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PATTAMBI, January 6

Now that nominations have been filed and accepted after scrutiny, the electoral position in the State has become fairly clear: allowing for a few with-drawals here and there candidates contesting on behalf of the various parties and independents have finally taken their stand.

I T has become perfectly clear that the original hope of the Congress-PSP-League alliance that they can have straight contests in relation to all the hundred and twenty-six seats in the State has not been realised. There is likely to

against the Comdunist Party has failed to materialise. The self-declared "unifiers of anti-Communist forces in the State have failed to maintain the internal unity of their own parties. But the more important question is: Will the three parties which have formed

Communist Bloc Alone Can Fulfil Purpose Of Constitution

manne From monomer E. M. S. NAMBOODIBIPAD

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The RSP, KSP, Lohia Socialists and Jan Sangh are each of them contesting as parties, all of them together contri-buting between 25-30 cases of three-cornered contests.

There are also a few independents in some constituen-cies. One of them had contested the Parasala seat in tested the Parasala seat in 1957 as a Congress candidate and won it. He was very active at the time of "direct action" in June-July last.

Another who has entered the field as an independent was the PSP candidate in 1951 and 1957 general elections. He had the support of the Communist Party in 1952 and won the seat; he had no sup-port of the Communist Party but was supported by but was supported by the Muslim League in 1957. He is now contesting as an independent.

There are some other independents who, though not contesting as candidates in previous elections, were active workers of the Congress, PSP or the Muslim League. They got disgusted with the policies pursued by their parties and are, therefore, now determined to fight them.

All this makes it clear that the cherished dream of forging an "all-in alliance"

be three-cornered contest in about one-fourth of the total number of seats being contested. the alliance maintain even their present unity during and after the election? Will they be able to provide a sta-ble Government for the State? Not even the most optimistic of their leaders and propa-gandists dare give a positive answer to this question. As a matter of fact, leaders

of the triple alliance had recently to come out with state-ments to the effect that what Kerala requiries is not a stable Government but a Government.

The

New Cry

They are resorting to the specious argument that a stable Government is necessarily an irresponsible Gov ernment; they quote the example of the Franco Government in Spain as a stable Government!

Such arguments would, owever, miserably fail to however, miserably fail to convince-the people of Kerala that the Congress Govern-ments in the pre-1951 days were "good though unstable" Governments. The people of Kerala have tasted "the goodness" of the Congress Governments; that is why they inflicted defeat upon them in three successive gene-ral elections. however ral elections.

Is it not a fairly indicative

M. N.'s PLEA FOR PEACEFUL **ELECTIONS IN KERALA**

SECRETARY OF THE KERALA STATE COUNCIL OF THE COM-MUNIST PARTY, M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR HAS REITERATED IN A STATEMENT AT ERNAKULAM THE PARTY'S "FULL CONFI-DENCE IN RESULTS OF THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS".

"We are sure," he says "that in every constituency and polling booth the Party is going to poll more votes than last time.

"Every indication is," he says, "that the Party is going to win more seats than last time."

This assertion comes at the end of a long statement which starts with congratulating the responsible authorities for measures they are taking to ensure that elections are held in a free and fair manner.

HE goes on to state: "We ex-pect that all democratic-minded political parties will keep high the good name won by State in particular and by India in general that even the most hotly contested election could be conducted in a most eaceful manner as was shown in the past.

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"We hope that the authorities will not change the pre-sent attitude and that the officials will observe com-plete neutrality as the elec-tion date approaches nearer and the strength and possibllities of victory of different political parties become clearer."

Pointing to the fundamental democratic issues involved and the wild propaganda of the triple alliance, M.N. hits out:

"Even if these parties jointly get a majority the ele-mentary aim of an election, namely the formation of a govariment of people's represen-atives, will not be fulfilled; tatives, will not be fulfilled; again there will be a govern-mental crisis; again President's rule will be imposed. That will be the fate of our State.

"So the people of Kerala through this election have to decide whether they are going to choose an elected and

commentary on the " ness" of the previous "good-Con-that, gress Governments that, though there were more than two dozen Congress ex-Ministers in Kerala, their own party did not find more than four of them worth putting up as candidates in this crucial election?

Is it not also remarkable that no Congress ex-Chief Minister is found fit enough to be set up as a candidate, though there are four of them alive? If the captains of the "good Governments" provided by the Congress Party are found unfit even as candidates for a seat in the Assembly, will the elec-

the Assembly, will the elec-torate, intelligent as those in Kerala are, accept the claim of their having been "good, governments"? As for the argument of a stable government being sy-nomymous with a government of the type of Franco's in Spain, people know that "sta-bility" that is referred to here is the stability not coming is the stability not coming within the framework of the

stable government led by the Communist Party or continu-ous governmental crisis and Presidential rule."

Stressing again the need for a peaceful atmosphere the Kerala Party Secretary, warns: "Un-Party Secretary warns: "Un-fortunately the provocative speeches made by certain leaders of some political parties, their demonstrations and the violence indulged in by their workers are not at all helpful to create that peaceful atmos-phere. We appeal that at least sober leaders of the Congress should see that such activities should see that such activities are properly controlled. We also wish to emphasise that if the authorities show any laxity in preventing such tendencies in time that will be an unpardon-able crime.

Against Provocation

"We wish to point out to all our friends that we must go ahead vigorously with our elec-tion work, without submitting to these provocations and without falling prey to them, in a most peaceful manner."

Referring to the mischievous propaganda that the Commu-nist Party has crores of rupees and hundreds of jeeps and mikes. he savs:

"The Communist Party in

parliamentary democratic sys-tem which our country is working. According to that system, no State legislature is to last longer than five years; therefore, no ministry which is responsible to the legisla is responsible to the legisla-ture with its five-year term can last longer than five can last longer than five years. The Constitution which has thus restricted the term of every Ministry to the five-year period also envisages the continuance of that Ministry for the five-year period with no interruptions and no disturbances

It is this undisturbed func-tioning of the ministry for the full five year period for which it is elected that is meant when we speak of a stable government.

A serious charge levelled A serious charge levelled against the Congress in Ke-rala is that it has not been able to fulfil this intention of the Constitution; and it has been the proud privilege of the alliance of Commu-nists and non-party demo-crats to have been able to provide the State with a

Kerala has to get this aid on the basis of the strength and influence of our Party organisations and on the capacity to contribute of the common people who are sympathetic towards our Party. "It will be foolish on our

part to try to defeat the vested interests and parties representing them by their own measures in this connection. While they emphasise on money the Communist Party emphasises on organised and systematic work to make the voters politically con-scious and to remove the misthe understandings which opponents daily sow Party's

among the people. "Hence the Party has de-cided to organise on a broad scale volunteers on the basis of one volunteer for ten houses and to set up organi-sation at the constituency and

lower levels "The coming election is a de cisive one as far as the future of our State and of Indian de-motracy is concerned. The common people in our State who remained peaceful and be-haved with utmost self-restraint in the face of the violence and atrocities that were perpetrated in the name of the liberation struggle' are today marching forward with determination for the victory of the Communist Communist supported canand didates.

"This has given us full confi-dence in the results of the elec-tions. We are sure that in every constituency and polling booth the Party is going to poll more votes than last time. Every indication is that the Party is going to win more seats than last time? than last time."

Government that could ful-fil this intention of the Constitution. No amount of casuistry on the part of leaders of the Congress-PSP-League alliance can conceal this reality.

It is this inherent weakness of the Congress-PSP-League alliance and inherent strength of the alliance of Commu-nists and non-party demo-crats that gives us the con-fidence that, despite the heavy odds, we will be able to give a good account of ourselves. We, however, require not only sympathy but moral **a**lso moral sympathy but also material support from all our friends outside Kerala to carry on this fight. Let them all remember that the time at our disposal is extremely short. Let them make no fur-ther delay but send all that they can to:

> C. Unniraia. Kerala State Council, Communist Party of

India. Valanjambalam,

ERNAKULAM.



For Free and Fair Elections-STOP HOOLIGANISM AND VULGABITY KERALA COMMUNISTS CALL

A meeting of the Secretariat of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India was held on December 30, 1959 at the State Council Election Office. It discussed election matters.

HE Secretariat wel-comed the appeal of the vernor of Kerala, Dr. the the secretariat wel-sibilities abet these crimes directly or indirectly. The Congress and its allies Governor of Kerala, Dr. Ramakrishna Rao, to the leaders of all political parties to sincerely co-operate to guarantee that the forthcoming election will be con-Jucted in a peaceful man-

The Secretariat desires to reiterate that the Communist Party is more interested than anybody else, to see that every voter should have complete freedom to vote according to his or her will without being subjected to pressure or ulsion from any quarter. comp It was because of the that, when the Governor that, when the Governor called a meeting of the lea-ders of all political parties, the Communist Party pro-posed that a joint statement posed that a joint statement of the leaders of all political lessen parties be issued for lessen-ing tension, to secure peace and to avoid mutual inter-ference by political parties in election work. And the parties be issued for

peremptory rejection of this proposal by the Congress, PSF and the League parties is known to all. The Secretariat desires to bint out that with the election work gathering mor tum, the workers of the Con-gress and its allies, the PSP gress and its allies, the PSF and the Muslim League, have begun assaulting, intimidat-ing and threate::::: g the Con-munists and their sympathi-sers and those engaged in the limiton work in several places

election work in several places with a deliberate plan to create an atmosphere of tension in order to make free and peaceful election difficult.

In Trivandrum City, in the aluk of Kottarakkara and in some parts of Chengannur and Tiruvalia taluks, the Congress and PSP workers have begun to commit violence against Communist Party workers and the common people: similarly in Cannancre, Kuzbikode and Palghat districts, especially in the eastern rarts, the PSP and Muslim League, along with the goondas organised by the Catholic Church, are aunching violent asaults the Communists and their sympathisers.

They have begun to obstruct public meetings spon-sored by the Communist Party, intimidate Party Party, intimidate Party workers going on election work, put up public boards prohibiting Party workers averain areas, prohibiting Party wonters from entering certain areas, attack processions organised by the Party, steal the Party flag, attack the houministration of Kerala, the common people of Kerala have been demanding that these bills be passed without any amerdments. Very recenrarty nag, attack the non-ses of Party workers and candidates, obstruct the cars in which the Party lea-dest on about attack ders go about, attack, thre-aten and terrorise the agriaten and terrorise the agri-cultural workers and other sections of the people, sym-pathetic to the Party—they have begun to resort to all these anti-democratic highhanded actions.

What is most regrettable and objectionable is that officials in some places, instead

PAGE TWO

T HE Secretariat wel- of carrying out their respon-

so conduct their propaganda as to incite their followers to indulge in these high-handed actions. The Secretariat desires to emphasise the fact, sires to emphasise the lact, that the slogans these parties shout in their processions and speeches they make at their meetings, are most vulgar and provocative.

The Secretariat desires to state with full sense of res-ponsibility that the speeches, especially of Mannath Padespecially of Mannath Pad-manabhan, the leader of the erstwhile 'liberation struggle' and the present leader of the election campaign of the triple alliance, calling for the liquidation of the Communist of a fascist nature, instigat ing violence, and no democrat or decent person can listen to these speeches with equanimity or tolerate them.

The Secretariat expects that the Government will take sui-table steps to end these vulgarities, provocations and high-handed actions and create conditions of complete freedom for all parties to conduct their election work and

T HE Secretariat further decided to record its con-cern and protest against the logislation in Barliement and

legislation in Parliament em-

powering the President to en-act laws for Kerala during

formation of a Consultative Committee with MPs from other States with the avowed

object of securing a big ma-jority for the Congress party in it, and the steps taken for

the hurried convention of that Committee in Delhi with

a view to amend the Agrarian Relations Bill, the Debt Relief Bill and the Jenmi Karam

Abolition Bill and enforce

The demand for amending

the bills has not come from the common people of this State, but from the landlords,

bankers and other vested in-

terests. From the very day the President took over the ad-

tly a mass petition signed by over eight lakhs of peasants

had been submitted to the

President with the same ob-

The State Council Secre-

tariat of the Communist

Party desires to point out that the decision to amend the bill by the Consultative

Committee in the seco

iect.

ministration of Kerala,

them as President's Acts.

the President's rule and

DO NOT INSULT THE

VOTERS OF KERALA

the

rala.



The Secretariat assures that in the matter of adopt-ing a code of conduct by calling all party meetings in all districts. consisting o representatives of all politi-cal parties, and issuing of joint statement by candidates or political parties in each constituency for its enforcement and of taking strong steps against those who commit violence and such other practical steps, the Communist Party will sincerely lend its active cooperation. The Secretariat desires to

oint out that as the election ate draws near, there is likely to be more provocation and, violence from parties who are setting more and more isolated from the people, and appeals to Party members and sympathisers and others eng aged in election work to be vigilant and keep the peace, without falling victims to provocation.

The Secretariat is confident, that the people of the State will work steadfastly for the success of the Party candida-tes and the independents sup-ported by the Party and hold elections. The Secretariat is happy to learn that in some districts and peaceful anot their right to vote ac-cording to their wishes, with-out falling prey to provoca-tions or submitting to pres-sure, threats, or intimited to

are barely three weeks for

the new Legislative Assem-bly to come into existence

after the mid-term election,

in spite of the fact that these bills have been pend-ing before the President for

the last six months, is un-just, indemocratic and an insult to the voters of Ke-

The Secretariat decided that Il Communist MPs from Ke-

rala should attend the Con-

NEW AGE

Meet And Settle

T HE latest Chinese note underlines the urgency of an early meeting between the two Prime Ministers.

The crux of the problem is that our two countries are involved in a serious boundary dis-pute, which is inevitably connected with deep national sentiments. The Indian Government had earlier stated India's case. The Chinese Government has now stated the Chinese case. The differences are wide and serious but just because they are so a meeting at the highest level between the representatives of the two countries is all the more necessary. The obvious next task is for the- leaders of

the two sides to meet together with a view to discuss the claims and counter-claims face to face.

Both^c countries accept that the status quo should not be disturbed pending final settlement, and that no armed patrols must be sent out to avoid border clashes. But the two sides differ on what actually constitutes the status quo. This again necessitates a top level meeting to ensure that no disturbing incidents take place while the

big broad issue is being handled. The present stalemate harms India and dis-rupts our progress. It constitutes the ideal background for pro-imperialist reactionaries to keep our independent foreign policy under constant fire and discredit it. It gives a golden opportunity to the "motley crowd", not only outside the Congress but also to the powerful Rightwing of the ruling party, to make a drive towards the Right in India's home policy as well; e.g., divert popular attention and national resources from the Plan towards so-called defence - preparations, which mean plenty of contracts and easy money for their patrons; it enables them to start the attack on democratic rights and they have begun with the demand to ban the Communist Party, it helps them create public opinion against popular strug-gles for botton life as stabling the notion is the gles for better life as stabbing the nation in the back. It is an atmosphere in which poisonous smoke spreads over our country and Indian reaction can start its naked dance over the heads of

tion can start its naked dance over the heads of the Indian people, to use a pithy Hindi idom. The other perspective is to break the present deadlock through a meeting of the two Prime Ministers. Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai gave Panch Sheel to the world. Guided by the light of its five principles they can and must solve the dispute between our two countries. How can they not implement what they have preached to the rest of the world?

The solution of India-China differences through peaceful negotiations will greatly help tone up the world situation. It will once again bring the two biggest Asian nations together on a higher plane, enable them to heighten their contribution towards lessening international tension and for the success of the Summit and the cause of world peace.

Let the two Prime Ministers meet with the will to seek a mutually satisfactory peaceful solu-tion. The peace-loving world will applaud. (January 5, 1960)

has decided to cancel the pro- engaged in election work and

rala should attend the Con-sultative Committee and fight the attempt to arbitrarily am-end the popular beneficial bills in the interest of the handful of vested interests. Accordingly the Secretariat

Support For Tappers' Coops

IN a statement issued In consonance with the de-clared policy of the Govern-ment of India and the Plan-ning Commission and in or-der to place the excise **xe**-venue of the State on a stable subsequently the Secretariat demanded that toddy tappers co-operative socie-ties should be given licen-ses to conduct toddy shops basis and acceding to the longstanding demand of the in the coming financial year tody tappers, the Commun-ist Government decided on the policy of entrusting the toddy shops to the tappers co-operative societies on ne-gotlated contract basis without having to go through the process of public auction.

According to that policy, the toddy sheps in Arichur Taluk and Shertallai and Amyears, by putting all the shops for public auction.

In consonance with the de- balapuzha ranges were enstrusted to toddy tappers' cooperative societies 1958-59 as an expe during menta measure. When that experiment was found successful, so far as the Government and the workers were concerned about half the number of toddy shops in the entire State were entrusted to 12 societies for the year 1959-60. Reports have appeared in the press that the Advisor regime giving credence to base-less rumours is considering

auctioning of toddy tappin and toddy vending without and toddy * SEE PAGE

JANUARY 10, 1960

🛠 From Jnan Bikash Moitra

CALCUTTA, January 4

rehabilitated. ... He then

Covering Up

Bankruptcy

The utter fiasco of the Dandakaranya Project has once again spotlighted the colossal failure of the Government's policy in regard to the rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan.

FTER having bungled re- despite the various impedi-A FTER having bungled re-peatedly for ten years, the Government committed the most serious blunder in 1958 by adopting a policy, which Under the bainanama schemost serious blunder in two by adopting a policy, which sought to make the resettle-ment of the refugees entirely to find out for himself the land on which he seeks to be dependent on the successful execution of this project. A high-level conference of tate Rehabilitation Minis-

state Rehabilitation Minis-ters, held in Calcutta in July 1958 and presided over by the Union Home Minister, decid-ed to close down ell menter ed to close down all Transit Camps in West Bengal by per bigha. July 31, 1959 and to wind up Rehabilitation Ministry by March 31, 1961. Of the 45,000 families living

in camps at that time, 35,000 were to be removed to Danda-karanya, and the remaining families 10.000 agriculturist to be settled in West

Bengal. The United Central Refugees Council (UCRC), the most representative organisation of the refugees and sation of the refugees and the Communist Party stron-gly criticised these decisions as unreal and adventurist. They pointed out that the They pointed out that the Government was incapable of accomplishing the stu-pendous task of resettling 35,000 families in a virgin area like Dandakaranya area like Dandakaranya within a year when it had failed to achieve much less

in ten years. Their warnings have come true. The Dandakaranya project, on which the Govern-ment had staked every thing, now in a deplorable mess. The target date became a dead letter and between Augdead letter and Detween Aug-ust 1958 and November 1959 no more than 600 families could be taken to Dandakaranva.

And so far as the West And so far as the west Bengal Government was concerned, it practically did nothing to develop 60,000 acres of land or to implement the other schemes an-nounced by it, to rehabili-tate 10,000 agriculturist families in this State. About 6,000 families no

doubt moved out of camps during this period. But the State Government can hardly claim any credit for the achievement because most of these families arranged for their own rehabilitation thro-ugh the bainanama scheme

patients The sole purpose of this "screening" was not to weed out those who were not entitled to doles, but to arti-ficially reduce the population of the camps. Even the Statesman, which holds no brief for the which holds no brief for the refugees, sarcastically com-mented in its editorial on December 31: "That in 327 cases out of 380, the dole was restored on review suggests a rather large margin for 'error' ".

Secondly, 90 days' quit secondly, 50 days quit notices have been already served on about 10,000 camp refugees, 4,000 of whom are agriculturists. They have been given two options: either they should go to Dandakasix months ranva or accept



"Struggle"—a painting by Bansi Parimoo, a young Kashmiri artist, who exhibited his paintings recently in Delhi.

JANUARY 10, 1960

also without resorting to the procedure of public auc-tion, and protesting against the confabulations reported to be going on behind the scene to deprive the socie-ties of their right to run the shops which they have been enjoying for the last two

week of January when there

FIASCO OF DANDAKARANYA

mits the scheme to the Gov-ernment. If the Government approves of the proposal, he receives a loan for purchasing the plot of land, the ceiling price being fixed at Rs 100

These self-styled well-wish-ers of the refugees are now desperately trying to cover up the utter bankruptcy of their policy. They have taken certain measures which are tantamount to wreaking venge-ance on these helpless people. In the first place, a Com-mittee consisting of the officers of the Union and the State Rehabilitation Ministries "screened" the inmates of Permanent Liability Camps and deprived as many as 14,000 refugees of the Gov-ernment dole on the plea that they had "other sources" of

The reality, however, is that the grounds on which the dole has been stopped -are either filmsy or totally false. Most of those affected are old and in-firm people, children, help-less widows, convalescing T.B. less whows, convariantly in the patients The sole purpose of this "screening" was not to

either



dole, amounting to Rs. 72 per head, as "rehabilitation be-nefits" and vacate the camps. Only a few months ago, they were offered a third alternae-absorption in West Ben-under the bainanama tiv

But this concession has now been withdrawn because the State Government made a representation to the Centre that no land was available in West Bengal.

Since no refugee can eco-nomically rehabilitate him-self with a mere pittance of Rs. 72, the real alternatives before him now are: either he must go to Dandakaranya or swell the ranks of the beggars crowding the streets of Calcutta. He is thus being coerced into expressing his "willingness" to migrate to Dandakaranya.

But what are the immediate prospects in that land which, prospects in that land winch, only a few months ago, was supposed to be flowing with milk and honey? The Gov-ernment still claims that about 20,000 families will be rehabilitated in Dandakaranrenaphitated in Dandakaran-ya by the middle of 1961. It is further stated that the pro-ject "is now ready to absorb 3,000 settlers from West Bengal during the next three months at the rate of 1,000 people a month.

But, from all indications available here, it can be definitely said that it is absolu-tely impossible to settle so many families in Dandakaranya within such a shor period

In these circumstances, the forcible despatch of refugees to Dandakaranya will only mean taking them out of camps in West Bengal and again, herding them together in camps—in far more inhos-pitable surroundings. In any case, the refugees are not going to be resettled there for a pretty long time to come.

Yet, the Government has chosen to embark upon this costly adventure precisely at a time when the realities of the situation demand that the big possibilities inside West Bengal be fully utilised for quickly resettl-ing the camp refugees in this State.

Refugees

Confer The future of thousands of

refugee families is now at stake. The Fifth Annual Con-ference of the UCRC which met in Calcutta on January 2 met in Calcutta on January 2 and 3, discussed the grave crisis facing the refugees, especially the camp refugees and took a number of important decisions. The main resolution adopted at the Conferview that if proper steps were taken, all the camp refugees could be rehabilitated in West Bengal. ence reiterated the UCRC's

While welcoming the movement demanding the resigna-tion of Mehr Chand Khanna, tion of Menr Chand Knanna, Union Rehabilitation Minister, who was "primarily responsi-ble for the present crisis," the resolution said that the State Government "cannot escape its share of the responsibility because it has con-curred with the policy of khanna and has been an ac-complice in the various actions taken by him." tion to It further pointed out that month.

NEW AGE

New Threat To **Civil** Liberties

I N a statement, Jyoti Basu, Secretary, West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of the Communist Farty of India has expressed grave concern about the West Bengal Government's Bill seeking to restrict or pro-hibit processions and as-The statement cembli savs: "It is a grave attack against the democratic right of citizens to assemble freely and is designed to curb all progressive movements of the working people in factories and offices, kisans and refugees, teachers, students and others. By this measure, the Government will attempt to suppress all demonstrations for better conditions of life and against burdens imposed by the Government and vested interests.

"A sinister propagan has been carried on by the Government and vested intcrests against the glorious democratic movements in West Bengal. Calcutta has eause.

demonstrations and meet-3 West Bengal has just and ings for peaceful settlements published. and for a meeting of thes taking place on a much and reasons says that proces-taking place on a much and reasons are taken out and as-bigger scale than those or-3 sions are taken out an

the UCRC had never objected the UCRC had never of Danda-to the development of Danda-karanya but it opposed the policy of making the rehabiise to send refugees there against their wishes. Willing families might be taken there only when preliminary arran-gements for their rehabilita-

tion had been made. When the situation in Dandakaranya improved, "more and more families may be willing to go there impressed by the progress of the scheand more

The Conference made the following demands:

The Union Rehabilitation Minister should resign "in order to prepare the way for a new rehabilitation policy."

The 90-days' quit notices should be withdrawn and the camp refugees should be allowed to express freely their choice regarding resettlement in West Bengal or outside it.

The work of the rehabilitation of all other sections of refugees should be earnestly taken up.

taken up.
The present arbitrary target. date for winding up the Rehabilitation Ministry should not be the primary consideration for determining the rehabilitation policy.

The Conference also decided to hold a central rally in Calcutta on February 25 and to organise a special conven-tion towards the end of the

Calcutta, January 5 ganised by those forces the are trying to rouse war psychosis, to change our foreign policy and to emhitter relations the two countries. The West Bengal Government, the vested interests and reactionaries of all types are naturally panicky and hence this blatant offensive against people's rights.

"All democratic-minded people should vigorously protest against this measure and prepare to oppose it. I appeal to individuals and especially to organisa-tions of all sections of peo-ple to send their protest by nuary 31 to West Bengal Government's Home Secre-tary and copies to newspapers."

The State Kisan Sabha has also appealed to the people to raise their powerful voice of protest.

T HE West Bengal Government is planning a new offensive on the elewest Bengal. Calcutta nasp new onemate on the ele-been slandered as a city mentary democratic rights where processions are or-g of the people to organise ganised even without a meetings and processions. A Bill seeking to provide for "Lately, on the India-2 the control of processions "Lately, on the inda-y the control of processions China border issue, too, 2 and assemblies of people in demonstrations and meet-3 West Bengal has just been

frequently dislocated and serious inconvenience caused we the development of Danda-karanya but it opposed the policy of making the rehabi-litation of camp refugees de-pendent on it. It would be un-wise to send refugees there of such processions and content. of such processions and as-semblies is complete disrup-tion of normal life."

The Bill provides for the issue of licenses on applica-tion for the purpose of holdtion for the purpose of hold-ing processions or assemblies on specified routes, places and hours, and empowers the Government to prohibit, res-trict or impose conditions on the holding of or taking part in processions and assemblies. It also seeks to empower

It also seeks to empower any police officer to disperse, any ponce oncer to disperse, remove or arrest any person acting in contravention of the Government's order or any condition of the license and take such steps and use force as may be necessary. Bill pro-

Section 4 of the vides for punishment with imprisonment which may ex-tend up to three years or with fine or both.

Nobody here is going to be hoodwinked by the preten-ces of the West Bengal Gov-Its anti-people ernment policies have brought increasing miseries to millions of people in this State. Mass ontent has been mounting.

This is why this draconian measure has been brought forward to attempt to suppress all democratic struggles.

* SEE PAGE 15

PAGE THREE

Support For Co-ons

★ FROM PAGE 2 even so much as conducting an inquiry into them.

The Secretariat desires to point out that the Governor on behalf of the President, when he took over the administration of Kerala, had de-clared that no major changes in the policies enunciated by the former Communist Government would be made till a new government responsible to the people is installed and that till then his Government will function as a care-taker government and that election will be conducted as soon as

2. 3. 4. 5.

6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

<u>11</u>.

8

10 11. 12.

10. Ramamana

Mara

10. Aroor

11. Kayamkulam

To go back upon these de-clarations and interfere with the policy of the Commu-nist Government which involves the livelihood of thousands of workers and which was intended for ex-tending the cooperative movement on a wide scale to new fields is, to say the least, most undemocratic if not autocratic.

If there are complaints about the working of the toddy tappers' cooperative socie-, as in the case of coir and handloom cooperative socie-ties impartial enquiries can be instituted and remedies sugrested.

It is accepted by all that not only have these co-operative societies functioned in an ex-emplary manner and the income of the workers has increased by 25 per cent, but the workers have been freed from the clutches of middlefrom the clutches of middle-men and a new sense of free-dom has come to them. As these societies pay their kists regularly and there is a sti-pulation that 5% of the net profit will be paid to the Gov-ernment treasury annually, the Government not only does not sustain any loss in the exnot sustain any loss in the excise revenue but is guaranteed

The Government of India and the Planning Commission have formulated and declared the policy of eliminating middlemen from the sphere of small scale and village indus tries and encouraging the cooperative movement among workers and producers. Disregarding this declared policy on the advice of the leaders of the Kerala Congress will be resented by the people of Kerala and the Secretariat is confi-dent that the people will raise their mighty voice against these attempts.

DANIEL COME TO IUDGEMENT

hy V. R. Krishna Iver.

The Law Minister of the Kerala Communist Government, in his most elo quent style, exposes the VIMOCHANA Struggle, the part played by the Cong-ress party and the Nehru Government in subverting the legally constituted Government of a State, the farce enacted in the guise of an enquiry by the INDIAN COMMISSION OF JURISTS, etc., etc., You should possess a copy Rs. 2|-

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PRABHATH BOOK HOUSE ERNAKULAM.

PAGE FOUR

LIST OF COMMUNIST AND NON-PARTY DEMOCRATS CONTESTING IN KERALA

12. Kasergode

23

24.

Kanhirapally

Koothuparamba

TRIVANDRUM DISTRICT

Neyyanttinkara	R. Janardhanan Nai
Nemom	M. Sadasiyan
Vilappil	K. V. Surendranath
Aryanad	K. C. George
Nedumangaud	N. N. Pandarathil
	R. Prakasam
Varkala (General)	T. A. Majeed
)C. K. Balakrishnan
Parasala	V. Thankayya
Trivandrum I	Vely Krishnan Nair
Trivandrum II	K. Anirudhan
-	

QUILON DISTRICT

•	
1. Eravipuram	P. Revindran
2. Trikkadavoor	
	.)K, C. Nanoo
3. Quilon	Dr. P. K. Sukumaran
4. Kottarakkara	E. Chandrasekharan
4. MULLAIANNAIA	M. Chandrascenaran Ngir
5 Obodomomondolom	
5. Chadayamangalam	Veliyam Bharagavan
6. Punalur	K. Krishna Pillai
7. Pathanapuram	N. Rajagopalan Nair
8. Ranni	E. M. Thomas
9. Pathanamthitta	K. Karunakaran Nair
10. Kunnathur	
(General)P. R. Madhavan Pillai
11. Karunagapalli	K. A. Rezak
12. Krishnapuram	G. Karthikeyan
ALLEPPEY	District
1. Aranmula	Malekara
	Gopalakrishnan Nair
2. Chengannoor	R. Rajasekharan Thampi
3. Thiruvalla	G. P. Thampi
4. Mavelikkara	Erayankara Gopala
(General	
5. Mavelikkara	,
)P. K. Kunjachan
6. Karthikapally	
u. Karunkapany	16. Sugarnan

ve)P. K. Kunjachan
R. Sugathan
T. V. Thomas
S. Kumaran
K R. Gauri Amma
C. G. Sadasivan

Smt. Aishabai

KOTTAYAM DISTRICT

1. Changanasseri M. M. Kalyanakrishnan Kadayanikad 2. Vazhoor Purushothaman Pillai N. Raghava Kurup N. Sankunni Menon Kottayam Ettumanoor Vaikom P. S. Srinivasan Kadathuruthy Uma Devi Puliyanoor Devikulam (Gen.) T. P. Illahannan Rosamma Punnoose Devikulam (Res.) M Sundaram M. C. Jacob Meenachil Punjar Kumara Menon Puthupally M. Thomas

EBNAKULAM DISTRICT

Perumbavoor	P. Govinda Pillai
Alwaye	M. M. Abdulkader
Wadakkekkara	K. A. Balan
Parur	N. Sivan Pillai
Kanayannoor	T. K. Ramakrishnan
Njarakkal	P. Gangadharan
Thodupuzha	Jose Abraham
Ernakulam	V. Vishwanatha Menor
Kothakulangara	A. P. Kurian
Ramamangalam	P. V. Abraham
TRICHU	e district

F. Conalakrishna Menor

1. Cranganoor	E. Opparakrishna me
2. Chalakkudy	
(Gen	eral)C. Janardhanan
3. Chalakkudy	
(Res	erve)P. K. Chathan
4. Irinjalakuda	C. Achutha Menon
	V V Pachanan

V. V. Raghavan .Ollui Wadakkancherry (General)P. Narayanan Nair

NEW AGE

7.	Wadakkancherry (Reserve)C.	C. Aiyappan
8.		K. Krishnan
		Damodaran
		K. Raman
٠.		
•	PALGHAT D	ISTRICT

1. Andathodu Kolady Govindan Kutty Menon (Reserve)E. T. Kunhan Ponnani Ponnani (General) K. Unnikrishna Warrier E. M. S. Namboodiripad Pattambi Perintalmanna E. P. Gopalan Kongassery Krishnan P. V. Kunhunni Nair Mannarghat Ottappalam R. Krishnan A. K. Ramankutty Alathur Elappully ~~TO Chittoor (General) P. Balachandra Menor Chittoor (Reserve)name not known 11 12 Palghat K. C. Gopalan Unni

KOZHIKODE DISTRICT

	Thirurangadi	Koyakunhi Naha Hajeo
2.	Kozhikode I	Kallat Krishnan
3.	Chevayoor	P. C. Raghayan Nair
4.	Badagara	M. K. Kelu
5.	Perampra	M. Kumaran
6.	Nadapuram	C. H. Kanaran
7.	Mancherry	
	(Reserv	e)P. Achuthanandan
8.	Kunnemangalam	K. Chathunni Master
9.	Tirur	K. Bavakutty
	Thanur	M. Mohamed Koya
11.	Kuttipuram	T. R. Kunhikrishnan
12.	Malappuram	Sadhu P. Ahamed Kutty

CANNANOBE DISTRICT

	117		Sanlar	
15	Wynad (General)		Sankar	÷.,
2.	Wynad (Reserve)	Po	thayan	
	Mattannur	N.	E. Balaram	
4.	Cannanore I		Kannan	
5.	Cannanore II	K.	P. Gopalan	
	Irikkur		C. Narayanan	
			Nambi	ar
7.	Madai	K.	P. R. Gopalan	
8.	Nileshwar (General			
	Nileshwar			٠.
	(Reserve) P .	Gopalan	1
Ó:			Ramappa	
	Hoedurg	K		1

DEMOCRATIC INDEPENDENTS

U. L. Bhat

supported by the

Communist Party

1. Tellicherry	V. R. Krishna Iyer
2. Quilandy	K. Ramakrishnan
3. Balussery	Kalandankutty Saheb
4. Kozhikode II	A. Appu
5. Kondotty	K. C. Komutty Moulvi
6. Mankada	K. P. Thangal
7. Parali	A. R. Menon
8. Manaloor	Joseph Mundassery
9. Palluruthu	Kerala Varma
10. Mattancherry	Ratnabai
11. Muvattupuzha	K. C. Abraham
12. Karikkodu	K. A. Syed
	Mohammed Rawther
13. Thakazhi	M. Gopalakrishnan Nair
14. Haripad	V. Ramakrishna Pillai
15. Kunnathur	
	ed)P. C. Adichan
16. Thrikkadavur	
	al V. Gangadharan
17. Kuzhalmannam	K. V. John
18. Ulloor	K. P. Alikunju
19. Kalloopara	M. Viswanathan Nair
20. Trichur	K. Balakrishna Menon
	IL DAIAKTISHINA MENON
	al)Haji K. V. M. Chekutty
22. Koduvalli	M. V. Alikoya

cauitted. ing of a state transport bus, brought against Kartar Singh. The appellate Court acquitted the accused.

The third case concerned an alleged illegal assembly and rioting near Blast Furnace inside TISCO on May 19, 1958, the charge for which was brought against 16 active functionaries of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union (JMU). It was on this case that quite a number of officials, both of TISCO and State Government should at the top of their voice that the JMU attempted to sabotage the Blast Furnace which would have, but for precautionary measures, resulted in a major explosion causing heavy damage to the Plant and to the men. The learned Judge acquittel all the accused in this case.

inconsistent and fabricated.

The fourth case concerned an alleged illegal assembly and rioting at the Mohulbera gate also on May 19, the charge for it being brought aga-

Railwaymen Rally **Round AIRF**

The one million railwaymen-constituting more than a half of the entire Central Government employees-are perhaps the worst hit by the Second Pay

Commission. OR Sri Vasavada and the National Federation of F Indian Railwaymen (NRIF). however, the only thing that remains to be done is the im-plementation of the recom-mendations in toto, as if the Commission's report were an arbitrator's award!

But the All India'Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF) re-

na ina inte

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JANUARY 10, 1960

HIST PARTY WEELL



Printed by D. P. Sinha at th NEW AGE PRINTING PRES , Jhandewallan Estate, M. M Road New Delhi, and publishe by him from 7|4, Asaf Ali Road vident Fund contribution Vident Fund contribution of Rs. 4.58 (at the rate of 6¼%), a house rent of Rs. 3 (at the rate of 4%) and the URB Fund of Rs. 4 Thus the total deductions amount to Rs. 11.58 nP and the net pay packet contains Rs. 68.42 nP. But according to the Pro-Phone : 25794 Telegraphic Address: MARXBADI SUBSCRIPTION RATES

But according to the Pay Commission recommenda-tions, his pay shall be Rs. 75 and dearness allowance Rs. 10 making a total of Rs. 85 However, the Provident Fund deductions shall go up to Rs. 6.25 (at the rate of 8-1|3 per cent), the house rent shall be charged at Rs.

K. M. Mustafa Kamal

P. Kunhikannan

matter differently. They are observing a Protest Day on January 15, 1960. Against Pay **Commission Mischief**

The worst mischief in the Second Pay Commission's re-commendations lies in the fact that the lowest paid employees get a smaller pay packet as a result of these recommendations when compared to what they get at present. Take for example the number of gangmen. At pre-sent a gangman draws a basic pay of Rs. 35, a dearness allowance of Rs. 20 and the interim relief of Rs. 5, making the total of Rs. 80. From this is deducted Pro.

JAMSHEDPUR ACQUITTALS

On December 22 the 1st Additional Sessions Judge at Dhanbad delivered judgment in four important cases in which the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union leaders were involved. These cases were instituted in connection with the disturbances that took place in May 1958 following the TISCO strike. The learned Judge acquitted most of the accused including the union leaders and the prosecution stories were proved mostly

These four cases are as follows: The first case concerned an alleged scooter burning, the charge for which was brought against Ali Amjad, O. Gopalan and another. In the lower court each of the accused was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. In appeal all accused have been

The second concerned the charge of burn-

inst Satyanarayan Singh and 13 others. The learned Judge acquitted five accused including Satyanarayan Singh.

In fact, these are the four cases, basing on which the Company and the Government had tried to condition public mind that in the name of a workers' strike, what the JMU sought was to paralyse the Government and TISCO and jeopardise the Five-Year Plan and that it had taken the law into its own hands. From these appellate Court judgements it becomes crystal clear how utterly unfounded these allegation were. The fact that emerges from these judgment on the other hand is that the Government and the Company, wanted somehow to thwart the legitimate union movement of the workers by implicating the leaders and activists in these cases.

Six of the accused in these four cases, namely Ali Amjad, Satyanarayan Singh, O. Gopalan, Shyamsunder Jha, Mariappa and Kartar Singh are also accused in the now-famous Jamshedpur Conspiracy case, which is still going on. Other accused in it are Kedar Das, Barin De, Khusiram, Habibur Rahman and 25 more. It is likely to be concluded by the end of January.

It may be stated here that out of a total 135 at may be stated here that out of a total 155 cases which were instituted against the Union leaders and workers following May 1958 strike, most of the cases have ended in acquittal. Three cases concerning illegality or otherwise of the strikes in TISCO are pending in the Patna High Court. Four or five cases are still being tried in the lower courts besides three cases in Sessions.

As a result of the acquitals the workers here have become hopeful and they are slowly be-ginning to see the real face of the company and the Government.

LABOUR NOTES BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M.P. SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

presenting the conscience of the railwaymen, views the matter differently. They are

5.50 (at the rate of 6 per cent) and the URB Fund shall be Rs. 6.00 The deductions shall be Rs. 17.75 and the net pay packet shall consist of Rs. 67.25 nP-a clear cut by Rs. 1.17 NP.

Similarly pointsmen, fitters and helpers in the present scales of Rs. 35-1-50-2-60 will have to suffer a cut in the pay packet ranging from 50 nP to Rs. 1.50 nP.

leave with half pay gets today a packet of Rs. 62.50 nP whereas, after the Se-cond Pay Commission re-commendations are imple-mented, he would get only Rs. 47.50 nP—a clear loss of Re 15 Rs. 15.

Then a recommendation AIRF has come up again. It is says that new entrants in volcing their demands. Class IV shall not enjoy the Rallied by the AIRF the reilwavmen propose to go for-

actual charge shall be pay-

At present the officers get 6 passes and 6 PTOs and others have 3 passes and 3 PTOs. All this goes and every one will now be entitled to 1 kit pass and 2 PTOs.

Travelling facility so far enjoyed by the employees has now been reduced to only the employee concerned going once to his native place in the vear.

According to the recommendations only 10 minutes are granted extra for every hour of night work. That means 6 hours of night work shall be calculated as 7 hours for pay and allowances

Then there is the reduction in holidays and leave facilities for the administrative staff. Over and above all this is

the administrative trick of depriving the employees of some of the beneficial recommendations, or outright denial of these benefits.

We know how the beneficial recommendations of the first Pay Commission like the Pay Commission like the children's education allowance and the linking of D. A. with the rise in the cost of living index (at the rate of Rs. 5 for every rise of 20 points in the index with 1939:100) were rejected by the Govern-

ment. We also know how arbitra-We also know now arbitra-rily the grades and trades were fixed, how scales of pay were changed or new ones added or conditions were im-posed on the implementation of beneficial recommendations -all to deprive the employees of the full benefits.

Last but not the least is the abnormal delay in fixing the employees in the new grades and payment of arrears. After 10 years such cases are still pending today.

The railway administra-tion is perhaps the worst in this respect. Even to this day the Rajadyaksha award concerning leave and leave reserves has not been fully implemented. Recommendations made by many com-mittees are simply allowed to remain on paper.

Such is the bitter experien-ce of railwaymen. The INTUC-affiliated NFIR has not only failed to be the instrument of beneficial bargaining for the railwaymen but has positively done harm to them. The mendation AIRF has come up again. It is

1.50 nP. The kit pass enjoyed by a ward to get the injustice re-A gangman enjoying a section of employees goes and medied.

COMBADE BADAL DEV

On December 23 at 5.30 a.m., following a few hours uncousciousness, Comrade Badal Dev suddenly died of an unknown ailment at the Tata Main Hospital. At the time of death, he was only 35 years old

Comrade Badal Dev was the acting Secretary of the Singbhum district commit-tee of the Communist Party and a member of the executive committee of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Uni-on ever since its inception in 1952. He was also a skilled technician under the employ of Tinplate com-

employ of Inplate com-pauy here. Following the successful strike of TISCO workers in May 1958 and the repres-sion and police firing that followed in its wake, when all the front-rank leaders of the Porty and the Using of the Party and the Union

were arrested; and the Government as well as the TISCO management were feeling satisfied that they had smothered the militant movement, Badal at that critical juncture stepped into the breach to shouldinto the breach to should er the entire burden of keeping up the movement After carrying out eight hours' back-breaking duty at the works Bidal used to at the works, Badal used to at the works, Badal used to devote the rest of his time for the Union and the Party. Often he used to take leave and fulfil the pressing needs of the Union and the Party. For the last twenty months the twenty months when the conditions have been par-ticularly difficult, it was his untiring and self-less endeavour that kept the or-ganisation from breaking into bits under the constant repression, terror and

avalanche of attacks. It was under his able leader-ship, the union success-fully gave guidance to the Jamshedpur workers. Comrade Badal was the living example of the fact that even in most difficult and exacting situations the working class develops its own leader from its own ranks. Comrade Badal's unfail-

ing devotion was respon-sible for maintaining the unity and solidarity of the Jamshedpur workers which

consisted of people of every shade of opinion and faith. Comrade Badal's is an irreparable loss and he shall remain immortal for ever in the movement of the working class for his courage, strength, sacrifice and organisational capacities

12000

WHY NOT LET COOPERATIVES DO IT?

while

tioned shops.

societies.

among the auctioned shops

ply agreeing to the arguments of private contractors who

are necessarily enemies of the

The whole argument above

KS. 84,10,162 nas still to be realised from contractors ever since 1952-53; while there is no balance to be realised from the societies. If the loss in-

curred by Government from non-realisation of auction

amount. The auction amount in Kottayam district in the year 1957-58 was nearly Rs. 9 lakhs less than that in the

responsible for improving the

into with the societies.

G EORGE CHADAYAM-MURI, President, of Kerala Toddy Tappers' Fe-deration has issued the folderation has issued the following Press statement.

It is regrettable that P.V.R. Rao, the Kerala Advisor, has referred to Tappers' Co-operative Societies in Kerala in an unfriendly way in his press conference on December 23, 1959. This is particularly regrettable at this juncture, when Government's policy towards the societies is to be decided within a few days.

Charges Untrue

average kist is taken into account. This means, ano-tion rate is less than the rate of negotiated contract entered into with societies. Knowingly or unknowingly, P.V.R. Rao is hiding this fact, which means he is sim-by covering to the arguments The advisor has stated that Government have incurred a loss of nearly Rs. eight lakhs on account of the negotiated. on account of the negotiated contract with these societies for sale of toddy, in the year 1959-60 alone. Dr. Ramakrishna Rao, the Governor, had once referred to the loss as Rs. one crore. It is gratifying that P. V. R. Rao, has reduced the amount to Rs. 8 lakhs, from the peak of Rupees one crore.

The whole argument above is based on the assumption that entire auction amount will be realised by Govern-ment. But the whole amount is never realised. A balance of Rs. 84,10,162 has still to be realised from contractors ever But this statement also is but this statement also is contrary to facts. Govern-ment have entered into nego-tiated contract for sale of toddy with 12 tappers' socie-tias Toddy shows in the ties. Toddy shops in the taluks of Trichur, Mukundapuram, Parur, Alwaye, Vai-kom, Kunnathur, Quilon, Ka-runagappalli, Mavelikara, Am-belerungar balapuzha, Shertallai and in the ranges of Narakkal and ittayam are thus entrusted with Societies

non-realisation of auction amount from contractors is also taken into account, it can be seen that Government is enjoying a big gain due to negotiated contract entered into with the societies Total kist amount for these shops in the 1958-59 was Rs. 65,39 This year, 1950-60, The advisor has also not enquired into the reasons for the increase in auction amount. The auction amount in Kotterium district in the 65 39 265 the This year, 1950-60, the amount is reduced to Rs. 63,40,958.50 nP., i.e. a re-duction of Rs. 1,98,306.50 for all the 12 societies put together.

year 1957-38 was nearly lakhs less than that in the previous year. There were no societies at that time. Socie-ties were entrusted with shops in the year 1958-59 only in the taluks of Trichur, Sher-tallai and Ambalapuzha. The loss incurred could not be made up that year also. The situation has very much im-proved in the year 1959-60. P. V. R. Rao could have found that these 12 societies were responsible for improving the Total number of toddy shops given in auction in the year 1959-60 was 563 and the bid amount was Rs. 65,23,660.50 nP. Shops were to,23,000.00 nP. Shops were auctioned this year at a higher rate of 15%. The ad-visor makes his whole calcula-tion on the basis that his Government would have fetched the same rate of increa-sed amount from toddy shops given to societies. The average kist remitted

NEW AGE

situation

Political Monthly of the Communist Party. Editor : B. T. Ranadive.

January issue contains :

Kerala Communist Conference by C. Unni Raja. Twentieth Century Capitalism by E. Varga. Advance of Agriculture in China by N. Prasada. Bao. Warga - Price Dechlor by M. W. Barthe, Clore Advance of Agriculture in China by N. Frasada Rao. Wage - Price Problem by M. K. Pandhe. Class Conflict or Decline? by W. Gallacher. Index to 1959 Volume. Price 50 Naye Paise.

Mar.ager: T. Madhavan, 7|4 Asaf Ali Road, NEW DELHI.

The benefit of Rs. 2 lakhs gained by the Societies com-pared with the previous year's position, is only on paper. sales tax is imposed on average kist amount remitted from this year onwards. So by each of the 536 society shops is Rs. 11,830.14 nP. cieties have to pay more than Rs. 31 lakhs as sales tax. This the average kist tof 563 shops means, the societies are pay-ing an amount of Rs. 13 lakhs amount of 2003 shops given in auction is only Rs. 11,587.39 nP. This is Rs. 242.82 nP. higher than the average kiet amount of auc to Government more this year than the last year. average kist amount of auc-

Perhaps these matters are not visor. Further, the societies have offered to Government It is to be noted that nave onered to Government that they are prepared to share the net profit with the government. And yet, he is making references to among the auctioned shops are included those at Erna-kulam and Mattancherry ranges which fetch the highest amount every year. And yet the auctioned shops fetch an amount of Rs. 1,36,700 less than those given to societies, if the average kist is taken into account. This means, aucthe societies in an un-friendly way.

If, this is the attitude that will guide him in the matter will guide him in the matter of deciding Government's po-licy regarding the future of the societies, certainly it does not bode any good. But, I am sure, P. V. R. Rao is not going to say the last word in the matter. Only the people of the State can decide the fu-ture of the societies as well as ture of the societies as well as of the State.

Deputation Waits On **Home Minister**

In course of another statement issued at Ernakulam on December 26, George Cha-

dayamuri says: I, along with T. C. N. Me-non, M.P. met the Home Minister at his residence on Minister at his residence on December 23 and submitted the memorandum. All the al-legations generally levelled against the Toddy Tappers' Co-operatives by its oppo-nents in Kerala, were raised by him at the interview.

The allegation that huge amounts are written off in the name of administrative • exname of administrative ex-penses has been obviously re-presented to him also. To an extent these expenses are conditioned by the nature of the industry for the industry. For example, the co-operatives have to conduct 536 shops, in places specified in the notification. Hence the co-operatives have Hence the co-operatives have necessarily to appoint managers and of these shors.

Moreover, since the location of these shops are stipulated in the notification, and cannot be changed, the societies are forced to pay exorbitant rent for these. With all these limitations, they are keeping the expenses somewhere about 10% of the sales out-turn, which can never be con-sidered excessive.

The figures for the three Ine figures for the three societies which alone have been functioning during the year 1958-59, prove already that the tappers have made colossal gains, and we ex-plained to him that similar plained to him that similar gains can be expected by the tappers of the other nine societies when the pre-sent financial year is completed.

The Home Minister was not well still he listened to us wen stin he historia carefully and sympathetical-ly, reclining in his chair. At the end he advised us to meet H.E. the Governor also. We had met the Prime Minister at his Office and submitted a similar , me dum the day before.

NEW AGE

A memorandum submitted jointly by the Kerala State Chethu Thozhilali Federation (Federation of Trade Unions of Toddy Tappers) and the Kerala Chamber of Toddy Tappers Co-operatives, to the Government of India urges upon the Government of India to direct the Kerala Government to follow the policy

to direct the Kerala Government to follow the policy of entrusting the procurement and vending of today to the Toddy Tappers' Co-operatives and to extend them the contract for the coming year, i.e., 1960-61. A conference of the excise officials which met on November 26 has, it is reliably learnt, recommended to the Comment that the policy of entrusting the to the Government that the policy of entrusting the toddy vending business to the Toddy Tappers Co-

operatives through negotiations, be scrapped.

T HESE cooperatives, the memorandum says, have been, to the toddy tappers, instruments of emancipation. Previously they were the most arploided downtrodden see- now enjoyed by the tappers. Previously they were the most exploited downtrodden sec-tion. Their condition was more akin to slavery. But now, thanks to these coopera-time their lot has changed to the tappers under all other none accomparatives as soon as

now, thanks to these coopera-tives, their lot has changed. nine cooperatives as soon as No more are they to snivel at the feet of the contractors, be changed. It has to there the the total year. sed and suppressed. Above an, the source as a suppressed and suppressed and suppressed are become conscious Economically

Tappers' Memorandum

societies, only three, viz., the Trichur Taluq Chethu Tho-

Trichur Taluq Chethu Tho-zhilali Cooperative Society, the Shertalai Taluq Chethu Thozhilali Cooperative Society and the Alleppey Che-thu Thozhilali Cooperative Society (the other nine hav-the been commissioned articommissioned

tioning last year. These three societies have increased the emoluments of the toddy tap-pers considerably. For example, the Trichur Taluq Chethu Thozhilali Co-perative Society alone has paid the toddy tappers Rs. 5,13,543. 19 nP. more during the year 1959-60 than the pre-vious year, i.e., 1958-59. This works upto nearly 27% of 1958-59 emoluments. men, etc. inese are new em-ployments. Thus, these socie-ties are feeding another 2,000 families besides the toddy tappers, i.e., about 10,009

ties, five other societies of toddy tappers in other talugs have been organised and they The toddy tappers, under these three cooperatives get have been organised and they are conducting shops taken under auction. These societies are looking forward to being entrusted with the toddy vending business in their resan annual bonus ranging from Rs. 40 to Rs. 240, 15 days'. Rs. 40 to Rs. 240, 15 days' leave with wages, seven festi-val holidays with pay, allow-ances for accessories, imple-ments, etc. Most of these benefits are not enjoyed by the tappers engaged by the contractors. As regards bo-nus, tappers, under contracpective areas.

In our memorandum sub-mitted to Advisor Rao, we had suggested that a scheme of sharing profits between the tors get only Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 or sharing promis between to

\$ Kerala Tragedy he should not be given even water to quench his thirst.

W E are giving below ex-tracts from an edito-rial appearing in Pradeepam, a nationalist daily, on December 26:

Our Prime Minister clared in a press confer-ence during the liberation struggle that Mannath struggle that Mannath Padmanabhan had dissolved the Nair Service Society and now he is doing social service with a College esta-blished in the name of Mahatma Gandhi. It is true that Sri Mannom had his college named after Mahatma Gandhi. It is Mahatma Ganuni. If is also true that he is propa-gating a certain message and spreading certain ideas. What are those ideas? He has even evolved a new Panch Sheel. His

do with the Mahatma.... The greatest tragedy is that Kerala, the land of culture, had the misfortune a new Panch Sheel. His five principles are: 1) If one is a Communist

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2) Hate the Communists

like lepers. 3) A woman should di-vorce her husband if

he is a Communist

4) Do not attend any so-cial functions like marriages etc. held by

Communists, and Social boycott of all

Communists and treat them as untouchable.

eople of Kerala who Gandhiji very well

It is not necessary to tell he people of Kerala who

whether these principles of Mannom have anything to

ists and treat

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The election inauguration rally of the Communist Party in Neeleswar held on December 27 was a . mighty demonstration of the strength and influence acquired by the Communist Party among the masses. A constituency rally was attended by 40,000 people and in the demonstration 20,000 persons marched through the streets of Payyannur shouting militant but decent (unlike the triple front) slogans. There figures are according to most conservative estimates.

D EMONSTRATORS mar-ching through the street Congress and defeat Shankar. Drawing the attention of the people towards slogans written on the walls by the time attention street with a substance Keshawan said addressed by outstanding speakers fike A. K. Gopalan and Thazhava Keshavan. E. M. S. Namboodiripad who was returned from the same constituency in 1957 general elections inaugurated the ' campaign rally.

Kesayan Exposes Shankar

Speaking at an election rally at Azhikode (Cannanore constituency) on December 25, a prominent S.N.D.P. lea-Thazhaya Keshayan narated the life-story of R. Shankar—a record of rank opportunism and communal obscurantism. The KPCC obscurantism. The KPCC chief is contesting the Cannanore I constituency. He said that R. Shankar as a Congress leader as well as SNDP leader had consistently fought to had consistently fought to scuttle the Agrarian Relations

Narrating the past history of R. Shankar, Tha-zhava said, that Shankar had always supported landlord interests of Travancore He told the people that a vote given to R. Shankar will be a vote against the toiling people. R. Shankar finding no hope

n. Snankar informing no hope in his own place in Travan-core had fled all the way to the north to take refuge in Cannanore. A person who has nothing to his own credit exnothing to his own credit ex-cept ignominy and manoeu-vrings had come to a far off place to impose himself on a people who do not know him and do not want him. But. Keshavan said, gone are old days and the people e will certainly of Cannanore will Ignore the mandate of th sion

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have gained. Of the twelve their dignity. A new life has societies, only three, viz., the Trichur Taluq Chethu Tho-Therefore, if the coopera-Therefore, if the coopera-tives are denied the con-tract for the coming year, not only will they be de-prived of all these benefits but they will also lose a sum of over Rs. 10 lakhs in-vested by workers as initial

Above all, the toddy tappers

ing been commissioned only this year) have been func-tioning last year. These three capital. These 12 cooperatives have These three between them, engaged over 2,000 people as accountants, clerks, shop managers, sales-

persons. Besides the above 12 socie-

ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN FULL SWING

triple alliance Keshavan said, "If the Congress slogan is that no vote for those who that no vote for those who fired upon the people, then what right has the Congress that has shot down hundreds of people who asked for food and jobs and killed hundreds of persons in prison to ask

for votes?" He placed the responsibility of the unfortunate firings in Kerala squarely on the shoul-ders of those who provoked the so-called liberation strug-gle. He accused the Congress of throwing innocent people into the fray as cannon fodder of reaction's struggle. The leaders of the triple alliance should bear the full responsi-bility for all the violence that was committed during the 'iberation struggle'.

He said all the poor downtrodden people including the relatives of those who were killed will this time vote for the Communist Party and non-Party democrats in the elections. He appealed to the people to be in the forefront of the struggle to reinstall a stable and good government led by the Communist Party.

He said the campaign of the Muslim League against the Communist Government will not go down among the Malabar know very well that it was the Communist Gov-ernment that included Sri ernment that included Sri Kunhipakki Saheb, in the Fublic Service Commission, the first Muslim ever to be made a member of that had in Kerala. He recalled the in Kerala. He recalled the Memorandum of the KPCC in which R. Shankar had oppos-ed the appointment of Kunhi-pakki Saheb as a member of the Public Service Commis-



A. K. Gopalan hoists the Red Flag.

FOR UNITY OF ALL COMMUNITIES

"K ERALA is a land, of different religions. It is not the strength of followers of each religion that is important today. The people's forces in our counshould not get divided try in the name of religion. In order to build up a new prosperous Kerala all religious communities should stand together", said V. R. Krishna Iyer, Minister for Law in the overthrown ministry. He was addressing an election tion rally held in election inaugura-Vadanapalli on December 25.

Tens of thousands of people attended the meeting. Be-fore the meeting began a demonstration in which more

monstration in which more than 3,000 people took part went round the place. He said: "Some people ask for vote in the name of God and religion. But God is not a candidate in any constituency. God is not an election agent of anyone. It was the worst exploitation of religion to ask for votes in the name

of God, Islam or Christ. It is against the very principles of religion." "It was only under the

"It was only under the Communist-led government that religion and the mino-rity communities of Kerala received considerable protec-tion and aid from the State. When Malabar was part of Madras State till 1956 permission was not granted to construct mosques and such places of public worship. Implaces of public worship. Im-mediately on assuming office our Government relaxed le-gal provisions which prevent-ed the Muslim worshippers from freely building their own freely building their own faces of worship. It was an act which extended religi-ous freedom in the State. There are many instances like this." On the India-China border

question he exposed the forces of reaction which exploited the unfortunate border in-cidents to attack the progressive foreign policy of Prime Minister Nehru and warned against the dark forces work-ing in the country to create a war situation between India and China on this issue.

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RANNI is one of the eastrn most constituencies sprawling on the slopes of the Western Ghats in Quilon District. In the 1957 general elections the constituency returned a Congress candidate Vayala Idikkula to the Assemcandidate bly. The Communist-support ed independent candidate E. M. Thomas was defeated by nearly three thousand votes. This time the same candidate who joined the party in the meantime is contesting as the Communist Party candidate against the Congress nomi-

Already more than hundred discussion meetings of activists have been held in various parts of the consti-tuency, in which more than ten thousand workers who have come forward to work for the victory of the Com-munist Party participated. The Communist Party Taluk Committee gave a call for collecting Rs. 7,000 as Elec-tion fund; almost all branches

doubled their quotas. From one village alone, Perinad, the party branch decided to collect Rs. 3,000.

Even in villages which are ki own as strongholds of the Congress, people are coming forward to contribute to the Party's election fund and to work for the Communist can-aidate.

*

ETTUMANOOR constituency in Kottayam district last time elected a Congress member to the Assembly. The Communist candidate was defeated by about 1,300 votes.'A conference of members sympathisers and non-Party democratic elements was held to plan the election campaign of the Communist candidate on 18th December, 1959. More than a thousand people at-tended the conference. An election committee consisting. of 351 members was formed at the conference. K. Sankunni Menon, a

ĸ. young advocate and a bril-liant actor who is also the President of one of the Panchayats in the constituency is the Communist candidate: C. S. Gopala Pillai, member of the State Council of the Party, addressing the Confer-ence said that many prominent people who opposed the Party last time have come forward this time to help and support the Communist candidate.

He mentioned the name of Punnoose Patasseri who opposed the Party in the last general election as an independent candidate. He also pointed out K. C. Raj and his wife, well known leaders of the scheduled castes, who worked for the Congress last time, have come forward to campaign for the Communist candidate now. They donated two gold rings worth Rs. 100 to the Party's election fund.

One of the most inspiring scenes in the course of the conference was when the famous screen actor S. P. Pillay, appeared on the platform and wished success to the Communist candidate and donated Rs. 101 to the election fund.

PAGE SEVEN

NEW AGE

"WE WILL RETAIN THE OLD AND WIN MANY MORE SEATS"

"We will retain the old and gain many new seats" -this was the idea ringing in my mind as I returned after completing a lightning tour of the Alleppey on't remember who told me this first-District. I d a matter of fact, I am not sure whether any particular person told me this, in this form at all. But this was the dominant impression left on my mind, as I proceeded from constituency to constituency in the course of three days.

met-among them were lawyers, medical practitioners, teachers, workers and peasants-gave me this firm and definite idea-"we will retain the old and gain many new seats.

True wishes and hopes need not always become facts. But when the hopes are expectations based on solid reasons they can be reliable.

Alleppey is a district which undergone significant hanges since the last general elections. The develop ental activities in the district initiated during the Commu ninistry's period have potentialities of changing the face of the district. And naturally these have produced signifi-eant shifts in the public opinion and popular thinking.

And the bitter experiences of the notoriou tion struggle", with all its anti-national and anti-social forms, has compelled many erstwhile followers and activists of the nonunist parties to do some rethinking. I among those honest Many ments have even come forward to join the progres-sive camp. Many of these persons can today be seen in active and responsible positions in the election committees of the Commu-nist candidates!

All this has instilled greater sense of self-confidence in the hearts of the Party's activists in Alleppey District. I asked the Alleppey D. C. Secretary the Alleppey D. C. Secretary Sridharan: "What is the overall position?" His prompt and confident reply was "Oh, no-thing to worry about. If we make a concerted effort, we can win a few more seats than last time" Sridharan is sober com-

A LL the persons whom I rade, and not at all given t bravado. So there was no need to question him again. But I was eager to get a complete picture. So I did not leave him at that and subjected him to a number of questions. He was cool and reasonable, and ex-plained the reasons for his optimism - and they were good and convincing reasons at that.

The reasons, the basis for optimism, are very many. The outstanding factors are the changes in the district in the What Govt. Did last 28 months.

Alleppey District has an area of 703.9 square miles and a population of 15,12,079. There are 13 constituencies called upon to return 14 legis-lators. In the 1957 general elections 10 out of these 14 seats were won by the Communist Party. In 1957, there were 8,40,988 voters, while today there are 8,75,045.

Land Of Punnapra And Vayalar

Punnapra and Vavalar, the heroic villages whose names are written in letters of blood in the pages of the history of India's freedom struggle, are situated in Alleppey District.

The major part of Kuttanad region renowned as the gra-nary of Kerala is within this district. A constituency in the dis-

trict-Kayamkulam-had the privilege and honour of electing the legislator (a Communist) with the biggest majority in the 1957 elections The thousands of elections sands of election

activists of the Communist Party are today approaching the lakhs of voters, with greater self-confidence and conviction. born out of the of the solid achievements of the Party.

led Government; achieve-ments not only of a general all Kerala nature, but also of great import to the life of the people of this district.

Alleppey District has been in the forefront of the efforts of the government and the people to increase food pro-duction. Work on the Than-neermukkam project and the Kavamkulam project were initiated during the Commu nist-led Government's period. The Thannermukkam project when completed, will convert lakbs of Kuttanad land into double crop lands (only a single crop being practicable now): the Kavamkulam Project on completion make it possible to p hluow an additional quantity of 11/2

What Govt. Did For The People

Resides these major projects, work on many other schemes like the Thodiyur— Arattukavu Canal, the Pathiyar-Karipuza Canal are pro-ceeding apace and all these, not only contribute to increasing food production, but also help the peasants immensely

The fixation of minimum wages for agricultural work-ers is estimated to benefit the Kuttanad labourers to the tune of nearly 5½ lakh 'paras' of paddy.

A special Kuttanad Development Board has been constituted to work out plans for the all-round progress of the area. With a view to encour-age food production, the Com-munist-led Government had increased the quantum of pumping subsidy paid to the cultivators in Kuttanad area.

The Communist Government assumed office at a time when Alleppey District, gene rally known as a relatively advanced industrial area, was in the grip of severe economic difficulties. Industries were being forced to close down due to this crisis.

@ The Government's first efforts were directed to-wards rehabilitating the crisis ridden small industries here.



Typical scene at the thousands of Communist Party rallies throughout Keral

At the same time efforts were tion work and elect broad- democratic cause and is in the made to open new industries. Two coir factories—one in Alleppey and the other in Shertally which were lying Shertally which were lying idle, were reorganised under co-operative management and reopened, giving employment to 500 workers.

The boat industry was rushing headlong to ruin. The Government intervened to reorganise and save the whole industry by setting up a water transport corpora-tion. Thanks to this timely measure, more than 2,000 workers, have been saved from unemployment and des titution.

The expansion of the Alleppey Rubber factory has provided jobs to an additional 200 men. Two new industrial establishments—the Shertally Sand-line Brick factory and the Parimala straw factory under construction. The Homeopathy College and the Huge Wo Shertally Distillery are two institutions formed during Meetings the Communist Government's period.

Alleppey being a predominantly coastal district, the problem of drinking water supply is acute here. The people in the coastal belt have to walk to far off places to fetch water for their household purposes and when the Com-munist Government was in power steps were taken solve this problem by digg taken to deep wells in many areas like for example in Arattupuzha, Thrikkunnapuzha. All this is mentioned just

to indicate some of the popular measures of the Commu-nist-led Government. This is by no means a comprehensive list, numerous instances of new schools; hospitals, roads, etc., built during this event-ful period can be pointed out in every Taluk. But the list would be too long.

Long-Term District Plans

The Communist-led Government applied itself to the task of solving the people's problems by drawing up a long-term plan. This is as much true for the district as for the whole State. Some of the measures in this longterm plan have been com-pleted many are being execu-ted, while many await con-crete working out. As is well known, the anti-social vested interests cut short this pro-gress by their liberation gress by their liberation struggle' and subsequent Central intervention.

The people are angry that these beneficial activities have thus been interrunted and to-day this anger and résentm ent has been transformed into determination to teach those responsible a lesson through the ballot box. In fact in the course of my talks I found that even Congressmen and others who had their differences with the Communists shar ed the resentment against the interruption of the nation-building activities of the Communist-led Govern-

I had the opportunity to attend the meeting of election activists held to discuss elec-

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the Aroor constituency in the North, the Kayamkulam cons-North, the Kayamkulam cons-tituency in the South and the Aranmula constituency in the East, of the District. These meetings were indeed true reflections of the great changes that have occurred among the people since the the people, since the advent of the Communist-led Govst-led Gov-

of the Communist-led Gov-ernment and of the mighty upsurge that is shaping itself since the dismissal of the Government by the Centre. These meetings of activists

and sympathisers look like the big mass meetings of days. I shall mentior here. In F meetings of the old a small incident here. In Kayamkulam, while this meeting of election workers was on. the mike went off for some time. The candidate (Ayisha Bai) was speaking and her voice could not be heard at the back of the hall.

Huge Workers'

The workers sitting there demanded that she should speak louder. She tried to speak at the top of her voice But, it was of no avail. Then she told those present. "What can I do? Last time, that is, 1957 when we held the meet-ing, there was no mike and no need for a mike, for it was only a "Workers' meeting" and we had only a few workers. But to-day, thanks to the work of the Party and the Government in the course of 28 months, the number of our Party's sympathisers, of non-Party democrats who are pre-pared to work for the Party candidates, has increased manyfold! So I am sure you kindly understand the difficulty!"

This increase in the number of workers is a signifi-cant development. And in many places the increase has been two-fold and even four-fold. I saw it person-ally in Aroor and Aranmula, I am told that this has been the experience in Karthigapilly, Chengannur, Thiru-valla, Haripad, Kallupara etc.

The composition of the Committees indicates the shifts in popular opinion to some extent. The Aranmula constituency workers' meeting was presided over by a teacher in the NSS High School, Bhaskaran Nair. He had been an invitee to a private meet-ing of prominent Nair leaders organised by the Nair Service campaign against the Bill.

He had honestly believed Sugathan that the reservation of seats for backward communities was against the interests of Nairs But later events brought the realisation that the so-called fight against reservation was in fact directed against the rights and privileges of teachers and that liberation struggle against the Communist Government was actually aimed at the pro-gressive agrarian legislation. So, today he is no longer a camp follower of the reactionary NSS.

He is now an enthusiastic and conscious partisan of the

based election committees in forefront of the great cam-the Aroor constituency in the paign to elect the Communist supported independe Gopalakrishnan Nair independent. M Assembly from the Aranmula constituency. It was only natural that such a person got elected as President of the Constituency Committee.

date!

programmes

in

Former NSS **Followers Support**

T shall mention another example of Aranmula. Koshi Pillai has been the election agent of the Congress during every previous election. Now he is an active enthusiast of our Election Committee here. And here is yet another example Velu Pillai, the pre-sident of the Mallapuzhaseri Panchayat has been a Con-gressman for a long time. He sponded to the call of the Congress and the NSS to acti-when the Vimochana strug-vely participate in the "Vimo-chana" struggle. After the fuls believed that the struggle struggle was over, he realised that their "Vimochana" was an anti-people conspiracy and so has come forward to campaign for the Communistsupported Independent. It was he who presided over the meeting organised to set up the Election Committee in the Election Committee

Mallapuzsseri The comrade in Karthikappalli gave me many examples of a similar nature. Sugathan is the Party's cannature. didate here. He is oppos sed by Achuthan (a former Minis-ter) of the P.S.P. In the last elections, he polled 8520 votes as against Sugathan's 20878 votes. Now the position is that many who had helped him to secure these 8520 votes, are working for Sugathan. For example in ward 7 of the Kumarapuram village, only 71 out of the 900 and odd voters here voted for the Communist only 71 candidate, the P.S'P. securing the overwhelming majority.

But, now, the very same P. S. P. workers are campaigning for the Communist paigning for the Communist Party. They have begun the campaign by hoisting a Red Flag in the village. The President of the election committee here is Janardana Panikker, who was active Congress worker, till the re-cent "Vimochana" struggle! A prominent Congress lea-

A prominent Congress lea-der of the Taluk privately told me that Sugathan had to win, even if all the other Communists were defeated! This, I know, is the opinion of most of the old Congressmen Society to voice their protest of this area. Even many mem-against the Education Bill bers of Achuthan's family and to chalk out plans of have openly announced their intention to vote for comrade

The "New" Congressman

The neighbouring constituency of Haripad provides many instances of increased support for the Party. The Party supports Ramakrishna Party supports Ramakrishna Pillal (an independent who was in our block in the previous legislature).

The rival candidate is a prominent NSS (now Congress) leader. N. S. Krishnan Pillai. There are nearly 80 voters in his family. A rest

tions. Shifts Worry Anti-Communists The anti-Communist parties are very conscious of the meaning of these shifts in popular opinion. The result is that they are getting more and more desperate. The violence that they are increasingly resorting to is an indi-cation of their desperation. They are unable to approach the electorate on the basis of any solid work done since the last elections. Instead, theirs is a record of wanton distruction, or crude and shameful practices, of naked violence. So their electioneering is

rank anti-soical

more and more directed towards physical intimidation pro-Communist voters. terrorising and preventof By ing the pro-Communist vo-ters from coming to the & SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT'S IMPRESSIONS OF A TOUR THROUGH ALLEPPEY DISTRICT

sible person told me that 54 of these 80 relatives are expected to vote for our candi-The reason: the relatives of Krishna Pillai know very well that though he dons the Congress robes now, he is fact a dved-in-the-wool reactionary who was behind the "liberation" struggle of the vested interests. Such are the offshoots, of the 'mass upsurge' that Nehru had seen in Kerala.

Yet many more instances indicating the impact of the "ilberation" struggle on Man-nom's followers can be given. In the Kottankulangara ward in the Alleppey consti-tuency, there is a local branch of the Nair Society. This branch is quite an old one. The members sincerely have faith in the beneficial aspects of NSS's positive activities, particularly in its educational

was against the "reservation" system Their leaders had told them that the struggle was to defend the interests of the Nairs. But to their dismay and "struggle" proceeded, schools were attacked and even Nair children were manhandled. The flames of communal frenzy and anarchy, of violence and disruption, were spreading all round. The poisonous fumes of hatred and mutual fumes of hatred and mutual hostility were engulfing them. The hearts of those simple and peace-loving folk could not put up with such chaos

and anarchy. They saw the treason and anti-social outlook behind all this and so they bade good-bye to their tradition-al leadership and liberated themselves. A new Nair Society has been formed, freed from the grip of the of the NSS. Such a develop-

ment has manifested in Kalleli village also. A friend told me that this represent-ed a trend among Nairs of Ambalapuzha Taluk though only taking shape slowly. These shifts in the attitude of many sections in the course of the last three years are pointers to the way the wind is blowing. No doubt these changes can be of considerable significance in the elecence. The comrades in the areas are forced to spend good portion of their time in attending to these reports, in getting the wounded admitted into hospitals, in reporting the incidents to the police and other officials in organising meetings and demonstrations to condemn such violence. Such are the conditions unde which these "free and fair" elections are to be held!

Yet the Party's leaders and workers at all levels are showing great patience by refusing to get provoked. The policy of remaining unperturbed and unprovoked by these inci-dents, of remaining peaceful and patient and of concentrating on our normal election work even in the most provocative situations is vielding good results. Such patience and good sense has enable the Party to set up election committees even in Vimocha-na strongholds like Pandanad (a place which was the scene of the inhuman violence against the agicultural lab-

ourers). Denial of work to pro-Comis a very common blackmail tactic of the landlords here. ployment if they resign from the AITUC unions and join the INTUC.

Yet, recently there was the case of 700 agricultural workers collecting together their INTUC mem tickets and depositing them in the Communist Party office! They also collected Rs. 40 for the Party's election fund. So. alongside the stories of terror and viol-ence, we have cases of determination and staunch

of them occupy responsible positions in the committees for example, in the Aroor constituency committee So-

shamma is the vice-President.' Radhamma is the vice-president of the Aranmula committee. Another noteworthy feature is that in many places there are women's election committees, separate and distinct from the main committees. This is the case even at the

village levels. Hundreds of women comrades are already in the field, going from house to house meeting individuals, collecting funds, etc. Alleppey District which has

been in the vanguard of the popular movement in Kerala is today setting the example for the whole State in the matter of organising A broad movement of women is already functioning here. In the District Council of the Party, there are as many as eight women comrades.

A particularly striking form of collecting funds, adopted by the Alleppey district women comrades is the "handful of rice" fund. Everyday while taking out the rice for the day's cook-ing, the women keep apart a handful of rice in a special vessel. This is for the Party fund. The women activists of the Party go to the homes once in 3 or 4 days to collect this rice. In Aranmula, in the course of Aranmula, in the course of three weeks, this handful of rice' movement yielded 40

makes a muckle.

From all the above. n should not be that it is going to be an easy walkover. There can be no room for complacency. The reacand they are sure to resort to every weapon to defeat us. The electorate has become more conscious politically and cannot be led away on the basis of slogans like "the Reds are Chinese spies". Policies and programmes of the political parties are being studied by a watchful electorate. So. I heard the Alleppey District Party leaders stress-ing to the workers the need for systematised explanatory campaign, the need for individual political approach

The new slogan is "Tur your attention to the Ward. Booth and Voter". Booth committees are being constituted everywhere. Every member of these commit tees has a particular work; he is assigned to contact a fixed number of voters.

In the Punnapra Panchayat, for example, there are 13.077 voters in 4.980 houses. There are 13 booth committees now These booth committee mem bers are divided into squads Every squad is responsible for 30 or 50 voters, or on an average 10 hours.

The confidence of Alleppey comrades, that they can retain the old and win many new, is thus not based on wild optimism. It is based on hard work, or minute working out the de-tails of the election campaign.

On my return, at the Arrookutty ferry, while I was waiting for the ferry boat, I asked a person sitting in a tea shop: "What are the elections prospect here?" He gave me a good look and told me "Oh, this time, the Communists will win. C. G. (C. G. Sa-dasivan) is the candidate here.

This just represents what I heard at almost every in the district.



The Forefront Women activists are in the field in good numbers. Some

LESSONS OF KERALA COUP BOOK REVIEW

ANATOMY OF THE KERALA COUP by H. Austin.. nists came to power in the People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Price Rs. 3]-. State. A study of the political and other skirmishes in the TWENTY-EIGHT MONTHS IN KERALA. A RE-TROSPECT by E. M. S. Namboodiripad. People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Price 75 Naye Paise.

constitute what can be called the intelligent reader's guide to the momentous Keguide to the momentous Ke-rala elections, now a bare three weeks off. In a way, not merely a guide to these elections, however crucial, but their subversive preparation. to the emerging problems be-fore and path forward for Indian democracy. They can be missed only at considera-ble peril, if one wants to define one's attitude to the biggest thing that happened after we became free. H. Austin's is a complete documentation of the searing

weeks in June and July when the dastardly offensive was mounted against the popular

FROM

PAGE TEN

T HESE two books together ministry of Kerala. Naturally enough, it is not confined to those few weeks alone. We have been given a factual and most numerical and

Planned

Long Ago

As the author says: "The As the author says: The present political tumult in Kerala is perhaps, of recent origin. It would be more right to say that it is the final, in-tensive phase of a compre-hensive programme already hensive programme already drawn up when the Commu-

RUMANIA

and other skirnishes in the past, in and out of the legis-lature, discloses that hardly had the ministry been formed when the plan to overthrow it had been forged broadly and put through piecemeal these two years. The last few months witnessed but the ful-filment of the same political objective through a paroxysm of violence in which the 'centrai' leadership played a cle-ver and effective, though sub rosa, role." (pp. 2-3)

In presenting his case of who the "liberators" were the author has used telling quota-tions from the speeches of Mannath Padmanabhan, the mediaeval mascot of the "struggle", Panampilly, Shan-kar and others.

But lest it be thought that this was a peculiarly Kerala phenomenon, he has

also holdly placed the central plank of his thesis thus: "The Congress Party's association with the liberation struggle' was really the telling factor in the success of the movement although this involved the betrayal of every principle, sacred or secular, which had been interwoven into the fabric of our national

"Nevertheless, the Kerala Congress leaders did not blush to line up with the communalists because they communalists because they thought that by 'stooping' politically they could 'con-quer' electorally. Even the Prime Minister on his way Prime Minister on his way back from Ooty early in June had stated, at Coimbatore that the agitation in Kerala was largely prompted by the communal forces of the Nair

Service Society and the Catholic church. "He had stated that the

Congress should keep out of such tie-ups and even con-demned communal organisations entering a political conflict. The Congress Party in Kerala had never seriously bothered about Nehru or the golden principles ineffectually uttered by him So it boldly clasped the hands of the com-munalists." (p. 33)

munalists." (p. 33) He goes on to ram home the point: The role played by Shankar and others in forming a joint action coun cil with representatives of other parties, the Church and 'Marshall Mannom,' to carry on the 'struggle' imply gene-ral approval by the Congress leaders of the various deeds done by the several groups o people in response to the call the Vimochana Samara Samiti.

"Necessarily, there is joint responsibility on all the 'Vi-mochana' parties for the whole venture and all that was done in pursuance of the common object by any mem-ber of the Samiti. "No expulsion or discipli-

nary proceedings against and no sincere condemna-tion of those who had over-stepped the limits of non-violence or overrun the Trivandrum collectorate, tore open bus tyres or stoned police vans have taken place at the instance of the Vimochana Samara Samiti or the Congress Party.

"On the contrary, every such act of hooliganism has been looked upon by the Sa-miti leaders as indicative of the intensification of the struggle." (pp. 65-66) This is important for all of

This is important for all of to the democratic values we cherish comes precisely from the fact that when its partisan interests are involved the dominant leadership of the Congress will not hesitate to sacrifice each and every principle, it so sanctimoniously proclaims. Mannom may be an oddity but the Congress attack on democracy is characteristic

Issues Involved

That these are the precise ssues which were involved has been remarkably well brought out in the two chap-ters entitled "Kerala and the Constitution" and "Democracy and Direct Action."

In the former chapter the author has broken down all the specious arguments put forward by PSP and Congress "theoreticians" on the so-called "legality" of Central Intervention. In essence all these argu

in essence an these argu-ments boiled down to: "To put it in a nutshell, the ori-ginal sin of allowing the Communist Party to assume office has put an end to the. Constitution and constitution-al government is ex hypothesi impressible if the Communists impossible if the Communi run the administration. Cen-tral intervention is, therefore, permissible to avert a further reakdown of the Constitution wherever and whenever Communists rule!" (p. 83)

Actually what this means is that our much vaunted. Congress custodians of the Constitution will never allow any progressive alternative to their own rule. It is only an awakened and organised peo-ple that will force them to * ON FACING PAGE

JANUARY 10. 1980

WHY NOT ENQUIRE NOW INTO THOSE FIRINGS?

-Asks Achutha Menon

C. Achutha Menon, Finance Minister in the dismissed Communist-led Government has challeged the Kerala Governor B. Ramakrishna Rao to institute an Kerala Governor B. Kamakrishna Kao to institute an open enquiry into the police firings during the 'libe-ration struggle' organised by the Congress in alliance with the PSP and Muslim League to overthrow the legally constituted Government in Kerala. C. Achutha Menon was also in charge of the Home portfolio during that struggle period.

during that struggie period. FIE made this challenge il while inaugurating the election campaign of Profes-sor Joseph Mundassery in the Manalur constituency on December 27, 1959. He said: "It is true that a number of police firings took place

of police firings took place when the Communist Party was in power here. All of you know the circumstances that know the circumstances that led to those firings. When the police was forced to open fire in Chandanathope (near Qui-lon) and in Munnar, without fire, were really guilty. "I ask Kerala Gov Dr. Ramakrishna Rao waiting for anybody's advice, the Government instituted public enquiries into those in-

cidents.

Why We

Befased ?

ing him to institute enqui-

"We took such a stand be-

and the Governor are direc-tly in charge of the admi-nistration here. They were so anxious then to conduct enquiries into the police fir-ings. Let me ask them why

have they not yet instituted an enquiry into those fir-

ings?

vou accuse

full sense of responsibility if he and his Government are prepared to show their sinerity by instituting such an

enquiry." Achutha Menon began his speech by referring to a re-mark made by Panampalli Govinda Menon while inau-Govinda Menon while inali-gurating the Congress elec-tion campaign in the same constituency that what was taking place in Kerala now, was a' Mahabharatha battle. He said that in a sense he arcoad with the remark:

BECINISCU : "But it is also true that, when there were firings in the course of the 'liberation struggle', we were not prepar-ed to institute enquiries im-mediately. Even when Prime Minister Nehru directly sug-gested to us to institute en-quiries, we said that it was not possible then: As far as the Kerala Governor was concerned, he used to write to the Chief Minister advis-ing him to institute enqui-He said that iff a sense he agreed with that remark: "This is really a great hattle between right and wrong—a battle against vio-lence and injustice. I will say that this is a battle for the future of our country. A serious danger is staring "We took such a stand DE-cause it was impossible to conduct any enquiry into those incidents before the dis-turbances subsided. "Now anyhow we have been necked out of office. The Central Government and the Governor are direc-thy in charge of the admiat the future of our cour try. It was the beginning of that danger, that took place

against the Communist-led Government in Kerala. "If the people say through the ballot box that they want

In eleven pithy chapters the former Chief Minister chapters ministry! the former Chief Minister places before us the record of 28 months in office. The one dominant theme is that his such and such a party to gov-"There is a strange likeness such and such a party to gov-ern them, then that party should get a chance to be in power till the next elections, for five years. What is gua-ranteed by our Constitution is the right to elect a Gov-ernment of our own choice. "There is a strange likeness to Ayub's usurption of power! Even in Pakistan, section 93 government came in when parties of the Opposition at the Centre were returned in a majority in East Bengal. Thus, began the indiscrimi-nate use of Governor's rule common demands of the national movement and the officially proclaimed policy of the Hence the Kerala episode is nate use of Governor's rule culminating in absolute dic-tatorship. Does it all have to repeat in India?" (p. 121) Hence the Kerala episode is not a question of legal nice-ties; it is a question of life itself. We must be able to cry Congress itself. Where Lay a halt to this danger.

"Perhaps the police were forced to open firings during 'liberation struggle' in self-defence. Then how can the Communist



JANUARY 10, 1960

service

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opposition parties who incited innocent people with all sorts of false propaganda and threw them in front of rifles

of the Government which was controlling the police who had no other go but to open fire wars really cuilty Governor



People arriving to join the procession

★ From Facing Page-E. M. S. Looks Back On 28 Months

abide by the rules as laid down in the Constitution. Finally, Austin draws the correct parallel from Paki-stan: "Although there are major differences, some fea-tures of the Kerala episode tures of the Kerala episode have a seeming. resemblance

Ayub's tactics. "Is it not shocking to I know that the State Minisknow that the State Minis-try was kept in the dark about the move to introduce President's rule? And now the Prime Minister has the temerity to say that the surgery was done at the in-stance of, at any rate, for the relief of the Communist ministry!

As a footnote, one might add that the style of the author (of which the extracts are a sample) is lucid, persua-sive and swiftly flowing. We look forward to more books from this racy pen.

F Austin succeeds in showing us the face of le Kerala opposition, the E. M. S. Namboodiripad's smaller pamphlet gives us the other side of the medal -the policies and work of the Ministry that he headhe

The Difference?

The difference came in the determination to implement and the method of implementation. Nor was this an accitation. Nor was this an acci-dental difference, a matter of chance that Namboodiripad sat in the Chief Minister's chair and not a Chacko or Shankar.

As a matter of fact this his a matter of fact this difference is, in essence, the basic tension of Indian polity today—who will lead, the capitalists of the workers expla-also is to be found the expla-nation for the frenzy into which the Congress High Command worked itself up against the Com

Ministry. This split-mind of the Con-gress is well illustrated by the author: "The Congress Op-position in Kerala as well as the Congress Government at the Centre were put on the horns of a dilemma when our Government prepared our Government prepared agrarian legislations.

"On the one hand, our le-gislations being in full con-formity with the declared policies of the Congress as an poncies of the Congress as an organisation and of the Cen-tral Government and the Planning Commission, they could not raise any objection to them

"On the other hand, they could not enthusiastically support them or allow them to be passed and fully imple-mented. For, that would rouse the anger of those very a the anger of those very sec-tions in society on whom they depended for support-laud-lords, money-landers, larg-scale employers of agricultural labour, etc." (p. 44)

Exactly the same kind administrative reforms d-lemma was proposed by the dismissed ministry. Mentioning the Panchayat and District Coun-cils Bill, Namboodiripad, wri-

"These two bills would go a long way in extending the principle of the executive beprinciple of the executive be-ing responsible to the elected representatives of the people at all levels of a administra-tion, rather than confine it to Centre and the States as

is now the case. "These proposals were vio-lently opposed by the leading members of the Opposition parties, although there were several members of these parties who were in sympathy with the idea of vesting the people's representatives with more and more powers. This is obviously a stand which has nothing to do with today-who will lead, the ca-pitalists or the workers? Here the basic policy declaration also is to be found the expla-

(pp. 28-29) And this is exactly the issue of issues in the present mid-term elections. Will the demonstration-effect of demomonstration-enect of demo-cracy be permitted to inspire us? Will our national aspira-tions be fulfilled? Or will there be an eclipse of our Constitution? The elections in Kerala are the of our future and we mus shape it.

MOHIT SEN

PAGE ELEVEN

LATIN AMERICA-NO LONGER

The developments over the past 12 months in Latin America merit our very serious attention. It is a sad fact that far too little is known in our country about the developments in that region-important as the immediate hinter-lan of the United States of America. Yet knowledge of American manoeuvres there and popular resistance to them convey many a lesson for us.

T HE different Latin American states achieved their independence mainly from Spanish and Portuguese do except for a few remaining cotowards the midde and the end of the 19th century. There has since then also taken place a measure of capitalist deelonment rather unevenly. nich is somewhat greater than what we have had in Asia.

But no sooner was this inde-endence achieved than began the great take-over bid of Ameimperialism, which at the and of the had established complete domiover the Central nation the depressing backwardness of the area, the strong survivals of feudal latifundia and the stark poverty.

Stooge

Dictators

For long-it was under American inspiration that out-and-out dictatorial regimes, headed by unconcealed gangsters and rack eteers, pressed down upon the peoples. Some of them still remain. It was a well-known fac that at the United Nation United States always had the Latin American votes in its pocket to use against any proive or peaceable proposal as well as to push through any ellicose reso

And when in the small State Guatemala some initial atempts were made to reduce deon the United States, to bring about some very modest agrarian reforms, actual armed subversion was perpetrated and the democratic government done away with. It seemed in the early fifties that the curtain had been rung down in this area.

years, more particularly, defined as a progressive po things have begun to change lar revolution, a revolution

and a real challenge to this American domination has be-gun to develop. The high watermark of this resurgence of democracy is the existing developments in Cuba. This has had its impact on the area as a whole and begun to change the entire environ-The Cuban revolution, headed

by Fidel Castro, has not stopped at ousting the hated Batista regime. It has gone forward to wipe out the nest of reactionaries, reorientate the country's l of the Second World War, foreign policy to one of per ousting British imperialism, and non-alignment and to e and non-alignment and to end American tutelage. Steps have been taken to see that the South American continent. It is masses garner some gains from this fact that is responsible for the revolutionary victory in the the depressing backwardness of shape of cheaper prices for their necessaries and some rise in their standard of living. Most important of all is the

agrarian reform. Already during the armed struggle Fidel Castro proclaimed in October 1958 an agrarian law which provided for the transfer of holdings up to 66 acres to tenant farmers, share croppers, farm labourers,

etc. Since victory the big estates confiscated from the supporters of Batista have been turned into cooperatives with the labourers as members. Other land which had been expropriated has been divided among the tenants without compensation. A comprehensive land law has been passed which would transfer land to the peasants, arrange for adequate state credit and encour-

age cooperatives. Blas Roca, general secretary of the Marxist-Leninist Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, has stated that it is quite wrong to regard this as a "Communist" revolution. "We consider that on the strength of the historic tasks of the revolution, and of Yet in the last couple. of in it, the revolution should be held in Puerto Rico, a direct defined as a progressive popu-

WRITERS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA

national liberation, an agrarian nity and in protest against U.S. and democratic revolution." insults the Bolivian people Despite the American rialist intrigues, the actual physical intervention (the hombe r Havana recently took from the United States), over Havana re the Cuban people and their government have stood firm. Complex tasks and many dangers face them but they will not relinquish their victory.

"The Cuban Revolution has refuted the myth of geographic fatalism, the omnipotence of fatalism, the omnipotence of professional armies and North American imperialism.

Cuba's

Significance

"Our revolution shows that ly resolve such basic issues a agrarian reform and the build-

evoked enthusiasm and raise the hopes of all the working peoples of Latin America. Latin Americanism has now acquired the new meaning of eration, since it is opposed to the official nan-American ism, which is an instrumen in the hands of the imperialists for meddling in the affairs of other countries."

Inspired by the Cuban victory the in such dictate i countries ridde as Paraguay, Nicaragua , and the Dominica Republic stepped up their struggle in 1959 and successively resorted to armed uprising and guerrilla warfare.

Anti-United States demon canal were held late last year opu- U.S. colony with 21 military of bases. To defend national dig-

Czech writers who attended the Madras Conference of Indian writers at a reception given by Bombay writers. Left to Right: Bagar Mehdi; Ijaz Siddiqi; Pai; young Ger-man writer; L. Askenazy; K. Zvelebil; J. Kupka; Ismat Chugtai; Bajinder Singh Bedi; J. Suchanek; Consul General and Krishan Chander.

PAGE TWELVE

NEW AGE

A U.S. BACKYARD

March 1959 Blas Roca further states:

even a small country situated in close proximity to the United States can successfully fight the pro-imperialist tyranny, esta-blish a system in keeping with the national interests and bolding of an independent economy. "The Cuban Revolution has

strations for the recovery of the in Panama, while demonstra-tions for independence were

launched a mighty campaign in In addition popular pressure

in many Latin American coun tries led to the adoption of measures which directly weakened U.S. monopoly capital. The Brazilian govern over the equipment of a U.S. power company. Venezuela enforced the decrees on increasing the taxes paid by foreign oil companies, declared that it would not grant new bases for fields to foreign companies and requisitioned 10,000 hectares of land occupied by the U.S. Uni-

Sulphur Company to extract sulphur ores on 52,000 hectares of land. A vigorous campaign to defend oil resources and oppose foreign plunder is sweeping the Latin American countries, in-cluding Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Chile.

Adverse

Impact

This recent phase of the anti-U.S. struggle flows direc-tly from the extremely ad-verse impact of the 1957-58 American economic crisis on the economies of these co tries. It should be noted that 51 per cent of all exports from Latin America goes to the U.S. and, that too, in the form of raw materials, whose prices fell catastrophically.

Copper dropped in price, during the reces n, by 13 per cent well-nigh ruined Chile. Oil from Venezuela dropped in price to the extent of 15 cents per barrel. A big fall in coffee prices wrought disaster to Bra zil, Colombia and Salvador, in all of which coffee makes up over 70 per cent of the total exports.

Blocking of Argentina's meat exports, setting up restrictive import quotas in the U.S., the dumping of U.S. agricultural surplus, a trade deficit of 450 million dollars in 1958—all these have hit Latin America hard

As a result, the struggle gainst the U.S. enslavement has now taken the specific for of a demand for a change in foreign policy, for the adoption of non-alignment and neutral. ism as the keywords of a new patriotic posture of Latin Ame-rica towards the rest of the world. The slogan is emerging for a Latin American Bandung and the present year is likely to see big developments around it. Further, in the fight to pre-

vent the ruin of their economies, a powerful demand has arised from the most diverse strata for establishing trade and diplo-matic relations with the socialist countries, Mikoyan's recent visit to Mexico and the first trade agreement between Deart between Brazil and the Soviet Union are straws showing the way the wind is

Soviet Union also helped out Uruguay by purchasing large quantities of its wool and its purchase of half-amillion tons of sugar from Cuba has helped to alleviate omic situation of that

country. The long-term million dollars credit at 24 per cent interest a year gran ted to Argentina for the pur chase of oil equipment with favourable terms of payment in Argentinian goods, has stirred the imagination. Faced with this situation the

U.S. Government has opened up a new offensive through the In Monetary Fund and the World Bank

New U.S. Offensive

These two U.S.-controlled ted Fruit Company. Mexico cancelled the right of ploit fully the fact that since the U.S. Texas International returns from exports cannot returns from exports cannot cover imports and because of large foreign debts as well as budgetary deficits, the Latin American Governments are forced to apply for loans.

There are five prongs to th particular attack of the U.S.: five prongs to this Devaluattion of the national

currency by accepting the free market rate of exchange.

Demand for restrictions on government credit to na-tional industries in the guise of combating inflation.

Demand for a wage-freeze and cutting of public ex-penditure on social services and nationalised industries.

Demand for transfer of state-owned enterprises to private capital, especially of those enterprises previously taken over from foreign companies.

Demand for free remittance from Latin America to the U.S. of profits, depreciation alowances and interest on U.S. investments.

In addition the U.S. private monopolies are equally carrying forward their nefarious designs. Extension of branches, setting of "daughter" companies, oceeds apace. The next form of penetration of private capital is through the establishment of mixed companies and the export of antiquated equipment from the U.S.A.

The creation of mixed comnies, with the participation of panies, with the participation or Latin American governments or private capital enables the U.S. nopolies to utilise local capital and enjoy other privileges. Similarly outdated equipment is contributed as capital investment and priced considerably, above its real value.

Another form of penetration is the signing of so-called contracts for services performed by U.S. monopolies. For example the Frondizi government of Ar gentina signed contracts with branches of the Standard Oil Company and Royal Dutch Shell for the exploitation of oilfields. Huge sums are being paid to these cartels, who are at the same time gaining control over the foil resources of the country. In addition U.S. monopolies are signing contracts with Latir American enterprises for the use of trade marks and patents, stipulating a large slice of the profits and, as a rule, participation in the management of the enterprises.

In their new push forward the * SEE PAGE 14

JANUARY 10, 1960

H-BOMB TESTS AGAIN ?

Soviet

Reply

A LONG with its agreement technical experts' group at the to go to the Summit- conference, Yevgeny Fed which is now fixed for May 16 has made the position clear. in Paris-the U.S. has also announced, its intention to resume hydrogen bomb tests. The threat came in an Eisenhower statement issued on December 29 from the President's vacation headquarters in Augusta, Georgia, after a series of meetings with top atomic advisers, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

Secretaries, of State

The Eisenhower statement declared that the U.S. "voluntary moratorium on (nuclear weapons) testing will expire on December 31", and "we con ourselves free to resume nuclear weapons testing."

and th

and Defence.

Eisenhower's

Charge .

talks."

Dressing up this announcement as "a period of voluntary sus pension," Eisenhower said, "During the period of voluntary suspension of nuclear weapons tests, the United States will e its active program for weapon research, development and laboratory-type ex-perimentation", graciously ad-ding, "We shall not resume nuclear weapons tests without announcing our intention in advance of any resumption.

had been unwilling "to give seri-

ous scientific consideration to the effectiveness of the seismic

techniques for the detection of

underground nuclear explo-

of an agreement

One wonders how even it

so far-

this allegation mere true it

reaching as the U.S. Government has taken. Moreover, why should it have been so

timed as it has been-right on the eve of the resumption of

test-ban talks on January 15

at Geneva—unless it is meant to be used as a weapon of

It has naturally brought forth

storm of protest from all over o mention only Britain, Canon J. Collins, Chairman of the

Campaign for Nuclear Disarma

that the American Governm

orld for dis

vocative

ment considers it "a great pity

should have taken a step which

might lessen the hope of the

cus says: "If the Americans resume tests unilaterally, it

nity and they will brand. themselves as the global

Herods of the modern world." Will Paynter, General Secre-

tary of the National Union of

Mineworkers of Britain consi-ders/the American decision was "damn scandalous". "Such a

decision." he said. "is obviously

hower's charge—that Soviet ex-perts had refused to give serious consideration to the data on seismic methods of detecting

As for the substance of Eisen-

will be a crime against h

moment in 1060 Labour M. P. Konni Zillia-

blackmail at the talks

justified a decision

clouding the "atmosphere of the

thus injuring the "pros-of an agreement and

were obtained. The current suspension had lasted for 14 months—since the beginning of the Geneva Con-ference on tests. Eisenhower complained that "no satisfac-American data tory agreement is yet in sight," He blamed the Soviet Union saying that the Soviet experts



underground blasts presented by the American side at the Ge-neva End-Nuclear-Tests Con-ference — leader of Soviet **JANUARY 10, 1960**



Calling for an end to endless talk and signing of an agree-ment banning nuclear tests and make any improvements in the control system which experience might make necessary and rejecting the American charge in an article in Pravda on December 31, he wrote

The Eight-Nation Technical Experts Conference is known to have reached a unanimous conclusion in 1958 that it is perfectly possible to detect any nuclear blasts and to have agreement on the means necessary for this. The report and recommenda-tions of the experts were approved by the Governme of the USSR, the United tes and Great Britain.

Hawever, the Western powers have repeatedly de-manded the reconsideration of earlier solved technical problems in the course of the Geneva Conferen onjerence on the ince of nuclear weapon tests.

These demands were based on the claim . that new important data on seismic me-thods of detecting under-ground nuclear explosions At a special meeting of ex-

perts in Geneva this Novem-ber-December the Soviet spe-cialists studied in detail these The Soviet experts believe

that seismic observations of underground blasts will un-doubtedly be important for the operation of the control system. It is possible already now to propose several improvements for the nuclear blast detection instrumenta-

unanimously approved by all pons" which have been under the members of the confer- preparation. Code-named

ment of January 5, 1959 and in the reports of the Ameri-can specialists at the last sitting

Having discovered mario errors and sometimes delibe-rately incorrect propositions in the American statements and documents, the So experts have on several occasions drawn different conclu sions from the same fac ateria

Thus, for instance, the Soviet experts saw no reason to deny the practical possibility of distinguishing explosions from earthquakes, as it was actually done by the Ameri-can specialists.

What U.S. Is After

The purpose of the Eisenhower statement appears in the upshot to prepare the ground for another round of stalling on the test ban issue at the Geneva talks and then at the Paris Summit. It is well-known that American nuclear-weapons experts have for months been urging that the U.S. should resume tests, partly to develop "packaging" of the existing warheads to make them at least four times

more powerful. They have been urging this in the name of "economy" at the same time proposing a "vit-rified earth technique" of explo-ding nuclear missiles forty. miles above the target country and thus burning everythin below over a wide area. Another consideration ad-

tion. Such suggestions ad- vanced by these salesmen of vanced both by the American death is the necessity to test and the Soviet side, were "small and clean atomic wea-

preparation. Code-named "Dove" and "Starling" these ence. At the same time the So- new warheads are described by by Dr. Hugh Wolfe. analysis of all the submitted hottest development in nuclear "With the announcement by material, categorically reject weapons since the H-Bomb has heen produced." With the announcement by President Eisenhower that the United States will refrain from unlear weapons tests for the

the "radiat the "radiation is short-lived, quickly dissipated. The blast is intense, but concentrated in the target area."

Khrushchov's

Reiteration

In glaring contrast to the U.S. President's announcement is the viet Premier's declaration on w Year Eve that the USSR far from allowing, itself to be dragged into the labyrinth of the arms race, will have to consider the question of a unilateral reduction of its armed forces. In a message to the Japanese press the same day he reiterated his proposal for total disarma-

In his interview to the Director of the Argentine paper Clarin, Khrushchov replying to a question about "Russia's posi-tion in 1960 on nuclear weapon tests" stated:

"We stand for a complete and immediate cessation of tests of nuclear weapons of all kinds. "It should be hoped that the desire for cooperation between States which is becoming inereasingly felt now in inter-national relations will help to remove all artificial obstacles raised on the road towards this goal. The USSR Governm nt has already ended all tests of atomic agreement to end nuclear tests for all time and consider that all secure such a treaty". the necessary conditions for that are at hand. Now it is up to our end to all nuclear tests and ex-Western partners to say their plosions has word."

Meanwhile, on January 5 the American "National Committee



sed in New York a report by a

nuclear weapons present, but not formal moratorium continue its mal moratorium." the report says. "the efforts to see workable and inspected treaty on ending tests enter a crucial

Expressing its implied disagreement with the American Government's decision to refrain from continuing its moratorium β on nuclear tests, the scientific advisory group declares that "the stated position of the British that they would not interrupt the moratorium as long as the talks continue is a more useful one".

The group stresses the im-portance of the "the Russians" willingness to consider means of improving detection "

"Provisions for research and development and for revision of inspection systems must be written into all arms control agreements. The draft treaty being considered has such pro visions

"If, indeed, the agencies concerned had expended a comparable amount of efforts and funds on improving methods of detection as they have in evolving modes of have in evolving modes of evasion, the task before us would be much less confused.

"A treaty ending all nuclear tests under adequate controls remains a technically feasible and hydrogen weapons and will possibility", the report points not resume them unless. the out in conclusion. In this con-Western Powers do. We are nection the group calls upon ready to sign even today an the United. States Government "not to relent its efforts to

has thus entered

-ZIAUL HAO

Ruinous Terms Of Trade With Palliatives Of "Aid"

THE good chit given by President Eisenhower to India, during his recent visit, as a great "investment oppor-American tunity" for private capital has once more highlighted the uncertainty of getting substantial Governmental assistance from the United States for India's economic development. It has also brought home

to our people the antipa-thy of the US ruling circles towards developing two-way trade with us to en-able us to earn necessary able us to earn necessary resources to buy machinery and equipment for industrialising our economy. And yet, in quest of facilitating this trade further the Gov nomy And ernment has lifted whatever of curbs it had still left imposed on imports from the dollar area.

The US Secretary of Commerce, Federick Mueller, who was in New Delhi when the Government announced its decision, no doubt, welcomed this gesture-though, even he could not help emphasising in a speech at Bombay the which his Governaccent ment seeks to place now on private investments.

While this indicates the official US attitude, the World Bank ,too, has initiated necessary processes to cultivate the "interest" of foreign financiers in making investments in India. A team of three leading bankers (one each from bankers (one each from the United States, UK and West Germany) ng here soon to study the prospects and recom-mend steps for their im-

While these are ominous trends_of who e significance the Government here can by no means be .un-

aware—there is little talk in Washington, London or Bonn to improve India's Bonn to improve in over-seas markets. Nominally, no doubt, certain relaxa-tions are said to have been decided upon in Bonn (in respect of jute goods, coir products and handlooms) but by and large the old rigidities have not been forsaken. What, however, lies be-

what, nowever, nes pe-hind them? So long only the critics on the Left had been indicting the ruling circles in industrialised capitalist countries in the West for pursuing a restri-West for pursuing a restri-ctionist policy in respect of imports from the undered regions of the develor world. Through such a po-licy, they had been saying, e circles sought to so their own problems of re-cession and over-production and thereby, at the cost of the poorer areas, to maintain and even improve the indices of their profits

Balogh's

Testimony

Now a well-known bour-geois economist, Prof. Thomas Balogh, has also exmas Halogii, has the pressed more or less the same view. In a recent arti-cle in the New Statesman (December 12) he says that in the UK "price stability since 1957 could be mainre or less the tained only because port costs (of foodgrains and raw materials) declinand raw materials) (declin-ed by eight per cent". Fur-ther, of "the improvement in the standard of life (in UK) since 1957, some two or three per cent is entircly due to the violent intervedue to the violent improve ment in the terms at which we are able to purchase food and raw materials-to the discomfiture of poor areas".

Obviously, what the UK USA or other capitalist countries give in the form of aid to appease this "discomfiture" falls far short of its real cost. Quoting the World Economic Survey, 1958, Professor Balogh "the poor primary writes the poor primary producing areas lost more as a result of the deteriora-tion in their terms of trade than all they gained by way of foreign aid". writes

Even about the utility of this "aid" Prof. Balogh is rather sceptical. The "strings" attached to it make it often obligatory upon the recipient country to pursue policies, inimical to their national interests. Moreover, being given as a sort of palliative to "in-duce the deferment of (socio-economic) reforms' it helps little to initiate a "self-generating process of

expansion". The role of foreign aid, according to Prof. Balogh can only be "marginal". Else "the main effort must come from the recipien country itself". This is possible only "if a desire for general popular participa-tion can successfully be evoked — (through) farreaching social and econo-mic reforms, including mass education".

With "aid" and private investments thus proving to be inadequate to lay "a sufficiently broad basis to start a self-generating process of expansion", promo-tion of mutually beneficial trade remains the only dependable way in which the West can help develop the economies in the under-developed East. Here, however, the West's own noli ies stand in the way. Re lying on monetary methods to stabilise prices, and tariffs to then to impose help those hit by resort to these methods, the West deliberately retards growth both of its own industries as well as of economies which supply raw mate-rials to them. In this way Western rulers conscithe

-From Page 12

This growing and politically

discontinue talks with the IMF

pular protest. And in the Pan-

Thus, at different levels and

representatives because of

forces in Chile.

LATIN AMERICA

U.S. imperialists are helped by the fact that, as yet, in most Latin American countries the governments are headed by the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, which is all too prone to com-promise. Frondizi in Argentina a typical representative of s section of the bourgeoisie. As Comrade Arismendi noted: "The conciliatory big bourgeo-

are today the most influ tial political force in many Latin American countries, and this is an obstacle to the broad ent of the patrioti movement." It is this section that in many States has taken

Ask for AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS INDIA -THE PRESENT PHASE partie 50 nP NEW LITERATURE

2, Tropical Buildings Post Box 206, New Delhi-I

oil resources in Brazil, Argenover from the former utterly tina and Chile, as well as the heavy defeats in the muni-cipal and provincial elections suffered by Frondizi and the comprodore dictatorships. But there can be no doubt that even this obstacle is not election successes of the Left

going to be insuperable. For as Comrade Luis Korvalan of Chile wrote: "It can be said revolutionary force articulate popular pressure combined with the "contagion" in Latin America has changed in Latin America has changed qualitatively. The working class is becoming the leading force." The conciliatory big of Cuba as well as the new prospects offered by the socialist world, is compelling even the bourgeoisie is often enough being forced on the defensive. political representatives of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie to take a stand against U.S. impe-In one State after another the rorking class and its Communist Party is going forward to the building of a broad demorialism. For example, the Pre sident of Brazil was forced to al-liberation front cratic, nation include all patriotic social strata, up to the national bourgeoisie. Typical in this connec-tion is the Popular Action Front of Chile which includes the Communict and Eccientiat f Chile which includes the communist and Socialist Parties, and which reaches out to united action with the centre

ties. Indicative of the impact of Latin America seek to emerge of social from the status of a U.S. "back this combination of social from the status of a U.S. "back forces, led by the working yard" to the sunlight of inde class — apart from examples pendent and progressive deve-class — apart from examples pendent and progressive deve-mentioned earlier — was the lopment. The last year has big strikes in Argentina seen a big advance and 1860 is against the IMF policies, the very likely to witness many broad movement for the re-more "festivals of the Latin tention of State control over American peoples."

NEW AGE

INSIDE OUR NEWS & NOTES ECONOMY

thing"

countries

ducts such as food or clo

Contrasting with these

discouraging prospects of trade with advanced capi-

talist countires, evolution in the socialist world says

Prof. Balogh, "is likely to

favour the Soviet buyers of primary products at high

tures". Further, "if the USSR were to make use of

raw materials and food by

exchanging them for indus-trial products, the terms

of trade of the primary

shift in their favour". The Soviet rate of

growth also, according to the Professor, has been al-most thrice that of the US,

at least since 1954. It has

been six times the rate of

increase in UK's gross pro-

Thus, on the one side are

a set of economies suffer-ing from what Bevan has

called "endemic underem

oloyment of resources.

leading to uncertainties about demand for products

like ours, and on the other

there is a fast developing

economy with increasing demand for them. No

doubt, with suitable modi

fications, even the former could enhance their intake

somewhat. But to expect

to by Prof. Balogh

them to do so. in face of

like running after a mirage.

NEW TRADE

AGREEMENT

WITH GDR

A TRADE agreement between India and the German De-mocratic Republic (GDR) was

signed on December 18. The

on a higher level.

agree

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ent is for three years,

effect from January

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fuction capacity to obtain

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at high

ously create a crisis of confidence, assuaging which, at the cost of underdeveloped countries, they manage to claim support of their electorate.

'Economist' Corroborates

Professor Balogh's analysis in this respect is corro-borated by the London Economst and by Aneurin Bevan. According to the former "the tendency in former general economic management (especially United States) has been to tighten financial policy beat inflation and then increase protection to help those who are hurt by this ightening. A check had to be imposed on the rate of industrial growth order to keepdown and then restrictio down and then restructions on various form of agricul-tural or textile imports have been imposed to put prices up again." The Economist calls it

the first set of illogicalities to appear" in Western po-licy, while, according to Prof. Balogh, the riches acquired thus, engender "a feeling of growing spiritual poverty and dissatisfaction as well as guilt, impatience and aggression" whi gether constitute a "psy-chological malaise".

Bevan, too, has expressed more or less similar views in an article, reproduced in the Indian Exaucea in the indian Ex-press (December 26). "No sooner does production get into full swing", he writes, "than rising prices frighten the Western countries into credit restrictions". Even in West Germany, where a miracle wa posed to be happening,"... interest rates are marked up in an attempt to conbase and tract the credit

arrest the rise in prices". Obviously, this cannot but impact have a disastrous underdeveloped countries. Apart from these in-

herent difficulties, which we face in increasing ex-Western capitalist ports to the long-term. of (capitalist) countries, the prospects world market for a number of our primary products is also not encouraging. This, according to Prof. Balogh, is due to following factors: Growing productivity

in food and raw materials in western countries. Policy of granting pro-tection to agricultural agricultural commodities in highly developed areas. "including

US efforts to get rid of its ces withcommodity surplu out being willing to pursue a planned policy of economic expansion in underdeveloped areas". Progressive manufac-

ture of synthetic substitutes and eradication of vaste

• Change in tastes que to "incessant advertis-ing" towards "highly manufactured durable consumer goods and against goods with a high content of important agricultural pro- crores last year.

Bank Employees Restive, Prepare For Action

The Central Committee of the All-India Bank Employees' Association (AIBEA) which met in Delhi in the last week of December took serious note of cer-

tain developments in the industry. It took serious note of the fact that the Ministry of Finance and the Reserve Bank of India have now made it a practice to interfere, over the heads of the Ministry of Labour, in disputes between the banks and their em-

THE recent instance of the bonus dispute which has been HE recent instance of the bonds up on the second se istry of Labour to issue a notification amending the Bank ties have allowance dearness Award in terms of the Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision Amenddustrial ment Act, 1958, is a glaring example of such an act of sabotage by the Ministry of Finance Amendment Act was

passed by Parliament in Octo-ber, 1958 and the AIBEA in The mber, 1958, invoked its operation The Government maintained silence till recently, when it came out with the y, when it came out with the plea that the bankers were raising legal complications about the Act—although it was introduced in the first

was introduced in the first place with the bankers' con-currence. Similarly, no decision has so far been taken by the Gov-ernment in respect of the

GOI Employees Protest

* FROM PAGE 3

THE brewing resentment of the Central Government employees in and around Calcutta against the of the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission and the Government's modifications on them, exploded like a bombshell on January 2 when the employees were ordered to work for the full day in pursuance of Union Government's decision making three Saturdays in the month full working days. Responding to the call of

Confederation of Central Government Employees' Uni-ons in West Bengal, 25,000 ations rees of 54 ass employees of 54 associations demonstrated in their respective offices and went on mass deputations to their office heads to lodge their strong

For India-China Settlement

a meeting between the 1e Ministers of India Prime and China for a peaceful settlement of the border dispute is now reaching out to remoter areas of West Bengal. During the past week, over 30 mass meetings were held mostly in

the rural areas. • In the comparatively backward district of West Dinajpur, four meetings were held, in which over 22,000 people were present. The meeting at Gangarampur was attended by about 7,000 people. It was biggest meeting in the history of Gangarampur. The gathering at Balurghat was 8,000. Both of these re addressed by Manikuntala Sen, MLA.

mittee did its utmost to con-fuse the people and to scare, them away by putting out town in North Bengal on De-rumours that there would be cember 26.

TANTIARY 10, 1960

THE mass campaign for serious disturbances in the meeting. But all these nefa-rious tactics were of no avail. On January 3, Jyoti Basu addressed a gathering 8,000 at Ichapur in the suburbs of Calcutta. It was the biggest meeting in thi area in the past ten years. Only a few days earlier, Asoka Mehta, the PSP stalwart, had addressed a meet wart, here. Another meeting was held by the Congress. Attendance at the PSP leader's meeting was no more than 200. The Congress put up a slightly better show—about

400 people. A number of processions were also held in different places. The workers of the small engineering workshops at Salkia (Howrah) took out ala Sen, MLA. The District Congress Com-of over 1,000 workers, peasants and middle-class people para-ded the streets of Jalpaiguri

India will export, besides traditional items, items like iron and manganese ore, tea, coffee, spices, cashewnuts, lintiles and readymade garments, jute ma-nufactures, laminated jute bags, minated jute hags. coir products, handicrafts, sports goods, canned fruit and fruit products, shoes, woolen and silk fabrics, plywood and refri-

gerators. Exports from GDR to India will mainly consist of machi-nery like machine-tools, textile machinery with automatic looms; printing machinery, complete installation and plants, with automat raw films, precision and optical

instruments, fertilisers, etc. Erich Renneisen, Trade presentative of the Gern instrumer Trade Re-German Democratic Republic, told newsmen on December 19, that he expected the trade between the two countries during the next year to go up to Rs. 20 crores as against about Rs. ten

JANUARY 10, 1960

Under the present arrange-ment, payment for all commercial and non-commercial transactions will be made in nor convertible Indian rupees and trade will be on a balanced basis office

afternoon.

ties have taken upon them-selves to act as the leaders of the bankers in all anti-em ployee activities, and are in-terferring with even individual disputes and ca ing with the alabour machiing with the standur machi-nery. Their own service rules are retrograde, and are even opposed to labour legislations. They have refused to ratify the Code of Discipline and have advised the commercial have to reject even the re-

have auvised, the commercial banks to reject even the re-quest made by the Labour Minister. In fact the interference of the Reserve Bank of India has reduced the opera-tion of the Industrial Dis-

protest against the introduction of full day's work on three consecutive Saturdays in a month. They went back to their seats only after their respective office heads had promised to send to the proper quarters the employees' reaction to the Government's instruction.

Over 2,000 employees working in the Head Office of the South-Eastern Railway at-Garden Reach, took out a demonstration and held a protest meeting.

About 3,000 employees of South - Eastern Railway workshop at Kharagpur observed two minutes' a mark of protest and brought out a demonstration in the

Demonstrations also took place in a number of offi-ces of the Eastern Railway and the Defence Department.

the AIBEA in its Charter of Demands all the suggestions of the Labour Minister were accepted by the AIBEA. A fortnight's time was asked for by the bankers for its consideration.

After taking an extension the bankers under the advice of the Reserve Bank decided not to agree to the Labour proposals but to in-Ministor's sist on the appointment of a National Tribu

They further insisted that "if conciliation fails, National Tribunal alone will be acceptable to banks." They also made it clear that they must have the right to go to the Supreme Court. From this it can very we he seen that the bankers are not prepared to settle the dispute amicably but are interested in longdrawn-out litigation.

It may be recalled that the Labour Minister had committed himself to the appointment of a commission to set-tle the dispute in the banking industry. The life of the cur rent award expired on March 31 last and the notice of termination of the award given by the AIBEA and its units expired at the end of June 1959. Despite that commit ment no steps have to this date been taken by the Go ernment for settlement of the dispute The award, which oherwise would be operative oherwise would be operative for three years under the Industrial Disputes Act. was made binding on the bank employees for a period of five years and has actually expired nine months ago.

Deputation Meets Labour Minister

A deputation of the AIBEA met the Labour Minister on December 24. The commitment for the appointment of a Commission was admitted by him but he expressed his helplessness in view of the pressure from the Ministry of Finance. He said that it will take some more time to arrive at a decision on this matter. The Central Committee also

reviewed the long list of instances, wherein the Govern-ment directly abetted the bankers in the non-implementation and mis-implemenation of the award.

The Central Committee of the AIBEA took serious note of all these developments and came to the conclusion that bank employees could not be made victims for the abetment by the Govern. ment of the procrastination by the bankers. It, therefore, decided to start an agitation for fulfilment of their demand for bonus. It deems it fit and proper that an interim relief should be granted to the bank em-ployees, for in the meantime both the working funds and profits had more than dou-bled whilst establishment expenses had come down considerably.

The Central Committee also decided that bank employees would go into protest actions against the interference of Ministry of Finance and the molestation of the referen illegally including the by points, which the bankers may wish to raise. The Cenwhich the bankers tral Committee also decided such protest actions include strike action. that would

SCRAP-BOOK

WHOSE VOICE?

A worried friend has written to me` from Washington. He had just been hearing a talk by one D. N. Chatterjee at the Harvard Club dinners held at the fashionable Occidental Restaurant, towards the end of last November

This Chatterjee is the Indian Charge d'Affairs at Washington and has been Chatteriee is the busy getting all the publicity he can while Ambassador Chagla was away at the International Court at the Hague for three months. There seems to be nothing Indian about this gentleman, except his parentage. He is proud of his Army past under British and pretends i the rance when Bengalis try to alk to him in their mother-tongue.

Nobody cares a hoot for these lapses on the part of a nonentity, who has somehow wormed his way to an important post, however interim. But he has now begun to let his personal servility run away with him and parade i official policy. arade it as India's

Chatterjee spouted that it was quite likely that there might well be a "major showdown" between "major showdown" between our country and China. "And by major showdown I mean a war that might bring the great powers int the conflict."

Just the opposite of what Premier Nehru has been repeatedly telling the world and in flat contradiction to each and every official letter or statement of the External Affairs Ministry, of which Chatteriee is one f many officials.

come. Worse was to Fawning on his American big business audience he praised them for their al-truisms and went on to add, for good measure, "India is aligned with the West despite the tag of neutralism. And if we seem more critical of pus and softer to Russia it is cause people expect more of the West than they do totalitaria

It is as well that Nehru calls for an explanation from this "representative" of his Government. And if he is not prepared to repudiate his statement, the least that can be done is to recall Chatterjee—or let him take a job with the USIS.

AYUB-JP TALKS

THERE is a story going the rounds which we would like Jeevandi JP to contradict. But we wonder f he can

JP went to see Ayub ostensibly to talk over with "basic democracy" with him. But each soon sounded the other and cut out all the "democratic" small talk and got down to busi-ness. JP had made it clear that he was no ordinary individual-he knew that revered Rashtrapati had not exactly given him ******

credentials but blesings at any rate.

so Ayub opened out. had the impertinence to tell JP that Pakistan had done its best to be friendly with India, but for 12 years India's "politicians" had poisoned the atmosphere and had a vested interest in anti-Pakistanism! The conclusion: get rid of the politicians. The result: JP has returned to blow a further blast on the "partyless" trumpet.

Having scored a hit. Ayub then proceeded to talk of the joint defence pact. He expressed anger that Nehru had polemised against the because of Pakistan's Ladakh claim. His idea was that this

precisely helped the possi-bility of a pact Nehru had asked—a pact for what, and against whom? Ayub's reply—to jointly recover Ladakh, and against China.

Here again the Marsha bitterly complained that what stood in the way were those damned po Military men could get on quite nicely, thank you. JP s reported at this stage to have counseled patience and promised to get proper publicity for this idea of Avub's in

Is there any coincidence, then, between his return and the trip to Karachi of of Delhi a top journalist of Delhi belonging to an eminent Southern daily, which soon night the become the mouthpiece ? Swatantra

NAGARJUNSAGAR IN TROUBLE

THE mighty dam rises magnificently and the masanory used—on Indian advice-gives it a cyclopaean grandeur. An the engineers I talk And all were so proud and so crea-

tive. Yet there are cankers in the rose. Imagine handing over the actual job of construction to private contractors. These greedy gen-try make their workers toil 15 hours a day and then leave large spaces between one rock and another, where later water could seep through and which could prove disastrous. As a result an enormous army of inspectors has to be naintained

Labour cooperative socie ties are not given the job because the contractors are Congressmen with min friends in Hyderabad! with minister

Another bit of bad news s that due to inept handing out of funds the project will not be finished on schedule. There is an expected three years' delay. And the result with all the inflation around, will be that the cost will be almost double the original estimate.

Here again nothing can he done-the Centre won't listen to reason, we were But if the Centre told. won't listen to engineers at least the MPs could make it sit up and hurry on with making Nagarjunsagar ar edifice worthy of our dreams.

-ONLOOKER January 5.

del **BIG SHIFTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE** of the Congress and had to call on all progressives and democrats to fight and defeat the anti-people policies of the IN KERALA illusionment with the campaign, an election organ ration struggle" can be seen in Aranmula constituency. Isation came into being by September for the purpose of enumeration work in connec-

ERNAKULAM. January 6.

The Congress, PSP, League press and their leaders and speakers are all busy juggling with a few figures and telling the Kerala electorate that the Communists and their supported independents have no chance of winning a majority in the coming midterm elections.

HEIR calculation is very simple: Communists had T won only a few seats in the last elections with absolute majority votes; the rest of the seats were won by them because of triangular con-tests; this time there is a tests; this time there is a united front, votes polled by the constituent parties of the Front last time will all be re-corded in favour of the Front candidates. So the Commu-

nists will be routed. Busy with this jugglery with figures, these leaders and their friends in the press forget just one factor, the most important factor —the people of this State and the shifts that have taken place among them as a result of the 28 months of Communist rule.

But this is what strikes an observer most the moment one arrives in this State and begins to compare the present with the situation three years ago at the time of the geneelections.

And this is behind the con-fidence with which every comrade I met said: We will retain the seats we won last time and we will win some more

To understand the position better, it is necessary to keep in mind the position as it emerged from the last elections

The Communist Party and supported independents had won 34 seats with absolute had majority of votes; they had won 10 more seats with 45 to 50 per cent votes; another 15 seats with 40 to 45 per cent votes and 6 seats with less

than 40 per cent votes. The Party had lost 9 seats though it had polled 45 to 50 per cent of the votes and an-other 8 seats with 40 to 45 per cent votes.

Even if one does not consider all panchayat and muni-cipal bye-elections that have taken place since then which showed a shift in favour of the Communist Party, there has been one bye-election to the Assembly—from the Devicolam constituency. In the 1957 general elections, the had Communist candidate won this seat with 40 per cent of votes.

In the 1958 by-election, In the 1958 by-election, the Communist Party faced the united might of the Congress, PSP and League and retained that seat with 51 per cent votes. The 57 to 60 per cent votes of the con-stituent parties of the present united front came down to 49. Since then, despite "the li-

teration struggle", this shift in favour of the Communist in favour of Party has continued. And this Party has continued. And this has become more and more evident with every passing day of the election campaign. Many powerful elements who stood with the parties of the present united front in 1057 and even during the "li-1957 and even during the "li-beration struggle" which they organised, have been neutral-ised and have become inac-

More important. tive. one section from among them has come into active work for the Communists and supported independent candidates.

In the Pattambi constitu-ency which E. M. S. Nam-boodiripad is contesting, the constituency election commit-tee which has been formed has on it a number of Cong-ressmen like K. Raman Bhat-tathiri (who is the Vice-Pretathiri (who is the Vice-President of the Committee), M. Kunhappa, P. K. Narayana Menon, Vadakkedath Neela-kantan Namboodiri and Mo-zhikunnam Brahmadattan zhikunnam Brahmadattan Namboodiri. Any number of people, till now workers of the Congress and League are on the committees at lower levels and are active in the Communist Party's election campaign.

In Chalakudi, a constitu-ency won by the PSP can-didate last time the president the Communist candidate this time is Vijayan Menon, so far of the PSP. There are over a

THE

Congress. Sharma is now the President of the Communist Party's election committee in the area

Ernakulam District was ന്

another storm centre of the "liberation struggle" and it was also one of the districts where the Communist Party where the Communist Party had not done so well in the last elections. All that has changed now; the situation is very much different from what it was, as the district now gets ready to face the elections. In Ernakulam constituency

lections. In Ernakulam constituency self, many KSP activists of he "liberation struggle" are ow campaigning for the itself the now campaigning

Now campaigning for the Communist Party. The story of Panikkassery P. Francis, a leader of the "Iberation struggle" is typical of many who have been disillusioned with the struggle into which they went with much fervour then. He had particl-pated in it thinking that it was being organised against the Education Act.

But the Act is still not withdrawn though the Comstill not munist Ministry was dis-missed long ago. From this it did not take long to come to the conclusion that the aim of the struggle must have been something other than opposition to the Education Act.

It is this realisation that has made him and many like him work for the Communist

From Our Staff Correspondent Ramdass

SPOT REPORT

A meeting here to form an election committee of the Communist candidate . 110 a presided over by Bhaskaran Nair, a teacher in one of Padmanabhan's Mannath Nair Service Society schools.

He had attended as an in-The had attended as an in-vitee a secret meeting of the "NSS before launching of the "liberation struggle". He had then thought there was some truth in the argument that the system of reservation wor-bed compatible below below by the system of reservation wor-ked against the Nairs. But his experience since then has taught him that behind the opposition to the Educa-tion Act was really opposition to giving any rights to the teachers, that the struggle against the Communist Miniagainst the Communist Mini-stry was in fact a struggle against all the progressive re-forms. Today Nair is not against reservation, he is no longer a faithful follower of the NSS bosses. Today he is working for the victory of the Communist candidate in Atanmula constituency Aranmula constituency

The second factor which has given so much of confidence to the Communist Party is the enormous growth of the Party itself and of the mass organisations.

At the time when the Party fought the last general elec-tions in 1957, it had a mem-bership of 25,000. Today Party membership in the State is 75,000.

The Kisan Sabha which had a membership of about a lakh

tion with the electoral rolls. The Congress-PSP-League tactic was to complain that the Communists had inflated the electoral rolls and behind this facade, attempt to faisi-

fy the electoral rolls. In the fight against this and, as a deliberate plan the Communist Party's election, machinery came into being, and as many workers as were active in the entire election campaign in 1957 went into action in this in-itial stage and achieved creditable success. The fact that this fight has been able to keep the voters' rolls more or less clean is itself helpful for the Communist Party's victory at the polls. The fourth factor is a big

big political factor. This time the Party is not going to the elec-torate with only the promise of what it intends to do. It is approaching the voters asking for their votes on the basis of what it has done during the 28 months of its rule.

People in every constitu-ency, people from every walk of life, people from all religions and communities know by their experience what the Communist Party and its Ministry have done and its Ministry have done and they have massively rallied to the support of its candidates. These are all the positive

factors which have gone to create confidence in the ranks create confidence in the ranks of the Communist Party and the Party's supporters. There is also the weakness of the Congress-League-PSP alliance which works in favour of the Party. The fact that they have no

common programme and their manifestoes talk in different voices about the crucial issues facing the people; the tre-mendous discontent in these parties on the allocation seats in the selection of candi-dates and more the dates and more than everything else the fact that they have no answer to the question of ensuring a stable Goveriment after elections—these are factors which help the Communist Party to get still wider support. Naturally, the Congress-

Naturally, the Congress-PSP-League camp would like to avoid discussing all these important problems facing the people. That is why their campaign spee-ches rarely, touch on the problems of Kerala. All they talk about is how religion is in danger if the Communists come back to

Communists come back to office, how democracy will be endangered, etc. And they drag in the Centre and the President saying the Kerala electorate should vindicate Presidential intervention!

What they tried to make as What they tried to make as their most important propa-ganda weapon has also proved to be a damp 'squib. Their slanderous attack on Commu-nists as Chinese spies and exhortations to isolate China's fifth column are finding na's fifth column are finding no response from the people, With all that, it is a very tough battle that is going on here. Everybody has realised the forthcoming elections are no ordinary elections and every resource is being mobi-lised for the battle, I have never seen the Congress so active as it is now. That itself active as it is now. That itself is an indication of its realisation of the strength of the Communist Party.

5

100 more in the local commit-

ON

 In Kottayam constituency, in Ward III, when the Party's election committee Party's election office was inaug committee office was inaugurated, the person who hoisted the Red Flag was George Vaippantha-rakkadav who belong to a prominent Catholic family of the area and was a Congressman till recently.

The Secretary of the West Mandal Congress Committee here, P. Kesava Panikkar, has resigned from all offices he held in the Congress. Panikkar has been an active Congress worker for the last 23 years and was the Con-gress candidate in Thiruvarpur constituency in 1954.

In Kanhirapally, won by the Congress last time, when a meeting of voters in Ward II in Mundakayam was being held, a student leader of the "liberation struggle" ad-dressed the gathering and pledged support to the Com-munist supported independmunist supported inde ent candidate, Mustafa Kamal.

 In Thiruvalla, a centre of "liberation struggle", a meeting of representatives of the backward Christians and scheduled castes from all panchayats of the constituency, discussed the record of the Congress candidate; P. Cha-cko, and decided to record their votes for the Communist candidate.

At a meeting in Kainikara-panchayat in Thakazhi constituency an old Congress-man and Ghandhi-ite, A. K. Sharma, came on the plat-form to relate his experiences

Party in the present elections. Mattancherry was the scene of many goonda at-

tacks and terror in the days following Presidential inter-vention, Here the Communist Party is supporting an inde-pendent candidate, Smt. Ratnabai, who belongs to the mi-nority Gowda Saraswat com-munity. Sponsoring of a candidate of this neglected com-munity ? Yes. A remark made by a Congress leader of the area in a public speech about this candidate had roused the wrath of the entire commu-nity. The Congress leader had said, this woman is not known said, this woman is not known to anybody in the constitu-ency, unless being a Saraswat woman some people had met her in some by-lanes. The community has decided to teach the Congress a lesson for this insult to the women of their community.

In the constituency itself a vice-president of the constituency election committee of the Communist-supported in-dependent candidate is a former Secretary of the Mandal Congress Committee, Appu-kutty Master. A second vice-president is another Congressman, Narasimha Baliga.

Areas in this constituency to which the Party could to which the Party could not even make an approach last time like Wards II, III and IV in Fort Cochin and Wards VIII, IX, X, XI and XII in Mattancherry today have very broad election commit-tees, thanks to these former Congress workers and a new section of people who have come to the Party. Another instance of dis-

then has on its rolls today

175,000 members. Trade unions affiliated to the AITUC which had a mem-bership of less than a lakh then have a membership today of 22 lakhs. women's

There was no movement worth the name then; today in every district there is a women's organisa-tion. And its presence can be very much felt in the election campaign.

ampaign. In E. M. S. Namboodirl-pad's Pattambi consti-tuency, for instance, spe-cial women's squads are working in almost every village and in Mararikulam in Alleppey District, wo-men's meeting held to form a women's committee wa attended by 4,000 women. was

The Party has a far bigger number of activists in field today than last time. In 1957 there were about 2 to 23 lakh election workers for the Party. Today it is 34 to 4 lakh activists already in the election battle

Thirdly, the election organisation of the Party is far stronger today than it was in

One main reason is that the Party did not start election work as just election work. It began as a mighty political campaign against the dismis-sal of the Ministry.

This has brought a number of non-party democrats nearer to the Party and they have. er to the Party and they have seen today that putting the Communists back in office is essential for the defence of Indian democracy. Along with this political