

# INDIA-CHINA

## -the only way out



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THE India-China dispute remains stuck in the maze of diplomatic notes and high-level correspondence. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai invited Prime Minister Nehru to an immediate meeting on December 26. India's Prime Minister did not find it possible to accept this early date, and in the prevailing conditions.

All men of reason and goodwill cannot but express their deepest regret that an early meeting between the two Prime Ministers has been delayed. Pandit Nehru has also underlined the fact that the door to such a meeting remains open.

The leadership of the Communist Party was the first to advance the slogan of an early Nehru-Chou meeting. It is now being fairly widely recognised by all honest elements, who seek a peaceful settlement, that there is no immediate and effective way out of the present unfortunate deadlock except the highest level meeting between the Prime Ministers of the two countries.

Pandit Nehru has appreciated the Chinese Premier's keen desire for a meeting and settlement. He has been unable to accept the request for a meeting this month. It is, however, difficult to appreciate the argument that since the very facts are disputed, an early meeting of the two Prime Ministers will not lead to fruitful results. Just because there is a dispute regarding the facts, a meeting is essential to ascertain them on the basis of mutually accepted principles. Had there been a common understanding about facts, there would have been no dispute!

### No Simple Problem

All know that the present India-China dispute is no simple problem but rests on serious claims and counter-claims, which have stirred national passions. Who else can handle with justice such a problem and conclude an authoritative agreement except the two Prime Ministers themselves?

Look at the problem from any aspect: there is no other way of achieving a peaceful settlement except through a meeting between Pandit Nehru and Chou En-lai, the co-architects of Panchsheel, respected and highest representatives of the two countries.

Pandit Nehru's present inability to accept Premier Chou's offer was seized upon by the Right-wing

elements to force another debate in both Houses of Parliament, despite Pandit Nehru's hesitation and unwillingness. All the opponents of our country's independent foreign policy, the leading spokesmen of the PSP, Jharkhand, Jan Sangh and Swatantra Parties again played the role of professional China-baiters. They made rabid speeches, advocating an end to the very policy of negotiations, breaking off of diplomatic relations with China, resorting to economic sanctions and some even called for all-out preparations to start what they termed "a local war".

India's Prime Minister reacted sharply to all these provocative proposals and rejected them outright. He made it abundantly clear that all these heroic words and postures led towards war which was not India's policy. He firmly reiterated

that India's policy of peace meant adopting the path of negotiations.

This did not please the Right but they have not given up their mad hunt as the continuing rabid campaign in the Press clearly

### Editorial

reveals. They continue to soil the climate for negotiations and exert reactionary pressure on the Prime Minister and the Government. They must be defeated to clear the hurdles that stand in the way.

The situation of stalemate and unilateral reiteration of India's claims also provide the ideal opportunity for reactionaries within the ruling party to keep on sniping from be-

hind at the Prime Minister while the rest of the Rightist pack frontally attacks him from the Opposition benches. This happened again during the latest Parliamentary debate. A Congress M. P. from Kashmir had to be openly reprimanded by the Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha and in the Lok Sabha another Congress M.P. who earned notoriety last time with his call for "bomb-the-Chinese out" was again loud-mouthed. They were no isolated and erring individuals. They were cheered by the reactionaries both from the Congress and Opposition benches. The 'get-tough-with-China' Press campaign has been prompt enough to use this soft spot inside the ruling party for organising further pressure on the Prime Minister.

The Parliamentary debate and the situation in the country forcefully drive home the lesson that the longer the stalemate in India-China relations lasts, the more chances the pro-imperialist reactionary ele-

ments get to campaign against peaceful settlement and stage their provocations.

The vast mass of our countrymen desire a peaceful settlement of the differences with China. There is no other way of working towards it except through clearing all the hurdles that stand in the way of an early and successful Chou-Nehru meeting. It has also come within sight.

### Our Pledge

The Communist Party is pledged to ceaselessly work for a meeting between the two Prime Ministers. We fervently appeal to our peace-loving countrymen and above all, Congressmen, in unity and on their own, to campaign against the opponents of a Nehru-Chou meeting, the elements hostile to India's policy of peace and good-neighbourliness and champions of India's link-up with the Imperialist West.

(December 23)

## OPPORTUNIST TO THE CORE

### Kerala united front parties talk in different voices

IF anybody had believed the story put out by the Congress, PSP and Muslim League that they had formed a solid alliance against the Communist Party, he or she would be completely disillusioned by the manifestoes issued by these three parties.

For, as I had stated in these columns last week, the Congress in its election manifesto was asking the voters of Kerala to register their confidence in the Congress Party and not in the alliance of the three parties.

Here, however, is the PSP which, in its manifesto, says: "The PSP recognises the necessity for all democratic parties and forces in this State standing together. Such unity has already been forged on a broad scale. The PSP would endeavour to give this unity practical shape of an honest and efficient administration based on democratic principles and practices."

The PSP concludes its manifesto by calling on the enlightened voters of Kerala "to exercise their franchise in favour of candidates set up or supported by the PSP on the basis of a democratic united front."

The Muslim League, too, calls on the voters of Kerala

to support "candidates set up by the Muslim League and its Congress and PSP allies." On the character of the Government that has to be formed after the elections, the League does not go beyond stressing the necessity for "a stable Government" in the State in order to implement the programme outlined in its manifesto.

Here, therefore, is the strange spectacle of the strongest of the three allies openly calling on the voters to exercise their franchise in favour of itself, while another ally expresses its desire to have a coalition Government; the third ally does not commit itself to anything specific on the character of the Government. The voter is thus left to wonder what will be the fate of the State if these parties happen to secure a majority in the legislature that will be formed now. He or she will be forced to conclude that the political situation in the State after the elections (if the Congress-PSP-League alliance happens to be victorious in the elections) will be full of

uncertainty giving room for all sorts of political manoeuvres and intrigues. The same conditions of political instability that represent the threat of President's rule will be created.

All the more uncertain are the divided stands of the three parties on the various vital issues facing the people of Kerala.

Take for example, the most controversial issue facing the people of Kerala—the agrarian policy. The Congress and PSP lend their "general support" to the Agrarian Relations Bill passed by the Kerala State legislature. The Muslim League does not give any such "general support"; it confines itself to a reference to the Bill fixing ceiling on landholdings.

On this question of ceilings and distribution of surplus land, the Congress and PSP are of the view that the "surplus land should be handed over to the cooperatives" and not to individuals. The Muslim League does not make any proposal with regard to co-operatives.

As an advice, the Muslim

League warns against "doing anything that will undermine the rights of land ownership"; it demands that ceilings should be so fixed as "not to go contrary to people's consciousness of rights of land ownership"; it expresses its opinion that, if any other approach is taken to this problem, "the cultivators will lose all interest and incentive in cultivating land" and that this will "defeat the objective of increasing productivity of land."

All this is obviously intended to give warnings against the formation of cooperatives both in the case of existing landholders as well as of those who are given land under the new scheme. People will thus be left to wonder what exactly will be the position with regard to service cooperatives of cultivators, which are to be formed under the scheme laid down by the Congress in its Nagpur resolution.

Such discrepancies and differences on policy matters between the three political parties can be observed on several other issues. I would not take them up one by one in this article. There is, however, one issue on which the difference seems to be so fundamental that I cannot leave it un-

\* SEE PAGE 4

# PROVOCATEURS AT LARGE

**T**HE Eisenhower visit and closely following it another round of Chou-Nehru correspondence have all monopolised the headlines, and relegated an event of sinister significance to the back pages. It was long advertised as the so-called "National Convention on Tibet." A Prof. Guha from the PSP was sent out to all the South Asian countries to win Asian support for the convention but his mission proved a failure.

Just as almost all of the Governments of really independent Asian countries had refused to sponsor the Dalai Lama's case in the U. N., so popular patriotic organisations of these countries seemed to have refused cooperation in organising the American Lobby's Asian demonstration against China, with Tibet as the ramming rod.

Thus having failed to win broader Asian support the sponsors thought of intensifying the convention's national appeal by naming their show, "The All-India Border Security and National Convention on Tibet," the purpose being to play up the theme that Tibet as a part of China was a menace to Indian security.

## Munshi Inaugurates

Swatantra leader K. M. Munshi inaugurated this convention and the way he sought to exploit national sentiments to preach this thesis deserves to be widely noted.

He stated, "The tragedy of Tibet hangs heavily on our

conscience and our handling of the Tibet situation has been a crime in history."

According to him, Indian acceptance of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet was a "weakness" and amounted to conceding that "action was fact."

## Attack On Govt. Policy

He attacked the Indian stand on the Tibet issue in the U. N. The conclusion was that because of Pandit Nehru's policy, "instead of Tibet being a bastion of India it has become a springboard for Chinese infiltration." He recalled Sardar Patel's warning against Nehru's warning against Nehru of "dreaming of India and China walking down the corridor of history hand in hand as the joint architects of new Asia, peace and justice."

It is no wonder that Hindustan Times headlined the speech as "Munshi Assails Government's Policy." There is, however, one point in Pandit Nehru's policy which Munshi heartily supported and underlined and it was that India must become "a nation in arms."

Presiding over this convention, PSP General Secretary N. G. Goray accused the Prime Minister of trying to confuse the issue when he asked his critics whether they wanted him to give up the non-alignment policy. "What we say is that if the Chinese do not listen to soft words then we must use the rod."

The PSP leader has greatly improved and expanded the false theory of Chinese expansionism by advancing the thesis that the Chinese policy towards India was "part of a larger plan, plan of conquest of vast areas of Southeast Asia."

for freedom." His was the line of provocation and hostile intervention in Chinese affairs.

Dalai Lama's political adviser Tsepon Shakakpa was also there and, what was more, he also spoke when he was supposed to be a refugee pledged to keep off political activities. He regaled the audience with his tales of desecrated monasteries, slave labour, guerrilla fighting and ended up with a demand for "liberal financial aid" and appeal to India to arouse "world public opinion" to help the "Tibetans' cause".

## Their Resolution

The above speeches set the tone for the resolution that was finally passed. It defamed China as a "menace to democracy in Asia" and thus laid the ideological political basis to push non-aligned Asia towards the so-called democratic West. It urged the Indian Government to take "immediate measures" to drive out Chinese soldiers from the Indian soil despite the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament that this meant war while the Indian policy was peaceful negotiation.

Another resolution condemned the "rape of Tibet" and urged the "freedom fighters

people to render all assistance to the Tibetans groaning under red imperialism."

The convention organisers thus stood not only for the violation of the Indian policy of Panchsheel but came out as the champions of mediocaval backwardness and reaction in Tibet.

The "motely crowd" of PSP, Swatantra and Jan Sangh does not only gang up inside Parliament but also works together outside!

Let us note what it sought to do through this convention: slander Pandit Nehru's policy as weak-kneed and unworthy of India. These pro-Americans attempt to do this by putting on a national mask. The policy advocated by them amounts to repudiating the path of Panchsheel. The slogans raised by them are provocative.

They exploit the national sentiments of our people and stir up hatred against our neighbour. They are also against peaceful settlement of our dispute with China and advocate a course that will perpetuate and intensify the present tension. This is just what they seek, so that situations may arise, more and more, for them to press for closer alignment with the West, and for India's independent foreign policy to become a thing of the past.

POLISH FOREIGN TRADE ORGANISATION

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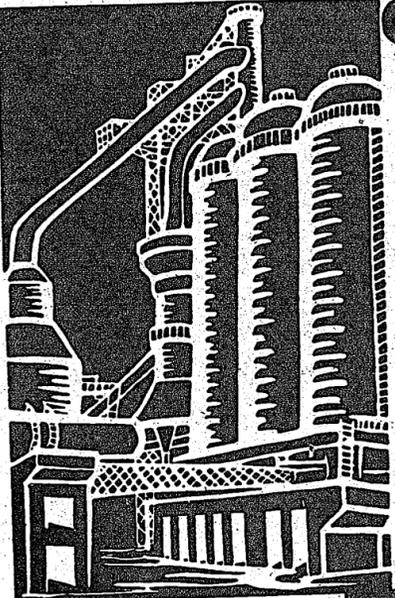
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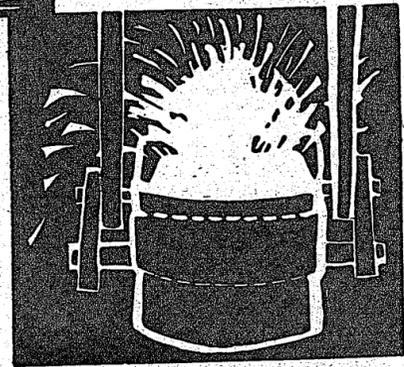
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## E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

(Here we print the second and third articles from E. M. S. Namboodiripad's series. They are translated from the original Malayalam).

**T**HAT house is on the Pakistan border" said a friend sitting beside me. We were in the plane going to Agartala (Tripura State) from Calcutta. The plane had just touched down and was taxiing to a stop. The house mentioned by my friend was just within hailing distance from where the plane was.

Tripura is a State on the Indo-Pak border, surrounded by Pakistan territory. There were clashes between Indian and Pakistani police patrols at several places on this border. It was only a few months ago that such a clash had occurred near the Agartala airport as a result of which five of our policemen had died.

This was not a new story to me. When I had visited Punjab some time ago, friends there had told me about the clashes on India's western border with Pakistan. But the Tripura experience had a special significance. I was there on October 25, when people were agitated over the death of nine of our soldiers as a result of the clashes between Indian and Chinese patrols on the India-China border in Ladakh, at a time when the PSP and Jan Sangh and the Congress in some places were organising demonstrations against China and the Indian Communists who were considered to be sympathetic to China. (In Agartala itself they attempted to stage a demonstration against me.)

## Why Such Inconsistency

A doubt naturally arose in my mind: why this unprecedented indignation among our people on this India-China border dispute and the consequent clash which resulted in the death of nine of our men which was not witnessed in the twelve-year-old India-Pakistan border dispute and the death of hundreds of our brethren in incidents on this border? A few developments only strengthened these doubts of mine.

U. S. Secretary of State Christian Herter stated that he did not know whether India's stand in the matter of the India-China border dispute was correct.

Pakistan's President General Ayub Khan declared that Ladakh was neither India's nor China's but Pakistan's. He further warned that no settlement arrived at between India and China in this regard would be binding on Pakistan. There was a report that during President Eisenhower's visit to Pakistan, he would hold discussions about the India-China border dispute and about Pakistan's claims.

Neither the PSP and Jan Sangh nor those Congress leaders who organise demonstrations against China have raised a little finger against this US-Pakistan attitude that does not accept the Indian claims. They demand that relations with Pakistan must be more friendly and American

## ★★★ SOME PROBLEMS BEFORE KERALA VOTERS

# INDIA-CHINA DISPUTE AND WE COMMUNISTS

our country 12 years ago, the other has been maintaining cultural contacts with us for centuries, and there was never an instance of conflict or clash between the two in history. It is indisputable that for the independent growth of our country as well as theirs all our problems should be settled by peaceful means.

## Without Preconditions

There is only one difference between them. One (Pakistan) is a country with a feudal-capitalist system. The other (China) is a country which is building a Socialist society. Is it proper to let this factor influence, to any extent, our mutual relations? Is it not good for us and them to let them follow their own social system while we follow ours and try to keep our relations with them friendly and peaceful.

## Peaceful Negotiations

It is because we accept this basis of settling all disputes by peaceful negotiations that the Communist Party says that relations with Pakistan which follows a feudal-capitalist system and China which is building a Socialist society, should be regularised on the same basis. The Party's suggestion for a meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and China, as in the case of Pakistan, for

settlement of disputes is made on the basis that disputes between the two countries must be settled by peaceful negotiations.

## Without Preconditions

But then it is said: "China has trespassed into our territory in Ladakh and Longju. Our Prime Minister meeting the Chinese Prime Minister before China withdraws her soldiers from these areas occupied by them is tantamount to recognition of Chinese aggression. Therefore, negotiations should start only after China withdraws from the area occupied by her."

If this is the right procedure in the case of China should it not be the same in the case of Pakistan also. On the contrary, did not our Prime Minister meet and talk with the former Pakistan Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali, and the Pakistan President General Ayub Khan. Why is such a precondition being laid in the case of China which was not insisted on in the case of Pakistan? Pakistan and China are sovereign States like ours. We are not their dependents, just as they are not ours. Hence, neither they nor we would be prepared for solutions to problems except on the basis of complete equality. If they insist on our recog-

nising certain preconditions for negotiation of border disputes, we will not accept them. The same way, they will not accept conditions we insist on. Just as we are prepared to make any sacrifices to defend our frontiers on the basis of the principles we consider just, we can be sure that they will do the same to defend their frontiers.

Therefore, the Communist Party says:

- Let our Government stand firm on the basis that the MacMahon line is the eastern boundary of India. But let our Government start negotiations with the Chinese Government without insisting on recognition of the MacMahon Line by the Chinese as a precondition for negotiation.
- Our Government has taken the attitude that our boundary in the east (Ladakh) is the traditional boundary. That is right. But there is a dispute as to what is the traditional boundary. So let our Government as well as the Chinese Government start talks to decide the traditional boundary.
- It will, of course, take time for the negotiations to reach a settlement. Meanwhile, precautions have to be taken to avoid further unpleasant incidents.
- The Communist Party is happy to see that the

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# U. P. Cane-Growers' Strike For A Fair Price

Sensing the bitterly defiant mood of the nearly 17 lakh cane-growers, who feed the 68 sugar mills of U. P. with their produce, the Government of Sampurnanand had discarded all the decencies of democracy and ordered a wholesale organisation of blacklegging, hooliganism and unshamed police terror to prevent their strike from materialising.

THEIR attempts at disruption had failed earlier. The Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party had not only declared to have unity in the struggle at almost any cost, but they went to the farthest limit to see it realised in practice. The PSP, too, was not in a position to oblige the Ministry. Attempts to drive a wedge between the eastern and western parts of U. P. also failed. It had therefore become obvious, days before December 15 that the action this time would be both united and State-wide.

Hence from the first day of the strike, a ruthless campaign was launched to crush it. Not only the police, professional strike-breakers and the goondas of the millowners, but also the Cooperative Cane Unions, which are semi-government bodies, were pressed into service.

Employees of these cooperative organisations were utilised to prevent, and when it could not be prevented, to break the strike.

It is not surprising that at places such as Jarwal Road, a place in the constituency of Revenue Minister Hukum Singh, Jan Sangh storm-troopers, too, were used along with Congressmen to try to break the strike.

Reports of beating up of workers of political parties and militant strikers have already come at least from a dozen places, which include:

Gorakhpur and Jarwal Road in the east and Khatauli in Muzaffarnagar and Meerut in the west. In Khatauli the police have already made lathi-charges twice. Many workers have been injured.

The number of arrested till the evening of December 19 had crossed the 200 figure. Hundreds more are wanted and arrests are continuing.

Still the strike could not be stopped. On the first day of the strike itself, the supply of sugar-cane had ceased to 43 mills and they had to stop work, according to reports that had come into the office of the U. P. State Kisan Sabha. The affected mills were in Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Moradabad, Lakhimpur Kheri, Barabanki, Jaunpur, Gorakhpur, Basti and Bahraich.

In Deoria, 11 of the 14 mills had to stop, in Saharanpur one mill and in Gonda one mill. It was a tremendously successful strike.

From December 16, that is, the second day, the strike began to spread farther. In Saharanpur two more mills were closed down, the mills in Sitapur, Hardi, Rampur, Pilibhit, the remaining mills in Gonda and the mills in Bijaur were also paralysed. The number of mills effected by the strike crossed the 50 mark. There are hardly any reports of any mills functioning fully anywhere. In some of them the strike has been perhaps only partial.

No sugar-cane growers' strike can last beyond a few days, and perhaps this, too, will not continue for long. But even then it will have underlined the great injustice, that is being done to the millions of cane-growers in U.P. (as well as in Bihar) by the Congress Governments because of their anxiety to serve the sugar magnates, who are exploiting both the producers and the consumers alike and also cheating the Government by depriving the exchequer of large taxes.

It would be remembered that last year both in U. P. and Bihar, the Legislative Assemblies had passed resolutions recommending to the Central Government that the price of sugar-cane should be fixed at Rs. 112 per maund. In the U. P. Assembly, the resolution was sponsored by a Communist MLA, Bhika Lal.

The recommendation was then also endorsed by the United Sugar-Cane Board of both the States of U. P. and Bihar, which produced nearly 75 per cent of the country's sugar this year.

Still Union Deputy Minister A. M. Thomas said in Parliament that the present prices have been fixed in consultation with the U. P. and Bihar Governments. The verdicts of the highest legislative bodies of the States have thus been shown scant regard by the democratic Governments of the Congress Party. As a result of this policy

the cane growing peasant alone is losing crores of rupees every year. The peasantry is not in a position to sustain this loss any longer. One fact will throw light on how the peasantry is suffering. In 1947, the peasant had to sell only 16 maunds of sugar-cane to be able to buy a maund of sugar from the market; now he has to sell 27

maunds. He loses both as a producer and as a consumer. And this is the driving force behind his unbending urge to fight, to fight till he can win an equitable price for his produce.

[General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha Bhawan Sen has in a statement pledged the Sabha's full support to the strike.]

joint work with the Muslim League. Joint tour programmes have been arranged for Kerala leaders of the Congress-PSP-Muslim League and NSS (Messrs Sankar, Patom, Bafaqui Thangal and Manarath Padmanabhan) who are jointly to address meetings from the same platform to solicit the support of the voters for candidates of the three parties.

It is this nakedly opportunistic and unprincipled alliance of the Congress with the Muslim League and PSP that is bringing a larger and larger number of Congress sympathisers into the camp of supporters of the alliance of Communists and non-party democrats. Several rallies that are now being organised all over the State are platforms on which such disillusioned Congressmen join hands with Communists and other non-party democrats and call on the voters to defeat the candidates of the opportunistic and unprincipled alliance.

The election battle is on and is gathering momentum day by day. At this moment, we are badly in need of funds. I express my thanks to all our friends and Party units who have already collected funds and sent them to us and those who are continuing collection of funds to help us. Yet it is only a trickle. It should grow into a big stream. Therefore, hereafter please send your contribution to our Election Fund to the following address:

C. Unni Raja,  
Kerala State Council,  
Communist Party of India,  
Valanjambalam, Ernakulam.

And yet the Congress in Kerala is today engaged in

castes and religious communities. The League goes a step further. It suggests that the basis of representation in Parliament and in the States Legislatures should be changed from the present one of single-member constituencies with distributive voting to multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting or proportionate representation with transferable votes.

This suggestion is made not as a measure of extending democracy in general, but with a view to "enable the Muslims and similar other minorities to secure representation in the Legislature through such representatives as enjoy the confidence of these minorities." In other words, it is a suggestion which is made as the second best alternative to separate electorates.

This completely explodes the theory (once advanced by Prime Minister Nehru) that the present Muslim League is different in political character from the old Muslim League of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Difference between Jinnah's "14 points" and the present "charter of demands" drawn up by the Muslim League is only a difference of degree. It will, therefore, be obviously impossible for the overwhelming majority of Congressmen and other nationalist-minded people to reconcile themselves with the so-called alliance with the Muslim League.

And yet the Congress in Kerala is today engaged in

castes and religious communities, this would mean political parties based on such

## PROCEEDINGS AGAINST NEW AGE STAYED

AN application on behalf of P. C. Joshi and D. P. Sinha, Editor and Printer and Publisher of NEW AGE Weekly, journal of the Communist Party, was admitted by Mr Justice Brookes of Allahabad High Court.

The application arose out of the criminal proceedings for defamation under Section 500 I.P.C. now pending in the court of the Assistant Sessions Judge, Kanpur.

In those proceedings, the charge against the applicants was that they had published and printed certain articles in the weekly issue of the NEW AGE dated November 16, 1958, which were alleged to be defamatory of Chief Minister Sampurnanand of Uttar Pradesh.

The Assistant Sessions Judge, after taking some evidence, had framed charges against the applicants on December 1, 1959.

The applicants submitted that the whole proceedings were vitiated inasmuch as Sampurnanand who was the person alleged to be defamed was not the complainant along with the Public Prosecutor. The applicants submitted that the provision of 198 B of Cr.P.C. was in addition to and not in derogation to the provision of 198 Cr. P. C. In support of the view, the decision of the Bombay High Court in the case of C. B. L. Bhatnagar Vs. the State was relied on.

The other ground taken by the applicants was that there was no proper sanction to prosecute as required by law.

After hearing the counsel for the applicants, His Lordship also issued an interim order staying further proceedings in the lower court.

Asif Ansari and Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, Advocates, appeared for the applicants.

# FOR A PROSPEROUS FUTURE FOR KERALA

The following is a summarised version of the Manifesto of the Kerala Council of the Communist Party of India for the mid-term elections in February 1960:

THE people of Kerala are faced with an election again. This is not an ordinary election that takes place normally once in five years, according to our country. It is an extraordinary election, unjustly forced on the people, in the middle of the term before the normal five years are completed.

The last General Elections took place three years ago in 1957. Then the people of Kerala through their verdict declared the Communist Party to be the biggest party in the State. With the support of the people, the Communist Party together with a number of non-party democrats won a majority of seats in the State Assembly and formed a Government in a democratic manner in accordance with the Constitution.

Historic Event

This was a new event in our history, a new experiment. When the Congress, representing mainly the vested interests, was in power at the Centre and in all the other thirteen States, in one State alone a non-Congress party—that too, a Party representing the interests of the working people who form the majority of the population—was able to win a majority through the ballot box and form its own Government. A Party that stands firmly on Marxism-Leninism, coming forward declaring and pledging that it would implement the programme outlined in its Election Manifesto, functioning within the Constitution framed and approved by the Congress—this was in fact inaugurating a new chapter in parliamentary democracy in our country. The very existence of the Communist-led Kerala Government inspired anew democratic forces throughout the country. The attention of not only India but the world itself was directed towards the till then little known State of Kerala.

But, the forces of reaction, inside and outside Kerala, could not tolerate this. They refused to respect the verdict of the people. All the reactionary vested interests—the Congress-PSP leaders who had been ousted from power, the Muslim League, Jan Sangh, big landlords, foreign and Indian owners of big plantations, the Catholic Church hierarchy, etc.—lined up against the Communist-led Government. Reactionaries throughout India, who knew well that if they had to strangle the growth of democracy in our country, they must first deal a blow against the Communist-led Kerala Government, gave support and help to reaction within the State.

Their Hypocrisy

Enlightened Kerala was able to see how hypocritical were the reactionary exploiting classes when they shouted from house-tops about moral values to gain respectability among the people. Those who claimed monopoly in the defence of democracy trampled democracy underfoot. Those who had inscribed on their banner the words satyameva jayate spread utter falsehoods and slanders against the Communist-led Government. Those who swore by non-violence organised the burning of schools, destruction of State transport buses, assaults on people and un-

leashed violence all over the State.

Party Stood Firm

No other party had to face a campaign of such slander and lies. No other Government had ever before to face such opposition from the vested interests. Still the Communist Legislature Bloc and the Communist-led Government stood firm as a single man, without any vacillation in its ranks. The majority of the people rallied behind the Government. The Communist-led Government was able for twentyeight months to successfully face all the trouble and disturbances, created by the reactionary vested interests who were able to mislead a section of the people also. The Communist-led Government was able to do this, because

In fact their slogan of anti-Communism was a war-cry against India's national traditions, against our national policies. They were not prepared, as a responsible Opposition, to cooperate with the Government even to successfully carry out the developmental programmes beneficial to the people. Instead, they tried to create disturbances in the State for their narrow selfish ends, by inciting the people through fanning religious feelings and communal

intolerance and of considering any Government which is not that of the Congress, as undemocratic?

Do the people of Kerala not have the right to elect a legislature and a Government of their own choice? Isn't the denial of this right an insult to the voters of Kerala?

Have the Congress, Praja-Socialist and Muslim League parties in the Assembly ever behaved as a responsible Opposition?

Is it in conformity with the principles of our Constitution to deliberately organise violence and disturbances with the declared object of overthrowing a Government, democratically elected and enjoying the confidence of the majority in the Legislature?

Was it because of patriotism that developmental programmes which ought to be considered as above party in-

terests were tried to be sabotaged?

Was it for the good of the country that burning of schools and destruction of public property like the State transport buses and various other acts of violence were organised?

Is it necessary for the progress of our secular State that the church and priesthood are allowed to interfere in politics?

Do the people want the rule of the Congress which trampled underfoot the rights of the vast majority of the common people to satisfy the wishes of a handful of landlord-capitalist vested interests or Communist rule that did everything possible to protect the rights and interests of the common people?

Was the 28 months' rule of the Communist-led Government for or against the best interests of the people of Kerala and of the Kerala State?

Did the Communist Party, once it came to office, tear up and throw to the winds the election promises it made to the people as the Congress and PSP did in the past or did the Party sincerely try to implement them?

Every citizen and voter in Kerala is called upon to answer these and other such questions. They have to ask their conscience and give their answer and the time for

it has arrived. The Communist Party is confident that the vast majority of the people who wish for the progress of our State and for prosperity for our people will utilise this opportunity properly.

After dealing with the factors which led to the victory of the Communist Party in the polls in 1957, the Manifesto continues:—

AS PARTY IN OFFICE

The aim of the Communist Party is to build a prosperous Kerala State as an integral part of a happy Socialist India, free from oppression, exploitation, illiteracy, a land without misery and tears. To realise that aim, we have to first of all, end the present backwardness of our country; immediate democratic reforms have to be introduced in the economic, agrarian, social and cultural lives of our people. The Communist Party has been exerting all its energy to fulfil this task by mobilising and uniting the entire people.

What the people really did by their verdict in the 1957 General Elections was to approve that the Communist Party was capable of fulfilling this task—a national task that transcends all narrow partisan political interests.

In fact, the Kerala victory of the Communist Party was not one confined to Kerala alone. In the 1957 General Elections, the Congress was further weakened and the Communist Party strengthened throughout India. Only, it was in Kerala that the weakest link in the Congress monopoly of power broke, because it was here that the Communist Party was the strongest. It was a pointer to the future.

Confidence Of People

For the first time, the Communist Party assumed the responsibility of administration in one State in April 1957. Yet, even before, in Kerala the Communist Party had the opportunity to win a majority in the Malabar District Board and in a number of Municipal Councils and conduct the administration. Through their work in these local self-Government bodies, the Communist Party was able to win the confidence of the people, proving in practice that the Communist Party was not only a party which conducted struggles and campaigns in defence of the rights of the vast majority of the common people, but also a party which could take charge of and carry on administration.

This confidence of the people in the Communist Party

\* SEE CENTRE PAGES

## COMMUNIST PARTY'S MANIFESTO

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# LANDLORDS CAN KEEP OVER A THOUSAND ACRES

It is considered certain now that the brief eleven-day session of the Bihar Assembly (commencing December 14) will not discuss the draft Bill on land ceiling. It is learnt that this is due to objections raised by the Planning Commission to certain provisions of the Bill.

THE question of land ceilings, as the Governor, Dr. Zakir Husain, in his address to the joint session of the Bihar Legislature in February this year, admitted, "has been exercising all our minds in the last few years." The tardiness of his Government, however, in introducing a Bill, he had tried to explain away by saying, "careful deliberation and therefore a certain amount of delay have been inescapable because of the complexities of the land tenure system, our insufficient knowledge of the actual state of affairs in sufficient detail as regards actual holdings, and therefore there have been difficulties in judging at what level and subject to what kinds of conditions the ceiling should be fixed."

Having taken their own time, "the Government," declared Dr. Zakir Hussain, "have decided that legislation for this purpose should be brought before you and passed as soon as practicable and that this should be done before the end of the year 1959."

The year is ending and the Bill, due to its obvious defects even in the eyes of the Planning Commission, is being again put off indefinitely. While the details or even the direction of the objections raised by the Planning Commission are not yet available at the time of writing, it can be said that the defects in the Bill are not merely of a technical nature and certainly not due to "our insufficient knowledge" as Dr. Zakir Husain had tried to persuade the people to believe.

## Earlier Bill Scuttled

It is relevant in this connection to remember that as early as 1955, even before the last General Elections, the Government of Bihar had sponsored a Ceiling Bill which with some minor amendments had been approved by a majority of the Select Committee of the Assembly. And then came the great conspiracy and by a bare majority of two, the Congress Legislature Party—152 against 150—did not allow the Bill to be brought again before the Assembly. In the meantime, by skilful and laborious manipulation the strength of the supporters of ceilings in the Legislature Congress Party had been reduced by the simple method of refusing many of them Congress tickets in the Second General Elections. Thus the hands of the pro-landlord opponents of land ceiling were strengthened. It was this rather than the "insufficient knowledge" claimed by Dr. Zakir Hussain which has been responsible for the delay.

It is true that during the general elections and after, no major party except the Communist Party, and that too in a limited way, made ceiling an important plank of its mass campaigns in the countryside.

This emboldened the Chief Minister, S. K. Sinha, while replying to the no-confidence motion early after the elections, to deride the Opposition parties "none of which dare fight the elections on the basis of this slogan."

It was obvious that the Bihar Government, with the strengthening of the landlord domination over itself, would have liked nothing more than to bury the Bill once for all. This, however, became out of question after the Nagpur resolution of the Congress, which not only laid down the rule but also fixed a dateline—before the year 1959 was out. The Bihar Government did not violate the Nagpur resolution in so far as it prepared a draft Bill within the time limit set, but it has taken care to see that the new Bill defeats the very purpose of ceiling.

The aim of the Bill, announced Revenue Minister Binodanand Jha, was to do away with the steep inequalities in the income from agriculture, and in the ownership of land. Together with this "we have kept in view the recommendations made in the Second Five-Year Plan." It is also expected, he said, that the Bill "by making self-cultivation by owners incumbent will help increase the yield from land."

How far does the Bill fulfil these aims? One is disappointed at the yawning gap between these professions and the actualities of the present Draft Bill.

Clause 4 of the Bill fixes the ceiling on landholdings. For the purposes of ceiling land has been divided into five categories:

For the first category, canal irrigated land—ceiling is fixed at 30 acres. For the second category, i.e. land irrigated by tube wells—

ceiling is 45 acres. For the third category, i.e. for land which does not fall under either the above two or any of the following categories—the ceiling is 60 acres. For the fourth grade, or diara land—the ceiling is 75 acres. For the fifth category, land which is not suited either for paddy or the rabi crop or any of the cash crops—the ceiling is 90 acres.

Besides these ceilings, a person can possess additional ten acres of land attached with a homestead—even though the house may not have been there for twenty years—plus 30 acres of orchard land. But if the house is not one of mud, but a pucca one made of brick, there is no limit to the land which can be attached to it.

Then there is the provision for dependents who are not legally entitled to any share in the land. For each one of such dependents a person can have an additional one-fifth

of the ceiling subject to a maximum of three times the ceiling. If later, however, the number of dependents is reduced for some reason, the land allowed for them will not revert to the Government.

All this, however, is on the basis of one person. Each member of the family with a legal share in the property is considered to be an independent person for the purposes of ceiling. Basing itself on the Mitakshara Law, the Bill allows each such person—even a new-born babe—land up to the ceiling. As for those who follow some other law of inheritance, the head of the family can transfer land to any number of his descendants with the only proviso that the total land with each of the recipients should not exceed the ceiling.

After providing loopholes for hundreds of acres of land this way, the Bill makes exemptions from ceiling in the case of tea plantations, land on which lac is grown, and sugar-cane farms owned by sugar mills.

It is computed that if a person having four sons takes advantage of all the loopholes provided in the Bill, he may keep as much as 1,320 acres of land of the third category and 1,860 acres of the fifth category. Even the first category of land he can have up to a maximum of 780 acres. This being the case, how can anybody seriously claim (as the Bihar Revenue Minister had the temerity to do) that with the present Bill inequality in land ownership and in income from land can be done away with and more efficient farming through self-cultivation by owners will be the result.

## No Land For Distribution

This Bill is exactly calculated to make all this impossible. It can be seen that if this Bill is enacted and implemented, no land above the ceiling will be available for distribution among the landless and the poor peasants—the only class of people who can make intensive farming through self-labour a profitable and practicable proposition.

Such is the Bill which the Bihar Government has drafted. Its 1956 draft Bill was also considered inadequate by the entire Opposition as well as the Kisan Sabha and the Bhoo-dan Samiti. But in contrast with the present measure that was progressive. Whereas the present Bill takes a person as the basis, the 1956 Bill had taken a family of five (as per definition of the Kumarappa Committee of the Congress on Agrarian Reforms) as the basis of ceiling for the different categories of land. While the present Bill allows such a family 150 acres of ceiling land (leaving aside homestead land, orchards and land for dependents), the earlier Bill allowed only 25 acres of the

\* SEE PAGE 14

# A CAMPAIGN BASED ON LIES

The Prime Minister has several times appealed to the Press and the people to exercise patience and not get excited. But this has not prevented the reactionary newspapers from manufacturing and spreading untruths, just to worsen India-China relations, and inflame our people with exciting but false stories.

There is a division of labour between the monopoly-controlled Press and the Right-wing leaders. The Press splashes the scare stories to stir national passion, the reactionary political leaders use them in their public campaign to preach hatred against China, and raise them inside Parliament to pressure the Prime Minister. This is soiling the whole political atmosphere.

## On The Ladakh Border

Let us examine only a few specimens of this type of Press and political campaign.

These days Ladakh is in the news and every bit from there is avidly read by the readers.

On November 17, the PTI circulated a story, date-lined Srinagar, based on "reliable reports received by the State Government". First, "The Chinese have constructed an airfield somewhere on the Aksai Chin plateau in Ladakh." Secondly, "The Chinese have another airstrip a few miles away from the Indian airstrip at Chusul." Thirdly, "The Chinese were now in occupation of the Malikshah region in northern Ladakh."

Add up the above three statements and they make a grim picture of continuing Chinese "aggression" and active preparation for more!

The very next day, as if the above Press report had been deliberately timed for the purpose, the PSP and Jan Sangh M.P.s moved five adjournment motions and on top a series of questions were tabled by 18 of such M.P.s.

The Prime Minister answered them and gave out the true facts. First, he said that the Government could neither "confirm" nor "deny" the report that the Chinese had built any airstrip in Aksai Chin area.

As regards the construction of an airfield at Chusul the Prime Minister stated that it was "definitely incorrect".

Thirdly, as regards Malikshah, the Prime Minister stated that, Malikshah region was "in Chinese Sinkiang" and not Indian Ladakh. In other words "the Chinese were in Chinese territory and not Indian."

Any honest man can see for himself that after the Prime Minister's replies the persons who raised the issue should have been apologetic and sat down satisfied. But not so our anti-Chinese warriors of the American lobby.

In their mouthpiece, the Hindustan Times (November 20, 1959), its Parliamentary Correspondent stated, "For about an hour the members hammered hard at the Government... the Prime Minister, though anxious to convince did not entirely succeed in giving satisfaction to members in view

"The Prime Minister's answer was that if there had been explosions they would certainly have been heard and people would have complained about them. There was no talk about it in the area. It was rather unfortunate that 'travellers' tales' appeared in the newspapers, he severely added." (Hindustan Times, November 25, 1959)

Thus another big lie was exploded, and again it was blown up by the Prime Minister himself.

## Playing With Nepal

During the last parliamentary debate, Nehru made a statement that any attack on Nepal would be tantamount to an attack upon India and that India was pledged to defend Nepal.

Our readers will remember the story that was splashed in the front page of all the Indian dailies, and in some with screaming headlines, that contained the reports of "heavy mining" of the passes by the Chinese along the MacMahon line, and the resultant "heavy casualties" from explosions, and a whole merchant caravan having been blown up and so on. The propaganda purpose of this story was to work up popular sentiment by creating the picture of "human lives in danger," because of the "ruthless" measures of the Chinese.

Nehru explained that he had said nothing new and had only reiterated a past treaty pledge, and that he respected Nepal's sovereignty and its right to pursue its own policy.

The issue of mine-laying along MacMahon line was raised by a Congress M.P., Mrs. Mañda Ahmed, through a short notice question. The Prime Minister's reply was that senior officers had visited the border area and there was "no basis" for the report.

Again some members were not satisfied and sought to know whether the information about mining of the passes was not available "due to Government's faulty information machinery?"

He put out the story of the two "difficulties" facing Nepal's Prime Minister—the first being pressure from the so-called "China lobby" and the second the danger of "subversion".

He laid the story thick by seeking to publicise inside information. He recalled that the Nepal Government's delegation had visited Peking during the Tenth Anniversary celebrations. "In Peking, Mr. Giri (delegation leader and Cabinet Minister) had a talk with Mr. Chou En-lai and the impression he got was that the Chinese were prepared to recognise Nepal's present border."

Later, according to his story Mr. Nar Pratap, Foreign Secretary and an official, interviewed the Chinese Foreign Minister who is stated to have said that Chou En-lai had been "misunderstood", and "no categorical assurance" was intended. The result was "shattering."

Mahesh Chandra discloses the political purpose of his story in the conclusion he drives home, in the following words: "It is suggested that the Chinese quickly realised, or it was put to them, that if they were to accept the present frontier with Nepal, which had shorter historical or 'treaty' foundation, then they would have even less of a case against India."

## Denial From Nepal

All this was published in the Statesman of December 3. On December 8, the same Statesman was compelled to publish under "Nepal's Minister's Denial" the indignant statement of Dr. Tulsī Giri which categorically stated, "I had the full mandate from my Government and as the leader of the delegation it was I who conducted all the talks. All the observations made in the Political Commentary regarding my visit to Peking are false and baseless and

the sources quoted are equally baseless. The civil servants of my delegation were throughout correct in their behaviour and execution of work as civil servants."

The ignoble trick, trying to use and embroil Nepal as well in our dispute with China, misfired, but Mahesh Chandra's column had a three-column headline while Dr. Giri's denial was shoved into a corner, under one column.

I have exposed above only a few of the lies with which our Right-wing Press abounds. The semi-official PTI is one big purveyor, and the Special Correspondents of the big and rich dailies are working on special assignments to manufacture and broadcast as many of such tales as they can. In fact it has become a dangerous feature of the way they regularly treat India-China relations.

## Political Aims

These lies are unbecoming of India that stands for truth and decency. They poison the minds of our people and inflame their passions against our neighbour.

The manufacturers and preachers of these false stories are the very elements who do not want a peaceful solution of India-China differences. In fact the very purpose of these li-mongers is to prevent the restoration of normal neighbourly relations.

They are no ordinary liars. They lie because they serve the political aims of pro-imperialist reaction. They artificially provoke the Indian people against the Chinese. They do all this because they are out to play the dirty game of preventing the very beginning of India-China negotiations.

—P. C. JOSHI

1959  
BONUS YEAR  
Purchase a  
with-profits  
policy now

## Second Valuation Soon

The second valuation of the Life Insurance Corporation will be made as at 31st December 1959. All eligible with-profits policies in force on the valuation date will be entitled to participate in profits disclosed as a result of that valuation. The first valuation of the Corporation made as at 31st December 1957 disclosed a surplus large enough to support bonuses at the following rates on with-profits policies issued by the Corporation:-

Endowment Assurances: Rs. 14 per thousand sum assured per annum  
Whole Life Assurances: Rs. 17½ per thousand sum assured per annum

Important: Policies which are converted into reduced paid-up, policies or lapsed before 31st December 1959 will not qualify for bonus.

Preserve your policy, keep it up-to-date by regular payment of premiums and make sure that your policy qualifies for bonus to be declared as a result of the second valuation. Remember 1959 is the Bonus Year.



LIFE INSURANCE  
—the day you insure you are secure

# THE PARTY THAT FULFILLED ITS PLEDGES...

was reflected in the results of the 1957 elections. Did the people make a mistake in reposing their confidence in the Party? They have now the opportunity to prove again that they had made no mistake.

Power was very limited. Administrative experience was very little. Sources of revenue in the State budget were inadequate. There were many difficulties. Still the Communist Party succeeded, with the help and cooperation of the people, to overcome these limitations, inadequacies and opposition and form a stable Government helpful to satisfying popular aspirations.

Kerala had a stable Government for the first time only after the Communist Party won a majority in the legislature. The Communist Party and the democratic independents ready to work unitedly with the Party had a bare majority of two. Yet till the very last minute, till the Central Government unjustly intervened and dismissed the Ministry, the Communist Party and the Communist Legislature Bloc stood firm, united and without any internal split. The Congress during its rule had never been able to maintain such unity in its ranks.

True, the formation of a stable Government alone need not bring benefits to the people. A stable Government is not an aim, it is only an ins-

trument to carry out the promises made to the people at the time of the elections.

The twentyeight months of Communist administration is a telling reply to those who went about saying that the election pledges of the Communist Party were impractical claptrap. Proudly can it be stated that in the course of twentyeight months, the Communist Government was able to carry out, or take preliminary measures to carry out, more than three-fourths of the programme placed before the people by the Party for implementation within five years.

If the Party was not able to implement them cent per cent, the responsibility is that of the vested interests in Kerala, the leaders of the Opposition parties who organised the overthrow campaign to please these vested interests, and the leaders of the Central Government who gave encouragement and help to it.

The offensive launched by the Congress High Command against the Communist-led Government was not just an attack on the Communist Party, it was an attack on the implementation of the election programme of the Party which could have led the State to prosperity. It was an attack on the economic, social and cultural progress of the fifteen million people of Kerala.

industrial and agricultural production. It is with this perspective that the Government under the Party's leadership carried on the administration. It is for the people now to give their verdict as to whether this perspective and the measures taken on that basis were correct or not.

(Stating that when discus-

## THE CENTRE AND KERALA

The powers and financial resources of State Governments for formulating and implementing socio-economic transformations, necessary for the advancement of the country, are very very limited at present.

Though it is not necessary to insist on more than the minimum uniformity and coordination needed for the formulation and implementation of a common national plan, the situation at present is that in each State and for each individual scheme even in the matter of minute details, Central supervision and sanction have become compulsory.

It has been made impossible without the help of the Central Government to develop industries or introduce fundamental agrarian reforms or take effective steps in the matter of food shortage, price-increase, etc.

The Central Government has the responsibility to pay special attention to develop Kerala which still remains a backward State, economically and industrially, despite the

abundance of its natural resources. Instead of doing this duty by the people of Kerala, the Central Government is following a policy of holding up even such legislative measures as are within the jurisdiction of the State Government. This is an attitude that really cuts at the very root of provincial autonomy.

It was within the four corners of many such limitations that the Communist-led Government carried on the administration for twentyeight months. Yet, it is a fact that better than any previous Government in Kerala, the Communist-led Government was able to protect the interests of the common people, to implement schemes for the development of Kerala and thus to carry out the election pledges of the Party. We appeal to the voters to examine, at least in its important aspects what the Communist-led Government has done for the good of the people in the course of just twentyeight months of its rule.

## RECORD OF MINISTRY

The voters have a right to know not only the promises a Party makes but also a record of its performance. Hence we want to point out some of the achievements of the Communist-led Government.

Our 1957 Manifesto gave priority to development programmes. They were of two kinds: those which could be taken up only with the help of the Central Government and those which could be implemented by the State itself.

It is a fact that the results achieved in the first category have not been entirely satisfactory. For instance, one of the items in our Manifesto was about the establishment of the second ship-building yard in Cochin. In spite of a unanimous resolution of the Assembly and the requests of the Chamber of Commerce and other organisations in the State and representations made by the State Government itself, the Centre has still not conceded this demand.

In the case of many other important schemes also, like a coach-building factory, the Quilon-Alleppey-Cochin Rail-

way link, a machine-tools factory, harbour development, the Tellicherry-Mysore railway link and so on, the Communist-led Government made repeated efforts to get them included in the Centre's Plan. As a result there has been some amount of success at least in some spheres.

Even though we could not get the Barapole and Kanhirapuzha schemes included in the Second Plan, we were able to persuade the Central Government to include the Kattampall and Pothundi schemes. The work on these has progressed to a certain extent. Work on the Tammirukkam scheme was begun under Communist rule. This could be achieved only after a great deal of pressure was exerted upon the Central Government.

The Communist Government had demanded that the allotment for Kerala in the Second Five-Year Plan should be raised to at least Rs. 150 crores. Opposition leaders, instead of supporting this demand for the welfare and progress of the State, laughed at it and expressed their glee that the Commu-

nist Government could not fulfil them alone.

As for schemes which could be carried out by the State Government, there has been remarkable progress. Most of them were either completed or their preliminaries completed and work begun on them.

In the case of minor irrigation schemes, our Government has achieved big results. In 1958-59, more than 900 of these schemes were formulated and in the course of just three or four months, one third of them were executed.

The Master Plan for Kerala's irrigation and power development which was formulated and finalised by our Government—a plan which would give irrigation facilities to lakhs of acres of land, provide clear water to tens of lakhs of people and produce ample electric power for the State's industrialisation—is a signal achievement of our State. The people will see what an important step this is for the progress of the State and then the leaders of the present "united front" will realise what a big crime they had committed when they had ridiculed and opposed this plan.

The Congress Governments which preceded our administration in the State were guilty of gross neglect of Five-Year Plan fulfilment. They allowed huge sums of money to lapse

involved in setting up a new industry, like the difficulties of getting licence from the Central Government, foreign exchange, etc., we, in our short period of twentyeight months, were able to show achievements which the Congress in ten years of its rule could not show.

### Govt.-Owned Factories

The Communist Government first of all set about improving the condition of Government-owned factories like the Rubber Factory, Shark Liver Oil Factory and the Ceramic Factory which were all running at a loss and made them profit-making concerns. Private industries which were on the verge of collapse were taken over by the Government and the workers and factories saved from ruin. Steps were also taken to start a tyre factory, pulp factory, spinning mills, etc. Statistics published by the Governor's regime, after the dismissal of the Communist-led Ministry gives the lie to those who declare that under Communist rule, not only were no new industries started but even the existing ones had been closed down. The total number of registered factories in Kerala during 1957-58 was 1,613. In 1958-59 it was 2,128. The number of

rights on women workers, never before enjoyed by them. Their emoluments were raised and pre-and after-delivery care was provided. As a result of this legislation, women workers received Rs. 11 lakhs. as maternity benefit in 1958-59 alone—a fact admitted by the Governor's report.

The conditions of the workers improved and they became stronger as a result of the active intervention and conciliation by the Labour Department and the Minister himself in order to settle disputes over questions of bonus, wage increase, etc. Minimum wages were introduced in more than 18 industries.

### Peace in Industry

These steps led to the establishment of peace in industries and increased production. In 1958-59 alone, 3,942 conferences of management and workers were held to settle disputes by negotiation and out of 7,780 disputes handled nearly 6,800 were thus settled. In the same year, 292,852 workers received bonus of more than Rs. 70 lakhs. The wages of workers also recorded substantial increase ranging from 15 to 200 per cent in various industries.

Above all, the most important was the police policy of

When we come to the Agrarian Front, it will be found that out of 15 items promised by the Communist Party in its election programme, 12 have already been either completely fulfilled or partly fulfilled. The most important of them is the Agrarian Reactions Bill. While giving substantial benefits to the poor peasant and agricultural labourers, the Bill also takes care of the interests of small peasants and small landholders. This progressive legislation is the first of its kind in India. While the Congress Party was paying lip service to it, its Kerala leaders were opposing everyone of its clauses which conferred rights upon agricultural workers and poor peasants, they were arguing the case of the big landlords. The proceedings of the Legislative Assembly bear testimony to this fact.

The Communist Government was also responsible for such other legislations as the Jammikaram Bill, Sreepadam Bill, Sree Pandaravaka Bill, Paltazhi Devaswam Bill, etc., which give relief to thousands of peasants in the State. The kandukrishni tenants were freed from the burden of rent and rules were framed to lease lands to them. The Agriculturalists Debt Relief Bill, introduced by the Communist Government, was the most

Before these Bills could be passed, the Assembly was dissolved.

The Communist Government bestowed its care and attention upon the minorities and backward communities and did much to help their progress. New sections of backward communities were included in the list of backward communities, eligible for concessions. In the matter of recruitment to Government services, reservation for backward communities was raised from 35 to 40 per cent. Special attention was bestowed on the educational needs of these communities. A Harijan member was nominated to the Devaswam Board. Backward Christians were treated on a par with Scheduled Castes and other backward communities for the purpose of granting educational concessions, scholarships, etc.

There are many more of similar achievements of the Communist Government which it is not possible to recount here in detail. Malabar, which was a backward area under the Madras Government, has received special attention under the Communist Government. Health and medical facilities were expanded and steps taken to set up taluk headquarters hospitals, sanatoria, etc. Schemes for protected water supply have also recorded progress even though the Party fully recognises the necessity for much more activity in this sphere.

### A Myth Blown Up

Communist rule in Kerala has shattered the myth of Communists being the enemies of religion and mosques, which was one of the slanders propagated by the Muslim League in the last election. It was under Communist rule that restrictions which were in force on the construction of madrasas, burial gro-

ment enabled students to buy books at cheap rates.

The salaries of low-paid Government employees were revised by the Communist Government involving an annual additional expenditure of more than three crores of rupees for the State Exchequer. Care was taken to limit the highest salary of any officer to Rs. 1000.

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The steps taken by the Communist Government for the welfare of colr workers by introducing uniform wages in the colr industry, elimination of middlemen, encouragement to colr cooperatives, etc., have helped to stabilise the industry and save many thousands of colr workers from total ruin. In the same way, measures taken for the encouragement of toddy tappers' cooperatives and fishermen's

## THE PATH TO PROSPERITY

The considered opinion of the Communist Party is that in order to lead the Kerala State along the path of prosperity, the following three tasks have to be taken in hand:

ONE, prepare a comprehensive economic plan to exploit the enormous natural resources of Kerala lying hidden in the forests, in the sea and in the plains in between, for the good of the people and bring about urgently needed socio-economic transformations indispensable for effectively implementing such a plan.

TWO, introduce democratic reforms in the administration so necessary to effectively enlist the active cooperation of the people to implement such a programme to develop Kerala.

THREE, even before implementing these fundamental reforms, give immediate relief to the tolling sections of the people through legislative and other measures using the existing limited powers.

No lasting solution to the difficult problems facing Kerala is possible without continually increasing production in agriculture and industry. But, our experience is that it is no use repeatedly exhorting the people to increase production, as certain Congress leaders so often do. If production in the country as well as the per capita income of the people are to increase, the working people have to be given the neces-

sary incentive and encouragement. In other words, it is impossible to increase production alone without bringing about changes in the system of distribution.

Immediate steps, therefore, have to be taken to improve the living standards of the common people and thus make them actively interested in production. It has become a national task and an urgent necessity to improve the living standards of the workers, peasants, agricultural workers, teachers, NGOs and other sections of the people in the low income groups. The Communist-led Government attempted to carry out this task and create a climate in which the people would work harder and increase production.

Minimum wages for agricultural workers were statutorily fixed, steps were initiated to distribute waste land to landless peasants, measures were taken to make it easier for the peasants to get water, manure, etc., popular labour enthusiasm was created by rallying the people through shramdan, etc., and a beginning was thus made for increasing agricultural production. It was at such a time that the Communist-led Ministry was unjustly dismissed.

The Communist Party is of opinion that the Government which will be formed after the elections must go forward on this path and increase our

# ...Promises to carry forward record of 28 months' rule

every year. As against this tradition, in the very first year of Communist rule, we had a Plan fulfilment of 84.5 per cent in our State. The previous year it was only 53.1 per cent. In the second year of the Communist-led Government, that is 1958-59, the performance was even better. Out of the year's total allotment of Rs. 18.51 crores, the actual expenditure was 18.48 crores, that is 99 per cent fulfilment. Under Communist rule, Kerala was raised from its position of being one of the most backward States in the matter of Plan fulfilment to become second in rank among all the States in India. The Governor's report, released after the Communist Government's dismissal, has itself admitted this fact.

### Benefits To Workers

There are those who ask what benefits the workers have received from Communist rule. Only they can ask this question who do not know anything about our workers or who want to shield the unforgettable repression of which the workers were victims under ten years of Congress rule.

Many have been the benefits enjoyed by workers under Communist rule. The 1957 Manifesto of our Party outlined eleven demands of workers. The Kerala Industrial Relations Bill contained adequate provisions to meet these workers' demands which include their trade union recognition, right to collective bargaining by the majority union, statutory powers for industrial relations committees and freedom of action for the trade unions. The Bill was before the legislature when it was dissolved.

### Industrial Front

There are some, however, who ask how many industries the Communist-led Government has started in Kerala. They conveniently forget to ask themselves or answer the question: how many industries were started in this State during ten years of Congress rule. In spite of the many difficulties

industrial workers increased from 107,629 in 1957-58 to 165,822 in 1958-59. Which Congress leader dare refute these figures?

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### Industrial Front

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the Communist-led Government which put an end to the practice of police repression against workers and other people at the behest of capitalists and landlords. The history of our country before independence and after was one of repression against workers, peasants and other poor sections of the people by the police who act on the orders of the money-bags. It was after the Communist-led Government came to office that this situation was changed. The Government took steps to make the police force realise that their duty was not to oppress the poor people and suppress working class and peasant struggles on the orders of rich people but to track down criminals and anti-social elements and maintain law and order in the land. We are sure that the people of Kerala who remember the inhuman atrocities of police and lock-up repression under Congress rule will bless and reward the Communist Party for this one policy alone!

### Agrarian Front

What to say of those who think these are not achievements of the workers, peasants and common people.

comprehensive and best so far achieved in the direction of giving relief to our indebted peasantry. So also, immediately after assuming charge, within a matter of six days, the Communist Government promulgated the Anti-Eviction Ordinance. As a result, prior to 1959 alone, 21,000 families were protected from eviction proceedings and the sale of properties stayed in more than 2,300 cases.

The Communist Government took steps to distribute Government-owned waste lands to the poor and for this purpose constituted in every taluk popular all-party committees. Nearly ten thousand acres of land have so far been distributed this way.

### Protection To Minorities

Agricultural workers also have received maximum attention from the Communist Government. Minimum wages were fixed for them as a result of which agricultural labourers in Kuttanad alone received 5-12 lakh paras of paddy as increase in their wages.

The Panchayat Bill introduced by the Communist Government are designed to give more powers to local bodies as promised in our Manifesto.

under, etc., were removed and Muslims and their religious feelings came to be treated with tolerance and respect, like in the case of other communities. For the first time, a Muslim was nominated to the Public Service Commission. Still the leaders of the Muslim League joined in reaction's conspiracy to oppose the Communist Government. It has become evident that the League leaders represent not the interests of the majority of the Muslim masses but of a handful of big feudals.

### In The Field Of Education

The activities of the Communist Government in the field of education are important and well-known. It raised the Travancore University to a Kerala University and took steps to establish a number of polytechnics and junior technical schools in all the districts.

The Education Act and its benefits for the teachers in private schools are well known. Under the Act, teachers in private schools received security of tenure and protection from the attacks of managements. By nationalising text-books, the Govern-

ment enabled students to buy books at cheap rates.

The salaries of low-paid Government employees were revised by the Communist Government involving an annual additional expenditure of more than three crores of rupees for the State Exchequer. Care was taken to limit the highest salary of any officer to Rs. 1000.

There are many more of similar achievements of the Communist Government which it is not possible to recount here in detail. Malabar, which was a backward area under the Madras Government, has received special attention under the Communist Government. Health and medical facilities were expanded and steps taken to set up taluk headquarters hospitals, sanatoria, etc. Schemes for protected water supply have also recorded progress even though the Party fully recognises the necessity for much more activity in this sphere.

On the basis of the practical programme that the Communist Party placed before Kerala in the last General Elections and in the light of the experience gained by the Communist-led Government in implementing that programme, the Communist Party proposes the following programme for carrying forward the task of all-round development of our State and pledges that the Party will

# ADVANCE TO A BRIGHT FUTURE

"Advance ye, people reborn, advance to a bright future!"

With these lines, which have become a hymn to knowledge and progress in Bulgaria for many years now, the Bulgarian people celebrate the day of Cyril and Methodius, the great Slav enlighteners (on May 24). It is the brightest day of Bulgaria's national enlightenment and culture, a day of the Slav script. For more than a hundred years the Bulgarian people have paid tribute to the two brothers of Salonica, who laid the foundations of old Slav culture and gave it a powerful impetus 11 centuries ago.

THE greatness of Cyril and Methodius lies not only in the fact that they created the Slav alphabet and gave a script to nearly all Slavs. They were the first to lay the foundations of Slav unity, which has for centuries resisted the aggressive encroachments of the Slav peoples' enemies.

The work of Cyril and Methodius is democratic and progressive in every respect. It was based on the vernacular and designed for the masses. It shattered the views prevalent in the Middle Ages that culture could be created only in the three ancient languages—Greek, Latin and Hebrew; it acquainted the Slav peoples with the culture of the day, and proved a powerful weapon in their hands against the encroachments of the Catholic church which was doing its best to assimilate them. What is more, Cyril and Methodius created the Slav alphabet precisely as a means of resisting foreign influence.

The work of Cyril and Methodius found most favourable conditions for development in Bulgaria and yielded the richest harvest there. Even in the early Middle Ages when Latin was regarded as the official language in many European countries, and the few cultured people wrote in Latin only, a rich literature was created within the boundaries of the old Bulgarian State. Written in a language accessible to the people, this old Bulgarian literature made a great advance within a short historical period and had a great influence on the neighbouring people.

## Ottoman Oppression

The history of the Bulgarian people abounds in vicissitudes, decades of advances following centuries of oppression—the Greek bondage lasting nearly 200 years and the Ottoman five centuries. In the history of the peoples there is hardly another bondage as oppressive as that of the Ottomans, under which Bulgaria fell late in the 14th century. Literature and the arts declined, schools were closed and centuries of complete spiritual and political darkness set in.

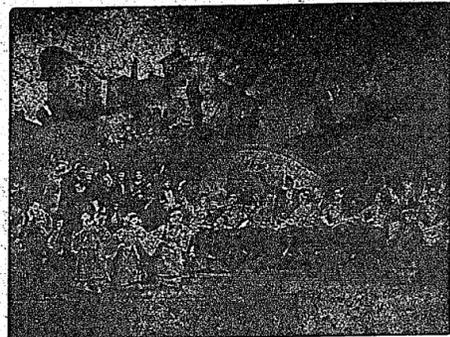
The Bulgarian people were able to escape assimilation all through this long and hard bondage thanks to the fact that Bulgarian culture, the foundations of which were laid by the brothers Cyril and Methodius, had a specifically popular character, and had struck roots even in the re-

most parts of the country. The Revival in the 18th century, and particularly the country's liberation from Ottoman bondage in 1878, set free the creative forces of the people, suppressed for centuries on end, and enabled Bulgaria within just 80 years to take her place today among the most advanced countries in the cultural field.

## Mothers Freed

Over 50 per cent of the children from the age of three to seven go to nurseries and kindergartens which means that mothers can participate in the public, political, economic and cultural life of the country on an equal footing with men.

Young people, who won their right to happiness with the blood of their worthiest representatives in the struggle against fascism, have been ensured a bright present and still brighter future in People's Democratic Bulgaria. Wide vistas for work and creative labour are open before them. It is no longer a problem for Bulgarian youth to get an



THE STATE MUSICAL THEATRE IN SOFIA—SCENE FROM THE OPERA BULGARIANS OF YORE BY A. KARASTOYANOV.

Bulgaria holds first place in the world in proportion to her population.

Bulgaria also takes one of the first places in the world by the number of university students. There are about 55 university students per 10,000 people in Bulgaria today, as against 36 in France, 34 in Italy, 31 in Sweden, 17 in Britain, 12 in Turkey and so on.

The number of higher educational establishments and students is four times that of 1939. There are 20 universities with 43,000 students in Bulgaria today. The universities have depart-

ment-technical and administrative personnel.

## Valuable Discoveries

The problems on which Bulgarian scientists work are diverse and yet they are all in close touch with life and the development of the nation's economy. Academician Georgi Nadjakov of the Institute of Physics at the Academy of Sciences made valuable discoveries in the field of photoelectrical

# Bulgaria's Cultural Achievements

Bulgaria, turning her from a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial-agricultural one, has been accompanied by a profound cultural revolution, embracing all spheres of culture. On the basis of the national traditions and cultural values of the past, a new, Socialist culture is being created, a culture close to and in the service of life.

A genuine revolutionary leap is being accomplished in the sphere of public education. A few figures will suffice to show the cultural level of the Bulgarian people today.

Illiteracy among people of up to 50 years of age has been wiped out. There are 1,390,000 pupils in Bulgaria, a country with a population of about 7,600,000. Naturally, this figure

education as they have all opportunities to do so.

## All Children In Schools

Prior to 1944, primary education—from the first to the seventh class—although obligatory for 40 years, was not fully effected, and a great many children remained out of school. At present, however, all children from seven to fifteen years of age are included in the system of public education.

Moreover, 85 per cent of the children who leave elementary school enter the secondary general-educational schools or vocational and professional schools. In the number of secondary school pupils, Bul-

garia holds first place in the world in proportion to her population.

Students are granted all opportunities for theoretical and practical work. About 50 per cent of them receive State scholarships and most of the others get either meals or lodgings or text-books free. Canteens, libraries, reading rooms and health services have been opened at all schools.

There are many foreign students from China, Korea, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Iraq, Albania and other countries studying at Bulgarian universities.

## Advance Of Science

The progress of education provided an impetus to the advance of science. Scientific institutes, cultural and educational establishments and museums increased and were reconstructed. The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, for instance, had only one scientific and research institute with seven scientific workers before 1944. Now the Academy has 36 scientific and research institutes, six museums, two experimental gardens—the zoological and the botanical, ten experimental fields and stations, one experimental farm, with over 700 academicians, corresponding members, senior and junior research workers and about 1,250 assis-

effects. Professor Dr. Dimiter Paskov of the Institute of Experimental Medicine discovered Nivalin in the leaves and stem of the Bulgarian snowdrop from which a most effective preparation is made to treat polio after-effects, and engineer Nikola Belopitov of the Institute of Communications invented a special device removing noise during telephone conversations. These are only three of the latest

\* SEE FACING PAGE



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# Economic Collaboration Between Socialist Countries

The emergence of a world Socialist system in the wake of World War II gave rise to a new type of relations, hitherto unknown in history, between its member-countries. These relations are based on the principle of proletarian solidarity—the international unity of the proletariat for the abolition of capitalist oppression and the construction of a Communist society, for the defence of freedom, independence and equality of all nations, for international understanding and collaboration.

THIS is a guiding principle in the field of economic relations as well. Here the efforts to build up the economy of any one nation hinge on the fraternal mutual aid of all other countries belonging to the Socialist system, without interference in internal affairs, without selfish aims, without any economic or political pressure.

## Mutual Assistance

To translate this principle into a living reality and to make it bear fruit, in January 1949 the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was established as an international organisation open to any country which is ready to abide by its principles and aims: equal representation (decisions are taken only with the assent of the interested parties) and all-round economic collaboration. The present members of CMEA are the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania and the German Democratic Republic. Other countries belonging to the family of Socialist nations are today also represented at the council sessions.

CMEA was called into life in an international setting bearing the imprint of the cold war which imperialism launched against the Socialist system and of the boycott and discriminatory trade policy pursued by the United States and certain other Western countries towards the Socialist camp.

CMEA set itself the following goals: coordination of the economic plans of the member-countries, selfless collaboration on the basis of mutual advantage in the field of foreign trade, mutual assistance through the supply of raw materials, consumer goods, machinery and equipment for plants and factories, granting of credits, scientific and technical assistance, exchange of production experience, co-operation through the exchange of experts and the training of personnel, joint construction of enterprises and projects for mutual use.

## Division Of Labour

All the necessary prerequisites are created for the most expeditious Socialist division of labour on an international scale on the basis of coordination of the economic plans of the member-countries and on their specialisation and cooperation in the various

The German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia participate in the construction and equipment of a number of enterprises in Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania and other countries. Bulgaria, on her part, has built several enterprises in the People's Republic of Korea and is at present building others in Albania and China.

All-round fraternal collaboration between the Socialist countries found another expression in the establishment of a joint institute for nuclear research.

The data published at the



The K. E. Voroshilov Electrical Engineering Works in Sofia—Radio-sets are made here.

lations between the Socialist and capitalist countries.

## Fraternal Collaboration

In its ten-year activity, CMEA has succeeded in substantially expanding and consolidating economic collaboration between its member-countries. One of the fruits of this collaboration is the Danube bridge between Gurgiu and Roussé, one of the largest bridges in Europe, in the construction of which Bulgaria, Rumania, the USSR and other countries took part. Through CMEA, Bulgaria received from the USSR documentation and equipment for the Stalin Chemical Works, the Karl Marx Soda Plant, the Georgi Damyanov Copper Smelter and Refinery, and a number of other enterprises. Again through the same channel Bulgaria received, in 1955, a Soviet credit of about 370 million rubles.

Agricultural Commission is dealing. Basic measures for the further modernisation and mechanisation of crop cultivation and harvesting are being worked out in that commission. There is a wide exchange of select seeds for testing them under local conditions and for selective purposes.

Bulgaria's forthcoming leap in agriculture, which aims at trebling output by 1962, would be quite unthinkable without the pledges of the USSR, GDR, Czechoslovakia and other countries to purchase considerable quantities of fresh and processed fruit, vegetables, meat and dairy products and to supply a number of machines and equipment for the enterprises of Bulgaria's food industry.

## Coordination Of Economic Plans

In 1953, the Agricultural Commission attached to CMEA approved recommendations for the utilisation of mineral, organic and bacteriological fertilisers in order to develop fruit-growing, viticulture, market gardening, stock-breeding and other branches of agriculture in accordance with the climatic and soil conditions prevailing in the different member-countries.

CMEA's Seventh Session in 1953 dealt with the coordination of economic plans on a long-range basis, up to 1960 and even to 1965. CMEA was instrumental in the conclusion of three-year trade agreements, providing for an increased supply of machinery, equipment, raw materials, fuel, etc.

## Wider Prospects

Even wider prospects open up before CMEA, ever new problems confront this organisation which is called upon to lend maximum aid to the Socialist countries in turning the brilliant promises of Communism into a living reality.

In the course of its Seven-Year Plan, the Soviet Union will make a decisive step towards the Communist society. At the same time, Bulgaria is striving to catch up with the more advanced industrial nations in the per capita production of a number of goods. The economies of CMEA's other member-countries are also making rapid headway. This means a powerful growth of the economic might of the world Socialist system which by 1965 will account for more than half of the world's total production.

## Bulgaria's Cultural Advance

\* FROM PAGE 10

achievements of Bulgarian scientists which have evoked great interest abroad and found application in many countries.

## Literature And Arts

When speaking of contemporary Bulgarian culture one should dwell on literature and the arts, too. Since the Second World War the number of State dramatic theatres has increased nearly four times, of opera and music theatres—three times, of symphony orchestras—12 times, achieving a high level of artistic mastery.

Take, for instance, the opera, which is quite young compared with Western opera art. Only recently, Bulgaria celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Sofia National Opera, the oldest professional music institute of the country. And yet evidence of the high artistic standards attained by Bulgarian performers is the fact that for some years now there hasn't been any international singing contest or competition for instrumentalists at which singers or instrumentalists from Bulgaria have not been awarded prizes.

It has become usual for even the youngest musical talents to return from the World Youth Festivals bringing back scores of gold and silver medals. The celebrated Bulgarian singers, Dimiter Zouznov, Nikolai Gyaourov, Katya Popova, Katya Gorgeva, Nikolai Gaubich and many more are welcome guests to all opera theatres in Europe. Their guest performances always turn into great musical events.

The amateur artistic activity is one of the most typical features of contemporary Bulgarian culture—an evidence of its popular and democratic character. Amateur art has now been given all opportunities to advance. There isn't a village, a city district, a school, an enterprise, a military unit without an amateur artistic group of its own, be it an ensemble, a choir, or an orchestra. Sometimes these groups include 80 to 100 and up to 150 people. There are about 13,000 such groups.

The progress of amateur artistic work shows that present-day Bulgarian culture is created not only by writers, scientists, painters, artists, not only by professionals, but that it develops and is enriched by the broadest people's masses, that it is the creation of the people themselves.

# KERALA MANIFESTO

From Centre Pages

work with all its strength to carry out that programme.

First, there are a number of items which can be implemented only with the approval and help of the Central Government. The Communist Party proposes that the Central Government should approve of and help the State Government to carry out the following programme:

- Increase the financial target of the State Plan during the Third Five-Year Plan period to Rs. 250 crores and agree to give 75 per cent of that amount as Central assistance.
- One of the five units for the manufacture of antibiotics with Soviet aid, namely the phytochemical unit, a metre gauge coach factory, and a heavy electrical goods manufacturing plant—to be started in Kerala during the Third Plan in the public sector.
- A firm declaration that the second ship-building yard will be established in Cochin and work on it started during the Third Plan; greater allotment for the development of minor and medium ports in Kerala.
- Carry out without delay the geological survey agreed to by the Central Government with regard to the valuable minerals found in the soil of Kerala and implement a programme of starting new industries utilising these minerals; establish a national laboratory in Kerala for the scientific study of the natural resources and development possibilities of the State.
- Take up as Central schemes the major big hydro-electrical projects in the State like the Idikki, Barapole and Pampa Valley Projects during the Third Plan.
- Take up the proposals for building new railway lines in Kerala already before the Central Government.
- Provide for State participation in share capital to help starting new industries in the State in the Third Plan; provide also for the development of State motor transport.
- Make reasonable reduction in the existing heavy duties which stand in the way of developing the tile industry and also take measures to make iron, steel and other industrial raw materials available for the industries in Kerala for expanding production.

Secondly, the Communist Party proposes that the following programme should be undertaken by the State Government for the all-round progress of our State:

- Include in the Third Plan the scheme for full and all-round development and utilisation of the water resources of the State as suggested in the Master Plan.
- Prepare Master Plans for the preservation and full utilisation of the forest wealth and fisheries in the State and start implementing them in the Third Plan period.
- Give all encouragement and help to small industrialists and industrial cooperatives to start small-scale industries for manufacturing implements and other equipments needed by our agriculture and industry, utilising locally available raw material and using electricity and modern machinery. Improve and revise the functioning of the

existing industrial estates in such a way as to help this.

- Complete the work already started to run the State-owned industries more efficiently and profitably.
- Give all possible help to landlords and big landholders to invest the compensation they will get when the excess land above the ceiling is surrendered to the Government, to start new industries.
- Enhance the revenue of the State by nationalising the private forests according to a phased programme.
- Further develop the motor transport industry in the State by carrying out a phased programme of nationalising the main routes while encouraging the private sector in other routes.
- Start State-owned rubber plantations on 10,000 acres of land in order to increase State revenues and provide more employment opportunities.
- Organise fishermen on cooperative basis and help them to free themselves from the exploitation of middle men and to get reasonable returns for their labour and proper market for their catch.

of peasants and agricultural labourers:

- The Agrarian Relations Bill, Jemmikaram Abolition Bill and Debt Relief Bill should be immediately passed into law and implemented; legislative measures, already initiated to end certain special rights of landlords in the Travancore area, should be completed. Steps must be taken to reduce to the minimum some difficulties which certain sections of people may be put to while implementing the Agrarian Relations Bill.
- Peasants who become owners of the land they cultivate as a result of implementing agrarian reforms and who are even today owner cultivators will be persuaded to take to cooperative farming voluntarily by convincing them that, by adopting methods of joint cultivation expenses can be reduced and production increased.
- All encouragement to be given to agricultural workers, who get land as a result of distributing Government-owned waste land and the excess land above ceiling surrendered to the Government, to take to joint cultivation.
- Distribution of Government-owned waste land to

be completed within one year.

- Legal difficulties in the implementation of minimum wages and security of work for agricultural workers will be removed.
- A phased programme to be carried out to increase agricultural production considerably during the Third Five-Year Plan, by dividing the entire State into a number of regions according to the nature of cultivation and crops and by helping the peasants and agricultural cooperatives to use better seeds, more manure, improved implements and scientific methods.
- Take steps to increase production and extend cultivation of cash crops like pepper, ginger, sugarcane, sea-island cotton, cashew, cardamom, coconut, etc.
- To ensure stable and fair price for agricultural produce, establish a wide network of marketing cooperatives and a State Trading Corporation.
- There is a large variety of cottage industries in the State which gives employment to rural population and is an additional source of income for peasants. Help should be given to reorganise them on cooperative basis and develop them.
- Fourthly, for the development of education and culture in the State:

extend the democratic rights of the people:

- Implement the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Committee for democratic decentralisation of administration. In particular enact the Panchayat and District Councils Bills into law and establish new elected panchayats and district councils on that basis.
- Reorganise the NES Blocks and taluks to become coterminal as recommended by the Administrative Reforms Committee.
- Retain all the concessions including reservation in public services now enjoyed by the backward communities; and extend all concessions, given by the Constitution to Scheduled Castes and Tribes, to converts to other religions also like Backward Christians from Scheduled Castes and Tribes.
- In an independent democratic Republic, the role of the police is not to suppress the legitimate activities of Opposition parties and the just and peaceful agitations and struggles of the popular masses, their role is to maintain law and order and to prevent and suppress anti-people activities of anti-social forces. This new police force emanated by the Communist-led Government must be carried forward; the work of the Police Code Revision Committee appointed for making recommendations to implement this policy effectively must be completed and its recommendations accepted and carried out in consultation with people's representatives.
- Take effective steps to eradicate corruption and red-tapism in administration.

The Manifesto concludes with an appeal to the voters of Kerala to vote for the candidates of the Communist Party and Communist-supported non-party democrats with an overwhelming majority to the Legislative Assembly and to participate actively in the glorious task of building a new prosperous Kerala State.

- Expedite the steps being taken to make all Government proceedings, correspondence, announcements, etc., in Malayalam.
- Give help and encouragement to preserve and develop all folk art forms.
- Give greater importance to physical culture and sports in schools and colleges and help and encouragement to well-known and promising sportsmen.
- Start work on preparing an Encyclopaedia in the Malayalam language.
- Sixthly, to improve and develop public health services and medical aid to the people.
- Carry out vigorously the anti-T.B. and anti-Filaria campaigns so that these two scourges are eradicated completely.
- Establish a wide network of primary and secondary health centres with special attention to areas where medical aid is comparatively less.
- Further encouragement to indigenous systems like Ayurveda so that the largest number of people get medical aid.
- Extend the system of maternity and child welfare centres.
- Provide training facilities for more nurses and midwives so that each panchayat can be provided with one midwife.
- Seventhly, to ensure and

## An All-Embracing Practical Programme

# KERALA NOTE-BOOK

## LET IT CONSOLE THEM!

THE Times of India on December 20 published a news-item which said:

"The Indian National Trade Union Congress nominee to the Kerala State Transport Board has topped the poll in a straight contest with Communists."

"This victory is considered to be a boost to the morale of non-Communists in the context of the coming mid-term elections in Kerala."

The news-item also gives the voting figures: "The INTUC-led State Transport Workers' Union candidate, Mr. P. Krishnan Nair, polled 1,629 votes while the Communist-dominated Employees' Union nominee, Mr. S. Sadasivan, got 1,621 votes."

The Times of India Correspondent may have by such a report, boosted the morale of the friends of the united front outside Kerala. As for the leaders of the front in Kerala, it is a different story. And for a good reason.

When the Communist-led Government decided to expand the Board and seat two elected representatives of the workers, the idea was that each worker will have two votes to elect the two representatives, as is the normal democratic practice.

But the Adviser regime, the Rao and Rao administration as it is called by the people of Kerala, decided to conduct the elections on the basis of single transferable votes.

The AITUC union had two candidates in the field and the INTUC union had only one and there were two independents. One hundred and twenty-five votes were invalid, the independents secured 16 and 11 votes votes. The two AITUC candidates polled 1,621 votes and 1,463 votes, while the INTUC candidate had 1,629 votes. That is, of the 4,740 valid votes, 3,384 first votes had been cast for the AITUC and only 1,629 votes for the INTUC.

### Two New Books On KERALA

**E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Twenty-Eight Months In Kerala A REPORT 0-75**

A resume of the work of the Communist Ministry during its 28 months of rule in Kerala as opposed to the practices of the Opposition parties.

**H. AUSTIN: Anatomy Of The Kerala Coup 3.00**

An analysis of the emotional and the political causes of the "liberation war" and of the impact of the measures of the Communist Government on different sections of the population.

**P. P. H. LTD., Rani Jhansi Rd., N. Delhi.**

Kerala Consultative Committee under the Kerala Delegation of Powers Act, 1959.

If it would be said that when a State Government is dismissed and the President assumes powers, such a Consultative Committee is necessary.

Conceding this necessity, one would think that the natural thing to do was to form a Consultative Committee of all the Members of Parliament from Kerala.

But this is precisely what has not been done now—and for the obvious reason that the majority of the Members of Parliament from Kerala are Communists and a Committee formed of Kerala M. P.s. would have a Communist majority.

This had to be avoided at all costs. And the simple expedient of nominating Members of Parliament from outside Kerala, apart from the Kerala M. P.s. was resorted to.

But while Congress and PSP members from outside Kerala have been nominated to the Committee—and important ones like Smt. Sucheta Kripalani and Asoka Mehta among them—and in adequate numbers to ensure a majority for the non-Communists—not one Communist member has been taken from outside Kerala.

What is worse, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha did not even consult the Communist Group in Parliament before the nominations were made, though the Communists have better claims to speak for Kerala in Parliament and though they are the first Opposition Group in both the Houses.

Such respect for democracy is in line with the unjust dismissal of a State Government while it still enjoyed a majority in the Legislature and with delegating special powers to the President to enact legislations for Kerala with the only purpose of amending the Land Bills because some Kerala landlords do not like them.

### THEIR UNITY

WHEN the Congress election manifesto was published, it had been pointed out that the manifesto did not speak of the united front or a united front Government after the elections.

Though they had not dared to write anything about this into their manifesto for many reasons, their leaders are going round in Kerala declaring that the united front would form a Government.

But the people who were already getting suspicious about this unity which could only be spoken about

### CONSULTATIONS — WITH WHOM?

THE Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha have constituted a



A. K. Gopalan, President, and Bhowani Sen, General Secretary, of the All-India Kisan Sabha with the memorandum containing eight lakh signatures before it was presented to the Rashtrapati.

# 8 LAKH SIGNATURES

On Memorandum To Rashtrapati Demanding

## GIVE ASSENT TO KERALA LAND BILL WITHOUT CHANGE, WITHOUT DELAY

ON behalf of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham, A. K. Gopalan, M.P., President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, and T. C. N. Menon, Member of Parliament, met Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, and presented a memorandum signed by eight lakhs of peasants of Kerala.

The memorandum requests the President to give assent to the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill without delay and without any change.

A. K. Gopalan and T. C. N. Menon explained to the

President the importance of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill and the necessity of giving assent to the Bill without any delay.

They also stressed the necessity of giving assent to the Kerala Agriculturalists' Debt Bill which gives relief to about two lakhs of peasants who are indebted to bankers.

They pointed out to the President the fact that the Home Minister had admitted in Parliament that none of the provisions of the Agrarian Relations

Bill were repugnant to any of the provisions of the Constitution and any change made in the Bill at the instance of bankers and landlords would be resented by the peasantry.

It was also represented to the President that there was already talk that the Central Government was considering changes to the Bill by making certain exemptions in the case of temple properties in respect of ceiling and fair rent. If that is conceded, the whole purpose of the Bill will be defeated, they said.

but not written into any documents, had their suspicions confirmed when they put side by side the manifestoes of the three parties of the united front—the Congress, PSP and the League.

I would not like to go into all the details here, but take only one instance—the most important question of land reforms.

The Congress position is that ceiling should be fixed on the basis of the quality of the land and income from it and the surplus land over the ceiling should be handed over to cooperatives of landless for cultivation. The Congress manifesto says that if it forms the Government, it will amend the Bill in this direction.

The PSP has a different opinion. It agrees more or less with the Communist Government's Bill.

The PSP does not and cannot advocate a ceiling on the basis of income from the land, because when it was ruling the State, it had introduced a land reform Bill which had calculated the ceiling on the basis of extent of land as the Communist Government has done.

The Muslim League's attitude is totally different. It does not like to hear even the mention of cooperatives.

While the PSP disagrees with the Congress regarding the basis on which ceiling should be fixed, but agrees with it that surplus land should be handed over to the cooperatives (and not distributed to the peasants who should be persuaded to voluntarily form cooperatives, as the Communists say), the League disagrees with both over the question of cooperatives.

Anyway, how much of this money will be used for the election campaign of the united front?

Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, and our Prime Minister Nehru have adopted a similar approach as is contained in these suggestions. Our Prime Minister is of the view that the suggestions contained in the November 7 letter of Chou En-lai are not practicable. His reply to Chou En-lai in November expressing this view has made several counter-proposals. There may be differences of opinion about these proposals and counter-proposals. But there is no doubt that the

aim of both is to re-establish India-China friendship by finding a peaceful solution to the disputes. It is this aim that the PSP, Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party and a section of Congressmen oppose. Their concern is not the securing of the frontiers of India. Their aim is to create hysteria among the Indian people against China. They want to sabotage our independent foreign policy and to make us partners, like Pakistan, in the military alliances under U. S. leadership. That is why—

- They organise violent demonstrations against the Communist Party which is the main organised force working effectively for safeguarding our independent foreign policy.
- They demand in Parliament and outside the dismissal of Krishna Menon who is a staunch spokesman of this foreign policy.
- They rebuke Prime Minister Nehru himself as an appeaser.

Will Indian patriots submit to this wrong policy? Though the original budget outlay for the Plan was Rs. 4,800 crores, it has now been openly admitted that it is not possible to raise more than Rs. 4,200 crores. Thus it has become necessary to prune the Plan slashing it by 12-1/2 per cent. If the present price-increase is taken into account it would need Rs. 5,500 crores at the originally proposed Plan outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores. If this fact is also taken into consideration, the reduction in Plan size would amount to 25 per cent.

The experience of the progress of the Plan during the first three years has testified to the correctness of the suggestions of the Party. In the light of this experience, sections of people who were neither sympathisers nor supporters of the Party have begun to change their attitude. This is the reason for the victory of the Communist Party in the Assam election.

## LOYALTY OF COMMUNISTS

### First And Foremost To Our People

THE slander that Communists are spies of foreign countries is not of recent origin. It is as old as the Communist movement itself.

We, Indian Communists, are today China's agents. Five or six years ago, we were Russian fifth column and Malenkov's children. Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution, was a 'German spy'. Even Marx and Engels had been hunted by the police of half a dozen countries on the charge that they were foreign spies.

That is to say, though the bottle is new, what it contains is the same old wine. Probably, the Congress-FSP-League front thinks that the people of Kerala can be fed on this wine and will be unable to see the history of the Communist Party and its position in the present context and will respect and venerate the capitalists and landlords, the enemies of the people, as patriots.

But they are mistaken. It is more than two decades since Communists have been working in Kerala. The slander of foreign spies has been continuously propagated right from the beginning. But that did not deceive the people of Kerala. Steadily, as years passed, the Party's influence grew. Fighting this slander propaganda of the Congress-

FSP-League front and the RSP at the same time, in the 1957 General Elections the Party rose to the position of a ruling party.

The propaganda that was conducted during the last elections in the name of Hungary will not be forgotten. (Some of those posters still remain on the walls.) They thought that they could defeat the Communist Party with that propaganda. But the people of Kerala were not deceived. They understood that this Hungary propaganda was only a trick to cover up the incompetence and crimes of the Congress-FSP Governments. It is not going to be any different this time either.

If you have any doubts take a look at Assam that lies on our border with China. A by-election took place there—a by-election in the Nowgong constituency as a result of the invalidation of the election in which the Congress candidate had won with a majority of 1,000 votes. The central point in the propaganda of the Congress in the by-election was the slogan that Communists were Chinese spies; the FSP took up the same refrain. But when the ballot boxes were opened and the votes counted the Communist candidate had won with a majority of 5,000 votes over his Congress rival. As for the PSP candidate, he lost his deposit.

What was the reason for this? Is it because, as Nehru stated, the Communist Party put up a candidate belonging to the majority community? If so, the Congress candidate would not have won even in the 1957 election. The Communist and Congress candidates were the same in both the elections. How was it that the candidate belonging to the minority community who had won then has lost now, and the candidate belonging to the majority community who had lost then has won now?

The truth is that the programme of the respective parties to which the candidates belonged and not the communities which gave birth to them decided the election results: in 1957, there were more people who thought that the Congress programme was better and so the Congress won then; by 1959 their numbers dwindled and those who believed that the Communist programme was better, increased and the Communist Party won. That is the truth.

This change in the opinion of the people was no accident either. Between 1957 and 1959 there was an important development. It became clear that the Second Five-Year Plan was not progressing successfully and if it continued in the same way we will have to face severe difficulties.

Whatever the hopes that were laid on the Plan are being shattered now. The volume of industrial production is not going up towards expected targets. A slight increase in agricultural production has not solved the food problem, on the contrary it has become acute. The number of unemployed is increasing. As a result of all this, the standard of living of the great majority of the poor people is deteriorating, while the profits of the small minority of moneyed sections are mounting.

Above all, foreign aid is coming in such a way as to jeopardise our economic independence. While the foreign market for our product is shrinking and the import of foreign goods does not come down, the price of our exports is coming down and that of imports rising. Our liabilities incurred for the working of the Plan in the shape of loans and interests on them are increasing. The tendency to seek the aid of American monopolists as a way out of the difficulties is growing among responsible elements.

### Nothing Accidental

These difficulties, experienced in the working of the Plan are not accidental, but the natural result of the policies followed by the Congress Governments at the Centre and States. Instead of raising money for Plan fulfilment from those who have it, the poor are fleeced; instead of resorting to democratic methods and creating the right climate for making maximum sacrifice for Plan fulfilment, they invite the non-cooperation of the masses by adopting a hostile attitude towards mass movements, by refusing to enforce effective control on such fronts as food distribution and price control, encouraging the hoarders and profiteers. So long as these policies continue, the difficulties that beset us now will also continue.

From the very beginning, the Communist Party had stated that a different approach was necessary in the matter of the Plan. From the very beginning the Communist Party had made suggestions like radical agrarian reforms, enlisting the cooperation of agricultural workers and peasants by organised conscious efforts for enhancing agricultural production, control on profits and interests, ceiling on higher scales of pay and increasing the wages and incomes of low-paid employees and workers, enlistment of the cooperation of workers for increasing industrial production by conscious, organised efforts and

### Who Can Object To This?

As in the case of Assam, so in the case of Kerala, too, this "Chinese spies" slogan will not deceive the people. The people of Kerala know that the Communists who have lived their entire life in Kerala are working in the interests of the people of Kerala and not for anybody else. That was why they raised the Communists to the position of the majority party in the 1957 elections. The Congress-FSP-League front is raising this baseless allegation in order to sidetrack the real live issues such as what the Communist Party elected through the ballot box has done during its period of administration of the State; what are the good and bad effects of its administration; what is the programme it is placing before the people in the elections now?

I should, however, like to clarify the stand of the Communist Party in this matter:

- The loyalty of the Indian Communists is first and last to India; what they desire and work for is the improvement and progress of India.
- According to the Communists, India means the people of India. Hence progress means the progress of the people.
- But if there is to be any progress for the people, it is necessary to lay our hands on the vested interests of landlords, capitalists and other rich people.
- In the matter of curbing the interest of the landlords and capitalists and improving the lot of the people there is a lot to learn from the world workers' movement and Socialist thought—especially from the Soviet Union and China and other countries where Socialism has been established.
- The same way as people turned to Britain to learn about parliamentary democracy, we turn to the Soviet Union and China to learn about Socialism. In both cases our approach is identical, to imbibe the experience of our friends in other countries and formulate our programme in the light of the specific features of our country and not to copy their experience as it is.

No impartial person can object to this.

## BIHAR CEILING FARCE

\* FROM PAGE 6

best category of land. The earlier Bill had authorised the Collector to cancel mala fide transactions of land entered into after 1953 in order to escape the provisions of the Bill. The present Bill legalises and encourages all such transactions even after six months of the enactment of the Bill.

There are many other reactionary features in the Bill, one such being the right of resumption conferred on the landlord. Each person has been given the right to resume for self-cultivation land up to one ceiling limit and for this purpose he is entitled to evict peasant sharecroppers with the only proviso that after eviction the latter should be left with no less than five acres of his own or share-crop land taken together.

Compensation for land above ceiling has been fixed at Rs. 1,200, Rs. 800, Rs. 600, Rs. 400 and Rs. 200 respectively for the five categories of land. Thus for hilly, sandy land for which the landlords would not get any price today, they will get handsome compensation from the Government.

This Bill is an index of the reactionary, feudal stranglehold over the Bihar Congress and its Government. Coming as it does after the Nagpur resolution of the Congress and after Nehru's repeated warnings to the opponents of land ceiling to leave the Congress, this Bill demonstrates not only the strength and resistance capacity but also the successful manoeuvrability of the reactionaries inside the Congress.

The Bihar State Council

of the Communist Party at its recent meeting at Hajipur adopted a resolution suggesting drastic changes to make it a genuine Ceiling Bill and not one to defeat ceiling. The Bihar State Kisan Sabha has also given a call for a broad mass campaign against the reactionary features of the Bill. It is understood that Praja Socialists, Bhoodan workers and even Congressmen, especially those coming from the Backward and Harijan communities, are actively opposing the reactionary, pro-landlord provisions of the Bill.

Will the Planning Commission and the Congress High Command cooperate with them to implement their respective resolution on land ceiling?

December 13, 1959.

## Despite Cracker-Throwing And Lathi-Wielding

# 1½-LAKH-STRONG RALLY IN CALCUTTA



A VIEW OF THE MAMMOTH RALLY IN CALCUTTA.

From AJOY DAS GUPTA CALCUTTA, December 21  
The mammoth rally at the foot of the Ochterlony Monument on December 19 gave eloquent expression to the desire of the people for an amicable settlement of the India-China border dispute through negotiations and the immediate holding of a meeting of the Prime Ministers of these two great nations.

INNUMERABLE processions, big and small, which converged on the Maidan that evening and the congregation of a lakh and a half people who listened to the Communist leaders with rapt attention and in a determined mood for more than two hours in the bitter cold, despite attacks on the procession and throwing of crackers at the meeting, gave a strong rebuff to all those who want to make political capital out of the present unfortunate India-China dispute.

"The PSP and some Congressmen might try to ridicule the fact that the Communist Party is today the staunchest supporter of Prime Minister Nehru's foreign policy. But the Communists will defend and extend, if necessary with their blood, what is good in Prime Minister Nehru's foreign policy, the policy of national independence, international peace and friendship and settlement through negotiations"—this concluding sentence of Somnath Lahiri, the main speaker of the meeting, gave expression to the sentiment of the vast multitude present.

And the thunderous applause which greeted the President of the meeting, Jyoti Basu's declaration that however much the anti-social elements including those of the PSP and Congress might try to break up Communist meetings and demonstrations, we have the strength to defend ourselves and will do so if necessary and will defeat all attacks on the democratic rights and liberties of people, expressed the determined mood of the people of Calcutta.

### Mounting Discontent

The immediate cause of the strike was the deduction of one day's salary of nearly 700 employees of the Drug and Damoh Districts for abstaining from work on October 1, 1959. But at the root lay the mounting discontent among the employees.

The salaries and dearness allowance of Government employees in this State are the lowest compared to other States. At Bhopal, the new capital, thousands of employees are denied all rights. Their association was denied the right to represent or reply to the questionnaire of the Central Pay Commission, refused permission to meet or represent to Prime Minister Nehru, the Chief Secretary even refused them an interview with the Chief Minister.

The Government used the Black Act, the Essential Services Maintenance Act, which provided for six months jail for Government employees going on strike. About six hundred employees were arrested but the Government failed to arrest the leaders or suppress the strike.

Daily processions and meetings proclaimed the employees' defiant answer to the Black Act; their slogans were, 'We defy the Black Acts, Leave the offices, fill the jails'. Government terminated the services of hundreds of tempo-

DECEMBER 27, 1959

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Huge processions came to

the meeting from the industrial belt of Barrackpore, Howrah, Batanagar, Budge Budge from outside the city and from every zone of the city came organised processions of workers, students and middle class people. From the peasant areas of the 24 Pargana, Howrah and Hoogly also came several processions.

The procession of the Bata shoe workers was attacked in South Calcutta by a few men with lathis and bricks. Overcoming the initial confusion, the workers resisted the miscreants who beat a retreat leaving the lathis and bricks which the processionists brought to and exhibited at the meeting. Soda water bottles were thrown at the procession near Wellington Square. And when the meeting was in progress, two crac-

ers burst in quick succession. But all these attempts failed ignominiously to disturb the meeting in any way.

Even a public meeting and were threatened by the police and officials. Similar reports began appearing from other districts.

Meanwhile, leaders of the AITUC, Shakir Ali Khan, Homi Daji and Diwakar, and the Presidents of the Bar Associations from Indore and Bhopal, met the Chief Minister. Other political party leaders and prominent personalities also met him.

Dr. Katju then made another Radio speech—more conciliatory and appealing to the employees to treat this as a family quarrel and end it like that.

### Employees Fight Back

Meanwhile, all the attempts to persuade the striking employees failed. On December 15, Dr. Katju, the Chief Minister, spoke on the Radio. While making an appeal to them, he also threatened the employees with serious consequences. After this, large-scale arrests, suspensions and dismissals took place.

### Withdrawal Of Strike

The employees fought back this new offensive with greater determination and courage. Hundreds of women from the houses of striking employees offered their bangles to the blacklegs. The employees, men and women, paraded the streets in huge processions almost in all the district towns. Thus the struggle went on.

The Government, with all the newspapers at its command barring the Hitavada—which stood with the fighting employees—went on publishing all kinds of false news. Even All-India Radio, on December 19 and 20, broadcast that the strike had fizzled out and had been withdrawn.

The struggle also had its setbacks. On December 19, the Gwallior employees decided to join duty when they were prevented from holding

ary employees and suspended and terminated the services of nearly 250 permanent employees also.

### Govt. Resorts To Black Act

Against this background came the pay deduction of the employees in Drug and Damoh Districts.

When the representations they made did not get any consideration, three leaders of the employees, R. Shrivastava, R. Shukla, and Dubey went on hunger-strike. After two days of hunger-strike, the Government Employees' Association called for a general strike, which was immediately declared illegal by the authorities.

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### Why Reaction Is Panicky

Inaugurating the meeting, Jyoti Basu said that the PSP and some Congressmen were trying to break up meetings and calling the Communists traitors. If we are traitors then let us speak to the people, the more we speak the more isolated we will get from the people. But the people come to our meetings in thousands, whereas in Congress and PSP meetings, they often have to speak to empty halls.

He said that it was because more people were coming to Communist meetings that the reactionaries were getting panicky and in panic were attacking the meetings. He challenged the Pradesh Congress bosses to hold a bigger meeting than the Party's anywhere in West Bengal. He emphatically said that these attempts of the Congress and PSP were bound to fail and the people would march forward under the leadership of the Communist Party and other democratic forces.

At this time a cracker burst and Jyoti Basu pointed out that all he had said had been proved.

Somnath Lahiri began his speech referring to the throwing of the cracker. He said, led this blood shed here inspire us to do our utmost to stop the attempts to shed blood on the issue of India-China border question. He said that Atulya Ghosh and company having failed to get the Party banned were trying intimidation. "So long as the present Constitution of India, which is the result of a hundred years of people's struggles, is in force, nobody can declare the Party illegal and so long as people live, nobody can wipe out a Communist Party," he said.

### Sidetracking Problems

Lahiri said there were so many problems before the people of India, like food scarcity, high prices, unemployment, and attacks on wages and rights as in the recent Pay Commission report, but some people and newspapers were trying to erase all these and present the India-China issue as the only question, thereby attempting to sidetrack the people's movement. And on this question itself, they were trying to mislead the people.

Thus ended the eleven-day struggle of Government employees, the first of its kind in Madhya Pradesh.

PAGE FIFTEEN

# Optimism About Summit

MOSCOW, December 22

**A** T last the way is clear and the Summit train has been set in motion. After long delays, hesitations and bickerings, the Western Powers have formally accepted the Soviet proposal for a meeting of the heads of Governments. Here in Moscow, Ambassadors of the USA, Britain and France yesterday delivered formal notes suggesting April 27 as the date and Paris as the meeting place.

There is satisfaction in Moscow at this result. Consistent and untiring Soviet efforts have at last brought results, and the resistance to the idea of a Summit has been broken. But as the Moscow Radio commented yesterday, ultimately all depends on what the Western Powers bring to the meeting.

Soviet newspapers have followed with concern the Rockefeller-Dulles duet and old noises being produced by Truman, Acheson and others—all aimed at reviving the cold war and sabotaging international settlement.

Soviet observers do not under-rate the mischief-making capacities of influential U.S. circles nor are they blind to the antics of Adenauer, but on the whole the general assessment of the present situation is that of optimism and hope. Hope that the very logic of world events will lead to the triumph of those who stand for good sense and reason although it is clear that the untiring persistent struggle for peace will have to continue for a long time ahead.

On Sunday, the text of a detailed note by Khrushchov to Adenauer was released here. Restating the Soviet position on Germany and Berlin in convincing terms, the note draws attention to the fact that the policy of feverishly arming Western Germany is not consistent with the lip-service paid there to the idea of disarmament. It is like pouring petrol on the house and declaring that it is in

the interest of fire protection. In conclusion, the note expresses the hope that West Germany would join forces with other Powers in settling all international disputes through negotiations, thus making full disarmament and stable peace a reality.

The great benefits disarmament could bring to underdeveloped countries and the vast fund it would release for their development is an aspect which is constantly emphasised here. In this connection, Bhilai and Indo-Soviet cooperation have received a lot of space lately.

On Friday, Pravda devoted one full page to it with the banner headline across six columns declaring, "Bhilai—Symbol of Friendship Strong As Steel", and last night there was an interesting programme on this subject on Moscow television.

## Stalin's Birth Anniversary

Yesterday was the 80th anniversary of the birth of Joseph Stalin. Papers report that in the Georgian town of Gori, Stalin's birthplace, to mark the occasion many people visited the house in which he was born. A new square has been built next to the house and four new halls have been added to the Stalin Museum there. A public meeting was held to honour the occasion.

Yesterday's Pravda in an unsigned article under the heading "Staunch Fighter For

Socialism" paid tribute to his great services to the Soviet people and international Communist movement. His role in the revolutionary movement before 1917 and as leader of the Party after the death of Lenin is brought out in detail.

The article also devotes considerable space to what it calls serious mistakes and distortions committed by Stalin, specially during the later period of his life and the cult of his personality which caused great harm to the cause of the Party and people.

The article further refers to the struggle of the Leninist core of the leadership which had grown inside the Central Committee to correct these mistakes and clear the way for further advance. This led to the development of Soviet democracy and released immense creative forces of people now transforming the life of the country.

During the last few days, papers here have been full of reports of great victories on the agricultural front. Collective farms, regions, provinces and Republics have been competing with one another to report to the Party and people the great achievements of this year.

Agricultural workers of the Russian Federation have sold to the State nearly 25 per cent more meat than last year. Riazan Province has hit the headlines because it has surpassed last year's amount three times. Kazakhstan has increased its contribution in this field by more than one-third.

Production of grain, milk and

# Kerala Election Fund DELHI TO COLLECT TEN THOUSAND

**D**ELHI Communists have taken a quota of Rs. 10,000 for the Kerala Communist Election Fund. This includes more than Rs. 2,000 collected in August after Central intervention in Kerala and nearly Rs. 2,000 collected from Malayalees in the capital. Another Rs. 6,000 is to be collected by the middle of January 1960.

This decision of the Delhi Provincial Committee of the Party was announced to a packed meeting of Party members and some close sympathisers, held on Sunday, December 20, in Delhi's big Town Hall.

The meeting was addressed by V. P. Nayar and P. K. Kodyan (Kerala Communist M.P.s), Sajjad Zaheer, Y. D. Sharma and M. Farooqi (Members of the National Council of the Party), who explained to the meeting the great significance of the Kerala elections for the future of democracy in our country.

Speeches over, comrades one after another came to the dais or sent chits to

the President of the meeting, announcing their contributions to the Kerala Party's Election Fund.

Worker comrades took the lead in this respect. Several of them announced that they will contribute a whole week's earnings to the Election Fund.

Workers in a small factory (employing only six workers)—none of them Party members—sent information through a comrade that each has contributed a day's earnings to the Fund. They will contribute another day's earnings next month. Thus these six workers would have contributed Rs. 50 to the Fund. Their example is going to be followed by many more.

The Provincial Committee is giving the campaign a mass form through sale of coupons for 10 NP and 25 NP. This will be in addition to bigger donations. The Provincial Committee has made it compulsory that each Party member sell coupons worth at least 200 NP.

eggs has also risen sharply and shows there is to be plentiful supply of food for everybody.

Today the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union has begun to review the progress in the field of agricultural economy during the first year of the Seven-Year Plan and to chart out the path of future development.

# ISOTOPES ON SALE

**R**ECENTLY, right in front of my windows and on top of a big eight-storey building on the corner opposite, a beautiful multi-coloured neon sign appeared. In the middle there is a huge figure of the atom, its nucleus is a scarlet disc of light surrounded by numerous orbits of electrons all in different colours. Under it in three languages (Russian, English and French) and in big shining letters the words, "Atom For Peace" light up. Lower still another streamlined sign spells out the word I-S-O-T-O-P-E-S in glowing letters.

This advertisement belongs to a shop and show-rooms unique in the world today. Yes, the shop trades in radio-active isotopes. Here representatives of factories, institutes and clinics can just walk in, order isotopes according to their various requirements and get expert advice.

Production of such radio-active material on a mass scale and its peaceful use in medicine, agriculture, metallurgical, chemical and other industries have already reached such dimensions here that a huge centre of this kind had to be opened.

An article in Pravda (December 15) informs us that this shop will take orders for all types of stable and radio-active isotopes, sources of nu-

clear radiation, protective materials and instruments. It will be possible to see in show-rooms and buy necessary aids such as safes and containers for storage, protective dress, ventilation equipment and even specially designed furniture.

Special packing and transport arrangements have been made and the article says that deliveries of isotopes will be prompt and quick. The shop will also serve as a permanent centre of exhibition and information on the latest achievements of peaceful uses of isotopes.

Isotopes and atomic energy are new sources of power and the Soviet Union leads the world in their development. But the older brand of energy, electricity produced by fuel and water-driven power stations, also hit the headlines recently and in a big way.

Towards the end of November, a big conference of experts on development of energetics and power resources of the country was held. Pravda has made public Khrushchov's speech to the conference in which he gave some facts of the vast programme of complete electrification of the land during the next 15 to 20 years. Details of the programme are still being worked out.

During this 15 to 20 year period, total capacity of power stations of the USSR will increase seven to eight times. This means that in 1980, nearly 2,300,000 mil-

lion KWH of electrical energy will be made available to drive the wheels forward to Communism. This is to be the colossal base for full mechanisation and automation and the unprecedented technical advance which in its turn will lead to a life of plenty for all.

Khrushchov in his speech again emphasised the importance of the time factor in peaceful competition with the capitalist world. Although the cheapest energy is produced by hydro-electric stations, they take three to four years more to build, whereas fuel-driven power stations are erected faster and give their full energy earlier. Therefore, coal and gas resources are to be mobilised on a vast scale for this purpose along with an effort to shorten periods for hydro-electric construction. Thus, faster and faster development is to be the main thing.

Khrushchov also said that preparations for the 22nd Congress of the CPSU had now begun. It will be held in 1961 and will adopt a new programme for the Party—a programme of building Communism in this land.

So the burning multi-coloured atom before me with its rainbow reflections on my icebound window and on snowflakes dancing in the air outside is no mean capitalist advertisement. Atom and all the other power is being fully harnessed to serve man in this land.



In this neatly produced volume is gathered the important articles, speeches and interviews of Prime Minister N. S. KHRUSHCHOV dealing with the problems of Soviet Foreign policy and international relations. The material contained in this volume were published in the Soviet Press in 1958 and now published in this volume in response to popular demand.

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