi, who had a record of fine service on behalf of the people, together with his immediate associates, began to drift away from the Leninist standards of Party life. Turning a blind eye to law and distorting the line of the Party, they gravely injured the cause of Socialism. After 1953, the Imre Nagy revisionist group, cashing in on the Party's exposure of the mistakes, proclaimed the slogan of righting the wrongs. In an attempt to break up the Party the Nagy group sided with the class enemy and resorted to outright treachery.

### Why Counter-Revolution

In December 1956 the Central Committee gave a clear explanation of the reasons for the counter-revolution. This explanation is included in the theses for the Seventh Congress: "... The counter-revolution was generated by four closely interwoven factors—the mistakes made by the previous sectarian leadership of the Working People's Party, the treachery of the Imre Nagy revisionist group, the internal counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie and, above all, international imperialism."

The lessons of suppressing the counter-revolution and the experience acquired in the subsequent years of Socialist consolidation posed a series of questions which are of paramount importance for the successful building of Socialism, above all the question of the leading role of the Party. Under the difficult conditions of the all-out revisionist attacks the Party upheld the undeniable Marxist truth that unless the Party plays the leading role there can be no Socialist construction.

### Effective Leading Role

But to uphold this principle was not enough, it was likewise necessary thoroughly to analyse how this role should be carried out. Although the membership is now less than it was before the counter-revolution, the leading role of the Party has become more effective. The staunch and reliable members rallied around the Party during the struggle against the counter-revolution, while the careerists and other hostile elements were ejected. Gone too are several hundred thousand working people who for one reason or another showed indecision and lack of confidence, but who still support the aims of the Party. And, though their sympathy and support are appreciated, the Party nevertheless has become ideologically stronger as a result of shedding them.

## News from brother parties

The forthcoming Congress will discuss what should be done to enhance the leading role of the Party, how the reduction in membership has affected its methods of work, new forms of work, the relationship between the Party and the mass organisations, and how to enhance the role of these organisations.

### Ideological Unity

The past few years have yielded ample confirmation of the significance of political and organisational unity and, above all, of ideological unity. At one time this unity was disrupted by the counter-revolution and revisionist trends then current in the Party. The rebuilding of the Party and the suppression of the counter-revolution were part and parcel of the struggle against these two trends. Both the counter-revolution and the struggle waged in the subsequent years demonstrated that the main danger came from revisionism which, as we all know, has taken final shape in the views of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist League.

The struggle against deviations is still an important ideological task—sectarianism and revisionism still have roots in the Party. Erroneous trends are tenacious, they hang on and flare up at times. Consequently the Party regards ideological struggle on the two fronts as a task of both the preparatory work and of the Congress.

### Party And The Masses

The defeat of the counter-revolution and the progress made in recent years—a progress greater than might have been expected—testify to the significance of one of the most important features of the Party—faith in the masses and in their loyalty to Socialism. No matter what the difficulties were, the Party frankly and openly appealed to the people; it did so even when it had to oppose the incorrect demands put forward by those who were misled.

The contact between the Party and the masses is characterised by growing confidence and sincerity. This is expressed in the greater initiative displayed by the masses, and in the trust reposed by the Party in the non-Party people devoted to People's Democracy, who are encouraged to perform all leading State and public functions with the exception, of course, of Party functions. Building Socialism is not a matter for the Communists alone, but

improve its methods and the style of work in order to build up more confidence among the people.

The crushing of the counter-revolution and the economic rehabilitation were major political victories. At the moment economic and cultural upbuilding is in the foreground and is acquiring decisive significance. In addition the Central Committee the Congress will discuss the directives for the Second Five-Year Plan. Aided by the fraternal countries our people quickly made good the damage caused by the enemy and are successfully coping with the Three-Year Plan (1958-60).

### Building Of Socialism

Fulfillment of this plan will clear the way for resolving the important socio-economic problems of the new Five-Year Plan. Industrial output is at a higher level than it was before the counter-revolution; in agriculture the Socialist sector includes half the cultivable land; by 1958, compared with 1955, real incomes of factory and office workers had risen 20 per cent. The structure of industry is more in line with the country's potentialities; management, too, has improved. These developments will enable Hungary in the course of the next five years (after 1960) to complete the foundations of Socialism and accelerate the

higher output per worker and one-third by means of greater employment. And since labour productivity depends primarily on technology, the Party is making technological progress the pivot of the economic activity. Much has been done in this respect; the centralised management and the incentives have yielded fruit, but the unused reserves are very great.

Capital investment will amount to at least 170-175,000 million forints, 50 per cent more than under the First Five-Year Plan. The bulk of these funds will be used for technological progress, and in the first place for renewing and extending the aggregate machine-tool plant and for developing new branches of industry. The accelerated growth of the national economy and the steady rise in the standard of living will necessitate more funds being allocated from the national income for production investments.

### Reconstruction Of Agriculture

By 1965 agricultural output should increase 30-32 per cent compared with the average for the years 1954-58. At the same time the Party will work to win the individual peasants to cooperate in completing the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. To do this, and to do it in a way that will ensure higher output, considerable investments will be needed. Compared with 1958 the tractor fleet will be doubled, and three times more fertilizer will be used. The aim is to achieve higher output primarily by developing the Socialist sector. Hence attention is centred on increasing production and on consolidating the Socialist sector which this year has shown a marked increase. This will pave the way for a planned advance.

By 1965 real income per capita will rise by 26-29 per cent, and consumption by 40-45 per cent. The standard of living of the less well-off will rise more quickly than that of the other sections. Much will be allocated for social and cultural needs, particularly housing. A fifteen-year plan has been drawn up for final solution of the housing problem. Some 250,000 flats will be built in the next five years.

The Party insists on its plans being realistic and well founded and the Central Committee maintains that all conditions obtain for reaching and surpassing the goals now being set.

### Economic Management

One of the guarantees of fulfilment of the plans is further improvement of economic management. Economic policy since the counter-revo-

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DECEMBER 6, 1959

NEW AGE

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# OIL EXPLOITATION UNDER U.N. AUSPICES

Wide Interest In Rumanian Proposal, Specially In Underdeveloped Nations

★ by G. RADUCANU

Correspondent of the Rumanian Press Agency and newspaper Scintela at the 14th Session of the U. N. General Assembly.

Last year, following the proposal made by the Rumanian delegation to the United Nations Organisation concerning the aiding of underdeveloped countries possessing oil resources, the influential South American newspaper, El Tiempo in Bogota, wrote: "It will be for the first time that the form of urgent negotiations between the member States on prospecting, exploiting and distributing of the oil resources of the producing countries, will be amply discussed at the U. N."

**T**HE author of the article from which these lines are quoted is Enrique Millan, Correspondent of the Columbian newspaper at the United Nations Organisation. This year's debates in the course of the Second Committee concerning the economic situation of underdeveloped countries, as well as the resumption and extension of the Rumanian initiative at the last session, made Mr. Millan give his opinion.

"It is to be expected—he said—that long and stormy debates will take place concerning the oil problem, the more so that your proposal (the Rumanian proposal—N.R.) is taking a long step forward. The interest aroused by this problem has become greater and its importance can no longer be overlooked in the future activity of the United Nations Organisation, designed to aid the economic development of numerous countries."

### Draft Resolution

This opinion is not an isolated one. It reflects the loud

echo aroused by the initiative taken by the Rumanian People's Republic concerning the broadening of international cooperation as regards the development of the oil industry in underdeveloped countries. A few weeks ago, a draft resolution to this effect, was unofficially put forward to the delegates of the countries members of the U. N. and it was officially put to the meeting of the Second Committee of the U. N. The draft resolution develops the ideas brought forward as early as last year by the Rumanian People's Republic in a joint resolution with Czechoslovakia and Albania, which secured 61 favourable votes and only eight abstentions.

### Proposal Appreciated

The contents of the Rumanian resolution is being discussed by the delegates, in assemblies of groups of countries, and forms the object of intense consultations of the respective Governments. At a recent meeting of certain delegates from South America, Asia

## HUNGARIAN PARTY CONGRESS

### ★ FROM FACING PAGE

tion has been characterised by the desire to make management more effective, abolish the excessive centralism and do away with bureaucracy. But some of the old mistakes typical of the past still occur: there are, for example, cases when the autonomy of local authorities has been under-rated, to say nothing of cases of bureaucracy. The Party is taking steps to ensure that the economic management keeps abreast of the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses, that everything hindering realisation of the correct policy is resolutely eliminated.

In cultural construction too Hungary has grand plans. Continuation of the cultural revolution is an important condition for the accelerated Socialist construction. The country has to its credit important achievements in education, science, literature and the arts. Particularly gratifying is the interest evinced by teachers in Marxism-Leninism. The intellectuals, who, ideologically, were most affected by the counter-revolution, work in what can be described as a generally healthy atmosphere. The unions of art and literary workers, including the Writers' Union, have been re-established.

But there are still weaknesses on the ideological and cultural fronts. Quite an important section of the intellectuals, including scientists and educational workers, have not yet mastered Marxism-Leninism and are exposed to the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views. Progress is hampered by the survivals of capitalist views,

by the way of thinking of the urban petty bourgeoisie and peasants. Even among the more backward sections of the working class, petty-bourgeois ideology, individualism and indifference to public interests are encountered. The Congress will discuss how to strengthen Marxism-Leninism in all spheres of public life, more actively to combat bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. Much more attention will be paid to public education, to the preparation of a school reform and its subsequent implementation, improving trade skills and the political knowledge of the workers.

Past experience obliges the Party to devote special attention to proletarian internationalism. The Congress will be held at a time when the Socialist countries are winning victories of worldwide importance, when the Communist Parties, after repelling the revisionist onslaughts against the unity of the Socialist camp, have closed their ranks. The experience of the Socialist Workers' Party testifies to the decisive importance of proletarian internationalism for each of the Socialist countries and to the harm which can be caused by revisionist, nationalist views.

The pre-Congress activity and the discussion of the Congress materials show that the Seventh Congress will reinforce the spirit of proletarian internationalism among the Hungarian Communists, and facilitate still closer relations with the fraternal parties.

—From the World Marxist Review.

and Africa, the Rumanian proposals were very favourably appreciated, three speakers expressing the satisfaction and interest of their countries in the Rumanian initiative.

The members of the Rumanian delegation are receiving a number of requests from various delegates for further explanations concerning the proposed text and these delegates are expressing opinions and making suggestions in connection with the proposals made in the draft resolution.

Such proposals have been made, for example, by the delegates of India, Venezuela, Iraq and Mexico who, during their contacts with the Rumanian delegation, expressed their deep interest and recommended improvements considered necessary by them even before the official debate on the draft resolution began.

The great interest in the Rumanian experience in the building of a national industry of oil equipment is seen in the numerous requests for reference material received by the Rumanian delegation. The firm dealing with the technical collaboration between Rumania and India in the field of oil exploitation was also received with exceptional interest.

At the same time, the elaborate report read by the Rumanian delegate, concerning the deepening of the chasm separating industrialised countries from underdeveloped ones, as a consequence of the continual increase of the profits of the former by maintaining the latter in a state of backwardness, received mention in certain American newspapers, unlike the treatment usually meted out by these papers when such a stand is taken. Several delegates demanded that the text of the speech made by the Rumanian delegate, Bazil Serban, should be printed and distributed.

### Why Such Wide Interest?

How can the interest expressed by such a large number of States, members of the U. N. in the Rumanian proposal be explained? The facts and data mentioned below will help one to understand it.

Oil represents a huge resource of the subsoil of underdeveloped countries. More than 80 per cent of the world oil reserves, apart from those existent in the Socialist countries, are to be found in these underdeveloped countries. Despite the prospects opened up by the peaceful use of atomic energy, the utility of oil as power source is far from becoming less important. On the contrary, a study present-

ted at the World Oil Congress, held in May and June this year at New York, shows that in 1975, oil will still meet no less than 40 per cent of the power requirements of the whole world.

Expressing the opinion of monopolist circles trying to hinder the development of a national industry in underdeveloped countries and to control the resources of these countries, a number of Western economists have worked out pessimistic theories concerning a so-called "exhausting" of the oil reserves or the little profit to be derived from organising the refinement process in the producing countries themselves.

How do things stand, in fact? As stated by the monthly Statistical Bulletin of U.N.O., from 1936 till 1957, the oil reserves known have grown 8.3 times while the volume of oil extraction has grown only 3.6 times. On the other hand, in 1957, the Middle-East possessed a refining capacity of only three per cent of the amount of oil extracted in this region. And this is not all. Due to a series of intermediary operations, transport by pipe-lines or oil tankers, refining and selling, Western monopolies take for themselves, on an average, a supplementary profit amounting to 3.20 dollars per barrel of oil extracted.

Acknowledging the part played by the U. N. in aiding the underdeveloped countries and realising the great interest of these countries in turning their natural resources to good account to an even larger extent, a fact which would contribute efficiently to the economic development of these countries and to the ensuring of better conditions of living for their peoples, the aim of the Rumanian proposal is the achievement of these vital requirements by means of ample international co-operation under the sponsorship of the U. N., between all the countries interested, either large or small, industrialised or non-industrialised. That is the reason for the interest aroused in underdeveloped countries by the Rumanian proposal, in spite of the attempts of the oil magnates to minimise it, to make it appear unimportant, through certain members of the American delegation.

### Oil-Producing Countries

Thus, at the oil conference of the Arabian countries, held at Cairo this year, the

need for increasing the volume of the refining capacity of these countries, of setting up several institutes for oil researches and centres for the training of oil experts, was particularly spotlighted. At the 1958 talks held at New Delhi, where several countries from the Far East and Asia met, particular attention was paid to the possibility of manufacturing oil equipment in the countries possessing oil resources. The same ideas are to be found in the works of certain economists and statesmen in South America. In a book entitled Oil and Politics, Romulo Betancourt, President of the Republic of Venezuela, mentions, for example, the setting up of a national oil industry in this country.

Under such circumstances, there is great need for extending the part played by the United Nations Organisation, transforming it from a mere technical assistance activity or a source of studies and information into an active organisation taking important decisions concerning the prospecting of oil, the obtaining and manufacturing of equipment in every country, the commercial aspects of these operations, technical cooperation and the exchange of experience—all this in the framework of the permanent activity programme of the U. N. aimed at the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

### Important Question

The practical recommendations made by the delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic are towards this end. Their importance explains the statements of numerous delegates concerning the various aspects of the problem which is being debated at the Second Committee of the U. N.

The problem of international economic cooperation for the development of the oil industry in underdeveloped countries is among the most important questions figuring on the agenda of this session and the impending debates around the Rumanian proposal are already in the centre of the attention of all the delegates.

PAGE ELEVEN

DECEMBER 6, 1959

NEW AGE



# WHY HAS THE DELHI CORPORATION FAILED?

\* FROM PAGE 7

Improvement is proceeding in some slum basties and so on. By and large, however, it can safely be said that the Corporation has so far failed to live up to the hopes and expectations of the people.

Corruption, inefficiency and red-tapism are today rampant. Even the basis for a sound and efficient administrative set-up does not seem to have been laid so far. A general looseness in administration remains and is in fact increasing. Even where decisions are taken they are either not implemented or implemented at snail's pace.

General deterioration in standards of sanitation, delay and hesitation in taking decisions, slow and dilatory movement of files, general harassment to the people are features that have unfortunately come to be associated with the Corporation.

As compared to the previous local bodies establishment expenditure has increased manifold, the administration has become top-heavy, various new taxes have been levied placing an unbearable burden on the common man, whereas no substantial, leave aside proportionate, provision of civic amenities has taken place.

Actually the Corporation today has come to be known for corruption and harassment of the people by its field staff and red-tapism in its office. Even elected members of the Corporation irrespective of their political affiliations openly give vent to their feelings of dissatisfaction because things really do not seem to move.

## Strained Relations

And this is leading to an unhappy estrangement, a straining of relationship between the Executive and the Deliberative wings, each complaining of lack of respect shown to it by the other. The struggle of the entire Corporation against the squalor and filth in the city has given place to a tussle for power between these two wings. Whereas joint effort of the Deliberative and the Executive wings of the Corporation was and is an essential pre-condition for solving the city's civic problems and for betterment of the lot of the common man, the whole Corporation today smacks of an unbalanced outlook, be it the relationship of the Deliberative and the Executive wings or the relationship within the Deliberative wing itself.

Frankly speaking, the Deliberative wing has so far failed to discharge its obligations to the electorate. No doubt the Delhi Municipal Corporation Act has created an undesirable bifurcation of the Executive and the Deliberative wing. In its keenness to avoid interference by elected members in day-to-day administration, it has created the Execu-

tive wing as the sole authority for administration, rendered even the Mayor into a mere prestige office and denied elected members even the right to inspect files.

Some of the provisions of the Act are positively anti-people. These statutory provisions have created amongst the Corporation staff a psychological atmosphere of contempt for the elected members. But these defects could be remedied, amendments to the Act sought, the administration made more efficient, policies framed to the advantage of the people, if only the Deliberative wing exercised the necessary vigilance and check, put its head together to concentrate on the solution of the civic problems. But reality has turned out otherwise.

## Political Controversies

This Corporation within the short spell of its life has become a hotbed of political controversies and manoeuvrings.

The fact that members belonging to the various political parties were returned by people living in a ward, the fact that no single party secured an absolute majority in a house of 86 members were generally welcomed as creating conditions where all could cooperate with each other in the discharge of the Corporation's civic obligations. It is worth recalling that Home Minister Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, addressing the Councilors right at the start of the Corporation's life, hinted at such healthy prospects. But not so well-disposed were those whom for this advice was meant.

The Congress which is the ruling party in the entire country and the largest single party in the Corporation could not reconcile itself to the position of its decline, its growing unpopularity, its failure to win an absolute majority.

Left with no choice immediately after the elections, it agreed to sponsor jointly with the Communists, Aruna Asaf Ali to be the first Mayor. But no sooner was she elected than self-seeking members of the Congress Municipal Party, each one of them an aspirant for the Mayorship, started a malicious whisper campaign of vilification against her.

Despite the fact that Aruna Asaf Ali was truly an independent, that during her tenure of a year she tried to initiate and lay healthy conventions, successfully tried to make the Corporation into an effective form of expression of the wishes of the citizens of Delhi and an instrument of service to them, despite the fact that her Mayorship was a matter of prestige and pride for the Corporation, her honesty, integrity and oneness of purpose won her the admiration of everyone in the city, the Congress Party, blinded by its partisan outlook, desirous of somehow getting its

own party man elected as Mayor, vilified her, levelled all manner of baseless allegations against her, raised the usual Communist bogey for their sinister ends.

She was forced out of the Corporation. But that by itself has not satisfied the ambitions of the Congress leaders, has not deterred them from continued manoeuvrings for capturing power and various offices for their partisan ends. Even today the Congress does not seem to appreciate the necessity of concentrating its attention on civic problems and seeking the cooperation of other groups for the solution of these problems.

The Jan Sangh, which is the second largest party in the Corporation, of course has all through been guided by the one and single purpose of converting the Corporation into an arena for political discussions and controversies. The Jan Sangh wants to discuss in the Corporation everything from foreign affairs to law and order.

It may be recalled that the Jan Sangh was one of the few political parties which had demanded and campaigned for the abolition of the Part C State, the legislature and democratic set-up in Delhi. The straight course for it would have been to realise and admit its mistake and add its voice to the demand of the Congress, the Communist Party and others for restoration of democracy on the State level. Instead of that the Jan Sangh is busy in sidetracking the Corporation from discharging its obligations and functions on civic matters and utilising it merely for political issues.

Not only this. Be it the question of breakdown of water supply or unauthorised constructions, the problem of adequate and cheap transport or sanitation, the provision of amenities in rehabilitation colonies or slum improvement and development, the Jan Sangh has all through looked at it from its narrow party angle. In its approach hardly any measure sponsored by the Deliberative wing was worth supporting unless it came from the Jan Sangh, unless it could claim political credit for the same. Instances are not few when the Jan Sangh has even opposed or delayed the adoption of measures and proposals aimed at according facilities and amenities to the people, because the proposals for the same came from others.

## Communist Group's Record

The Communist Group in its little way has tried to raise and focus the attention of the Corporation on certain concrete civic issues during these twenty months. There is hardly any aspect of civic life affecting this city which the Communist Group has not raised in the Corporation last year.

# VIETNAM'S TOP ARTISTES TO PERFORM HERE

LADEN with a rich repertoire of folk dances and folk songs comes the 45-member Dance and Song Ensemble from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Ensemble which participated in the Vienna Youth Festival had been touring Eastern Europe. Now on its way back, the Ensemble is in India for about two weeks at the invitation of the Government of India. Arriving in Delhi from Moscow on December 5, the Ensemble will give two performances at the Sapru House on the 6th and 7th and a free performance for Delhi's rural population at Ghitorni Village, four miles from Mehrauli on December 8. From Delhi the Ensemble will be proceeding to Lucknow where it will give two performances on December 11 and 12.

Its last performances in India will be given at the Mahajati Sadan of Calcutta on December 15 and 16. The delegation is led by Nguyen Duc Quy, Chief of Department in the Ministry of Culture and a Deputy to the Vietnam National Assembly. The entire proceeds of all the performances will go to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund.

The dances which the members of the Ensemble will be performing include the famous Bamboo Dance, the Fan Dance and the Butterfly Dance. Chorus songs by women members of the Ensemble accompanied by national stringed instruments will be another feature.

The Song and Dance Ensemble of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has an interesting history. It was established in the jungle at the height of Vietnam's national war of resistance against the French imperialist aggressors in 1952.

At the beginning, they consisted only of some twenty artistes and musicians — young people, patriotic, enthusiastic and full of optimism, animated by an inspiring determination to give a new life to the national art which was neglected and oppressed during 80 years of French rule.

Carrying their belongings on their shoulders, they crossed mountains and rivers to reach and give performances in the villages for the peasants and in the front-lines for the soldiers. They had to go through countless difficulties and untold hardships. But thanks to their experience in "living and working together with the people" and in fighting the colonialists, they became more mature, through the trials of the war, they became firmer of mind and their art was improved.

In 1954, at the first post-war All-Vietnam Theatrical Season, the Ensemble won the highest prizes and it was honoured with a "Resistance Order". Peace opened a new era for the development of the Ensemble. It now comprises of three specialised groups: SONG AND DANCE, DRAMA AND NATIONAL OPERA.

Soon after the establishment of the Corporation, a move to demolish the huts and other dwellings of poor people was made by the administration on the plea that these constructions were unauthorised. It was the Communist Group which first raised this issue much to the displeasure of the Jan Sangh which thought that the initiative had slipped from its hands.

Again the matter of the breakdown of the water supply as well as the need for augmenting the distribution of water all over the city was raised by the Communist Group. The Jan Sangh on this occasion adopted an attitude of passive dislike at the issue being raised by the Communists. The contribution of the Communist Group in all such discussions including its evidence before the Enquiry Committee was considerable.

It is unfortunate, however, that the Congress and the Jan Sangh show almost a total lack of interest in any of these aspects of civic life.

The Communist Group recently focussed the attention of the Corporation on the harassment caused to the people by the levy of water taxes. Surprisingly such an important matter as this was disposed of within 20 minutes. Out of this short time, I spoke for 15 minutes. No member of the Congress had anything

to say and the Jan Sangh representatives spoke for a few minutes only. It was decided to refer it to the Commissioner for report.

This is where the two majority parties in the Corporation have landed themselves and the Corporation by adopting an approach inimical to the interests of the citizens of Delhi and the Municipal Corporation. Both the Congress and the Jan Sangh leaderships are today more guided by their narrow partisan interests and by anti-Communism rather than any desire to solve civic problems.

It, of course, goes without saying that the situation in the Corporation cannot improve, the administration cannot be pulled out of their present state of mental frustration, the Corporation cannot become an instrument of service to the people according to the latter relief in taxes and adequate civic amenities, unless the leadership of the Deliberative wing itself gets out of petty party considerations.

Will the majority parties, particularly the Congress as the single largest group, rise to the occasion? With a changed attitude the Congress could surely count on cooperation from all other progressive elements, in any case from the Communists. The Communists have all through shown their readiness to cooperate with everyone else to ensure a better life to the citizens of Delhi.

# KERALA NOTE-BOOK

## WILL THEY EAT THEIR WORDS?

LAST week a news-item was given wide publicity all over the country by our very objective Press. It was about the arrest of 41 Communists following a clash in Trivandrum in which a PSPer was reported to have received knife injuries.

After this incident Patom Tharu Pillai, leader of the PSP—people in the now-a-days call it the Patom Socialist Party—had issued a statement saying that though the Communist Government had gone, Communist violence was continuing. Congress leaders echoed it and said that the Communists realising they would be defeated in the elections had become desperate and were creating clashes.

What had happened in Trivandrum was something totally different about which neither the national Press nor the Congress PSP leaders can be expected to say a word of truth. Last week I had given a list of attacks on Communists and sympathisers who had raised objections to the false entries in the voters list by the Congress and PSP.

In an area in the city notorious for goondaism by PSPers, for a few days they had been roaming around in cars—if anybody wants to make an enquiry, the registration numbers of these cars can be given—attacking Communists. On November 22 and 24, they organised this in a big way and a number of people were injured in these clashes, mainly Communists.

When the police intervened it was to beat up the Communists and raid their offices. Forty-one Communists were arrested and it was reported that lathis, knives, etc. had been seized from them. The impression was thus created that the Communists were responsible for the clashes.

A case was charged and when the accused were produced in court it was even argued that they should not be granted bail. Further impression was created that if the Communists were released there would be more clashes. But now a Trivandrum Magistrate has acquitted and released all the 41 Communists. One of them who was inhumanly assaulted in the lock-up has filed a case against a Dy. S.P. and nine policemen.

Whatever be the verdict in this second case, the acquittal of the Communists has proved our charge that they were removed from the scene—on the very day the enquiry was to take place into the voters list—because they were exposing the falsification of the voters list by the Congress and the PSP. I do not expect the PSP and Congress leaders to correct their earlier statements—that would be decent political behaviour.

## TOWER OF BABEL

REACTIONS have begun coming in to the revised agreement on the division of seats between the Congress and the PSP and I should say, what is being said is not very com-

plimentary to the leaders who signed and sealed the agreement or good for the general health of the two parties.

When the first division of seats was announced, the Trivandrum District Congress Committee had risen in arms because some out of the 12 seats in the district had been given to the PSP and not even one seat had been kept back to be given to a leader of the stature of ex-Minister Chandrasekhara Pillai who is aspiring to become a Minister again.

Then there were talks of reopening the agreement and the Trivandrum DCC, hoping that its demand would be conceded, kept quiet. But now that the revision has been announced, the Trivandrum leaders find that as far as their district is concerned the old position remains unchanged.

There is a hurried move to convene a meeting of the District Congress Committee to bring pressure on the KPCC. Trivandrum DCC leaders are openly saying that they participated in the "liberation" struggle not for the fun of it but with the definite purpose of becoming Ministers and MLAs. Well, it looks as if they will have to wait all their lives for the anti-Communist alliance has no chance of winning a majority and even if it wins, these gentlemen won't be there to share the loaves and fishes of office. What a pity!

In Kottarakkara, the Secretary of a Mandal Congress Committee and member of the constituency committee, has submitted his resignation from the Congress organisation itself. He has said in a statement that he is an individual trying to do good on their selfish interests on the organisation. It was because of the fight for the Kottarakkara seat among Congressmen that the seat itself has now been given away to the PSP he says.

Inside the PSP there is a still higher rumpus. In a long statement, a member of the State Executive of the PSP, Vengal Mathew, has charged the party's leadership with violating the Executive's directives. According to Mathew, the Ernakulam division had given 35 seats to the PSP, nine seats had been set apart for the RSP and KSP, and the Congress had been asked to come to an arrangement with these parties.

Now that there has been no agreement with the RSP and KSP, it is Mathew's contention that some at least of the nine seats set apart for the two parties should have gone to the PSP. Instead in the redistribution the PSP's 35 seats had been reduced to 33 while the Congress which was to get 70 seats had got 81. And to make matters worse, in 11 of the seats given to the PSP, the RSP will also fight.

Can any honest PSPer take this lying down? Mathew can't and he has charged the Congress and Mannath Padmanabhan with deliberately not coming to an agreement with the RSP so that they could deal this mortal blow to the PSP. But his main charge is against the leadership of his own party which did not even take the State

# TAMILNAD : HUGE MASS MOBILISATION AGAINST HIGH PRICES

NOVEMBER 15 to 22 was observed as Price Reduction week all over Tamilnad in response to the call of the All-Parties Committee for Food Price Reduction.

Even before the formation of this All-Parties Committee, the Communist Party had run a poster campaign all over the State. Twenty thousand posters had been put up demanding the supply of rice at 12 annas per Madras measure and of dry grains at four Madras measures per rupee, opening of fair-price shops for every 500 families, stringent measures against hoarders and profiteers and procurement of rice on compulsory quota basis from landholders possessing ten or more than ten acres of wet land. This poster campaign and

the propaganda carried on by the Party throughout Tamilnad had created the atmosphere for the formation of all-parties committees at all levels.

The Committee that was formed with the DMK, Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, Tamilnad Socialist Party, "We Tamil" Movement, Revolutionary Socialist Party, prominent trade union leaders like S. Guruswamy, President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, T. S. Ramanujam, President of the City Trade Union Council, the Tamilnad Trade Union Congress and the Tamilnad Kisan Sabha and S. Krishnamoorthy, a prominent Municipal Councillor, gave a call for the observance of the Price Reduction Week.

It was taken up in earnest and similar all-parties committees were set up at all levels from district down to village wherever these parties were functioning. Memorandums signed by representatives of the various parties were presented to the Tehsildars and Collectors at the local levels containing the demands mentioned above.

In addition to presenting these memorandums, demonstrations and processions were taken out in various places culminating in mass rallies and demonstrations on the last day of the week. Nearly 100 such meetings and demonstrations were held on the 22nd, apart from the rallies and demonstrations in the district headquarters towns.

In Madras City itself, all the 100 divisions were covered with processions and public meetings when leaders of the parties addressed the meetings. On the 22nd, the City witnessed a mammoth procession of more than 15,000 people which wended its way from the working class locality in Perambur Barrack and covered all the main thoroughfares and important localities culminating in a two-lakh-strong rally on the Marina Beach.

P. Ramamurti on behalf of the Communist Party, R. Nedumchezhian, Secretary of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Sivagnana Gramani, President of the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, Sri Appan Raj, Secretary, Tamilnad Socialist Party, R. Ramanathan representing the Re-

volutionary Socialist Party and the UTUC, and a prominent speaker of the "We Tamil" Movement addressed the mass rally of more than two lakhs of people. T. S. Ramanujam presided over the meeting.

This unity of purpose which was effectively demonstrated that day in all the districts and taluks has created sore feelings in the Congress higher-ups. They brought out posters questioning the patriotism of the Communist Party on the Indo-China border issue. They tried to malign the Party by saying it was taking up the food issue to cover up the 'betrayal' of the country. They even held a sort of a public meeting and a procession demanding direct action in the border area with the necessary anti-Communist slogans.

The Ministry and the Government behave as if they are blind to the agitation against high prices.

The All-Parties Committee is to meet the Chief Minister and the Food Minister during the course of this week with a memorandum. If the Ministry does not see its way to meet the demands voiced by the people throughout the State, the Committee will go ahead preparing for further actions.



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# India-China Debate

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

assess if we tried to change that policy... I think it is wrong on the part of the Prime Minister to make in this debate this particular thing the main issue."

## Anti-China Orientation

After this came the scarcely subtle attack. First, he suggested the isolation of China from the rest of Asia. "Is this not the time when we say to the countries of Southeast Asia that they have nothing to worry about and we are there to see that the legitimate rights of the people or the legitimate rights and interests of the Asian nations, be they large or small, are going to be protected and looked after... We would like China to be isolated."

Second, while adhering to non-alignment, he wanted the Prime Minister to realign his attitude towards China. Picking up the remark about Chinese expansionism and adding to it his own comments about the "ruthless efficiency" of the mass mobilisation in China, he rhetorically asked: "We would like to know whether the Prime Minister recognises that in one particular direction, his policy needs to be revised... we have to realise that the old policy towards China cannot continue."

Third, came the assault on the Defence Minister and the speech he had made recently in Bombay. What made Asoka Menon had not joined in the chorus of raising a war-scare and had, instead, stated that "what had happened on the northern frontier was not a mighty invasion of our land frontier."

Lastly, there was the invitation to the Prime Minister to whip up hysteria in the country. "We believe that this nation is faced today with a terrible menace and this menace can be met only by rousing the nation..."

"The Prime Minister has been talking about heavy industries... therefore, we feel that an appeal is necessary to Indian nationalism, an appeal to the urge in the Indian people to get united..."

And the core of this unity consisted in begging Nehru not "to berate us all the time" but to go all-out against China, give up any ideas of interim arrangements to avoid clashes and to be careful of the Communists in India—"As far as the Communist Party is concerned, as the leopard cannot change its spots, and as the Chinese, in spite of their sweet words, have remained expansionist, we must realise that the characteristics of the Communist Party will remain what they are."

Hinting at the need for anti-democratic action, he cloaked his manoeuvre with the revealing phrase that in such an eventuality, "it is no use feeling that our progressivism gets tarnished... Sri Masani is not going to be the menace of tomorrow if resurgent nationalism is going to move forward..."

It is these friends here (pointing to the Communist-M.P.s) who are likely to be the real danger."

Here was the grand design for an anti-China orientation in Asia with an anti-Communist witch-hunt in India. After him Frank Anthony's support of non-alignment was naturally to be expected. But

this nominated member who, as far as we remember, had never distinguished himself as a freedom-fighter in the pre-independence days, had the temerity to launch into a tirade against the so-called "appeasement" and weak-kneed policy adopted by the Prime Minister towards China. Even more outrageous were his remarks—naturally enough made without any supporting evidence—about a concerted move by China and the Communist Party of India to subvert and undermine the country's freedom.

## Remarkable Contribution

A remarkable contribution to the discussion was made by Subhadra Joshi. She declared herself forthrightly against the anti-Communist witch-hunt that had commenced and warned against the "traitor" scare that was being sought to be worked up. She said she appreciated the speech of S. A. Dange and when taunted by a PSP M.P. reaffirmed that she "liked the speech very much."

In contrast was the hypercritical approach of some others, she went on, who want that India's foreign policy "should have the face, the heart and the mind of the Prime Minister

Pointing out how Congress leaders in West Bengal were adopting positions diametrically opposed to that of Nehru, he cleared up the confusion that was sought to be created about the mighty demonstration in Calcutta.

And he effectively silenced his detractors by the remark "When the time comes, when I have to carry the card of patriotism, it would not be worth carrying it, though other people think it necessary to proclaim it."

While asserting that the military preparedness of the country was quite adequate, he warned against adopting aggressive postures. "We are quite conscious as to what are our frontiers. We have not said that they are not known... Demarcation has to be carried on by a process of negotiation... Negotiation, on the other hand, cannot be brought about by an attitude of undue aggressiveness nor on the other hand by an attitude of surrender..."

Hiren Mukerjee made what many consider to be about the best speech he has ever made in a redoubtable career. Referring to the PSP-Ganatantra-Swatantra amendments, he said:

"There is no getting away from it if we read the amendments which notices have been given and which have been moved. Many of them seek to reverse the independent foreign policy of the Prime Minister and the prin-

which push us in that direction." He firmly rejected all proposals of a common defence with Pakistan, making effective use of Ayub Khan's statement about Pakistan's claim to Ladakh.

## Calcutta Demonstration

He reiterated his eagerness for a meeting with Chou En-lai but "there must be some preparation, some ground for it." And, in this connection, he strongly defended his counter-proposals to the Chinese Premier against the charge of appeasement: "A great country to be ordered about is not either the way of diplomacy or dealing between two countries... Members have said... they must surrender and then we go graciously to talk to them... that is not obviously a feasible proposition... It is absurd, I think, for the Government of China to imagine that they can sit on India, or crush India. It is equally absurd for anyone in India to think that we can sit on China or crush China."

And then the piece de resistance which will stand for nobility of language and sentiment for a very long while:

"I have heard some cheap jibes at the patriotism of Communists. Such jibes are vulgar, completely unworthy and completely useless. We are here not for the possession of any magic formula we have got to secure the support of the people. We are here because wherever we have worked we have worked for our country and we have

secured the affection of the country..."

"I did not need such taunts to know what I feel, and what every Communist feels, in his bones and, that is, we love our people, that we love our emerald country which is crowned by the Himalayas and engirdled by sea, and nothing that we hear by way of slander in this House or outside is going to deflect us from that patriotism."

## Communist Stand

He made the Communist Party's stand clear beyond the shadow of a doubt: "As the leader of our Party Dange said yesterday, we welcome the proposals which have been made by the Prime Minister in his latest letter to Premier Chou En-lai of China. The Prime Minister has laid down an approach that is reasonable and honourable, and it is aimed above all at the avoidance of war and the kind of psychosis which is being readily exploited by certain elements in the country..."

"I recall how in 1952 and 1953 there was a call raised by some of our Left parties as well as by the communal leaders for the application of sanctions—which is the same thing for war—on Pakistan."

"Even lately, over Tokergram and other places where Pakistan has transgressed repeatedly and seriously into Indian territory, there was a demand for military action. In spite of our, I mean the Communist Party's, detestation of Pakistan's membership of the Western bloc, we raised our voice most emphatically against it and we were, of course, slandered in the usual way as agents of Pakistan."

Replying to the debate, the Prime Minister repeated his warning not to talk lightly of the issue: "We should not, I submit, however big the issue, lead ourselves to cultivate or encourage what is being sometimes referred to here as a war psychosis... let us realise that such a conflict, such a war between India and China will be bad, terribly bad, a tragedy of the deepest kind, a tragedy for us, a tragedy for China too and a tragedy for Asia and the world... Let us not take steps

# IN THE USA, BEHIND THE TALK OF PEACE

THE U. S. Government while it has recently been talking sanctimoniously about peace, has been going all-out to intensify the cold war and stepping up its war preparations.

In the coming fiscal year, it has decided to maintain a staggering military budget of 41 billion dollars with emphasis on the development of guided missiles. Commanded by a U.S. General, NATO Supreme Command Headquarters plan to build up a network of guided missile bases in Western Europe at which will be stationed sixty and odd guided missile battalions by the end of the next year.

The U.S. has staged a large scale demonstration of guided missiles in Okinawa. It has already managed to get its one-sided resolution on Korea adopted by the U.N. and also in putting the so-called Hungarian question on the General Assembly's agenda.

The Soviet Navy's paper *Sovetsky Flot* wrote last week that the entire armed forces of Turkey, Greece and Italy have been undergoing intensive training in the use of guided missiles. Hundreds of servicemen of these countries, the paper said, have been receiving training in the United States.

The *Sovetsky Flot* said that considerable quantities of rocket-nuclear weapons were concentrated in the Mediterranean area. The paper noted that in May this year, N. S. Khrushchov had convincingly pointed out during his visit to Albania the possible danger to those Mediterranean countries which agreed to set up U.S. rocket bases on their territories.

This danger had become even more grave as weapons of colossal destructive power were in the hands of such militarists as U.S. Admiral Charles Brown, Commander of Allied Forces in South Europe, said the *Sovetsky Flot*.

## Acheson's Pronouncement

One speech at the recent NATO Parliamentary Council meeting which has attracted attention has been that of Dean Acheson, a former U.S. Secretary of State. A Pravda article commenting on it says: "No matter how Acheson juggles with the word 'peace' he is unable to cover up his basic intention—to revive the 'brinkmanship' policy."

Recalling Khrushchov's address to the U.N. General Assembly and the universal response to it, the article continues: "Acheson pretends that nothing of the sort has happened. He is haunted by fears. He is afraid that the soberminded and farsighted Washington quarters are now, as Acheson puts it, making a new analysis of the Soviet intentions, proceeding from Khrushchov's emphasis on peace, who are, therefore, rethinking the shabby dogmas of anti-Communist propaganda."

Acheson insists that talks

are allegedly a trap into which the sly Communists wish to lure the unsophisticated Americans. The purpose pursued by Acheson and those behind him is crystal clear, says the article. It is to bury the "Camp David spirit", to reverse international relations. This is confirmed, particularly by the fact that together with him the cold war trumpets are sounded furiously by Truman and Rockefeller.

Although the cold war front has been shaken, its mercenaries have still not been deprived of their poisonous fangs, says the article in conclusion.

## Wall Street's Policies

What the continuing cold war propaganda and war preparations on the part of U.S. ruling circles show is not a simple confusion about the tactics they wish to adopt to achieve a relaxation and end of international tension. As the draft political resolution to be discussed by the Seventeenth Convention of the

Communist Party of USA which opens in New York on December 10 puts it: "The foreign policy of Wall Street and the Administration is not only aggressive, reactionary and warlike. It is also bankrupt." The draft resolution says: "It is the men of the trusts and those who exploit America's working people and who profit by armaments, that run the State Department, the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency. Their foreign policy is determined by their own vested interests. Theirs is an imperialist policy aimed at world domination. They seek the subjection of other capitalist Powers, the theft of old colonial empires and the checking of colonial liberation movements, and the 'containment' of Socialism and destruction of the Socialist States."

"Despite the recent relaxation forced upon them by public opinion," the draft resolution says, "the dominant circles of monopoly have not altered their cold war aims."

Underlying this is the economic situation of the United States which, the draft resolution points out, is "marked mainly by growing instability, mounting burdens imposed by the cold war and the intensified drive of Big Business for super-profits."

The most striking feature

of the post-war American economy is its growing instability. Since World War II, there have been three slumps, of which the third was much the most severe. From each of these the economy has recovered at the cost of a higher level of public and private debt, a greater residue of unemployment and other features making for future crises of greater severity...

In these slumps, especially the most recent one, the big corporations have used their economic power to maintain high monopoly prices and, through extension of automation and speed-up, to increase their profits. "The monopolies today are steadily extending their control over the economic life of our nation and the direction of Government affairs..."

It is these basic factors which, despite growing resistance, are responsible on the one hand for recurring attacks on the living conditions of the American people and on the other hand for the attempts to gain control of the direction of other peoples' economic and political destinies.

Recent Labour Department statistics show that the cost of living in the United States had risen to a new record

level in October 1959. The U.S. Labour Department announced on November 25 that the consumer price index had risen to 125.5 per cent (1947-49-100). This is 1.5 per cent higher than October 1958.

Abroad the U.S. has been carrying on a most ferocious offensive of subversion—nearer home against Cuba and the independence movements in Latin America. In a recent note to the U.S. Government Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba has once again sharply exposed U.S.-directed plots against his Government. He has charged the U.S. with harbouring Cuban reactionary refugees and for permitting them to fly over Cuba, dropping leaflets and even explosives.

## Dollar Drops

A recent issue of the *Life* magazine admitted that in a decade the dollar had lost one-fourth of its value. In September it took 12 dollars and 52 cents to buy what ten dollars would buy in 1949. Between mid-August and mid-September of 1959 almost another 0.3 per cent was trimmed off the dollar's value by further rises in the high cost of living.

Life said: "The biggest rise—4.2 per cent in a year—is the cost of medical care." The price of a haircut in Chicago reached the "startling landmark" of two dollars!

Unemployment figures for October stand at 3.3 million or six per cent of the civilian labour force, according to the latest issue of U.S. News and World Report. The September unemployment rate was 5.9 per cent.

The October percentage according to the journal, is "considered too high, as a measure of economic health." The actual number of unemployed in October was the

third highest since the end of World War II and was exceeded only by 1949 and 1958—both recession years.

"The real unemployment problem in the U.S. is the long-term unemployed," says the magazine. In October 726,000 American workers had been without jobs for 15 weeks or longer, and 400,000 had been jobless for 28 weeks or more. The biggest problem is found among unskilled workers. Nearly one in every ten in this group remained unemployed in October.

## Stagnant Economy

Despite its very high and as yet unsurpassed capacities, U.S. economy, thanks to the capitalist system, has today become a stagnant economy. The National Industrial Board released on November 22 a report by a group of American economists headed by Martin Gainsburgh, which says that in the past five years the U.S. has shown little, if any, rise in per capita economic growth. The report further reveals that in the 1950's economic growth in the United States has stood almost at the bottom among the major nations.

"The United States has certain general goals in Africa, namely an interest in the evolution of Africa in a manner not inimical to our democratic type of government; the exclusion of influences unfriendly to our way of life, the hope of having access to the raw materials of that continent... and to exercise a moral leadership."

## Aims In Africa

Those aims were reaffirmed when Vice-President Nixon toured that continent in March 1957. He declared afterwards that more importance should now be attached to the African area, for within the next 25 years it would be a decisive battlefield between East and West! An American journalist, Edwin A. Lacey had the following to record:

"Imperialism would be a nasty word to describe our own expanding interest in Africa, but the list of American projects to develop the vast mineral resources of this continent suggests that the 19th century imperialism of England, France, Belgium and Portugal is child's play by comparison." "The aims of world domination still remain the aims closest to the heart of U.S. monopolies.

For a final comment on the state of U.S. society, let us turn to George F. Kennan: "With no highly developed sense of national purpose, with the overwhelming accent of life on comfort and amusement, with a dearth of public services and surfeit of privately sold gadgetry, with a chaotic transportation system, with its great urban areas being gradually disintegrated by the headlong switch to motor transportation, with an educational system where quality has been extensively sacrificed to quantity and with insufficient social discipline even to keep its major industries functioning without grievous interruptions—if you ask me whether such a country has, over the long run, good chances of competing with a purposeful, serious and disciplined society such as that of the Soviet Union, I must say that the answer is 'NO'."

The struggle of the Panamanian people for restoring their national sovereignty over the Canal Zone continues despite the traitorous regime that runs the Government there. Even last Saturday Panamanian mounted police prevented huge crowds of youth struggling to march into the zone to plant Panama's national flag. On the other side, U.S. infantrymen stood

with their guns ready to mow down any possible Panamanians who might break through the mounted police ranks.

While the Negro population of the United States suffers far worse hardships than the White workers and racials continue to heap persecution and indignities upon them, U.S. imperialism comes out more and more to pose as a champion of rising Africa. The eve of 1960 is particularly the high noon for the American eagle preparing to pounce upon Africa, where many nations will attain their independence at the beginning of the year. One of the large political missions sent by the U.S. State Department to 24 African countries in 1955-56 defined USA's general strategy as follows:

—Ziaul Haq

# IN LOK SABHA

who is known and loved by the people, but that the hands and feet should be of the Swatantra and the PSP... They want that on our lips there should be peace but in our hands a dagger." She uttered a solemn warning about the emerging danger of a Right dictatorship, which should be opposed firmly. In this connection she referred to the Thimayya resignation-threat and the admiration expressed by Kripalani and others for Carliappa.

## Woeful Contrast

Following her, Ramsubhag Singh (Congress) was a woeful contrast, particularly as he advanced a singularly unintelligent proposal for the industrialisation of NEFA and Ladakh and the building of more checkposts at an additional cost of Rs. 25 crores—the Prime Minister in his reply had a dig at him for these inept suggestions.

A very outstanding speech in the entire debate was that of Krishna Menon. In a courageous and dignified manner, which only the lunatic fringe could fail to appreciate, he defended the policy—that of the entire Government—which he had espoused.

About his Bombay speech he said: "All I said was, this country was not invaded. It may be wrong, at a meeting where about a hundred thousand people are present, to say anything else. The invasion of the country is very different from incursions upon the border, even though casualties are inflicted and

principles of the Panchsheel and some of them, whom my old-time friend Masani will readily recognise, have gone so far as to raise the slogan of a new foreign policy, a new Defence Minister and a new Prime Minister..."

## Communist Stand

He made the Communist Party's stand clear beyond the shadow of a doubt: "As the leader of our Party Dange said yesterday, we welcome the proposals which have been made by the Prime Minister in his latest letter to Premier Chou En-lai of China. The Prime Minister has laid down an approach that is reasonable and honourable, and it is aimed above all at the avoidance of war and the kind of psychosis which is being readily exploited by certain elements in the country..."

"I recall how in 1952 and 1953 there was a call raised by some of our Left parties as well as by the communal leaders for the application of sanctions—which is the same thing for war—on Pakistan."

"Even lately, over Tokergram and other places where Pakistan has transgressed repeatedly and seriously into Indian territory, there was a demand for military action. In spite of our, I mean the Communist Party's, detestation of Pakistan's membership of the Western bloc, we raised our voice most emphatically against it and we were, of course, slandered in the usual way as agents of Pakistan."

Replying to the debate, the Prime Minister repeated his warning not to talk lightly of the issue: "We should not, I submit, however big the issue, lead ourselves to cultivate or encourage what is being sometimes referred to here as a war psychosis... let us realise that such a conflict, such a war between India and China will be bad, terribly bad, a tragedy of the deepest kind, a tragedy for us, a tragedy for China too and a tragedy for Asia and the world... Let us not take steps

secured the affection of the country..."

"I did not need such taunts to know what I feel, and what every Communist feels, in his bones and, that is, we love our people, that we love our emerald country which is crowned by the Himalayas and engirdled by sea, and nothing that we hear by way of slander in this House or outside is going to deflect us from that patriotism."

Ansar Harwani hit out hard against the critics of Panchsheel, who now sought to make out that they were the advocates of non-alignment but simultaneously organised all manner of demonstrations and rallies against the policy of negotiations. He urged that "when he (Nehru) has taken to the path of negotiations, it is the duty of every man and woman in this country to give full support to him."

His generalisations about Chinese history were surprisingly unobjectionable and hardly consistent either with his earlier appraisal or with sentiments, so often expressed, of friendship with China and its great, industrious and peace-loving people.

It is significant that Nehru chose for his peroration the rather familiarly ominous homily that this grave situation "affects all of us; it affects our production; it affects the workers in the factory and the employers..."

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## KERALA ELECTION FUND CAMPAIGN

## Now is the time to do your bit

A FEW days ago, it was announced that the Congress election campaign would be inaugurated in Trichur.

This has now been changed to the Kottayam area. No explanation has been given for this change of venue, but one may reasonably guess it: the public rally held at Trichur on November 29, the final day of the Kerala State Conference of the Communist Party, was so big that the Congress leaders do not expect to bring out a rally even half as big on the day of inauguration of their election campaign and it would be a bad start for them to have such a poor show in the beginning of their campaign itself.

The elaborate preparations that had been made for our rally on November 29 were marred by the heavy downpour of rain which started nearly an hour before the demonstration was to have started, but the demonstration and subsequent meeting were such that the anti-Communists cannot dream of taking out such a demonstration and holding such a meeting even if nature had cooperated with them.

As inspiring as this huge demonstration and meeting on the final day of the Conference were the five-day-long discussions held by the nearly 500 delegates assembled at the Conference.

Having heard the comprehensive political-organizational report of the State Committee presented by M. N. Govindan Nair, the delegates made their contributions on the various points raised or missed in the Report.

The points made both in the original report as well as in the subsequent contributions of delegates boiled down to this: that the general political line formulated by the Party and followed by the Party leadership and the Government of Kerala was entirely correct, though in its actual implementation, certain defects and weaknesses crept in.

Many of these defects and weaknesses were gone into in detail by the delegates in a spirit of genuine self-criticism, that is a spirit of rectifying the mistakes and improving the work of the Party. Criticisms were sharp but they were also constructive, they helped the Party leadership to so reorientate its work as to avoid mistakes in future and armed the Party with a much more effective weapon of struggle against its political opponents.

Another document which was discussed by the delegates was the Draft Election Manifesto, prepared by the State Committee.

The line of approach made in the draft was unanimously approved, but the new State Council was authorised to amend it in the light of the various suggestions made by the delegates.

Having discussed these two documents and having taken a decision that the

Conference should reconvene after the elections are over to discuss the organizational part of the State Committee's Report (which for shortage of time, was not taken up for detailed discussion), the Conference elected the State Council of the Party.

The State Council in its turn elected the Executive and the Secretariat composed mainly of the members of the old State Committee and its Secretariat.

The Delegates' Session was thus a demonstration of the unity of the Party based on serious discussion on vital political issues in a spirit of full self-confidence and of genuine constructive self-criticism.

In marked contrast to this unity of the Party based on serious political discussions are the consultations which Dhebar, Sucheta Kripalani and Asoka Mehta had with their friends in Kerala. They carefully avoided discussions on questions of policy. They confined themselves to the allocation of seats on which as is well-known there has been a good deal of discontent in the ranks of both. Having discussed the points in dispute, they came to certain decisions which have been proclaimed as the "triumph of the sense of unity" of the so-called "democratic" parties.

What is the basis on which this "unity" has been brought about?

FIRST, the PSP gave up two seats which had originally been allotted to it. It will now get only 33 seats.

SECONDLY, there has been an exchange of seats as between the Congress and the PSP in two cases.

THIRDLY, as a result of this exchange of seats and the sacrifice of two seats by the PSP, Mannath Padmanabhan's followers have been guaranteed a few seats.

FOURTHLY, the RSP and the KSP who were in the anti-Communist direct action movement have been finally left out of the anti-Communist alliance. They, the Lohia Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh will now fight the elections on their own.

This patched-up unity of the Congress, the PSP, the Muslim League and the Nair Service Society has raised a storm of protest from the Congressmen of Trivandrum District (where the Congress has been given only three out of the 12 seats and one of the ex-Ministers, who is a prominent leader of the DCC, goes without any seat). Discontent is also likely to arise in the Kozhikode and Palghat Districts where, too, the PSP and the Muslim League have together succeeded in making the Congress a minority in the number of seats allotted to it. It is also well-known that there is no love lost between Mannath Padmanabhan and Pattom Thanu Pillal.

But far more serious than these manifestations

# HISTORY WILL REPEAT ITSELF IN KERALA

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

destructive approach to the problems of Kerala. The only guarantee it can give is that it would ensure the continuance of President's rule.

The Communist Party does not want President's rule to be perpetuated in Kerala. What it wanted was a stable Government which would implement practical programmes. The Communist Party, said E.M.S., would forge a front far broader and stronger than any alliance the Congress-PSP-League could knock together.

P. Ramamurti addressed the meeting in a sort of Tamil-Malayalam and the people would have listened to it any amount of time and they were really disappointed when he stopped in about a quarter of an hour.

To those who thought that rains were an ill-omen, Ramamurti said: After our Palghat Congress, too, there were our enemies who found consolation in the fact that the concluding rally was marred by rains. But in the General Elections which followed, the Communist Party came to office in a State.

History is going to be repeated in the coming mid-term elections also, he said amidst thunderous applause. He called on the people to give such a smashing verdict in the elections as would make Prime Minister Nehru and the Congress High Command remember for ever that they made a mistake when on the advice of the Mannans and Chackos they intervened in Kerala.

M. N. Govindan Nair in the short fifteen minutes available to him explained the re-

solutions and decisions of the Delegates' Session.

## Independents' Support

Dr. A. R. Menon, V. R. Krishna Iyer and Prof. Joseph Mundassery, Independent members of the Communist-led Ministry, declared at the meeting that they would stand firm with the Communist Party.

Earlier addressing the Delegates' Session, Dr. A. R. Menon had said that the Communist Government had done remarkable service to the people of Kerala in the short period of its existence.

He said: "This Party of yours took over the Government three years ago and continued in power for nearly twentyeight months. Any person who is impartial will admit that they (the Ministers) have done well in the Government. We Independents stood together with the Party to raise the prestige of the Party and the Government higher and higher. My experience in the Congress during a long period of 32 years was that that party was a party filled with all sorts of intriguers."

Dr. Menon said that he himself and other Independents in the Government decided to stand firm to the very end with one single slogan: "Either we swim together or we sink together." "But," he said, "while we were swimming with credit, they (the Centre) came to drown us."

Dr. Menon paid warm tributes to the members and sympathisers of the Communist Party in Kerala who, during the most provocative liberation struggle, had conducted themselves calmly and cool-headedly. They did not intervene when the enemies of the Government created conditions for a Statewide civil war. He said that the remarkable self-control of Kerala Communists had earned countrywide praise for the Party. The big reception accorded to the dismissed Chief Minister all over India, he said, was a striking example of the Indian people's love for Kerala.

Dr. Menon expressed his full confidence in the victory of the Communist Party in the coming elections. He said his experience had helped him to forecast the election results in 1957 sufficiently early and then the Congress got only 41 seats. He said this time, too, the Congress would be defeated and the Communist Party would emerge victorious.

He vehemently attacked all unprincipled alliances and said that the Communist Party had no need to seek the help of the reactionary vested interests and communal forces whose place was always inside the Congress. He said that in order to safeguard the future of provincial autonomy

and strengthening the State's economy, a Communist-led Government should be re-established in the State.

In conclusion he made a passionate appeal to all delegates to work hard and win the tough battle that is ahead in the mid-term elections.

Addressing a Press Conference later, E.M.S. Namboodripad said that the Communist Party with the help of all those who wished to build a prosperous Kerala would win a majority in the coming elections.

The list of the Communist Party's candidates is more or less final but is not yet ready for publication. E.M.S. said there was no insistence that the list would be released only after the lists of other parties were published.

Answering questions about the Communist Party's support to organisations like the Progressive Muslim League and the Catholic League, E.M.S. said: These are organisations which stand for remedying certain social injustices. That is why the Communist Party extends them support. It was not the Party's position that no support should be given to an organisation which has as members people from only one community.

To a question why these organisations are being supported and not others like the Catholic Sabha, E.M.S. said that it was because in the name of religion they interfered with politics.

Earlier he said organisations like the Progressive League and Catholic League were not political and as such would not enter the election battle.

To a question whether the Party would try to have an alliance with the RSP, E.M.S. said that the present attitude of the RSP leadership was not conducive to any such alliance.

★

The Delegates' Session of the Conference had earlier elected a 101-member State Council and the State Council in its first session elected M. N. Govindan Nair as its Secretary.

On the nine-member Secretariat of the Council are: M. N. Govindan Nair, E.M.S. Namboodripad, K. Damodaran, C. Achuta Menon, C. Unniraja, A. V. Kunhambu, N. E. Balaram, S. Kumaran and V. S. Achutanandan.

The 25-member State Executive Committee has the following sixteen on it in addition to the members of the Secretariat: C. Janardanan, E. K. Imbichi Bava, E. K. Nayanar, Azhikodan Raghavan, K. T. Jacob, Subramanya Sharma, T. C. Narayan Nambiar, P. Balachandra Menon, K. A. Keralaeyan, Susheela Gopalan, E. Gopalakrishna Menon, T. V. Thomas, S. V. Unni Krishnan, C. H. Kanaran, J. Chittaranjan and P. Gangadharan.