

NEW AGE

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INDIAN REACTION REVEALS ITSELF

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-Its Slogans & Targets

Despite Tibet, despite the Dalai Lama, despite Longju, India-China relations could not be sundered, they were only shaken. More, on both sides, faith in restoring friendly relations survived, the desire to seek peaceful solutions was proclaimed.

It was in this uplifting background that the tragic Ladakh incident took place on October 22 and Indian reaction seized upon it as a new god-given opportunity to stoke up the dying fire of India-China tension.

It is only in a crisis like this, which concerns the fate of the nation, that a people's capacity to differentiate truth from falsehood, the right from the wrong course of action is put to test. The need for cool thinking and wise action was never greater.

Calm And Correct

In his famous Meerut Speech, Pandit Nehru put the Ladakh incident which is being used to stir up national passions in its correct historic perspective: "India's desire from the very beginning was that the relations between the two countries should be good and friendly. In the history of the world, one would not perhaps find another example where two big neighbouring countries like India and China had never fought for 2,000 years, any war between them."

Coming to the present, he stated that it was not a good thing that this atmosphere between India and China "has been vitiated a little of late. It is not good for us, nor for China, nor for Asia, because its effects will spread far and wide, over other countries also."

Warning against running away with anger and passion, he outlined the future course of action: "We have to combine these two things, namely working and striving for peace, mak-

By P. C. JOSHI

ing friends with others, of solving problems through peaceful means and at the same time, ensuring full protection for the integrity of our frontiers and guarding the honour of our country. These two things can be combined." (Hindustan Times, October 25).

In face of the Ladakh incident and the Prime Minister's calm and cool word, the pro-imperialist Right reaction, through the Press and the platform, went into action and has launched a virulent, vicious campaign whose scope and significance have to be fully grasped.

The Poisoned Pen-Pushers

The Press in India is a powerful weapon in moulding political opinion. It is controlled by the monopolists and hence inevitably takes a Right-wing stand, but it had to pay lip homage to India's independent, peaceful foreign policy. In the present crisis, however, it has come out against the nation's foreign policy and its architect with an insolence that is amazing but also very revealing.

The Hindustan Times, October 26, editorially stressed "the need to do something" and pressed for retaliatory action. It went straight at Nehru: "Mr. Nehru has warned us against brave talk and action taken in anger. Let us warn him he may not have many more opportuni-

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LONG LIVE THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION!



Picture of a political demonstration in Petrograd on June 18 (July 1, according to the present calendar), 1917.

On the occasion of the Fortysecond Anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warm fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the peoples of the USSR.

Guiding the peaceful efforts of the Soviet people and Soviet State, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has achieved during the last year new triumphs for Marxism-Leninism, new victories for the banner of peace and Socialism in the world.

THE Soviet people have registered its epoch-making successes in the task of building Communism in the USSR. The Soviet science has registered remarkable success in sending a rocket to the moon; and the Soviet State has shaken the whole mankind with its great and repeated initiatives in the cause of preservation of world peace and of saving the world from the horrors of a nuclear war.

Killings In Kanpur

PUNISH THE GUILTY!

ALL reports indicate that the police ran amuck in Kanpur on November three. Eleven persons are admitted to have been shot dead, including four children, one student and a 43-year old woman. Those injured are said to number over 100, with six still in a precarious condition. Together with the firing on the next day an admitted further toll of three lives has been taken.

The incident that touched off mass anger and demonstration is ugly enough—the alleged molestation of a young woman in a police lock-up. That there is ground enough for such an allegation is proved by the fact that the police constable concerned is reported to have been suspended from service.

Faced with the spontaneous anger of the entire people of Kanpur the police seems to have decided to literally mow the people down.

The shockingly high number of those shot dead in a matter of minutes in front of a single station shows the murderous intentions of the police.

A thrill of anger at this latest incident of police brutality has swept through the country. Irrespective of political views and party affiliations the people throughout India are shocked and outraged.

The least that the Government can do is to immediately institute a public enquiry into the firings, pledge to implement the conclusions of such an enquiry and punish the guilty with all the severity of the law. The Government must at once pay suitable and sufficient compensation to the families of the dead and the injured.

The Communist Party of India, while making these demands on the Government, sends its deepest condolences to the bereaved and appeals to the citizens of Kanpur to maintain calm and the peace of the city, no matter what the provocation.

November 4

The peaceful constructive activities of the Soviet people in pursuance of the Seven-Year Plan, which stands as another monument to the creative Marxism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has reaped rich benefits for the people of the USSR. The breath-taking victories on the production front have brought within easy reach of the people tremendous advance in their economic and cultural level.

While the capitalist world is just recovering from the recent "recession", while both the USA and Britain still boast of lakhs of unemployed, the Soviet Union promises by 1960 a seven hours' day with further increase in wages.

About ten million people will be provided with 2.5 million new flats to be built in the towns and one million new houses in the countryside; one quarter of all capital investment is to go on new homes, hospitals and schools. Funds for scientific development are to be increased by 15.4 per cent and 119,000 engineers will graduate from the universities and institutes. Direct taxes, like income-tax will be abolished in the next few years.

This mighty advance in people's well-being was rendered possible by the fact that the pace of industrial development exceeded the

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STATES' AUTONOMY REDUCED TO A FARCE

In a recent speech delivered in the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science in Ahmedabad, Union Minister for Industries Manubhai Shah is reported to have said that the trend towards increasing concentration of power, authority and functions in the Union Government was detrimental to the interests of both the people and the Government. "The Centre is becoming a steamroller and the States appear to be in a pitiable condition," he is reported to have stated.

THE experience of two-and-a-half years of administration of the Communist Government in Kerala bears out fully Manubhai Shah's statement. We, in the Communist Ministry, were also feeling that the Centre was acting like a steamroller, that it was depriving the State Government of all initiative, interfering even in the smallest matters and in fact making a mockery of provincial autonomy.

This is something that all serious minded people in India should take note of. I am sure that even Congress Ministers of the various States are acutely feeling this humiliation and frustration, but considerations of party discipline, etc., may be preventing them from speaking out. Manubhai Shah has, therefore, done a distinct service by openly stating the truth.

During the days of the national struggle it was well understood that the future Constitution of India should be of the federal type with full autonomy for States formed on a linguistic basis. The exact division of powers was not worked out, of course, but the trend of opinion was overwhelmingly in favour of emphasising provincial autonomy as opposed to concentration of power in the Centre. It must be remembered in this connection, that in the plan placed by Maulana Azad on behalf of the Congress before Lord Wavell in 1946 only three subjects were reserved with the Centre—Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs, all the rest being left with the provinces.

Shell Without Substance

The Constitution, as it was actually framed, was however, a big departure from the conception of a limited Centre and strong provincial units. And in the actual working of the Constitution during the last ten years, the trend towards concentration of power in the Centre has been further strengthened so that provincial autonomy has become nothing but a shell without substance.

Here I am setting down briefly the most important issues that arise in this connection. First, with regard to legislative powers. The Constitution divides legislative powers into three categories—one, those included in the Union list, two, the State list and three, the Concurrent list. Parliament is invested with powers for legislating on subjects included in the Union list. State Legislatures are competent to legislate on subjects included in the State list. And as regards the Concurrent list, both Parliament and the State legislatures can pass legislation.

Thus with regard to matters enumerated in the Concurrent list a situation may arise—indeed it does often arise—where there are laws passed both by

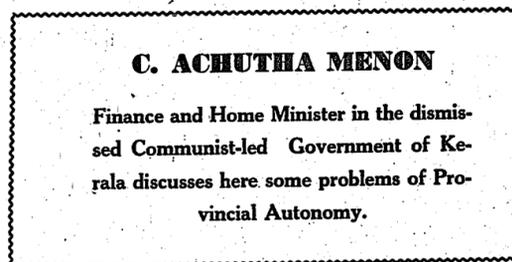
to their Bills, but it is the peculiar fate of the Bills passed by the Communist Ministry, the situation is all the more unhappy; because, then, it is a clear case of discrimination against a Communist Ministry. And it is against the spirit of our Constitution and democracy that such a thing should happen, and the Central Government is guilty of violating the Constitution.

If on the other hand, it is the case that this is the common experience of all State Governments and nothing peculiar to the Communist Government, it is high time that the States get together to take concerted action to get this difficulty removed.

Intolerable Situation

If it is the intention of a State legislature to modify certain provisions of an existing law, pertaining to some matter in the Concurrent list, one can understand the necessity for reserving the Bill for Presidential assent.

Presidential Assent has thus become a matter of crucial im-



C. ACHUTHA MENON

Finance and Home Minister in the dismissed Communist-led Government of Kerala discusses here some problems of Provincial Autonomy.

portance with regard to many State enactments. In practice it has been found that many Bills passed by State legislatures have very often provisions infringing on existing laws included in the Concurrent list, although in substance such laws are those included in the State List. These Bills are, therefore, reserved for the President's assent which takes a long time in coming with the result that the State Government's programmes are very often delayed and obstructed.

This is what has happened to many important legislations of the Communist Government. Bills such as the Jemmikaram Payment Abolition Bill, the Debt Relief Act (Amendment) Bill, the Agrarian Relations Bill and even the Court Fees Bill have been pending before the President for his assent for months together.

I do not know whether any other State Government has such an experience. If it is the case that no other State Government has experienced any difficulty in the matter of getting Presidential assent

although this also is an irksome limitation on provincial autonomy. But what is actually happening is that even Bills which in substance pertain to matters included in the State list and are, therefore, completely within the competence of the State legislature to pass are being held up for want of Presidential assent. This is intolerable.

The Governor is quite competent to give assent to such Bills and ordinarily it should not take more than a week of the passing of such a Bill by the legislature for the Governor to give his assent and for the Bill to become law. Instead, the Governor reserves it for the assent of the President and the Bills do not become laws for months and may be for years together. This is an utter negation of provincial autonomy.

Financial Control

The second important factor which reduces the scope of provincial autonomy is the limited nature of State's finances

under the Constitution. The sources of revenue, which, under the Constitution are set apart for the States are so limited and so incapable of expansion that well-nigh a crisis has been created in State finances, when the first and second Five-Year Plans have begun to operate.

In the analysis published by the Reserve Bank of India about State finances in its bulletin in June 1959, it is stated that out of the total disbursement of all the States together in 1958-59, nearly 54 per cent came from the Centre. This percentage was only 29 in 1951-52. It is clear that the States' finances are only just enough to enable them to carry on the ordinary routine administration and are utterly inadequate to meet the challenge of a rapidly rising national development expenditure, unless the Centre comes to their rescue. Central assistance has its own logic or its own implications.

As Manubhai Shah has pointed out, he who pays the piper will call the tune. The freedom of the States to develop in their own way is being restricted and trampled upon. They are compelled to work out development

All-India Cadre

Even more irksome, if more subtle, is the influence exercised by the Centre through such ways as promotions, confirmations, etc. If with regard to a particular officer the opinion of the Central Government happens to be at variance with the opinion of the State Government, conflict is bound to arise with the result that the officer concerned becomes either dissatisfied and sullen or defiant of the authority of the State Government. Either way the smooth working of the administrative machinery and its efficiency are impaired.

The high salaries paid to all-India service personnel is a cause of embarrassment to State Governments in more ways than one. It causes State service personnel also to aspire for the same high rates of pay which the State Governments cannot afford to pay, even if it were feasible otherwise, because of the large financial commitment involved which no State in India is at present in a position to meet. A lot of discontent is thus created in the ranks of the State personnel which the State Government cannot allay.

The correct solution for this problem is to appoint only State service personnel to posts in the State service and completely separate the all-India and State services. It must be open for State service personnel also to compete for all-India-services along with direct recruits but once they are recruited and accept an appointment, in the all-India service, they have to resign their posts in the State service, and must never thereafter be appointed in a State service post.

Not only the annual plans have to be approved by the Planning Commission, but thereafter every detail of every separate scheme has to get the approval of the particular Ministry at the Centre before it can be implemented. Some of the Ministers go on changing their schemes in such a quixotic manner that one never knows what is the scheme to be implemented in a particular year until very late in that year. All this is creating an intolerable situation for the States. It is ridiculous to talk of States' autonomy under such conditions.

The way in which the Governor has functioned in Kerala during the tenure of the Communist Ministry also raises certain important questions. It may be quite within the limits of constitutional propriety for a Governor to discuss with his Ministers or Ministry questions of policy with which he may have differences. And if the Governor is a man of wide and mature experience, his views will certainly carry weight with a sensible Ministry.

But apart from that a Governor can have under no circumstances any opinion different from that of the Ministry. He can have his personal views, but it is not open to him to air them in public, much less assert them against the views of his Ministry.

The correct position of the

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CENTRE CONCENTRATES ALL

POWER IN ITS HANDS

LEAVING STATES HELPLESS

Draft Election Manifesto

THE Sub-Committee constituted by the last meeting of the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party for drafting the Election Manifesto of the Party, met at Trivandrum together with the Secretariat of the State Committee and had finalised the preliminary draft of the Manifesto which has been sent to the District Councils of the Party for discussion.

The Draft Manifesto points out that the Party is approaching the electorate not with any narrow partisan attitude, but with the outline of a broad programme for completing and carrying forward the democratic reforms and economic development programmes initiated during the last three years for building a new prosperous Kerala.

The Manifesto consists of four parts—an introduction in which the developments and experience during the post General Election period is summed up; the second part consists of an assessment of how the Communist-led Kerala Ministry was able to implement the Election Manifesto of the Party; the third part deals with the programme the Party wishes to place before the people for the all-round development of the Kerala State; the final part is an appeal to the people of Kerala for uniting for the establishment of a stable Government to implement that programme.

While summing up the experiences of the last three years, the Manifesto has highlighted the highly centralised character of the Government in India

which has made the States practically devoid of any power, though our national movement had all along visualised a federal republic of Indian Union with wide powers for the States.

The difficulties, problems and conflicts did not come to the surface or become very acute as long as the Congress monopoly of power existed. But once it was broken and the Communist Party came to form a Government in one of the States these contradictions became acute and the political intolerance of the Congress leadership added fuel to the fire. For example,

a) The Government of India was withholding assent to many Bills passed by the Kerala Legislative Assembly making use of the Constitutional provision regarding Concurrent subjects, though those Bills dealt with essentially State subjects. This practice makes States' autonomy nominal.

b) The financial resources of the States have been extremely limited by our Constitution. The freedom of activity and initiative of the State Governments have been completely destroyed, especially in this period of economic development when there ought to be work. When there ought to be the minimum centralisation necessary for the formulation and implementation of a national plan, at present each and every scheme has to be scrutinised and approved by the Central Government. Thus not only plans are not quickly implemented, but also there is no scope or power for giving priorities in State plans on the basis of special conditions and problems in each State.

In the second part, the Draft Manifesto explains with concrete facts that the Communist-led Government was able to implement or complete 72 out of the 94 items in the Election

Uphold States' Autonomy To Save Democracy

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Constitutional Head was laid down by Prime Minister Nehru in the controversy with President Rajendra Prasad, on the issue of the latter's letter to Nehru on the question of cooperatives in agriculture. Pandit Nehru is reported to have made clear to Rajen Babu that the position of the President in the Indian Constitution was exactly to be that of the King in England, which, if put in blunt language is that of a figure-head and nothing more.

If we go by the wording of the articles of the Constitution, the same is the position of State Governors. But strange as it may seem, the Kerala Governor was acting in quite a different way. On more occasions than one he was giving expression to his views openly on matters of State policy which were at variance with that of his Ministry.

For instance, on the question of instituting an enquiry into police firings it was the height of impropriety for the Governor to have made it known that he demanded an enquiry while the Ministry was declaring openly that no enquiry would be instituted while the struggle was on.

The Governor is also reported to have written a strong note while reserving the Jemmikaram Payment Abolition Bill to the President for assent, the purport of which was that it would be inadvisable to give as-

c) The present system of the working of all-India cadres like the IAS and IPS in practice has proved to be a burdome and restriction on the State Governments in many ways.

d) The role of the Governor under our Constitution is only that of a constitutional head. He cannot have any function or opinions different from that of the elected Ministry. But that spirit is being violated. There is an attempt to make him act as the Resident or Political Agent in the former native States under British rule. What else is the implication of the Kerala Governor advising the Government of India to dismiss the elected Ministry behind the back of the Ministry?

These are questions deserving serious attention of all the democratic minded people in India.

In the second part, the Draft Manifesto explains with concrete facts that the Communist-led Government was able to implement or complete 72 out of the 94 items in the Election

Manifesto also. Such is the strange situation that we are now confronted with.

These are some of the problems which have been thrown up during the brief period of the Communist Ministry's term of office. They are serious enough to compel the attention of all public men in India, whatever political views they may hold.

Not A Party Problem

It may be that due to political enmity the Communist Ministry had to suffer at the hands of the Congress Government at the Centre more pressure and injustice than a Congress Ministry at the State level would have been subjected to. If that is so, it reflects no credit on the Constitution which permits such a thing to happen without any effective remedy. Moreover there is also no guarantee that a Congress Ministry at the State level will never have to suffer such a fate if it happens to differ on certain issues with the Central Government.

It is of the utmost importance that serious minded students of public affairs, irrespective of party affiliations, should discuss these problems and find out solutions whereby democracy is maintained and the freedom and initiative of States is upheld and developed in accordance with our national aspirations.

NEW AGE

Kerala Communists' Programme For Carrying Forward Democratic Reforms, Economic Development

Manifesto of the Party. It is pointed out that none of the previous Governments, Congress or PSP, has paid such sincere, serious and persistent attention to fulfil the election pledges given to the people as the Communist Government. Never before have so many legislative or executive measures been initiated to bring about long-needed democratic reforms in the social, economic and political life of the people in the State. Never before were such continuous efforts made to enlist people's cooperation and to gear the administrative machinery for implementing development programmes.

Industries And Agriculture

The proposals in the third part envisage a programme for the rapid development of industries and agriculture utilising the vast natural resources and manpower in the State.

In the sphere of agriculture, the Agrarian Relations Bill should be implemented as soon as possible and the distribution of surplus land as well as the assignment of Government-owned waste lands already started completed. A seven-year plan must be drawn up for reorganisation of the entire rural economy on cooperative basis, by encouraging the owner-cultivators to form various types of cooperatives ranging from service co-ops to better-and-joint farming co-operatives as they are voluntarily prepared to and the village artisans and handicraftsmen to form their own co-ops.

An intensive campaign for increasing rice production should be initiated by dividing the entire State into zones and giving help for using better seeds, more manure, improved implements, scientific methods and increasing irrigation facilities through the cooperatives and by enlisting the cooperation of the people in the form of shramdan, etc.

Encouragement and help should be given to increase cultivation of cash crops and industrial raw materials like rubber, cashew, sugar-cane, sea island cotton, etc., for which there are possibilities in Kerala. Government itself should start extensive rubber and cashew plantations. A State Trading Corporation and marketing co-operative societies should be established to ensure fair price for agricultural produce.

In the sphere of industry, the Industrial Relations Bill must be enacted and implemented to ensure peace in industries and better living and working conditions for labour. The Manifesto has suggested the setting up of Industrial Development Boards at the State and district levels to mobilise internal resources

and give other necessary help to start new industries, especially to create conditions for and persuade such landlords and big landowners who get compensation for conferring ownership on tenants and for surrendering surplus land above the ceiling to the Government to invest such amounts profitably in new industries.

Small industrialists and industrial cooperatives should be encouraged to start small scale industries using power and machinery on a large scale.

In the sphere of irrigation and power, programmes envisaged in the Master Plan for full utilisation of the water resources of the State should be implemented, the first part of the first stage to be included in the Third Five-Year Plan.

Master Plans for full utilisation of the forest wealth and for the all-round development of fisheries should be prepared and implemented.

Decentralisation of administration should be carried by enacting the Panchayats and District Councils Bills and by implementing other recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Committee.

A long-term plan for rural and urban water supply should be drawn up and implemented with special emphasis on and priority for those areas where there is a scarcity for drinking water.

Toddy-Tappers' Cooperatives and Labour Contract Cooperatives will be encouraged and expanded.

While preparing the Third Plan for the State there should be a shift towards greater emphasis on development of agriculture and industries and the State must get its due share in the Central schemes of national importance.

For augmenting the resources, the Manifesto has suggested various measures including compulsory loans for a Development Fund from all persons who earn salaries above a certain level.

Finally, the Manifesto appeals to the people of Kerala to build broad democratic unity of all patriotic sections of the people for social and economic transformations, a stable Government and all-round development of the State and against the reactionary anti-Communist alliance headed by the Congress and dominated by the communal and vested interests.

This draft has been sent to the District Councils of the Communist Party for discussion. The State Committee meeting at Ernakulam on November 2 and 3 will give final form to the draft taking into consideration the suggestions made by the District Councils.

It is expected that it will then be approved by the National Council of the Party, scheduled to meet at Meerut in the second week of November.

ALL-PARTIES COMMITTEE FOR FOOD STRUGGLE

REPRESENTATIVES of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, as well as prominent leaders of the trade unions and peasant organisations of Tamilnad met on November 1 last to consider the steps to bring down the abnormal prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities, caused by present Congress policies.

The meeting endorsed the memorandum presented on October 12 to the State Chief Minister and Food Minister, demanding certain urgent measures for bringing down the prices. The meeting regretted that there was no response whatever from the Government and decided on launching a joint campaign throughout the State to mobilise public opinion behind the following demands:

- Adequate fair price shops in towns, major panchayats and effected rural areas in Tamilnad at one shop for 500 families.
- Rice to be made available in these shops at 0.75 n.p. per Madras measure and millets at three measures a rupee.
- The stock to be procured by Government from landlords owning ten acres and above alone on a graded levy of 50 per cent to 75 per cent.
- The shops to guarantee the supply of about 50 per cent of these areas, the stock needed for which for the year will be about five lakhs of tons.

People's committees to be formed in each fair-price shop area for effective functioning of the shops in the interests of the people.

The meeting decided on joint campaigning through meetings from November 15 to November 22 to culminate in big processions and mass rallies on November 22 throughout the State.

An All-Parties Price-Reduction Committee with powers to coopt was set up at the meeting to conduct the mass campaign for reduction of prices. The members of the Committee are: E. R. Nedunchezian, E. V. K. Sampath, M.P. and N. V. Natarajan representing the DMK; M. P. Sivagnana Gramani, K. M. Sheriff and V. K. Kuppuswami representing the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam; S. C. C. Anthony Pillai, M.P., K. Apparaj and V. Kannan representing the Socialist Party; M. R. Venkatraman, P. Ramamurti and P. Jeevanandam representing the Communist Party; S. Guruswami, President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, T. S. Ramanujam, President of the Madras City TU Council, P. Krishnamurthi, Councillor, Corporation of Madras, A. S. Iyengar, Vice-President, Tamilnad Trade Union Congress, and Manali Kandaswami, General Secretary, Tamilnad Kisan Sabha.

Against this background the formation of the All-Parties Price-Reduction Committee is being welcomed as a very important step. This is bound to lead to the creation of united mass public opinion on this issue for the first time on a Statewide scale which the Government cannot afford to ignore.



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NEW AGE

KERALA NOTE-BOOK

THE ONLY AGREEMENT

ANOTHER week has gone by—the eighth since the Congress-FSP-League agreement on the division of seats in Ernakulam. Press Correspondents were kept waiting in Trivandrum the whole of the week. Hot news this evening. Final decision tomorrow, November 1 is the deadline. And so and so on, it continued from day to day.

But all that the leaders of the anti-Communist Parties have been able to agree so far is not to express their disagreements in public. And I am afraid even this agreement is likely to be honoured more in its breach.

First it was the PSP's refusal to give some seats to the Congress and some to the FSP that created the problem. PSP leaders did not even participate in some of the sessions held to hammer out an agreement. Patom Thanu Pillai and the PSP are disrupting unity—that was the tune of the Congress and the RSP and Mannath Padmanathan at whose feet the RSP had fallen for a few seats, after knocking at Congress and PSP doors.

There was even a proposal that the FSP should be thrown out of the front and seats allotted—12 to the Muslim League, eight to the RSP and 106 to the Congress.

Whether it was because of this threat or not, I don't know for certain, the FSP agreed to give two seats to the RSP after the Congress had conceded eight.

But when the FSP was thus brought round to take a reasonable stand, the RSP leader was found missing. It seems that the seats did not include those which the RSP was determined to have and without which its leaders would not be able to satisfy their followers.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the Liberation Front have decided to keep the Front alive till after the elections. Didn't Pandit Nehru tell us once, giving a good conduct certificate to Manath Padmanabhan that the Front had been dissolved?

Knowledgeable circles say that this threat to keep the Front alive is to get a few of Mannam's trusted lieutenants adopted as their candidates by the Congress and the PSP (not the League as Mannam's followers are all upper-class Nairs and the League obviously can't put them up).

Reading about these squabbles in their newspapers every day the people have begun to ask: if this is the dog-fight that goes on for seats, won't there be murders for Ministerships in unfortunately these parties get a majority?

NINE LAKHS FROM A CHURCH

PLENTY of money—Indian and foreign—had been spent to create the mass upsurge in Kerala. The leaders of the struggle had admitted this—Mannam saying that he himself could account for about Rs. 50 lakhs.

I now hear that one church in Mattancherry spent nine lakhs of rupees—its humble contribution to wipe out Communism. But for a sheer accident, the world would perhaps have never known of this glorious sacrifice in the cause of democracy by an unknown church in a corner of Kerala.

It seems a businessman decided to sell an office premise, a couple of godowns and a bungalow. A house agent who knew that the church had a deposit of about Rs. 12 lakhs in a local bank approached the vicar to arrange for the purchase of these buildings.

When the vicar told him the truth. Something like this: Faithful son, you saw the crusade we had to conduct against the unbelievers. This church could not keep quiet in such a situation. So the bank balance has come down to three lakhs.

When this news of the rest nine lakhs being spent to finance the "liberation struggle" reached the people, even the believers were not very happy. One of them said with him: if only the money had been invested to start some factory, the poor Catholic could at least have earned a living out of it.

MANDAL RAJ

IT is the President who is supposed to be administering Kerala, it is the Mandal Congress leaders who really rule it these days. You don't believe me, read this story.

Some time ago, when the Communist Government was still in office, fifteen people were appointed on the three ferries on the Alleppey-Changannassery road as temporary hands pending the selection of permanent employees by the Public Service Commission.

When the PSP made its selection, the temporary personnel were discharged, fifteen went to INTUC leader B. K. Nair and they joined the INTUC.

A case was instituted claiming their discharge was illegal. It went up to the High Court and was dismissed. The Communist Government refused to intervene since any intervention would have been unlawful and unjustified.

Came President's rule and the INTUC leader began shouting: political discrimination.

Another representation he made to the Chief Secretary in what he thought was favourable climate was again rejected. But our INTUC leader was not to be deterred by such things. He contacted the INTUC centre in Delhi and got a letter to Governor Ramakrishna Rao.

The representation again made its journey to the Secretariat—a procedure which shocked even the seasoned bureaucrats. The Chief Secretary stood by his earlier decision he said there was no case for intervention.

When the Adviser was appointed and he visited Alleppey, B. K. Nair again presented his case. The Additional Chief Secretary who was present is now reported to have written a note to the FWD Secretary asking whether 15 workers could not be taken back on some ground or other—if necessary, even of compassion.

THE OTHER SIDE

THIS is one side of the picture. Now see the other side.

The Third Conference of the All-India Council of Elementary Education met in New Delhi on October 19. Important items were on the agenda like Education in the Third Plan, midday meals for school children, etc.

The Kerala Government's representative on the Council is P. E. Nambiar, a known Communist and a well-known educationist. He had attended all previous meetings of the Council and he got the invitation for the present meeting on September 25. Nambiar immediately wrote to the Kerala Government asking for directives to present Kerala's case in the Council. The Government's reply was to maintain absolute silence.

If the Government had replaced him because he was a Communist, one could have understood it even if it was political discrimination. But it did not do that. Instead it resorted to such underhand methods as not replying to letters.

The result was that no representative from Kerala could attend the Council meeting. If Kerala loses anything because of it in the allotment for Education in the Third Plan, the people would certainly know whom to blame.

But such delay as replying to letters, etc., does not take place in certain other cases.

A vacancy had occurred in the State Planning Committee, when one of its members, P. R. Bhaskara Panikkar, was appointed to the Public Service Commission.

The Adviser's regime did not take very long to fill up the vacancy—with Congress leader V. M. Nair. If anybody had thought that the regime would have at least the decency to fill a vacancy caused by a Communist member in an all-parties committee by another Communist, they know better now.

TAIL-PIECE

YOU wouldn't believe me if I tell you that Union Deputy Home Minister Datar during his recent visit to Kerala was campaigning for the Communist Party.

Evidence? Here it is. Datar called on the Kerala people to vote for a stable Government. The Congress has the record of having had nine Ministers in ten years—a monument of instability. Only after the last General Election did the State know any stability because the Communists were in office.

Against this background, does an appeal for stability become an appeal to vote for the Communist Party or does it not?

—OBSERVER

THREE MONTHS OF PRESIDENT'S RULE IN KERALA

● by KUNHANANDAN

Ever since the "liberation" leaders of Kerala were obliged by the Congress leaders at the Centre to get rid of the legally elected Communist-led Government after their own "liberation" struggle had failed to win this objective, they have been liberating themselves more and more from the restrictions which the Communist Ministry had imposed on their unlimited freedom to interfere with the administration and do what they liked with the working people of the State.

PRESIDENT'S rule which is meant only to look after the day-to-day administration of the State till such time as the people again give their verdict through a general election, has become undiluted Congress rule, reversing, without any regard to democratic principles, the policies initiated by the Communist Government and the gains that have accrued to the vast masses of the people as a result of these policies.

What goes on in Kerala today in the name of Adviser's regime is Mandal raj—rule by the Congress Mandal Committees.

Congress leaders have direct access to the officials of the State Government and they dictate to them what should be done in the course of day-to-day administrative work.

Pressure On Officials

If any official with a sense of responsibility to his office refuses to yield to this pressure from the Mandal Congress leaders, a barrage is unleashed against him in the Press and from the platform dubbing him a Communist. There were reports in the "liberation" Press of Communist "cells" in the Government Secretariat and the demand that they should be cleaned up. This was plainly a demand for the removal of those officials who were not prepared to surrender their sense of duty to the partisan interests of the Congress leaders.

In a public meeting in Trivandrum, just after President's rule was imposed on the State, which was presided over by K.P.C.C. chief R. Sankar, Mannath Padmanabhan said:

"The Inspector-General of Police, the Assistant Inspector-General, the Chief Secretary and the Home Secretary all belong to the other side. These people should be removed forthwith. If they are from the IPS and IAS cadre, they can be sent away to other States."

Soon after this threat from the Commander-in-Chief of the "liberation" struggle, the Inspector-General of Police Srinivasa Iyer was removed from his post and overall responsibility of the State police was handed over to Krishna Menon, a favourite of Mannath Padmanabhan and a former Inspector-General of

Police who had been appointed Secretary of the Police Enquiry Committee by the Communist Government.

Many police officials were victimised for the only reason that they had carried out the orders of the Government in office.

One District Superintendent of Police was dismissed. He was the target of continuous attack by Congress leaders and Mannath Padmanabhan during the "liberation" struggle. Three Assistant Superintendents of Police were reverted. Recently, another DSP was transferred after a report in the Press that he had saluted E.M.S. Nambodiripad when he was no longer the Chief Minister. The Home Department Secretary was transferred to the Public Works Department and the Collector of Trichur was posted to the Agricultural Department.

The Adviser's regime just a few days ago cancelled an order passed by the Communist Government to reinstate personnel of the Malabar Special Police who had been dismissed from service for alleged political activities by the Madras Government when Malabar was a part of Madras State. The Communist Government had ordered that 50 per cent of the vacancies in the police force should be reserved for these dismissed men. It is this order that has now been cancelled.

Mandal Raj

A striking instance of the type of Mandal Raj that has been established was the way the order of the Collector of Kozhikode was changed on August 15. The Collector had refused permission to the Independence Day Celebration Committee formed by Congressmen and some others for the use of the Mananchira Maidan. In this he was not showing any discrimination because he had already refused the Communist Party permission to use the maidan. Both the refusals were based on the understanding that prevails that the maidan should be used only by all-party committees on such national occasions and not by any single party.

But the Congress leaders, in the flush of their victory, would not accept the Collector's orders. They immediately contacted the Chief Secretary and got telegraphic instructions issued to the Collector to give the maidan to the Congress

An administration meant only to be a caretaker Government is reversing, without any respect to democracy, the policies of the earlier Government and taking away the gains won by the people.

ernment assumed office, had brought to light many of the shady activities in the co-ops. Corruption was so rampant that when the four southern districts of Travancore were joined to Madras, the Congress Government of Madras had to take note of it and dissolve these co-operatives. The Communist Government decided to set right matters and clear the co-operatives of the parasites. A scheme was introduced to

* SEE PAGE 15

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PARTY NEWS

The Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India which met in Chandigarh last week heard a report from the Council's Secretary Harkishen Singh Surjeet and after three-days discussions adopted a number of resolutions.

In his report, Surjeet, dealing with developments in the international situation, said that the tragic and unfortunate happenings on the India-China border were being utilised by reactionary forces to divert the attention of the people from the real issues facing them on the one hand, and on the other to attack the foreign policy of the Nehru Government.

The Communist Party had become the main target in this intensified attack by reaction, said Surjeet, and added that with the relations strained between India and China, imperialist intrigues in India had increased. In the nation, Surjeet said, the Congress was losing its hold over the masses and pointed out as indications of the mass mood the widespread opposition to Central intervention in Kerala, the powerful food movement in West Bengal, the decision of the Congress High Command to split up bilingual Bombay, etc.

Regarding the situation in Punjab, the report pointed out that the increasing menace of water-logging in the background of rising prices of foodgrains had to be taken serious note of.

During the last five or six years, nearly 93 lakh acres of agricultural land have been affected by water-logging—that means a third of the total area of Punjab and out of this, 35 lakh acres have become uncultivable. Whatever schemes the Government has to fight this menace lie on the tables of the bureaucrats.

Surjeet called on the kisan members of the Party to take up this issue in right earnest because it affects the very existence of the people of Punjab.

Food Situation

Analysing the food situation in the Punjab, the report said that despite the fact that Punjab was a surplus State, the food situation was causing anxiety to the people of the State, and if the Government did not implement State Trading of foodgrains in right earnest, there was every danger that a situation similar to that of last year might again arise in Punjab. The report drew the attention of the Party to the employment situation in the State which was deteriorating very fast and the problem of educated unemployed which had taken a serious turn.

Surjeet dealt at length with the situation in the State's political parties. The charges made by dissident Congressmen are enough to show to what low level the administrative machinery in the State had fallen. Congress leaders were corrupting every sphere of public life. The

for an early panchayat elections; —Popularisation of the stand of the Party on the language problem.

A resolution on Panchayat Elections, adopted by the Council "censured the anti-democratic attitude of the State Government in regard to rural self-Government in that it dissolved the District Boards, failed to hold elections to the panchayats when they were due in 1956 and for three years thereafter; and when the dates for elections were at last fixed and preparations for the same had gone considerably ahead, they were again postponed all of a sudden on the plea of unifying the Punjab and PEPSU Acts."

The Council urged the State Government to expedite the drafting of the unified legislations and call a special session of the Assembly in December to adopt it and to hold the elections at a very early date.

As an essential basis for a progressive panchayat legislation, the Council urged the adoption of the following democratic provisions:

—Sarpanches must be

PUNJAB STATE COUNCIL MEETS

Surjeet warned Communists not to be complacent about the Swatantra Party while there was certainly no need to be panicky and over-estimate the danger from this party.

Reviewing the work of the Communist Party during the last six months in Punjab, Surjeet said that the Party had registered an advance and its mass influence had increased. The results of the recent municipal elections showed that the Party for the first time had become an important factor in the civic life of State. If the panchayat elections are held, Surjeet added, their results would show the gains of the Party in the rural areas.

Programme Of Action

The report in conclusion laid down the following programme for the Party:

- Struggle against betterment levy;
- Solidarity campaign with Kerala for the elections;
- Defence of the foreign policy of the Government of India and campaign for India-China friendship and Nehru-Chou meeting to solve the border problem;
- Struggle for the solution of the problem of water-logging;
- Amendments to the Panchayat Act and campaign

RUSH RELIEF TO WEST BENGAL

—CPI SECRETARIAT'S CALL

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on October 30, 1959:

"The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India draws the attention of the whole country to the terrible devastation wrought in West Bengal by the recent floods.

"Standing crops on twenty lakh acres of land have been either altogether destroyed or severely damaged. No less than 250,000 houses have either collapsed or been badly damaged. As a result, about 50 lakh people have been directly affected and they are passing their days in extreme distress and agony. The cyclone that has hit the State has only added to the misery of the people. Many people have lost their lives in the floods and the cyclone.

"Apart from official efforts which are still inadequate and have to be developed on a large scale, non-official efforts too, have an important role to play in relieving the distress and suffering of the millions of afflicted people.

"Such efforts are already being made magnificently by the public and different relief organisations in West Bengal. But the plight of West Bengal calls for sympathy and support from every other State and indeed from people throughout the country.

"The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party appeals to the people to generously contribute to the relief work now in progress in West Bengal. It appeals to all Party units, Party members and friends to collect funds and other necessary material for this relief work and send them to—

People's Relief Committee, 249-Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta-12."

exceeding Rs. 16 per maund;

- Open cheap grain depots for the working class, the middle classes in urban and rural areas where demanded by the people;
- Start grain banks for the village poor;
- Check smuggling and profiteering with a strong hand;
- Set up all-parties food committees at all levels.

"The Council further urges the Government to take steps to lower the price of sugar to the normal level and release adequate sugar for normal consumption requirements of the people."

Terror Against Tenants

In a resolution on "Goonda Terror against the Tenants", the Council said that "while the State Government is dilly-dallying with Tenancy Acts and delaying even the declaration of surplus lands, the landlords aided by the police continue their goonda terror against the tenants to drive them away from the land. False cases are being instituted against kisan workers who stand by the tenants in their struggle against the landlords."

The Council urged the State Government "to check these activities of the landlords and warn the police and local officials against aiding and abetting their nefarious activities."

Another resolution expressed the Council's deep concern over "the failure of the Punjab Government to offer alternative jobs to the workers who are being retrenched from the Nangal-Bhakra Project." The Council called on the Government to discuss the question with representatives of the workers.

- Raise a stock of at least three lakh tons to meet the requirements till May next;
- To fix a ceiling on prices of wheat at a figure not

FROM FRONT PAGE

ties to unite the country behind him if China is allowed to go on heaping contempt and humiliation upon us."

Two days later Birla's editor in his signed column clearly demanded: "Mr. Nehru must now give up any hope he ever had that the border issue is capable of settlement by negotiation." The threat was repeated: "We must have real fears that his capacity to unite the nation behind him can in certain circumstances be seriously impaired. These are grave words, but they have to be spoken."

The campaign to sack the Prime Minister, if he does not repudiate the policy of seeking peaceful solution of our dispute with China, is being built up without any disguise. The Times of India (October 26 editorial) has disapproved of Pandit Nehru's "mild" words and shrieked, "China has turned predatory; it will not help us to write it off as a passing phase. We need to keep the powder dry."

Two days later, its columnist Verghese spelt it out more clearly: "As things stand, the truth is that the country has begun to lose confidence in the ability of the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Ministry to solve the crisis single-handed."

D. R. Mankekar in his regular Indian Express column (October 28) ignores the person and demands that the nation's policy itself be buried, lock, stock and barrel. Under the tell-tale headline "Discard Panch Sheet Blinkers", he screeches:

"To plead for action is not to demand war. The plea is for firm punitive action against the violators of our frontiers. "It is suicidal to run away from the stark realities of life and hug the Maya of Panch Sheet.

"Common sense demands that we should look around for allies and friends with common defence problems. In the face of positive danger, it is stupid to insist on going it alone and refusing friendly assistance. "We should at any rate have no qualms in accepting military aid from non-Communist countries who are prepared to help us."

Plea For U. S. Alliance

Enter the net of U.S. military alliances and if there are any qualms at least accept U.S. arms! The nation must know which way the anti-Chinese warriors seek to lead the country!

Tribune Editor Prem Bhatia handles both the Prime Minister and his policy in his signed article, under "New Wave of Anger with Mr. Nehru" in these words:

"There is no doubt that the country is angry. A large proportion of the current national anger is directed at Mr. Nehru. What is needed immediately is a quick change in our policy towards China. As a first step, India must stop pimping for China.

"As a second step, let Mr. Nehru without further regard for personal sensitiveness change his Defence Minister.

"And finally, for heaven's sake, let us at least stop making friendly gestures—even if they appear noble—to the Chinese.

"India has made stupid mistakes in the past in regard to China. Let Mr. Nehru admit his errors in public instead of ra-

tioning his past misjudgement." It is a call to the Prime Minister to get into sack-cloth and dutifully learn from the U.S. State Department the foreign policy to be pursued.

Foreign Comments

The similarity of these views with what the imperialists are saying will become clear from a glance at the Anglo-U.S. Press comments.

Even the sedate London Times cannot resist an open-mouthed laugh at our Prime Minister's cost. In its October 26 editorial it gloats, "That Mr. Nehru should have to face the possibility of war with China—even though he dismissed the idea as an 'amazing folly'—is one of the strangest turns of the international wheel. India and China were the law-givers for peaceful coexistence."

It goes on to state, "Neutrality has taken other hard knocks lately. . . . The doctrine has not saved them from the conflicts which they had hoped to avoid. Neutrality as policy has to be looked at again.

"The question which neutralists have now to consider is whether Communism ever really meant to accept the half-way

house of neutralism except as a temporary expedient." Independent Asian nations led by the nationalists are sought to be divided from raising the anti-Communist bogey. The cold war ideological weapon that is failing to work in the West they expect to operate in the East, and with some hope!

After the Ladakh incident, the same offer is being revived to test if India is ripe enough to fall into U.S. arms. The imperialist rulers of the U.S. are waiting and watching how far its various agencies in India are able to change the situation in the country by exploiting and worsening India-China relations, to force a change of foreign policy or of the Prime Minister himself.

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Among the proposals that were being discussed was the

one that the U.S. President should visit India in December itself instead of in spring, on his way from Moscow.

After the Longju incident Eisenhower had made the offer of a similar visit and unlimited supply of U.S. arms was promised through Mrs. Pandit. It was curtly but politely turned down then.

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What could be a greater danger? And this is the real danger spreading its tentacles under the false cover of danger from China. Failure to see this is to let ourselves be beguiled by the real enemy.

The poisonous Press campaign is duly supported by the statements and campaign meetings organised by Indian politicians and parties notorious for their reactionary standpoint, who oppose everything that is decent and progressive in our country's life.

Asoka Mehta has warned the country against Pandit Nehru having proved a false prophet regarding India-China friendship and stated: "I hope we will learn the lessons and not allow

ourselves to be duped by our hopes." (Hindustan Times, October 25)

Another PSP leader, H. V. Kamath, in his Press Conference demanded, "It is necessary that the Prime Minister whose foreign and defence policies have been complete failures should tender at least a token resignation of his Cabinet and the Congress Party in Parliament should be asked to elect a fresh leader." (Statesman, November 3)

K. M. Munshi, inaugurating the Punjab Convention of the Swatantra Party, stated that the developments on our border were "the culmination of a decade of foreign policy based upon bhat-bhatism." He called for "strong action" to dislodge the Chinese. The resolution damned India's foreign policy for its "weakness" and "unrealistic approach to the international situation." (Hindustan Times, October 26)

M. R. Masani, inaugurating the South Kanara Convention of the Swatantra Party, called for a "reappraisal of foreign policy" and called upon Indian public opinion to demand unrestrained freedom to the Indian armed forces to go to the Chinese; dismissal of Krishna Menon; recognition of Tibetan independence; confession by the

Prime Minister that he had made a "Himalayan blunder" in sizing up the aims and intentions of Chinese Communist regime. (Hindustan Times, October 27)

Former C-in-C General Cariappa takes pride in maintaining personal and confidential contacts with his old pal, now President Ayub. He has a way of being where there is trouble. For example, he was in Delhi and very active at the time of the Thimayya resignation. He has come rushing to Delhi again and called for "immediate steps" to dislodge the Chinese. "Panch Sheet or no Panch Sheet, non-violence or no non-violence we have got to be men and act boldly and resolutely."

As if the provocateur's role was not enough, he has also tried to act the soldier-statesman a la Ayub and repeated his old plea for Indo-Pak military alliance. "The defence problem of India and Pakistan is indivisible." (Hindustan Times, November 2)

In a public meeting in the capital on October 25, the Jan Sangh demanded firm steps to "throw out the Chinese forces," "closer collaboration with" other Southeast Asian countries, "equally threatened by Chinese imperialism," i.e. get into SEATO. And hardest of all to believe, "formation of a common defence policy with Pakistan." There is, however, no need to shut one's eyes. The crack of the U.S. whip decides the moment's friend or foe for the Jan Sangh pack.

The President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha has called for immediate breaking of our diplomatic relations with China and increase in the defence budget "ignoring the

question of industrial development and raising the living standards of the people for the time being." (Hindustan Times, October 30)

These notorious American lobby men and the pro-U.S. parties are out on the run to make India the happy hunting ground of the U.S. imperialists.

"The game is being played not only from outside, but also inside the ruling party."

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Inside The Ruling Party

The daily *Khidmat*, the official organ of the ruling National Conference has urged the Government of India to sever diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (PTI, October 26). Here is an open defiance of official policy by a constituent unit of the Congress Party itself.

Munishwar Dutt Upadhyaya, the present and Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, the former Secretary-General of the Congress Parliamentary Party, pressed home the move for an emergent party meeting, and the Prime Minister called to face it.

The *Hindustan Times* Special Correspondent meaningfully reports, "Congress M.P.s are greatly concerned over the state of our northern defences and continued Chinese encroachment into the Indian territory. Members will call for a firmer policy towards China."

The same alignment as we witnessed at the time of the Thimayya affair. Reactionary elements outside the Congress working in Haison and cooperation with the Rightists inside the ruling party are coming to the fore. In fact, it was not shattered then but survived and has gained new momentum.

The target then was the Defence Minister and the defence policy. That remains. The gang has only become bolder to bait the Prime Minister, too, and demand change of foreign policy as well.

Again there has been the usual noisy and hostile demonstrations before the Chinese Embassy. And more, against the Prime Minister as well this time.

The October 30 *Times of India* reported in 17 lines space a Socialist Party demonstration before the Prime Minister's residence and the slogan, "Get Indian territory vacated by the Chinese aggressors or resign."

The same event was front-paged in the *Pakistan Times*, in 42 lines space, as a *Reuter* despatch and the slogans shouted as "Nehru wake up!" "Nehru Resign!" The memo handed over to the Prime Minister's Private Secretary stated, "Since you have failed to protect our frontier, you and your Government must resign."

In a national crisis like ours, it is sheer blindness and utter folly to under-rate the danger this Press and public campaign has ushered into our public life. It is poisoning the atmosphere and creating the climate in which Right-wing conspiracies prosper and coups from above are attempted. This is also the grim lesson from the sad experience of our neighbouring countries.

All this foul campaign, plan-

REACTION'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

one that the U.S. President should visit India in December itself instead of in spring, on his way from Moscow.

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SOVIET INDUSTRY Advances At Higher Rate Than U. S.

Soviet industry had topped by more than four per cent the nine-month overall production targets in 1959, according to an official announcement issued last month. The announcement revealed further that the third quarter and nine months' plan had been surpassed both in overall industrial production and in most of the essential items. Compared with the period between January and September 1958, industrial production increased 12 per cent and industrial labour productivity had risen eight per cent.

THE Central Board announced that over the nine months the Soviet Union produced 31.8 million tons of pig iron, 44.4 million tons of steel, 34.7 million tons of rolled sections, 39.7 million tons of coke, 70.5 million tons of iron ore, 390 million tons of coal, 95.3 million tons of oil. Gas production reached 26.1 billion cubic metres. One hundred and sixty-six billion kilowatt hours of electricity were generated.

Compared with the corresponding period of 1958 the margin increase was: pig iron—2.7, steel—3.6, rolled sections—2.6, coal—8.6, oil—11.9 million tons. The output of gas has risen by five billion cubic metres and that of electricity by 18 million kilowatt hours.

New Soviet Budget

The Soviet Union's Deputy Minister of Finance Vassily Garvuzov delivering the report on the draft new budget at the recent session of the Supreme Soviet cited astronomical figures: 772,000,000,000 roubles State revenue and almost 745,000,000,000 roubles expenditure. This exceeds over four-fold the Soviet budget of the prewar year of 1940 and is almost 50 per cent above the 1950 budget.

A simple comparison of the past eight years shows that State appropriations for economic construction and social-cultural services have grown particularly rapidly, while defence expenditures have strunk gradually—both in absolute and relative figures. Indeed, in 1953, defence spendings accounted for 108 billion roubles, approximately 21 per cent of the budget, while in 1960 it is planned to allot 96 billion roubles for these purposes—less than 13 per cent of the budget.

The share of social-cultural spendings in the State budget (public education, health, pensions, etc.) is growing from year to year. Only seven years ago, these appropriations accounted for one-quarter of all the budget, while today they account for more than one-third. In absolute figures this is almost 250 billion roubles—on the average over 1,100 roubles (175 dollars) per capita. This is exactly how much every Soviet citizen gets additionally from the Soviet every year in the form of Government spending on free educa-

tion, free health services, pensions, etc. Addressing the recently concluded third session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Minister of the USSR Alexei Kosygin said that the pace of development of industrial production in 1959 considerably exceeded the average annual targets set by the Seven-Year Plan. The programme for the output of industrial goods will be exceeded by approximately four per cent.

The output of the means of production in 1959 will grow by 12 per cent and the output of consumer goods—by 10.5 per cent.

The result of 1959 proved convincingly that the tasks set by the 21st Party Congress were being successfully accomplished, Kosygin continued.

Turning to the programme for the second year of the seven-year period, Kosygin noted that in 1960, the Soviet Union will take another big step forward in solving the basic economic task and raising the living standards of the people. The successes achieved in fulfilling the programme for the first year of the Seven-Year Plan make it possible to set higher targets for 1960 in comparison with those envisaged by the Seven-Year Plan.

Thus a solid basis will be laid in 1960 for an early fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan.

In 1960, gross industrial output will grow 8.1 per cent as against the current year. The output of steel in the USSR next year will reach nearly 65 million tons. The output of iron ore will exceed 105 million tons. The first 600-ton automatic open-hearth furnaces including a blast furnace with a useful volume of 2,000 cubic metres will be put into operation in 1960.

In his report Kosygin cited figures characteristic of the further development of machine-building and metal-working industries, the production of building materials, consumer goods and food-stuffs.

Progress In Agriculture

He pointed out that agriculture in the Soviet Union was making good progress. Gross grain output in 1960 must reach approximately 9.3 billion poods (one pood equals 36 lbs). Meat output will reach 10.6 million tons

(slaughter weight). Nearly 72 million tons of milk or 336 kilograms per capita of population was expected, as against 330 kilograms produced in the United States last year.

The volume of capital investments, Kosygin went on to say, is estimated to total 255.5 billion roubles. Forty per cent of this sum will be channelled for the development of the Eastern regions of the Soviet Union. In 1960, the Eastern areas will produce more iron and steel and electricity, than what the whole of the Soviet Union turned out ten years ago.

The 1960 programme envisages a 5.8 per cent increase in labour productivity. The envisaged growth of labour productivity is guaranteed by technical progress. Per worker power consumption in industry in 1960 will grow eight per cent.

Living Standards

The Soviet Communist Party, Kosygin said, has set the task of ensuring for the Soviet people the highest living standards in the world. The successful development of Soviet economy leaves no doubt that this task will be accomplished. The national income in 1960 will grow by approximately nine per cent. The 1960 programme envisages the transfer of all workers and employees in all branches of the national economy to a seven-hour working day. Noteworthy is the fact that in the Soviet Union the shorter working hours entails a further increase of wages and not their reduction.

Approximately 2.4 million apartments will be built next year, Kosygin pointed out. Some ten million people will move to new flats. Besides, collective farmers and rural intelligentsia are expected to build about one million homes. Kosygin said that retail trade turnover will grow by some 75 billion roubles. One hundred and nineteen thousand engineers will be graduated in the USSR in 1960, 250 per cent more than in the United States in 1953.

The programme for raising the living standard of the population in 1960 is one more convincing proof that our plans are the plans for peaceful economic and cultural construction.

The economic development of the Soviet Union, Kosygin stressed, provides new possibilities for expanding mutually advantageous trade and other economic relations with foreign countries. The total volume of Soviet foreign trade is to grow by 25 per cent in the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan alone. The growth of export will be mainly through increasing

the sales of industrial goods, machines and equipment in particular.

In 1960, the Soviet Union will be rendering technical assistance in building 383 industrial enterprises and other undertakings in 22 countries of the world including 288 projects in the Socialist countries and 95 in economically underdeveloped countries.

The Soviet Union, Kosygin went on to say, will in every way expand its trade with the countries which have rid themselves of colonial dependence and will render them substantial economic, scientific and technical assistance. Thus, the net credit granted by the Soviet Union to India will enable her to build a number of power stations, engineering plants, an oil refinery, and other enterprises. The construction of the first section of the Aswan High Dam will begin in the United Arab Republic in 1960 with the assistance of the Soviet Union.

Kosygin noted that the consistent policy of the Soviet Union in promoting its foreign trade has brought about a considerable improvement of trade relations between the Soviet Union and many capitalist countries in the West.

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Maximum Gain In Time

The successful economic development of the USSR convincingly proves that the task of maximum gain in time in competition with capitalism is being successfully solved by the Soviet people. During the 1953-1960 period, the USSR will cover a distance which the United States traversed in a much longer time. He noted, for instance, that in the course of these two years the Soviet Union would increase its steel output by ten million tons while it took the United States 12 years to ensure the same growth of steel production.

The figures for the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan give every ground to expect that this Plan will be not only fulfilled but considerably exceeded. This is a reliable guarantee that we shall overtake the United States of America in a comparatively brief space of time.

The facts go to show, Kosygin continued, that the pace of development of Soviet industry is much higher than in the United States. In the Soviet Union industrial output grew by 110 per cent over seven years (1952-1958) with the average annual growth of output equaling nearly 11.5 per cent. In the United States industrial production grew only by 11.7 per cent over the same period with the average annual growth of 1.6 per cent.

USSR FOR PEACE

Prospects of Consolidating World Peace

More Favourable, Says Khrushchov

The latest period has been marked by a noticeable improvement of the international situation, tensions have been considerably relaxed, and the prospects of consolidating world peace had become more favourable, said N. S. Khrushchov reporting to the Soviet Parliament on October 31.

Khrushchov pointed out that a more sober assessment of the situation was emerging at the top in the West. The conclusion is being drawn there that calculations on military strength should be discarded. States with differing social systems should coexist peacefully on a reasonable basis.

KHRUSHCHOV stressed that the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and all the Socialist camp countries had paved for mankind the road to social development without wars, on the basis of peaceful co-existence.

The principle of peaceful co-existence means non-interference in home affairs, mutual concessions, compromises, accommodation on both sides in the sphere of international relations for the sake of safeguarding and consolidating peace. However, any concessions in ideological issues are out of the question.

"We are confident of the force of our truth," Khrushchov stressed, "we carry this Socialist truth aloft for the whole world to see it and the advantages of Socialism."

Khrushchov resolutely rejected the claims of bourgeois leaders that the

turning of this country into a military springboard undermined, above all, her own security.

Turning to the attitude of the United States and some other Western Powers to the People's Republic of China, Khrushchov noted their desire to turn this great country into a second-rate Power. The rights of the People's Republic of China have still not been restored in the United Nations. Khrushchov expressed the conviction that Taiwan and the other islands would be reunited with continental China. "In this question, we fully support and will continue supporting the Government of the People's Republic of China," he said. Having pointed out that the United States is obviously not seeking a military conflict in Korea, Khrushchov said that favourable conditions for the final solution of the Korean issue were emerging. We should start off with the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

Soviet Union pursues tactical aims when it speaks of peaceful co-existence. Marxism has never regarded war between States as necessary for the victory of the working class. History shows that wars were started not by Communists, but by imperialists.

Khrushchov believed that Macmillan's visit to the Soviet Union had played a noticeable role in the improvement of Anglo-Soviet relations and in the amelioration of the international situation as a whole.

Khrushchov said his talks with Eisenhower were a substantial contribution to the cause of strengthening universal peace. We value it very much, he said.

Khrushchov expressed the view that his impending meeting with General de Gaulle would be useful for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and France and for the consolidation of world peace.

The road to negotiations is open, Khrushchov said, and further improvement of the international situation can be achieved by settling the outstanding problems.

He stressed that the countries were now entering the stage of such talks, but much remains to be done yet to melt properly the ice of the "cold war".

We must above all solve the questions of disarmament and the ending of the arms race. It is high time to eliminate the aftermath of World War II and the "cold war". It is necessary to conclude a German peace treaty. Khrushchov recalled that he and President Eisenhower had reached agreement on the desirability of resuming talks on the German question.

"The situation in Europe is still alarming," Khrushchov said. He pointed out that the Soviet Union was "ready also to take far-reaching steps" or "any reasonable partial measures" to relax the European atmosphere.

"We are especially sorry about these incidents causing casualties to both sides. Nothing can make up for the loss of the parents and relatives of the victims. We would be happy if there were no more incidents on the Sino-Indian frontier, if the existing frontier disputes were settled by way of friendly negotiations to the mutual satisfaction of both sides."

Situation In Middle East

Khrushchov held that the situation in the Middle East was fraught with complications because the territories of certain States were still being "used by foreign Powers as place d'armes for military preparations against third countries."

Pointing as an example to Turkey, Khrushchov said that

ages we have, the advantages which will grow along with the further development of the Socialist States", Khrushchov said.

The Soviet Government, Khrushchov said, fully shares the opinion about the desirability of an early summit meeting. This meeting should concentrate above all on the disarmament problem. It should consider the question of concluding a peace treaty with Germany and the normalization of the situation in West Berlin, and other international questions of common interest.

The Soviet Government, Khrushchov said, will "firmly steer the course leading from relaxation to the complete elimination of international tension, tending to turn the achieved relaxation into a lasting peace".

Supreme Soviet's Appeal

In course of an appeal addressed to Parliaments of all countries the USSR Supreme Soviet has called for support to the Soviet proposal for general and total disarmament. The appeal says:

Disarmament Problem

Turning to the disarmament problem, Khrushchov said that the total and universal disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union could block the road to war.

Khrushchov noted with satisfaction that Eisenhower came out for the need of seeking a solution of the disarmament problem. Of positive significance for the forthcoming talks is the reaction of Macmillan, Nehru, Sukarno, and other statesmen to the Soviet proposals.

In advancing its disarmament proposals, the Soviet Union was guided by humane purpose, by the desire to rule out war from social life. "We do not want to exploit for military ends the advan-

ages we have, the advantages which will grow along with the further development of the Socialist States", Khrushchov said.

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No State At Disadvantage

General and complete disarmament will place all States in an equal position. It will not prejudice any country, but, on the contrary, it will ensure security to all peoples. No difficulties of control will any longer stand in the way of disarmament. If disarmament is total and universal, the control too will be comprehensive and complete.

Enormous material and financial means which are now spent on armament will be released. How many houses, schools, hospitals, plants, power stations, dams and roads could be built with

slightest false step may lead to catastrophe.

Where is the way out? How can one put an end to the situation obtaining, how can one safeguard a calm, peaceful life to the people?

There is a decisive reliable means of precluding the possibility of the unleashing of war. This means is the general and complete disarmament of States. When the means of warfare are destroyed, all weapons abolished and armies disbanded, then and thereby conditions will be created for an enduring peace on earth, for a world without wars and bloodshed.

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Enormous material and financial means which are now spent on armament will be released. How many houses, schools, hospitals, plants, power stations, dams and roads could be built with

these funds! Taxes which now swallow up a steadily increasing part of workers' and peasants' income would be drastically reduced. Inexhaustible possibilities will appear for carrying into life the tremendous scientific and technical projects, and scientists and specialists will have the opportunity of serving peace and prosperity exclusively.

General and complete disarmament will open a new page in the history of development of economically underdeveloped countries. The economic development of these countries now proceeds rather slowly. Millions of people in Asia, Africa, Latin America are still starving or are on the brink of starvation. By releasing enormous material and financial reserves, disarmament will conduce to the elimination of this inequity, will speed up the process of liquidating the age-old backwardness of underdeveloped and colonial countries by providing a new source of funds for assisting them economically.

Stressing that the goal of general and complete disarmament was no longer utopian, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR expresses its firm confidence that this goal is possible of achievement. While several decades earlier sufficient strength and means were lacking for implementing the idea of complete and

*SEE PAGE 10



New Vistas Before Underdeveloped Nations

GENERAL and complete disarmament would also bring about entirely new opportunities for rendering aid to the States whose economies at present are still less developed and need assistance from more advanced countries.

Even if a small share of funds released as a result of the termination of military expenditures by the great Powers could be appropriated it would usher in a new era in the economic development of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It could suffice to cite the following example: the construction of the Aswan High Dam and hydro-electric installations on the Nile connected with it, which has commenced in the territory of the Egyptian region of the UAR, is probably the most grandiose project carried out at present in any of the under-developed States of Africa or Asia.

If general and complete disarmament is put into effect and highly developed industrial coun-

tries allocate, say, ten per cent of the funds thus economised, for the purposes of assisting underdeveloped countries, then such allocations from the budgets of two Powers alone, the USA and the Soviet Union, would permit annually the construction of several such dams.

Only direct military expenditures of member States of the NATO military bloc reached in 1958 the sum of 60 billion dollars. One-tenth of this sum, were it used for rendering assistance to underdeveloped countries, would permit of constructing annually over a dozen metallurgical plants similar to those which at present are under construction in India.

From THE DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT PRESENTED TO THE U.N. BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV.

Unlike Imperialist Aid With Its Strings

SOVIET AID HELPS INDIA BUILD BASIC INDUSTRIES

Having inherited a ravaged economy from her colonial past, India, after freedom, had to tackle the difficult task of filling the gaps left by exploitation at the hands of a predatory imperialism. The latter had kept her development almost frozen at a level where her role consisted predominantly in supplying raw materials to Great Britain and providing markets for its finished goods. This had had certain other concomitants—like over-dependence of population on agriculture, and a low-level of industrialisation

To build industries, however, mere will was not enough. Certain other prerequisites, like availability of capital goods and means to buy them, had also to be met to make them really possible. This involved the earning of foreign exchange, primarily through exports, since any other method to procure foreign funds would have entailed difficulties of repayment.

Reciprocity in trade—i.e. willingness to accept India's export commodities in return for plant and machinery which she needed, therefore, constituted the main criterion to judge whether a particular foreign country was really sympathetic towards India's aspirations for progress. Devoid of this willingness, as experience has shown, foreign assistance only adds to the country's problems.

Judging from this criterion, it is the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries alone, which can be credited with sincere efforts

U. S. S. R. FOR PEACE

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

total disarmament, now this idea has become the banner of enormous masses, of whole peoples and nations. Now, there is a large group of States consistently fighting for its realisation.

The solution of the disarmament problem is in the hands of man. Man created destructive weapons. He can and must destroy them...

A special responsibility lies with the Parliaments, Governments and statesmen. The peoples, the electorate expect from the Parliaments to have their say. It is precisely the Parliaments and Governments that must persistently and purposefully search for ways of solving international disputed problems, above all, the most pressing problem of our time—the problem of disarmament...

Fully approving the peaceful initiative of the Soviet Government which submitted to the United Nations a programme of general and complete disarmament, the USSR Supreme Soviet expresses its confidence that this noble initiative of the Soviet Government will meet with understanding and support on the part of Parliaments and Governments of other countries.

by ESSEN

those schemes which help increase the production of industrial raw materials. Development of basic industries especially in the public sector has been an anathema to it.

to help India rebuild her economy. Other countries, principally the United States, can score over them in the quantum of assistance given—but the real worth of their assistance has all through been considerably negated by the conditions attached to it.

Western Conditions

The first of these conditions concerns the projects for which the aid is given. They have to conform to a certain pattern, which leaves out development of heavy industries, whereas what the country needs the most at the present stage is precisely their promotion. Sometimes, as in the case of aid under mutual assistance agreements, the projects have to serve the aims and objectives of U.S. foreign policy. Again, as in the case of credits from the U.S. Export Import Bank they have to be fully utilised on purchases in the U.S., where prices are admittedly higher than in other countries. Now this provision has been extended even to the Development Loan Fund and other credits which were so far free. The World Bank credits too can be given only for projects, which have been certified by the Bank's experts, while the Bank as such has been known to prefer only

Different Experience

The second condition relates to rates of interest and terms of repayment. Seldom has this rate been less than four per cent (in the case of credits from the World Bank and the Federal Republic of Germany it has been as high as six per cent). Repayment, too, has to be made mostly in the currencies of the borrowing countries, since their fluctuating economies cannot ensure a steady import of India's export commodities.

The experience with the

USSR and the Socialist countries has been totally different. The projects for which Soviet assistance has been given are all those which the country had put high on its scheme of priorities. Beginning with the Bhilai steel project—for which the first Soviet credit of Rs. 63 crores was offered in 1955—all the schemes in which it has been collaborating, fall in the category of heavy industries.

Soviet-Aided Projects

These include, besides Bhilai (where the first steel ingots have already begun to be produced), the heavy machine-building plant with a capacity of nearly 800,000 tons, a plant to produce mining equipment (including combines, crushing machines, conveyers and electric locomotives for mines), an optical glass plant, 250,000 kw. thermal power station and development of the Korba coal-fields to produce 2.5 million tons of coal annually.

The USSR has also contracted to set up five units as part of an integrated pharmaceuticals project out of Rs. nine crores credit given for the purpose. The total capacity of the units will be 1,500 tons per annum.

The USSR has also agreed to train nearly 400 Indian medical men in the production of medicines in Soviet plants. It has, besides, not charged any royalty for the know-how it has provided for manufacturing drugs. In spite of these advantageous features of its offer, diverse vested interests in the country, egged on by foreign monopolists, sought

to block its acceptance. Happily, however, their efforts did not succeed and the agreement in question was concluded.

The role the USSR has played in helping India discover her oil is by now well-known. Working the drills supplied by it and Rumania, and utilising the services of Soviet and Rumania experts, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission has already succeeded in striking gas at Jwalamukhi and Mahuvej and oil at Cambay. To date the USSR has supplied equipment for geophysical survey costing more than 13.5 million roubles. It has also given equipment free of charge for setting up a research laboratory at Dehra Dun.

The USSR has also offered to set up a plant to manufacture prospecting equipment, as well as given a credit of Rs. 15 crores to establish an oil refinery at Barauni in Bihar to process two million tons of crude oil per annum. By rendering this help it has enabled India to begin setting up an independent oil industry, free from the machinations of foreign monopolists.

Help For Third Plan

Similarly, its latest aid offer of Rs. 180 crores, which has also been the first to come from a foreign country for schemes to be taken up in the Third Plan, will be used for doubling the capacities of the Bhilai Steel and Ranchi Heavy Engineering projects and for constructing a heavy electrical plant and several major thermal power stations.

As regards terms of repayment also, Soviet credits are a class apart. Repayable in rupees in easy instalments, lasting twelve years or more, their rates of interest have never exceeded 2.5 per cent. The rupees so repaid have also to be utilised only on import of Indian goods thus obviating the need for any repayment in foreign exchange. India is thus enabled to repay the cost of her development out of the sale of her own commodities without any backlog remaining to be met in subsequent years.

Training Of Technicians

A notable feature of Soviet help is the rendering of all-round technical assistance including training of Indian engineers and other technicians in Soviet plants. The human touch and sympathetic attitude of the Soviet personnel, in charge of training schemes, results in a thorough under-

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CRUDE FORGERY

INDIA'S anti-Communists, poor souls, have no originality—or it may be that their foreign patrons have run out of ideas.

In the 1920s, in Britain, the reactionaries tried the stunt of the Zinoviev Letter, which was later proclaimed a forgery. In the 1930s the German fascists burnt down the Reichstag and tried to foist the blame on the Communists. In the 1950s Nixon & Co. manufactured the famous pumpkin papers to drag Alger Hiss to discredit and the Rosenbergs to death.

Now in our country we are having a spate of pamphlets and posters. The other day we received a slander booklet entitled "Dalai Lama—God or puppet?" No price, no author and no printer's line. Inside the cover, there is the most virulent and sacrilegious attack on the Dalai Lama. To add a pinch of spice there is a laboured attempt to assert that the Panchen Lama is the real living Buddha.

And to give it all a "Marxist" flavouring there are such phrases as "capitalist-imperialist plot", "reactionary upper strata", "the East wind will prevail over the West wind", and the like. The damned Reds were to be further dammed.

Then in Kalimpong and elsewhere posters have begun appearing urging the Indian "masses" to fight the "reactionary Indian expansionists in unity with the Indian Communists." Other choice phrases abound to give the impression that all this Chinese "push across the frontier" is meant to aid the CPI! Such crude forgeries and

SCRAP-BOOK

tricks do little credit to their authors and show their low estimate of the intelligence of the Indian people. What these contemptible persons are hoping is that the present differences between our country and China can provide the smokescreen behind which their game of playing up the "lack of patriotism" of the Communists can go on merrily. Our advice to them is to try something fresh—their pamphlet - poster manoeuvre is a shade too obvious.

AICC-BLEST BACKET

THE AICC Youth Department thought it was on to a good thing when it planned the Sagar Darshan Yatra this summer. A boat was chartered, the various authorities in southeast Asian countries contacted and those Congress "youth" willing to pay Rs. 500 urged to turn up. Indira Behn gave her blessings and the Government of India immediately coughed up the necessary foreign exchange.

Some genuine youth did want to go on the trip but quite a few of them turned back from Bombay itself when they found the majority of their companions were old enough to be their fathers. Still some stuck on and they have come back with a shocking tale.

For most of the Yatra the trip was a commercial proposition and nothing else. It remains to be in-

vestigated how so many of them managed to have the requisite foreign exchange—but it is a fact that they came back loaded with watches, radios, electric shavers, transistor sets and other interesting trinkets. Naturally a lot of this was unloaded on the Indian markets with lots of profit to the "youth." How did all this go through the customs, we would like to know.

Apart from this pleasant shopping spree, the AICC-sponsored trippers brought "credit" to our country in other ways also. When the hosts had explained the architectural and historical intricacies of a particular temple in Ceylon for an hour, some of the travellers shouted that they were fed up and wanted to be fed. And when the surprised hosts politely beckoned towards some tables there was a free-for-all fight and the food was literally thrown all over the place.

At another historic spot the host country had arranged some prominent intellectuals to meet the guests—"representatives" of the great civilisation of India. Hardly a handful turned up and the rest were found enjoying themselves in a rather boisterous and scarcely cultural manner.

Other shocking tales abound but enough has been said for the moral to be clear—the AICC Youth Department has disgraced India's youth and must be called to publicly apologise.

THIMAYYA'S ADMIRERS

THE Governor's Conference was a very serious affair and even dangerous. Everybody in the Capital talks of how the Rashtrapati asked for a severance of diplomatic relations with China and how the various Governors chimed in with their support.

It is also reported that Nehru lost the temper and shouted that nothing would make him swerve India off the path of non-alignment. Temporarily, it is said, the others sat back abashed.

But it is said there was a certain gentleman who was far more shrewd. And that it seems was Thimayya. He made out that these political wranglings were scarcely the thing at this "perilous juncture."

Of course, a sly dig at Menon was there—he had not allowed troops to be moved from Kashmir to Assam. But he mainly stressed that what was needed was a logistical approach and he proceeded to confound his august audience with troop movements, check post and outpost details, what supplies are necessary, what weapons would be most suitable in mountainous terrain and so on.

Then casually remarks were made by the Chief of Army Staff about the recovery of Longju by force—overlooking the reports of Chinese evacuation.

But the most important point of this performance was the almost visible admiration that oozed from some of those who heard Thimayya. A few are said even to have whispered how much better it would be to leave affairs to such "models of quiet efficiency." This is something our people need to be warned about and mobilised against.

RESEARCH—ON ORDER

THE National Council of Applied Economic Research got a lot of publicity recently. The Prime Minister laid the foundation stone of its new building and a lot of pleasantries were exchanged.

A few bare days earlier, the newspapers splashed its findings about the managing agency system—that this universally condemned institution was really the fairy god-mother of Indian industry. The Government was reported to be immediately ready to adopt the results of "impartial research."

What has to be debunked is that this Council is at all impartial. Its director Dr. Lokanathan was for long the editor of the Eastern Economist, then worked at ECAFE where he picked up ambition and, more important, American contacts. It is said that unable to get a Rajya

Sabha seat, he felt that the path to the Planning Commission lay through an economic council that could rival the Indian Statistical Institute. The Americans and their other Indian friends were only too ready to oblige—the funds poured in.

To give an air of impartiality, apart from American economists, some Polish and other Socialist experts were called in occasionally to lecture and discuss. But the real job was to accept assignments from Big Business firms—a British oil company is a favourite—and the Government and fit the facts to whatever thesis needed proving. Disgusted by such tricks some of the more brilliant younger Indian economists who had first joined openly cursed the director and left.

Apart from disputing its so-called research into the Managing Agency system, the inappropriately named "National" Council itself needs a probe. It is more an institute for "research supplied" on application!

PRINTING DISEASE

KRISHNA Kripalani is well-known as a leading light of the Sahitya Akademi and a translator of Tagore into English. Litterateurs are known to have sensitive skins; still I was more than surprised to read that he has been sent on a tour of American medical centres by the Rockefeller Foundation—to study work on skin disease! The Americans have odd ways of disbursing their charity, I thought. But for the good name of all concerned, it was only a printer's devil—albeit in an American paper.

—ONLOOKER

November 3

FRATERNAL HELP

* FROM PAGE 10

standing of techniques by the trainees in the shortest possible time. The most important venture in this field is the Institute of Technology at Bombay which the USSR has helped to set up as part of a UNESCO scheme.

Soviet assistance has not been confined to industry. In agriculture also, equipment worth about a crore of rupees was gifted by the USSR in 1956 to help set up a model State farm at Suratgarh in Rajasthan. The successes achieved at this farm have already made the Government think in terms of some more State farms, to raise good quality seeds for distribution to cultivators.

Thus, while United States and other advanced capitalist countries frowned upon the creation of independent capacity in basic industries like steel and oil, the USSR offered generous support to implement schemes like those of Bhilai and Barauni. Also while the former insisted on exacting a heavy price—growing heavier in course of

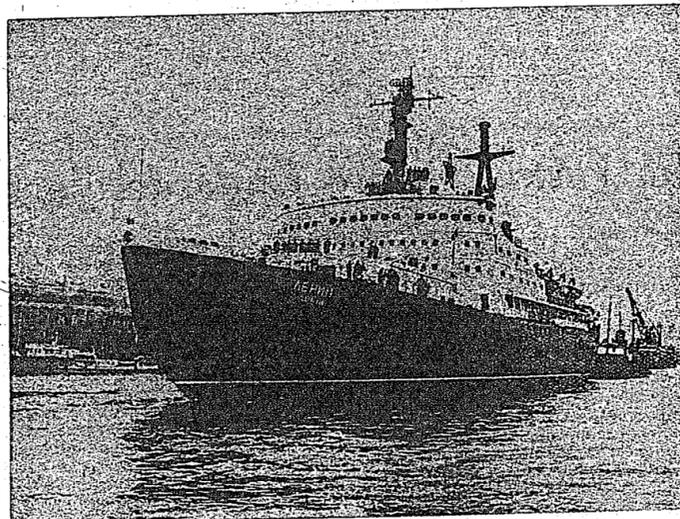
time—for the "assistance" they gave, the USSR gave credits on low rates and repayable through increase in Indian exports.

Its example has now obliged even the United States to put out feelers about its readiness to help in setting up basic industries like steel. Otherwise, too, it keeps the United States always on edge, lest too much of beneficial Socialist aid and too little of the American variety accelerates the process of India's disillusionment about the latter's efficacy in helping her rebuild her economy.

The USSR thus serves the purpose both of a worthy donor as well as a catalyst in getting aid from others as far as economies like India's are concerned. There is, however, nothing fortuitous in it since fraternal help to underdeveloped countries is in the very nature of Socialism, while profit is the only motivation behind the "aid" efforts of the capitalist countries.

November 3, 1959

NOVEMBER 3, 1959



The world's first atomic ice-breaker—the Soviet Union's "Lenin" photographed on the Neva River.

REPORTS made at the recently concluded session of the Supreme Soviet have revealed that the targets set for 1959, the first year of the Seven-Year Plan, are being attained at a faster rate than visualised. As a result the targets set for the second year (1960) of the Plan have been raised and the goal of catching up with the United States has been brought nearer. Thus the tempo of Soviet economic development grows with every passing year.

Significant from the point of view of the life of the people are the following features of the Soviet budget for 1960:

- All Soviet workers will be going over in course of the year to a seven-hour day with further increases in their wages.
- About one crore of people will be moving into 25 lakh new flats to be built in the towns and ten lakh new houses in the countryside.
- One quarter of all capital investment is to go on new homes, hospitals and schools.
- Grain output will rise to 15 crore tons, meat to 1.06 crore tons and milk to 7.2 crore tons.
- In the field of science what the budget figures tell is of a leap forward in the space age that the Soviet Union seems to have planned for 1960. A sum of \$2,910 million—15.4 per cent more than the current year's allocation—has been allotted for "creative development in science and technology." This sum it appears will be spent mainly on research and pure scientific investigation as routine scientific development costs are mostly met by individual plants and institutions.

The number of engineers who will be graduating from universities and institutes in course of the year will rise to 119,000.

So far as the underdeveloped countries are concerned, in 1960, the Soviet Union will be helping them in the building of as many as 95 huge industrial installations. To the industrially developed countries of the West, the Soviet Union's stable and steadily developing economy offers vast prospects of trade which could remove to a considerable extent their difficulties if only they had the courage to break through cold war barriers to avail of those offers.

AND THE STATE OF U.S. ECONOMY

THE U.S. economy is once again assailed with foul weather. After the abnormal burst of "prosperity" in the first half of the year it has again in the third quarter of the current year resumed the decline. In the three months from July to September 1959,

the U.S. industrial production index fell from June's 155 (taking the 1947-49 average as base) to 148.

The direct cause of this drop has been the big strike of five lakh steel workers which began on July 15 and is still going on despite President Eisenhower's attempt to invoke the anti-labour Taft-Hurley Act.

In the earlier half of the year, it will be recalled that the U.S. steel monopoly capital had deliberately set out to force the steel workers to go on strike in order to bring the trade union movement to its knees. For this purpose it drove the workers to step up production and the steel industry was operating at over 90 per cent of its capacity.

Artificial Prosperity

Steel consuming industrial departments also frantically stockpiled raw material. This brought about an artificial, speculative "upswing" in production. The artificial "prosperity" thus created reached its peak in June this year when production topped 155, or nine points higher than when the 1957-58 recession had begun.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

The sharp drop in the steel industry has seriously affected the automobile industry which holds an important place in the United States industrial production. July's car output was 3,000 less than in June. Since August many automobile plants have had to slow down production and some have been brought to a complete standstill by the lack of raw materials and shrinkage of the market have forced the capitalists of the automobile plants to lower their production targets for this year by 200,000 cars.

The ship-building and machine industries, railway and transport and the electrical industry all have been greatly affected in the third quarter.

The annual rate of the total value of the national product for the third quarter was \$81,000 million dollars as compared with \$84,000 million dollars in the second quarter.

The drop in industrial production has caused a deterioration in the employment situation and there is a continuous decline in the people's income. Unemployment in June was 4.9 per cent of the total labour force. In July it rose to 5.1 per cent and in August it climbed further to 5.5 per cent. Even according to figures watered down by official sources, total unem-

ployment in September had reached 3,230,000 employees.

Incomes for American families in September were cut by 4,500 million dollars (calculated according to annual rates). This is the lowest record in history. Meanwhile, personal debts kept increasing. September's total of personal debts reached the peak of 158,000 million dollars or an average of nearly 1,000 dollars for each American.

Agricultural Crisis

The worsening of the agricultural crisis is another blow to the U.S. domestic market. At present the American Government has nearly 10,000 million dollars worth of "surplus" farm goods in its hands. Although the area under farming this year is less than that of the last, it is estimated that agricultural output will still exceed previous years. This causes the fall in the price of farm products. Generally speaking, total agricultural income this year will be ten per cent less. This will make more farmers bankrupt.

Import and export trade of the United States is also in an increasingly unfavourable

State. Since last year, there has been a continuous decline in U.S. exports, while imports have steadily increased. The trade balance is becoming less and less favourable to the U.S. In June this year it was even an unfavourable balance which caused a big increase in deficit in international payments and a larger outflow of gold.

U. S. STEEL STRIKE

THROWING the responsibility on the workers for the prolonged strike in the steel industry and invoking the argument of national security in danger the Eisenhower administration has been trying to get work resumed through the Taft-Hartley injunction. The unions have gone on appeal to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the Worker, the U.S. Communist Party's organ, commenting (October 25) on the situation in an editorial says:

"By the use of an injunction in labour disputes, the U.S. Government has in effect said to the worker: 'Take what the boss offers or the club will come down on your head.' Such in plain language is the meaning of the Taft-Hartley injunction..."

"The steel corporations count on a softening up process among the workers within three months, due to hunger, used up savings, threatened loss of homes, cars or furnishings and the prospect of bleak Christmas. The Corporation did not miscalculate when they expected tragedy to take effect in thousands of homes. Yes, thousands are on relief. Poverty or threat of it, has darkened the homes of hundreds of thousands."

"The companies miscalculated when they expected the steel worker to lose his spirit of militancy and solidarity."

The editorial further pointed out that far more was involved in the strike than the few pennies an hour in a settlement package.

"The steel corporations insisted on a basic revision of the contract affecting working conditions. Those changes in effect would wipe out long established agreement on local work rules. The workers knew that the day they agreed to such changes, their union would lose its teeth. That was why they were so determined to defend those past gains and procedures."

"It is now equally apparent," says the Worker, "that the steel corporations set the tune for all Big Business. In copper, packing, ship-building and other fields, strikes are also stretching for months as the big corporations in those industries demand the removal of union teeth to clear the way for even more automation, speed-up and other technological changes."

The Worker has called upon all trade unions to support the struggle of the steel workers and build grass-roots pressure against the new anti-labour legislation which reactionary forces wanted to rush through Congress.

—ZIAUL HAQ

NOVEMBER 8, 1959

FROM PAGE 7

and conducted according to an evil design, and exploiting an issue like the border of the country over which the deepest national sentiments could be easily stirred, duly found its reflection inside the highest ruling circles.

A noteworthy example is the recently held Governors' Conference. Normally it is a routine annual ceremonial function. This time, it hotly discussed Indian policy towards China. The Governors generally are over-aged Congress leaders, of Right-wing persuasion. All that happened when they assembled together showed how well the reactionary Right outside the Congress is linked with the Right inside the ruling party and how far the campaign and pressure from outside can create a stir right inside the ruling upper set.

Governors' Conference

The Hindustan Times had familiarised us in the past with the Rashtrapati's letter to the Prime Minister advising him against State trading, ceilings and co-op farming. The same paper has now revealed that in his speech before the Governors' Conference the Rashtrapati "underlined his great concern and anxiety over the Chinese aggression. India had gone out of her way to express the fullest goodwill and friendship towards China... (but it) had been of no avail. So he emphasised our policy towards China had to be revised." (Hindustan Times, October 28)

The above was a planned leak to the Press, for it did not appear in the official communiqué nor has it been officially or semi-officially contradicted.

Before making his speech, the Rashtrapati is reported to have pressed the Prime Minister to get the Indian Government discuss the need for breaking off diplomatic relations with China. With this background his speech assumes more sinister significance.

According to the Special Correspondent of the Statesman (October 29) the Prime Minister gave "firm indication" that there would be "no basic change in India's foreign policy." This is confirmed by the other papers also.

According to the Times of India (October 29) the Prime Minister stressed that no change was called for in foreign policy which had been evolved after full consideration of all the factors involved and had generally found acceptance in the country. India was moved by certain ideals and must pursue them.

India would continue to keep out of the two blocs and pursue a policy of peace.

The Prime Minister, however, conceded that the negotiations with the Chinese did not hold out much hope but he also asserted that this does not mean that India should give up that approach.

The Governors gave backed support to the Rashtrapati's reactionary standpoint under cover of conveying "the state of public opinion" in face of "Chinese advances" and "concern at the apparent Indian inaction." (PTI)

General Thimayya also spoke and explained the implications of various policies that could be pursued.

"Animated questions and answers followed." The discussion clearly revealed that pursuit of a

"tough policy" and primary reliance on military measures for the defence of our borders meant withdrawing troops from the Pakistan side and concentrating them upon the border with China, and this was not possible without coming to some understanding or pact with the Pakistan Government, cutting the expenditure on planning and concentrating all the nation's cash on defence, in short a serious change in our economic, defence and foreign policies.

The Prime Minister decisively rejected all such proposals, the product of a policy different from what the nation has been pursuing so far under his leadership. Pandit Nehru once again saved the situation but knowledgeable circles have also stressed that he alone held the fort. This is the weakness of the situation and highlights the criminal design behind the Press and the public campaign against the Prime Minister, for bending or forcing him out.

Indian reaction challenged India's policy of friendship with China and the solution of all outstanding disputes by peaceful negotiations, the policy on which depends Afro-Asian solidarity and the worldwide unity of the peace camp, the crucial

dangerous symptom of the Indian situation.

The Right in India, on its own, is very weak. It is able to raise its head and nurse dreams of changing the basic policies of the nation and winning the leadership of the country only because it is able to exploit the deepest national sentiment, like the noble urge of defence of national territory, because of the worsened India-China relations over the border issue. Its false mask must be removed and its ugly face revealed to the people.

If we do not want our country to go more and more Right and towards the imperialist camp, the first and foremost duty of all patriotic and democratic elements — Congress-Communists and all—is to untidily hurl back the Right offensive and calmly work towards a peaceful solution of our differences with China.

The more we think, the more we all will realise that there is no practical or principled solution to the India-China differences except through the path of peaceful negotiations and in terms of the Bandung Principles. The more we drift and the longer we remain divided, the more time and occasions the Right gets to keep going its poisonous propaganda drive. After the liberation of India and China, the two neighbouring countries came together as long lost brothers. Whichever Government takes the first and successful initiative for peace will earn the gratitude of people in both the countries, and of entire peace-loving mankind.

Not the enemies but the cause of Panch Sheel will ultimately

BEAT BACK THIS OFFENSIVE

relationship on the basis of which alone India can successfully pursue its independent foreign policy, remain what it is and become what it aspires to be.

Indian reaction failed to gain its immediate objective but it needs to be noted and digested that it does not at all feel defeated. Very significant is the observation of a Governor after the Conference: "The Government of India are learning many things and unlearning many things." Indian reaction has raised the dust high and made a dent though it failed to win and occupy the fort. It, however, remains on the offensive and its hopes are running high.

Prime Minister's BroadSides

The situation is serious enough for the Prime Minister to have concentrated his main fire in his November 1 public rally in New Delhi against the slogans of the reactionary Right and its exploitation of the India-China differences to shift Indian policy towards an alliance with the imperialist camp.

He began with, "I want to tell you frankly that there is no fear in my mind of any danger that somebody will attack us and sit on our chest... We are strong enough to meet any challenge."

Denouncing it as "the surest sign of weakness to ask others to 'save us' from external danger," he added, "nobody else can save you except you yourself."

He further explained: "If you ponder over this you will realise that the only result of such a policy (seeking military alliances with others for defending India) would be to jeopardise our freedom and

THE FLAGS ARE OUT IN MOSCOW

by Cable from MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, November 3 THE flags are out in Moscow. This vast land of Soviets is getting ready to celebrate the 42nd Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Everywhere finishing touches are being given to decorations and signs announcing the great achievements of people this year are going up. Everybody is getting ready for holidays. Shops are full of milling crowds; everyone wants to buy the best presents for his near and dear ones.

But before personal presents come presents to the Soviet Motherland. Photographs of the unknown side of moon on the eve of the anniversary of the Revolution were a spectacular offering of Soviet scientists to their country.

The same morning as the papers carrying the photographs appeared, the session of the Supreme Soviet opened to discuss the Plan and budget for the next year and to take stock of this year's achievements. Facts and figures announcing the results of Socialist labour of the whole land fall like sweet music on one's ears.

The plan for this year is being overfulfilled. Production in heavy industry has increased by 12 per cent and of consumer goods by 10.5 per cent. Only in the first two years of the Seven Year Plan, industrial production targets will be overfulfilled to the tune of 100,000 million roubles. Next year three million tons of steel and two million tons of pig iron will be produced over and above the original targets. Total steel production will reach the record figure of 65 million tons which is three times more than the total steel production of Great Britain.

Shops are a living testimony to increasing production of consumer goods. Shop windows bloom out in gay colours full of all sorts of things of improved design. Now a further leap forward is planned in this field. Just look at a few examples:

This word shines out on millions of signs for the feast ahead. After this year's epoch-making triumphs, the Soviet people are ready to celebrate and make merry. There is to be a grand holiday on the streets. The flags are out.

triumph. India and China have never before gone to war against each other. Differences have developed between them for the time being. They will come together again.

To make this possible is the task of the day.

The Congress is the ruling party. Its Government has to carry out the foreign policy which is the foreign policy not only of its party but is supported by all progressive and patriotic parties and elements and which is rightly acclaimed as India's national policy of peace and non-alignment. If a powerful section within its own ranks begins to challenge and scuttle it, it cannot but give courage and strength to all the pro-imperialist reactionary elements and groups in our country and enable them to run hostile public and Press campaigns with all the air of respectability.

This is the way to damage the nation's policy and discredit the best in the Government and rouse false hopes among the reactionaries that they can ultimately change them as they desire. This danger has to be realised by patriotic Congressmen themselves — more than anybody else before it can be effectively combated.

An organisation that does not actively defend its own own policy and leader, that becomes confused by hostile propaganda and fails to combat it among the people can only sink deeper and deeper with every crisis and ultimately itself become the handmaid of reaction. This is certainly not the sad fate that the mass of good and honest Congressmen want to befall their own organisation.

Time and tide wait for none is very true today and above all for Congressmen. What is being challenged is their own foreign policy which the whole nation acclaims. If the tide is to be immediately turned and it certainly can and must be turned, it is obviously necessary that patriotic Congressmen move their own party into action in defence of their own foreign policy and the Prime Minister.

7,900 million metres of cloth and 548,300,000 pieces of knitted goods will be produced next year. 407 million pairs of leather shoes will be made. A big rise is planned in furniture, refrigerators, washing machines, television sets, etc., which are already common-places of Soviet reality. This list could go on and on.

Out of a record expenditure of 746 thousand million roubles, next year's budget earmarks nearly 248,000 million for social and cultural needs; 151 per cent more funds have been allotted to training of scientific workers; defence has been given less than 13 per cent of the budget expenditure.

In 1960, 119,000 trained engineers will come out of universities. If we look somewhat ahead, at this rate, in ten years, an army of one-and-a-quarter million newly trained engineers will join those now already on job. Well, look out, America, here they come! The Army of Peace which is going to tip the balance of history once and for all.

Speaker after speaker at the session of the Supreme Soviet expressed this joy of achievement, satisfaction at the improvement in international atmosphere and confidence that peace will be won.

Khrushchov in his long speech on foreign affairs emphasised that now the period of negotiations had begun. His speech was an appeal to end all polemics and get on with the job. He called for coexistence on a reasonable basis and mutual concessions, compromise and mutual adaptations in international relations. The whole speech was calm and confident in tone and showed the word peace writ large on the agenda of human destiny.

This word shines out on millions of signs for the feast ahead. After this year's epoch-making triumphs, the Soviet people are ready to celebrate and make merry. There is to be a grand holiday on the streets. The flags are out.

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

BANKERS CUT D. A. OF EMPLOYEES

A MAJORITY of the banks in the country have resorted to a cut in the dearness allowance of the employees and also a recovery of the amount paid prior to July 1959.

Such is the Dussehra and the Diwali gift that the bankers have offered to their employees. The all-India average cost of living index in the month of July is supposed to be 163.7. And because it is less than 164 the bankers are entitled to cut one-seventh of the dearness allowance and also recover the amount paid earlier.

What is most surprising to the bank employees and the common people of the country is that a reduction by 0.3 in the cost of living index, has to be reckoned with as a "substantial fall" in the index warranting a reduction in the dearness allowance.

Much more. How does the cost of living index fall while there is no change in the distressing price situation in the country. The index has fallen, but the employee continues to pay more for the food he purchases. It is a paradox that the Food Minister of India had to resign because the food situation was distressing while dearness allowance is being cut because the cost of living index has fallen.

All this apart, H. V. R. Iyengar, Governor of Reserve Bank, himself can be cited to have recognised the wide disparity in the rise of prices in the various parts of the country. Cities like Calcutta have suffered from food shortage and devastating floods. Mining centres and project sites have known only continuous rise in prices.

And yet the bankers refuse to show any sympathetic understanding of the situation. Two outstanding festivals, the Dussehra and Diwali happened to fall in these very months. But this does not matter to the bankers.

Bank employees all over the country have organised a wide protest movement against this cut, holding meetings and bringing out processions.

Bankers' Motive

The bankers have very deep motives. They are out to provoke the bank employees and teach them a lesson for not agreeing to refer the employees' demands for revision of wages and working conditions to a tribunal and for insisting on a direct negotiated settlement.

The bankers have suddenly developed a love for the tribunal—because a tribunal would enable them to conveniently repeat the sordid tale of long and exasperating litigation.

It is gratifying to note that Labour Minister Gulzarilal Nanda is firm on his stand and is refusing to yield to the bankers and concede a tribunal. He is reported to have remarked that the employers' demand for a tribunal is like the insistence of an ignorant patient that he must have an injection for every ailment.

However, the reported step that the Government of India is contemplating to take to appoint a sort of enquiry commis-

sion to go into the matter should not be allowed to degenerate into a variant of such a tribunal. It should be a form of mediation or arbitration to advise the Government on what should be a just solution of the demands that could be enforced by legislation.

The bank employees have to remain vigilant and mobilise in full strength to secure their just demands.

AGREEMENT IN ANDHRA ROAD TRANSPORT

THE Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation Employee's Union has arrived at a happy agreement with the Corporation authorities. The proposed one-day protest strike has thus been averted.

The Road Transport Corporation authorities had introduced a new and very low pay scale for their newly recruited employees. When the routes in some districts of the former Andhra areas were acquired and employees of the old undertakings taken over, they were also given the new scales.

The distress was obviously deep and the unrest very wide. The union protested against this and when nothing came out

LABOUR NOTES

BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR
SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

of it, a notice of strike was served.

As a result of the negotiations following the strike notice an agreement has now been arrived at.

The Corporation has agreed to a revision of wages in principle but the financial position of the undertaking was yet not quite clear. That is why an ad hoc increase has been offered for the "new employees" with effect from April, 1959, while the whole question of revision of wages would be reopened on September 1, 1961.

The new minimum pay packet for a class IV employee will be Rs. 60 while the semi-skilled will get Rs. 62.50 and the skilled Rs. 67. All other Class III employees will be given an increase of six rupees.

This wage revision adds Rs. six to Rs. eighteen to the emoluments of the workers. The ad hoc increase will be accounted for provident fund deductions also.

The old practice of deducting 8-13 per cent for provident fund on the basic wage will be changed to 6-14 per cent deduction on both the wage and D.A.

The question of merging at least 50 per cent of the D.A.

with wage will be referred to the Board for consideration.

Increments ranging from one to four will be given as service weightage depending on length of service to the employees who are absorbed by virtue of extension of nationalisation to new routes.

Then there are other achievements in matter of cadre, recruitment rules, etc.

The agreement is a proof of the positive and reasonable stand taken by the union.

Intuc Betrayal Enrages Miners

THE INTUC is facing a mortal crisis in the coal-fields of Shahdol District in Madhya Pradesh (old Vindhya Pradesh).

Thousands of coal workers in these fields extending from Umeria, Naorazabad, Birshinghpur Pati to Burhar are covered by the well-known Rewa Award of 1948 which was subsequently incorporated in the Majumdar Coal Award.

The mineowners were to pay the arrears from 1948 to 1956. These worked out to roughly ten lakhs in the Umeria coal-

fields of the Rewa Coal-Fields Ltd., Rs. nine lakhs for workers in the Amlai and Burhar coal-fields, and so on.

The INTUC leadership took advantage of the fact that it was the recognised union when the AITUC unions at Burhar and other places were not recognised, and entered into an agreement with the managements round about March 1959. According to this agreement, Umeria workers will get only Rs. 65,000 as against Rs. ten lakhs of arrears.

This has enraged the workers. The General Secretary of the INTUC union at Umeria, Samari, has resigned from the union. He has formed another union (the Colliery Mazdoor Sangh, Umeria) and has given a notice of fast unto death.

The demands are simple:

1. The agreement entered into by the official INTUC union is illegal and should be scrapped.

2. All the dues should be duly paid.

3. Many workers who are entitled to receive the arrears are not getting even the amount due under INTUC agreement.

4. The AITUC unions are already agitating for the same demands.

5. Since Kerala State is deficit by seven lakh tons of rice annually, the Government should immediately publish figures regarding the quantity of rice demanded by the State Government and supplied by the Centre.

6. Neither the number of fair-price shops nor the quantity distributed through them to each family should be reduced; at least two measures of rice must be supplied to each family per week from the fair-price shops.

7. Activate the district and taluk food advisory committees and the village vigilance committees.

8. During harvest time, the State should enter the market and purchase paddy from the cultivators giving them reasonable price in the surplus paddy-producing areas of Palghat and Alappet districts.

9. Sugar should be distributed through fair-price shops to all at a reasonable quantity.

10. Dearness allowance to workers should be enhanced.

11. The Government must call a broad-based conference to which should be invited members of the existing food advisory committees, representatives of various political parties, workers' and peasants' mass organisations and other organisations of the people and representa-

tives of the industrial and commercial interests, to discuss necessary steps to be taken for checking the price-increase and ensuring fair distribution.

On paper they form food zones, in practice they themselves sabotage them; they take a decision on State trading in foodgrains and refuse to implement it; while they declare that landlordism will be ended, they themselves create all loopholes for them to survive; they make sermons against hoarding and profiteering, but propitiate the very same monopolist speculators.

Such are the policies of the Government of India against which the people in various parts of India are rising in a big protest movement.

The KSRTC called upon the working class in Kerala to join in a mass movement to defend their living standards.

KERALA TUC CALLS FOR FIGHT AGAINST PRICE-INCREASE

THE Working Committee of the Kerala State Trade Union Congress (AITUC) which met recently at Ernakulam has called upon all the affiliated trade unions and the working people of Kerala to observe November 8 as "Anti Price Increase Day"

as the beginning of a Statewide movement against skyrocketing prices of daily necessities of life and the failure of the Presidential administration to take effective steps to control price.

The resolution passed by the Working Committee pointed out that even in the surplus areas like Andhra and Punjab, the prices of foodgrains in the open market were skyrocketing. And in the wake of the increase in the price of foodgrains, the prices of all daily necessities of life have also registered an extraordinary rise. Another special feature was that the price-increase of other daily necessities was far greater than the increase in the price of foodgrains. Against about 20 per cent increase in foodgrains' prices, the increase in the price of other necessities was in the order of 50 to 100 per cent.

The increase in price was mainly with regard to such daily necessities as were imported from other States like dry chillies

from Rs. 22 per maund in the last week of July to Rs. 44 per maund in the first week of October, or tamarind (from Rs. eight per maund to Rs. 17 per maund) or sugar (from Rs. 11 to Rs. 25 per quart) or groundnut cake (from Rs. 160 to Rs. 390 per ton).

On the other hand, the increase was only slight in the case of commodities internally produced like turmeric (from Rs. eight to Rs. 11 per maund) coconut oil, coconut cake, tapioca, etc.

At the same time, the prices of such Kerala products as are marketed outside the State like pepper, ginger, lemongrass oil, etc., has not registered any price-increase during recent months.

The result is, the resolution said, that the economy of the State has been further shattered; the real earnings and wages of the working people and middle-class employees have gone down. Families are not able to make both ends meet.

Who are responsible for this? The entire responsibility must be borne by the hoarders and black-marketeers.

These profiteers and speculators buy cheap agricultural produce at the harvest time from the peasants, hoard the stocks, create artificial scarcity and raise the price.

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KERALA UNDER PRESIDENT'S RULE

FROM PAGE 5

enable the real producers to take over management of the cooperatives.

The moment the Communist Government was dismissed, Congress leaders, contractors and the other vested interests launched a campaign against the cooperatives, specially the Labour Contract Societies and the Toddy-Tappers' Cooperatives.

Attack On Cooperatives

When the toddy-tappers organised production and sales through the cooperatives and workers formed Labour Contract Societies to take over minor construction, it resulted in lots of saving for the State Exchequer, better work, more wages and better conditions for the workers. But the contractors and other middlemen lost heavily, the avenues for cheating the Exchequer and filling their own pockets were no longer open.

These elements joined the anti-Government struggle, spent money like water to support it and their sole aim was that if the Government was overthrown, they could get back into their earlier positions.

After "liberation", though the Adviser's regime found it difficult to completely wipe out the Labour Contract Societies, the Revenue Department has already issued instructions to find out the political affiliations of various cooperative societies, particularly the Toddy-Tappers Cooperatives.

These Toddy-Tappers' Cooperatives have come in for intense persecution under President's rule. Every year, the months of June and July are lean months for the tappers because of the heavy rains. To add to their normal difficulties, this year during the "liberation" struggle, the shops, jeeps, etc., of the

societies were attacked and destroyed (while not one contractor's shop was touched even), and the societies had incurred heavy financial losses.

As a result of all this, some cooperatives could not make the kist payments to the Government in time. Under the Congress regime, contractors used to be given extensions for payment and even kist concessions during the lean months. But the President's administration was reluctant to extend these same concessions to the cooperative societies.

Orders were issued for the closing down of toddy shops run by cooperatives in some areas and the threat was held out that the shops would be re-auctioned. This was clearly a move to take the toddy shops away from the cooperatives and transfer them back to the contractors.

The workers strongly protested against this move and former Labour Minister T. V. Thomas made a representation to the Governor demanding time for the kist payment. After protracted negotiations and a powerful agitation, the Government has been forced to go slow in its move to destroy the workers cooperatives.

Skyrocketing Prices

One of the charges that the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee had made against the Communist Government in its memorandum was that the Government was responsible for the rise in prices of foodstuffs and Congress leaders had told the people that its removal would bring down the prices and end people's sufferings.

This, despite the fact that the Communist Government in a State with the largest percentage of food deficit, had through its timely and strong measures kept in check the price-line and had been able to distribute at least a minimum quantity of foodgrains through fair-price shops.

Under President's rule, prices have continued to rise, the quantity of foodgrains distributed through fair-price shops has come down, consequently sending up the prices still higher in the open market. To the scarcity of rice and high prices has been added a sugar scarcity. The blackmarket price of sugar in some places even reached Rs. 1.25 a pound. There is also a sharp rise in the price of all other essentials of daily life.

The people who were promised liberation from their sufferings have been pushed into further miseries, while those who have got "liberated" are the big grain dealers and blackmarketeers.

(To be concluded)



E. M. S. Namboodiripad addressing the forty-thousand-strong rally in Agartala. —Photo: ROBIN SENGUPTA

E.M.S. IN TRIPURA

PSP LEADER AND CONGRESSMAN DEFY PARTY MANDATE, GREET NAMBOODIRIPAD

★ FROM NRIPEN CHAKRAVARTI

FORTY thousand people rallied at the Children's Park in Agartala on October 26 to extend their warmest greetings to E.M.S. Namboodiripad on his first visit to Tripura.

Hundreds of people garlanded E.M.S. at the rally, five thousand uniformed Santhi Sena volunteers saluted him. Thousands of people had come walking long distances—even fifty to hundred miles—to see and hear Namboodiripad. A purse of Rs. 1,001, made out of small collections, was presented to him. The people of the town remarked after the rally: It surpassed that of Pandit Nehru when he first visited Tripura in 1952.

An anti-Communist front, formed by local Congress leaders with the PSP, RSP, Jan Sangh, Jamiat and four or five other organisations did their all to keep the people away from the rally. The members of the Reception Committee were threatened with dire consequences. Workers and owners of transport services were approached for staging a protest strike. Provocative speeches were made by leading Congressmen in a meeting held on October 25.

But it all ended in fiasco. The measure of their fiasco was seen when the Chairman of the PSP came on the platform to greet E.M.S. and a Congress member of the Territorial Council defied the Congress mandate and continued on the Reception Committee.

Namboodiripad during his short visit here won the love and respect of all sections of the people. The Citizens' Reception Committee that had been formed had on it distinguished lawyers, doctors, teachers, businessmen, members of the Territorial Council and others.

Whether it was at the airport or the colonies or tribal villages E.M.S. had occasion to visit, he got the warmest receptions from the people. Tribal people, Bengalees and refugees men and women,

old and young, college and school students came to the place where E.M.S. was staying as if they were on a pilgrimage.

When Namboodiripad paid a short visit to a prominent citizen of Agartala who was unable to move because of his old age, that gentleman remarked: "It is a pleasant dream of mine that you will fulfil."

Addressing the Agartala rally, E.M.S. said, "There was a time when Prime Minister Nehru used to ridicule the idea of a united front. He used to say that three lame men coming together could not become a strong man. But today, this coming together of lame men in Kerala has the fullest blessings of Panditji."

"We are not against united fronts," he continued. "But united front based on what programme? Greed for power leads Congressmen to come together with all the reactionary forces including

the Muslim League. Afraid of losing power in just one of the fourteen States, they have sacrificed all principles. This is not a sign of their strength but of their weakness. There was a time when the Congress alone could defeat any other party. But today the position is different."

E.M.S. appealed to Congress friends to think where the leadership was leading them to.

In a reference to the India-China border disputes, E.M.S. said, "Prime Minister Nehru himself has appealed for calmness. But in Tripura, as well as in the rest of the country, we find a section of the Congress leadership joining the chorus of the Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party and the PSP for the reversal of the present foreign policy and for creating war hysteria." He appealed to Congressmen to consider where this would lead the country.

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CPI GREETINGS

U. S. S. R.

* FROM FRONT PAGE

big targets of the Seven-Year Plan.

National income increased by nine per cent; heavy industry increased by 12 per cent and output of consumer goods by 10.5 per cent.

During the next two years, Soviet steel output will increase by ten million tons; electricity output will go up by 56 million kilowatt hours; oil output will increase by 31 million tons.

Staggering Advance

These are staggering rates of advance for it took the United States of America 12 years to increase steel by ten million tons; and five to nine years to achieve the increase in oil production which the USSR is achieving in one year.

The progress of imperialist countries in industrial production inevitably leads to war preparations and domination of underdeveloped countries.

The advance of the Socialist Soviet Union on the other hand becomes an instrument of helping Socialist and underdeveloped countries to attain their economic aims. Thanks to it the USSR will help to build during the next two years 383 industrial establishments in 22 countries, including 95 in the underdeveloped countries.

The builders of Communism celebrate their triumph by helping others in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism to build their economies.

What has the bankrupt world of capitalism to offer in contrast to this upsurge of well-being and fraternal help to people of other lands. The recent recession disclosed how it deals with its own working class and the peoples of the underdeveloped world.

While it deprived millions of workers of jobs in advanced countries, it inflicted in the underdeveloped countries huge losses depressing the prices of raw materials and passing on the burdens of the crisis to the backs of the peoples of these regions.

The great economic achievement of the Soviet Union is matched by an equal and breath-taking progress of Soviet science. Science freed from thralldom to a narrow exploiting class is scoring historic triumphs over nature and increasing the frontiers of human freedom. The entire world was thrilled by the successful landing of the rocket on the Moon. Its joy and happiness were unalloyed because it was assured that the advance of Soviet science will be used in the cause of peace among the peoples of the world.

But more than anything else, last year will perhaps be remembered for the persistent Soviet initiative for peace and the successes scored by it. Khrushchov's visit to the USA, the Eisenhower - Khrushchov communique forecasting a Summit Meeting and the

Soviet Disarmament Plan constitute historic developments in the march of the world to peace under Soviet initiative.

Guided by the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, the Soviet State frustrated all attempts to increase war tension. It successfully participated in the Geneva Conference on nuclear weapons; it put proposals for unification of Germany and ending the explosive situation in Europe.

But the climax was reached when in September, Khrushchov put forward the Soviet proposals for total disarmament before the U.N. General Assembly.

For Total Disarmament

Thirty years ago, the Soviet Union had offered total disarmament to a war-weary world. But the imperialist Powers who dominated the disarmament conference conspired to defeat the proposal as they were busy preparing their plans of world conquest and war against the USSR. The world had to pay a heavy price in the shape of the Second World War which claimed millions of lives and imposed misery on tens of millions. The USSR emerged out of the war a stronger Power and force for peace than before.

Today the Soviet Union, mighty in her military strength, and in possession of all the modern weapons to meet any aggressor, is offering the countries and the peoples of the world a world without armaments and fear, a world without the crushing military burdens which grind and oppress the common man in every country and keep him on the marginal line of existence. It is offering proposals which once for all will lift the nightmare of hydro-



MOSCOW TODAY: A view of the Kutuzovskiy Avenue at night.

gen warfare from the world.

True to the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Soviet Union and its working class are serving the interests of toilers of all lands by making a bold offer of total disarmament.

There is no escape from the crushing burdens of armament, of militarisation, of high prices and short rations, of monstrous taxation on the common man without drastic reduction of armaments leading to total disarmament. There is no prosperity, no higher standard of living for the peoples of the capitalist world without abandonment of war as a method of settling international disputes. And finally, there is no marching ahead unless the two social systems learn to live in peaceful coexistence, each country being at full liberty to work out its own destiny.

These truths which the Soviet Union has been propagating since its birth are now being seen by the vast mass of people. That is why the Soviet proposals find a ready echo in all countries

and are enthusiastically welcomed by the working class and peoples of all countries. Unlike in 1927, today they are backed by a powerful Socialist camp, by the mighty peace movement, by the Governments and peoples of newly liberated countries like India, by the working class and the peoples of advanced capitalist countries. The universal support to them is seen in the Joint Resolution of 82 nations in the U.N.

Never was there greater unanimity among the peoples of the world. Never was there so much popular pressure against imperialist statesmen, against the opponents of coexistence. None of them dare oppose the proposals openly.

True to its internationalist traditions, following the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union has once more come forward as the most powerful defender of peace and goodwill among nations having different systems, the most powerful guarantee against the holocaust of another war. The powerful advance of People's China and the strength of the Socialist camp aid the Soviet Union's struggle for permanent and abiding peace.

India's Role For Peace

Among the newly liberated countries, India and her Prime Minister have played a notable and important role in supporting the struggle for peace and coexistence. Today in the U.N. the Indian representative fully supports the new initiative. Prime Minister Nehru himself has welcomed it as a great step forward.

The unfortunate India-China differences are being exploited by the imperialist bloc to create dissensions between the two countries. They are being used as a weapon of cold war. But for the Soviet Union they are differences among friends which must be settled peacefully and in an amicable spirit. N. S. Khrushchov expressed the anxiety of the Soviet people in his speech to the Supreme Soviet and also the friendship of the Soviet people for the two countries.

India has a different social system than the USSR and China. But the Soviet Union and people regard the disputes as among peace-loving friends.

The policy of peace, of total disarmament and peaceful coexistence has a tremendous meaning for underdeveloped countries. As the Soviet Government's statement on disarmament says: "If general and complete disarmament is put into effect and highly developed industrial countries allocate, say, ten per cent of the funds thus economised for the purpose of assisting underdeveloped countries, then such allocations from the budgets of two Powers alone would permit annually construction of several such dams" like the Aswan High Dam in Egypt.

The struggling economies of underdeveloped countries will receive a tremendous impetus if these resources are released.

India has already benefited much from this Soviet outlook of helping peaceful construction. Indo-Soviet cooperation for mutual benefit has produced significant results. India's first steel plant in the public sector, her machine-building industries under the Second and Third Plan, her oil refineries in the State sector, all are being built with Soviet help. The policy of peaceful coexistence has developed into a policy of helping forward the economies of struggling countries despite the differences in the social system.

Such are the grand achievements of the Soviet Union in the last year. They are mighty triumphs of the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism; they are the victories of our Great Brother Party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has always held aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism. We wish the Communist Party, the Soviet people and the Soviet State further successes in the task of preserving peace at the coming Summit Conference; we wish them further victory along the path of peaceful construction and peaceful coexistence.



ELENA RIABINKINA—Soviet Ballerina.