

# KERALA FIRING

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## new age

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT KOTTAYAM, October 22

All eye-witness reports on the police firing on the plantation workers in Munnar point to the irrefutable conclusion that it was excessive unjustified and the result of a conspiracy involving some of the police officers, INTUC leaders and the white manager of the Kannan Devan.

There are no two opinions here among informed quarters that following the rejection by the management of the Labour Minister's compromise proposal to settle the strike on Saturday last and the departure of the Minister from Munnar, some of the police officers in charge of the police force there decided to have a show-down with the striking workers and to unleash repression at the behest of the management and some INTUC leaders.

The planters seem to be getting emboldened by their belief that since a plantation strike would involve heavy losses in foreign exchange the centre would intervene in their favour. Everything seems to be well-planned: the planters are to meet Prime Minister Nehru in Hyderabad when he goes there for the AICC meeting.

The planters are mainly British. The British High Commissioner is confabulating with the Prime Minister in New Delhi. The Deputy High Commissioner is right in the strike area just at this moment. Is it that after the Fund-Bank meeting the British have a free run of our country?

The striking workers and their leaders have many stories to tell about some of the officers.

On October 4, the day the strike began, the Munnar Sub-Inspector threatened to shoot workers who had gathered in front of the tea factory at the Panniyar Estate.

In another estate, on the 11th, the manager arrived in a car, followed by a lorry-load of blacklegs escorted by a police van. The blacklegs threw some missiles at the huge crowd of strikers at the gate. The strikers answered this with picketing of the lorry. The blacklegs jumped out of it and disappeared.

Later the same police officer arrived on the spot, brought back two of the blacklegs and arrested all the strikers pointed out by these two. And they were manhandled in custody.

Again, the same police officer on the same day, assaulted on a public road a few strikers who had picketed a tractor which was carrying blacklegs to the Periarava Estate.

The Kottayam D.S.P. was reported to be functioning almost as the Public Relations Officer of the Kannan Devan Co. He was telling all and sundry about the national loss caused by the strike. It seems in the old days he was a Sub-Inspector in the Munnar area and workers say he is only showing his gratitude now for the salt of the Kannan Devan Co. which he had eaten then.

Details of the police firing on Monday collected from the local people and eye-witnesses present the following tragic story.

On Monday morning, a police party led by Sub-Inspector Paskal, it is learnt, had taken a small group of black-

legs to work in the Gudurall Estate and put them on a hill-lock.

After leaving these workers on the hilllock, the police proceeded to nearby quarters of the striking workers with the intention of terrorising the women there to join work. The women were standing grouped together in the courtyard. It is learnt that as the police were approaching these women, there was pelting of stones from the hill top where the INTUC workers had been stationed first. The stones hit some of the policemen and it is said that the Sub-Inspector was also hit.

Immediately the police opened fire on the women workers, without any provocation from their side. There was no lathi-charge nor any warning. The firing was at close range and Pappammal, a militant woman striker aged about 18 or 20, was shot dead. Another old worker, Hussain Rowther, aged 55, also a militant, was injured and he died later in the hospital. It is learnt that after the firing, the police brutally at-

and while driving away fired aimlessly in all directions. It was thus that one worker cutting grass at a distance was hit.

After the firing, the police let loose an orgy of violence on the strikers in the whole area. There are complaints of police beating workers and pedestrians in Munnar. There have also been complaints that the police after firing arrested persons. This orgy ceased only after the arrival of the Law Minister in Munnar the same night.

The arrival of the Law Minister and his prompt action to relieve tension and curb the police outrages had a salutary effect on the situation and all workers were immensely pleased with his role. His letter to the workers' union which was read out yesterday at a

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### Next Week : Soviet Special

Our next week's issue will be a 20-page special to mark the Forty-first Anniversary of the October Revolution.

in a huge funeral procession from Chitrapuram Hospital, seven miles away from Munnar, to Munnar town and cremated there in the presence of an unprecedentedly large gathering.

Rosamma Punnoose, P. T. Punnoose, M. P., K. T. K. Thangamani, M.P., and others addressed the gathering. Rosamma wept with emotion and the gathering was moved to tears as they listened to the speeches.

The workers' union made special arrangements to bring

and dead were lying there and women workers hugged Rosamma and wept. They did not have any complaints against the Communist leaders or the Government. They said that the management hired the police to do this.

The attitude of the workers towards the Government can be guessed from their anxious questions whether this firing would cause any harm to the Government. Is there any danger to our Government,

# Planter-police conspiracy

tacked the strikers and beat them.

The incident at Thalayar started with picketing by women of a lorry loaded with plucked leaves. It is said that the police behaved rudely towards them while removing them. According to reports, there was a minor pelting of stones against the police at this stage.

Here also the police immediately opened fire without any warning. It is reported that the police after firing one round got into their van

huge funeral gathering spoke touchingly about the unfortunate incidents and promised that a public enquiry would be made into the firing. The Minister in his letter expressed sympathy with the workers in their distress and also assured them that steps would be taken immediately to see that the police behaved.

The atmosphere has calmed down and yesterday the strike continued successfully and peacefully. The dead body of the woman worker was taken

the aged parents of Pappammal from Tamilnad to be present at the funeral.

Rowther's body was taken from Kottayam hospital to Munnar later and buried according to Muslim rites.

What has amazed many observers is the great tenacity and firmness of the workers and their solidarity with the leadership even after the firing. There were many touching scenes when Rosamma visited the scene of the firing in Gudurall half an hour after the firing. The wounded

they ask. And this question can be heard everywhere.

The workers are determined more than ever to continue the strike. More people have abstained from work during the last few days thwarting the expectations of the management that the strike would fizzle out as days passed.

Today is the 19th day of the strike, and it continues with as much intensity as before, and with more support. Only about 6,000 out of 37,000 workers are said to be reporting for duty. P. Ramamurthy and K. T. K. Thangamani from Tamilnad and a number of comrades from Kerala are now in Munnar.

After the firing, INTUC gangs armed with daggers and sticks entered the striking workers' quarters and beat and knifed many of them. Workers complain that the police did not take any action against these goonda elements.

The Government, it is learnt, has viewed the firing and developments in Munnar seriously and will take immediate steps to redress the grievances of the strikers against the police.

Apart from the two workers killed as a result of the firing, five others have been seriously wounded and are in hospital.

### Communist Party Assure

## Guilty Will Be Dealt With !

The Secretariat of the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party has in a statement conveyed its heartfelt condolences to the injured and the families of the martyrs.

The statement described the plantation workers' strike as 'a heroic but peaceful struggle for their just and long-standing demands' and said that all the incidents in the plantation area were the logical outcome of a deliberate political conspiracy planned by the planters.

The Secretariat added: "Some of the police officers on the spot, who are in charge of law and order in Devicolam, appeared to be more anxious to help the owners to suppress the strike by terrorising the workers than to implement the Kerala Government's policy of not using the police to suppress the just and peaceful struggle of the toiling masses. According to reports received by the Party from trade union and Party leaders on the spot, the firing was unwar-

ranted and unprovoked." "The Secretariat is assured," added the statement, "that the Government is taking prompt and stringent measures to institute an open judicial enquiry into the incidents, to pay adequate compensation to the families of the deceased and to the injured, to take necessary disciplinary measures against those who are found guilty of not acting according to the policy of the Government and to see that such incidents are not repeated."

notes of the week

IT is worthwhile following up the monopolist leaders of Indian finance, industry and commerce, the unashamed advocates of foreign aid, back to their headquarters after the Fund-Bank meetings in New Delhi. A reliable source is the Special Correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* (October 21) who interviewed them in Bombay and has unwittingly made some very important revelations.

"A top-ranking industrialist" told him that it would be wrong to think that the foreign-aiders had "accepted the validity of the Second Plan. They had no doubt given general blessings but also told the Government of India what was wrong with the Plan—that it was too ambitious."

He also stated, "It must not be assumed that all the money needed would be forthcoming. Foreign countries would judge the situation as it arose from year to year." It is clear enough that they will use their vantage position to knock off all the basic industries from our Plan which they consider to be ambitious and apply further screws on an yearly basis and projectwise.

As regards the impact on the Government of India of the leaders of world capitalist finance:

"They had induced in the Government some sense of reality and modesty. They had also come to appreciate how much they owed to these international organisations for saving them from the economic situation which, was becoming disastrous.

"The Government had also realised that it was not enough to say that India welcomed participation but without strings. They had realised that if India was to attract foreign capital, the terms had to be attractive... that their economic and taxation policies had been a great deal too radical."

This gives us the cue about the lines on which the Government's economic policies would be revised along further reactionary directions.

The Correspondent also quotes "a front-rank progressive industrialist of the younger generation" who stated, "In the face of the formidable Russian competition that had emerged on the world scene, America would certainly try to keep the democracies on her side by timely economic aid to the extent necessary."

"The strings, would undoubtedly be there, invisible and psychological. The private sector in India was definitely coming into its own and the line of demarcation between the public and private sectors would soon disappear."

At the beginning of the Plan we were assured that the State sector would control and ultimately dominate the private sector. Now the opposite process has been set in motion.

Sri G. D. Somani, the Parliamentary spokesman of Indian Big Business has stated: "The stress on the important role of the private sector had paved the way for closer collaboration between the fore-

TRADE AND NOT AID

WE are not so poor as to depend so much on the foreign aid the way the Government and the Indian reactionaries make out. It has been the case not only of progressive economists in our country but many other underdeveloped countries also that if the capitalist industrialised countries gave us a fair price for our primary produce exports, we would be able to pay from our own resources for the much-needed capital imports. This problem has been discussed at the Montreal Conference, the Fund-Bank meet in New Delhi and so also in the latest 20-nation GATT session held at Geneva.

The GATT has published the report drafted by a panel of four independent economists which "rightly expresses considerable concern over the widening income disparity between the primary-producing countries and the industrialised areas. The experts recall that between 1955 and 1958 prices of primary products went down by five per cent whereas the prices of manufactured goods rose simultaneously, by six per cent." (Times of India, October 20, Editorial)

We thus got less money for what we sold and paid more for what we bought. We lost both ways. Having imposed on us such unfair terms of trade and made profit out of us both ways, the monopolists send back to us, part of the super-profits they thus squeeze out of us, as loans, grant and capital investments and carry on the cycle of colonial, semi-colonial exploitation.

Such was the position before independence and it has not been radically changed after independence. Our Party has been the first to campaign that the above vicious circle can be successfully broken only by developing growing trade relations with the economies of the Socialist countries which are growing with giant strides and offer us fair and equal terms of trade.

The Indian Government has started building economic relations with these countries. But they are kept at the symbolic level and are mostly designed to exert a little pressure on the Western capitalist countries. While Morarji Desai went to the West, Sri Satish Chandra, a junior Minister of State, was sent to the Socialist countries. He, however, brought back the report of big possibilities.

Sri K. B. Lal, Director-General of Foreign Trade, is being sent by the end of this month to Moscow and other East European countries to do the follow-up. The rot can be stopped if patriotic elements in our Parliament demand that the issue of our foreign economic relations be thoroughly discussed in terms of the reports and recommendations of the Morarji and Satish Chandra Missions. There is no need to take up the beggar's bowl.

IMPACT OF CHINA

THE main argument that imperialist statesmen have been making with their financiers to aid India has been that, if they held back, the contrast between India and China would be so striking that not only the people of India but of the rest of the Afro-Asian world will go Communist. However, the Indian economic crisis is so acute and deep and the leap-forward in China so gigantic and striking that even the Indian ruling circles want to learn from China.

It will be recalled that part of the Press campaign that preached foreign aid as the only way out to save the Plan was to black out all news of the progress of the Chinese Plan. But then you cannot shut out the sun's rays.

Even the Times of India of October 17 has been constrained to report: "Considerable interest has been roused in official circles here by recent reports about phenomenal development of a variety of small industries in China.... the Chinese experiment would appear to have put the entire nation to work and converted the countryside into a vast workshop producing all manner of goods and converting the peasant into a minor technician."

A team of experts of the Government of India is due to leave for China on a study tour. The impact is not only upon India. The Hindu Correspondent, Shetyankar, writing from London reports (October 18): "Western experts are studying the reports of the staggering rise in production carefully and even anxiously. After surveying the available figures about the rate of agricultural development in China during the last year or so, a French authority on Chinese affairs, M. Rene Dumont, has gone so far as to claim in an article in Paris daily *Le Monde*, that it represents the most impressive achievement in the agrarian history of the world."

The problem is not of merely studying Chinese technique. It is not a technical but a basic problem. The problem that needs all the serious and sustained thought we are capable of is what policies have produced the crisis we are in and what policies have led the Chinese to achieve what they have done.

J. P.'s CAMPAIGN THE COMING AICC MISFIRES

EVER since his return from Europe, JP has been stridently carrying on his campaign. The President and the Prime Minister must quit office, go to the people, serve and rouse them for national reconstruction. These are his slogans. Back to the Mahatma, is his mantra.

This week he carried his campaign to the capital and

it put on some flesh and blood. JP sees only two paths before India, democratic socialism or totalitarian communism—the former is his aim and the latter the menace he is out to fight.

JP advocates a coalition of all democratic socialist forces both inside the Government and outside in the country.

JP in New Delhi met not only the Socialist Nehru, the Gandhite Rajendra Prasad but also the US favourite Morarji. JP has no untouchables except the Communists. JP talked effusively about a commonly agreed minimum programme to rally the people. He was non-committal about the Second Plan and he declared his own predilection for some form of Sarvodaya. However even JP's good friends were shocked when he commended the "heroic efforts" of post-war monopoly-led US-bossed West Germany and Japan as "remarkable recovery" (Hindustan Times October 19).

The idealisation of the Indian village community by the Mahatma, in his own days, played some positive role; it stirred and gave the Indian peasantry the guts to fight the British. The same Utopianism, in the context of today becomes objectively an alibi for the imperialist Bank-Fund line for Indian development. The national aim today is to achieve economic independence through rapid industrialisation. The imperialists demand that we concentrate upon agriculture and warn that carrying out industrialisation is being "over-ambitious."

What, however, has been the reaction of JP's "big brother" to his moves? The Times of India (21st October) reports that he has been unable to convince either Nehru or his colleagues of the "desirability or practicality" of his programme. The consensus of opinion in the Congress High Command is that there is no question of Nehru stepping down from his office, that the Congress has always sought the cooperation of all parties for implementing the Five Year Plan. The Congress leadership has ruled out the idea of a coalition government—a la JP but the Times reports—"If the PSP, for instance, were to rejoin the Congress, then the best talent in that party could be harnessed in office."

The policy of Black to the Mahatma can only lead into the political wilderness or back into the Congress fold. JP's "big brother" is in no mood yet to talk on equal terms with the younger ones.

The High Command is to sponsor a resolution on Kerala. Experience shows that it is meant to serve a narrow partisan need, the cause of self-justification and diversion. The progress of land re-

forms and the food problem will form the major item of the agenda. Even the high power committee of Dhebar Pant-Desai is reported to have come to the conclusion that the progress of land reforms has been "far from satisfactory." There has been enough discontent below and panic at the response the anti-celling landlord campaign has received in some high Congress and Government circles to push the issue of land reforms to the fore.

The weight of popular opinion upon the Congress is reflected in the series of non-official resolutions submitted by the radical elements.

"Ginger group" leader, Sri S. N. Mishra, who is also Planning Deputy Minister, proposes that the Congress President appoint a Committee of experts to suggest social and economic objectives to be achieved during the Third Plan. This is meant to take the initiative away from the hands of bureaucrats.

He has also another resolution calling upon the Government to ameliorate the condition of landless labour by enforcing minimum wages, forming labour cooperatives, expanding work opportunities and providing educational facilities.

Sheelbhadra Yajee has advocated the nationalisation of scheduled banks to get the needed resources for the Plan. Another proposal stresses the need to expand State trading with a view to conserve foreign exchange resources and increase exports.

Deep concern at the increasing number of police firings is reflected in a series of resolutions. One resolution calls for judicial inquiry in every case involving loss of life. Another suggests a committee to find out ways and means of dealing with the law and order situation in a peaceful manner.

The above clearly shows that there are enough healthy elements inside the Congress who can talk good sense, in terms of national tradition, on specific issues. But this is no more enough, for the malady is much deeper.

Will they be bold and courageous enough to ask the High Command what has happened to the objectives and targets of the Second Plan and why?

Will they put Morarji on the mat for his misdeeds in the USA?

Will they ask Nehru how he squares the demands made at the Bank Fund Conference by the foreign financiers who came as benefactors with the policy and resolutions of the Congress itself?

Will they go all-out to resist the rapid shifts to the Right that are taking place in the policies and practice of their own Government? The worth and strength of the progressive elements inside the Congress will be tested in the coming AICC meeting. The rot in the Congress is the direct result of the reactionary policies of its leadership. Let us see how far all those who bemoan the rot rally support to resist reaction within the Congress itself.

—P. C. JOSHI (October 21)

Despite INTUC Chief Ramanujam's Nauseating Tactics . . . .

MUNNAR, October 17

It was ten-thirty in the night of October 15 and a cold wind was blowing when we—Comrades M. N. Govindan Nair, P. Balachandra Menon and myself—reached this small town of Munnar on the Western Ghats five thousand feet above sea level. We had been motoring for more than eight hours from Trivandrum, in a hurry to get here in spite of the bad weather and the exasperating fog and drizzle which surrounded us as we started climbing the long but beautiful ascent. There were disturbing reports circulating down below in the plains regarding the plantation labour strike and our attempts to contact Munnar by telephone from both Kottayam and Muvattupuzha had failed.

THE town had gone to sleep by the time we entered it. But even in that biting cold little groups of ghost-like human forms with blankets cover them were moving about, obviously attending to the stability and endurance of the vital links which had chained these mountain-tops in a giant strike for the last many days. In the centre of the town, in front of the building which houses the offices of the big European concern, the Kannan Devan Hill Produce Co., a few volunteers were keeping company with a satyagrahi who had been fasting there for eight days.

In the office of the Devicolam Estate Workers' Union which is conducting the strike, comrades were preparing for the much-needed rest after a day's hard labour and we were also immediately and gladly provided with "accommodation" in its soot-covered stuffy premises already fully occupied.

Munnar town, like the profit-seeking plantation owners' from abroad who have built it, has two faces. One is for the workers, the sons and daughters of our soil. It is invariably poor, unhygienic and ugly. The other is for the "sahibs" who live in neat and comfortable surroundings, supervise the export of rich and highly-priced tea to foreign markets, watch over the "coolies" and for the rest have a "good time" in their clubs and places of entertainment specially intended for them.

Mittie without any result because of the obstinacy and delaying tactics of the employers. The strike has gripped estates belonging to three groups, the Kannan Devan, the Malayalam Plantations of Harrison and Crossfields and the Thalayar estates.

What I wanted to find out first was whether there was any truth in the statements of KPCC President Damodara Menon and INTUC President Ramanujam about large-scale "intimidation" and threats of "violence" by workers belonging to the AITUC union against the workers of the INTUC who, it was stated by these leaders, "want" to go back to work.

Either Sri Damodara Menon has not cared to observe what he or any other visitor to these areas could easily see or he is trying to hide what he has seen. In any case truth is very far from the statement of the KPCC President. As for Sri Ramanujam, one can easily understand his eagerness to malign and blacken the name of the AITUC union after what has happened to his own leadership.

Unprecedented Unity

No man, unless he is prejudiced by political motives, can fail to see the unprecedented urge of the workers for unity in this strike which they have clearly demonstrated by word as well as deed. There is a continuous flow of

workers from nearby estates into the town carrying the Tricolour and the Red Flag and banners proclaiming unity. Public meetings and demonstrations are being held in which workers belonging to the AITUC and INTUC jointly participate and pledge to continue the struggle unitedly. "Workers' unity zindabad" is the most popular and common slogan today.

A Red Flag and a Tricolour fly from the small thatched shed where Comrade Chelleya is on fast since October 8. Large crowds of strikers—a majority of them women with their children—gather before the satyagrahi and pay their respects to him. They put small coins in a box kept before the satyagrahi and by evening the box is full and contains more than Rs. 300 for the strike fund.

Facts Are Stubborn

A statement issued from Sri Ramanujam's office at Coimbatore says that "the Communist union felt small as, even before their strike notice matured, a strike was on and a settlement was also reached following which the strike had also been called off." So it was to "rehabilitate" their "prestige" that the "Communist union" urged

proposal for joint strike in the plantations in Munnar and Devicolam areas. A joint action council and a joint platform as also joint statements were suggested.

The INTUC representatives agreed that the strike should be united and that it should not be withdrawn without the consent of both the organisations. But they wanted to consult their President, Sri Ramanujam, before committing themselves to such an agreement. After they had discussed the matter with Sri Ramanujam, these local INTUC leaders said that while unity was all right they could not agree to a joint action council or a joint platform.

Even though Comrade Rosamma pleaded with them to wait till the 13th for launching the strike as the strike notice of the AITUC union would mature only then, the INTUC leaders were adamant about beginning the strike on the 4th itself when there was no chance of a general strike anywhere else in the plantations in Kerala. It was thus the hasty action of the INTUC and its refusal to see the gains of a united industry-wide strike that led to an isolated and premature action in the biggest and most powerful plantations of Kerala on October 4.

As unity was the most important factor for the success

with them. These gentlemen were closeted with Mr. Souther, the acting General Manager of the Kannan Devan and they came out only after they had surrendered all along the line and betrayed the struggle on the very day it had started.

Sri Ramanujam can claim it as a "settlement" but it consisted of no concession or even any assurance from the management. The INTUC leaders meekly put their signature to an application together with the Kannan Devan management asking for adjudication, when outside, the workers who knew nothing of what was taking place were waiting for their leaders to lead them to victory. A fine settlement indeed!

INTUC Workers' Wrath

But if these leaders had hoped that they could carry the workers with them in such a shameful surrender, they were sadly mistaken as they themselves were soon to find out. The INTUC workers were so infuriated by the decision of their leadership to withdraw the strike and refer the matter to adjudication without their consent that they converged upon the INTUC office and smashed the furniture there and beat up their leaders. It was the intervention of AITUC workers and the police that saved these "leaders" from further trouble at the hands of their embittered followers.

But they now try to place the blame on the AITUC workers for this incident and go about propagating through the columns of the Press that it was the AITUC-led workers who attacked the INTUC office and that intimidation and threats of violence were being tried by the striking AITUC workers against the INTUC workers. The planters under the united Planters' Association of South India are obviously pleased with this propaganda of the INTUC and the Congress because it helps them to raise their cry of "lawlessness" in the plantations.

However, in spite of this misleading propaganda, the workers—the large majority of them belonging to both the AITUC and INTUC—have been continuing the struggle and even the figures supplied by the Kannan Devan management go to prove this.

According to a printed circular issued by it only 8,600 workers are attending work whereas it is well known that the Kannan Devan alone employs about twenty-nine thousand workers in its estates. Again the same circular also admits that so far only 311,000 pounds of green leaves could be plucked in eleven days since the strike began, as against the usual eight lakh pounds of tea leaves—plucked every day from the Kannan Devan estates during this flush season.

Employers' Game Foiled

These figures will clearly show that the strike is neither partial nor an attempt by the AITUC union to "rehabilitate" its "prestige." The contention of the planters that the strike is being carried on purely out of inter-union rivalry is also proved to be equally false. As to who should feel "small"

\* Continued Overleaf

United Action In Kerala Plantations

From K. UNNIKRISHNA WABIER

the workers to continue the strike.

Correct Stand

But facts are stubborn and cannot be wished away.

As has already been reported, all the central trade union organisations in Kerala had been preparing for a general strike in the plantations during the third and fourth weeks of this month. The AITUC unions had served strike notices which were to mature on October 13. While the INTUC union in Munnar had served a strike notice which was to mature on October 4, its unions in other parts of the State were not yet ready for the general strike and only during the course of the last one week have they issued notices to begin the strike on October 25. The other Central Organisations like the UTUC and the HMS also have moved in only recently for the general strike.

In these circumstances, leaders of AITUC unions correctly sensed the need for a united general strike in all plantations in the State as otherwise, partial and sporadic strikes would result in frittering away the energy of the workers and giving an upper hand to the employers. On September 23, Comrade Rosamma Purnose, MLA, and President of the Devicolam Estate Workers' Union, invited the local leaders of the INTUC-led Plantation Labour Union and put before them a

of any working class action, whether Sri Ramanujam and his people recognised it or not, the AITUC union also joined the strike on the 4th even though it could have easily kept away from it and left the INTUC leaders to fight it out.

Thus, when the strike commenced on the 4th it was cent per cent successful and the entire thirty-six thousand workers in Devicolam-Munnar were drawn into the biggest joint action of recent times.

These workers did not think much about the prejudices of their leaders about united action and they came out with the flags and banners of both the unions in big demonstrations. They went to the leaders of both the unions and demanded that they unite and address them from a common platform because they were all fighting for a common cause. Comrade Rosamma and others of the AITUC agreed to this request of the workers from both sides but the INTUC leaders refused to come on a joint platform. Therefore two separate meetings had to be held on the 4th at Munnar.

Heinous Attempt

Meanwhile, a most heinous and disgraceful attempt to sabotage the strike was being made by the INTUC leaders behind the backs of their own workers as well as the AITUC leaders who were leading the struggle along

## SPECIAL PROJECTS FUND

THE relentless efforts of India and other underdeveloped countries to make the United Nations agree upon the creation of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) have only been partly rewarded by the latter's decision to establish a Special Economic Projects Fund.

The reticence with which the United States, United Kingdom and some other countries lent their support to it has, however, served to sharply remind the peoples of the less developed countries that the high-sounding pronouncements about aiding in their economic progress which the leaders of the rich capitalist nations frequently indulge in are not always as altruistically motivated as they are made out to be.

The creation of the Projects Fund is not, however, the end of the struggle which the underdeveloped countries have yet to finish to realise their objective of a really international agency to channelise aid on a truly multi-lateral basis. For, in spite of the incorporation in it of the "concept of SUNFED", enabling it to convert itself into a Capital Development Fund "after the General Assembly has reviewed the scope of its activities, etc.", its operations will be mainly confined to supplementing the efforts of the U. N. Technical Assistance Administration, through the provision of "training facilities for selected projects".

The selection of the latter being contingent often on extra-economic factors—dictated by the donors themselves—the utilisation of the facilities cannot be as free and uninhibited as the requirements of the recipient countries may necessitate. The SUNFED, by its very nature, would have been immune from this interference, since the disbursement of the assistance, offered through it, was to be decided by the recipient countries themselves.

This is, however, not the only limitation from which the new Fund suffers. Even contributions to it can be made only in freely-convertible currencies—in other words in dollars or other hard currencies. The plea of India, the Soviet Union and other countries that such a curb on the Fund's operations would inhibit the participation of many countries was not accepted.

Yet another halter which the United States succeeded in putting round the neck of the new organisation is its management by a Governing Council to be elected by the Economic and Social Council and not by the General Assembly of the United Nations as India and the Soviet Union desired. The Council, being dominated by the U. S., only governments under its diktat can find places in the Governing Council, whereas, if the General Assembly were to decide its composition, the less-developed countries, too, could sometimes be

## INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

expected to secure a sizeable representation on it.

Thus, driven to the wall by a new upsurge of national consciousness among the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, seeking to re-establish their right to refashion their economic destiny, and impelled by the "dangers" which it saw in the unstinted support which the Socialist countries gave them, the U. S. Government and the interests it represents have partially retreated from their earlier rigid opposition to the creation of any agency on the lines of the SUNFED. Still, through their machinations in hamstringing the new body with so many reservations that ultimately it has been reduced to what the Soviet delegate has called "only a transitional stage".

In their opposition to the creation of the SUNFED the U. S., U. K. and other Governments acting at their behest have been pleading the paucity of funds at their disposal. According to a survey carried out by one Mr. Donald Faris of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, however, "it would cost only one dollar out of each 300 dollars now going into armaments to set up the SUNFED" (The Times of India, October 17). Surely the requirements of the needy countries deserve precedence at least over preparations to drown the humanity in blood!

The imperialists, however, think otherwise. To them no effort at international cooperation to raise the economic status of the underdeveloped countries is worth giving a moment's attention unless it provides, what the Times of India has called "a political lever to influence policy in the recipient country".

### INDIA, JAPAN AND GATT

THE decision of the Government of India to withdraw the application of the "escape clause" in the GATT from its trade relations with Japan has been welcomed by trade and industrial circles in Bombay as "a right step towards strengthening of Indo-Japanese economic collaboration" said the Bombay Chronicle on October 18.

The decision itself—by putting the import of goods from Japan on the same level as from other countries—only normalises a situation which had been rendered abnormal by the latter's rather "unconventional" trade practices in the prewar period. In the main these practices had comprised of dumping cheap goods to undermine the economies of the neighbouring countries. Inasmuch as the continuance of

the escape clause was repugnant to the spirit of the GATT its repeal can only be welcomed.

In the midst of an all-round disrespect, however, which Japan, in common with other advanced capitalist countries has shown to this "spirit" the wisdom of the "step", especially at the present stage of our trade relations with Japan, is rather debatable.

For what is the pattern of our trade with this country? Even according to the "industrial circles" which have welcomed the repeal, our balance of trade with it was adverse to the extent of Rs. five crores during 1957. Hence, what was required today was not a relaxation of import restrictions as much as the promotion of exports to make it even. Moreover, the imports from Japan—excluding some iron, steel and machinery—being mainly of consumer goods of the type of rayon yarn, etc., which the nation can do without, the "consideration" shown to Japan was all the more uncalled for.

Even more than the short-term fluctuations of trade, however, it is the possibility of resort to unfair trade practices which should have determined the Government's attitude in this behalf. According to the Bombay Chronicle report, cited above, Japan "having reorganised her economy on sound business principles" resorting to such practices was rather not conceivable. We, however, know that the "reorganisation" has been only in the direction of the restoration of the prewar frusts and cartels of the type of Mitsui and Mitsubishi which were pastmasters in just these practices.

Encumbrances to Japan's economic progress are being accompanied in certain circles by cries about China's growing intrusion into the markets which were so far the close preserve of the Indian and Japanese textile industries. While, on the basis of China's phenomenal progress as much in the production of consumer goods as in that of producers' goods, her capacity to increase her trade with the neighbouring countries is now accepted, the fact that she has begun really doing it sends a shiver down the spines of our industrial magnates. Why, if they are so mindful of the purity of trade norms—which China has not violated anyhow—do they not sit round a table with the representatives of the Chinese organisations in the spirit of another Bandung—and decide upon supplementing their efforts at raising the living standards of the people in the region, instead of attributing practices to their neighbour which they know are just not true?

—ESSEN

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## UNITED ACTION IN KERALA

(Continued from page 3)

after all this—it is better that we leave it to the good sense of our people.

The hope of the employers to split the workers by "bagging" the INTUC leadership in a "settlement" and thus foil the strike by creating a good section of "loyal" workers utterly failed and they are now issuing circulars printed in Tamil addressed to the workers. In these circulars the striking workers are told that the AITUC-led Devicolam Estate Workers' Union is not going to win this strike for them and that the management is really unable to meet their demands for more bonus because of "loss" in the previous year.

The cry of the planters that "loyal" workers are attacked by "Communist-led workers" and that the "law and order situation" in the High Ranges is in danger is absolutely false and intended only for the ears of the Central Government. The anti-Communist newspapers in the State are already speculating on "Central intervention" in the plantations to establish "law and order".

The Labour Minister has been camping here since October 13 and trying to bring about an amicable settlement.

The allegation by INTUC leaders that the Government is not acting according to the law in not referring the dispute to adjudication after they had requested for it along with the management is another example of the utterly disgraceful attitude they have taken on this whole issue. It only means that they are more interested in saving their prestige than ensuring justice to the worker.

It is meaningless to talk of adjudication when the majority of workers are continuing the strike and opposing adjudication. Simply because a handful of INTUC leaders have asked for adjudication, it does not become that labour will accept it if it is imposed.

### Minister's Efforts

On the other hand, the continued efforts of the Labour Minister to bring about a settlement has helped to exercise a healthy conciliatory effect on an otherwise explosive situation. The Minister is understood to have placed before the management a formula for an interim increase in bonus and more tripartite negotiations to settle the final amount of bonus as well as other issues in the dispute.

This compromise formula if accepted by both parties will be in the nature of an award by the Government to settle the strike now and further negotiations later. It will not prejudice the stand of the employers that they want to leave the question for adjudication.

Whether the present strike in Munnar, sponsored first by the INTUC but later carried on by the AITUC under conditions of a mass upsurge of the workers for unity and struggle, is settled or not on the basis of this formula, a general strike in the whole of the plantations in Kerala is scheduled to begin on October 25 for the same demands. It will be a united strike

of the AITUC, INTUC, UTUC and HMS unions in the tea and rubber estates in the whole State.

The representatives of these Central organisations met on October 17 at Mundakkayam and elected a joint action committee to conduct the general strike from the 25th onwards and they have also issued a joint appeal to the workers urging upon them to strike peacefully and unitedly.

### General Strike

While the general strike is scheduled to begin on the 25th, strikes involving many thousands of workers have already broken out in a number of places in both the Travancore-Cochin and Malabar areas. One of the reasons for this is the growing impatience of the workers and the preparations made earlier by the militant AITUC unions to start the strike from October 13.

INTUC and AITUC workers are already in joint action in these places. A successful beginning has thus been made to launch the big general strike on the 25th. On a rough calculation it is estimated that about 75 thousand workers are already involved in these strikes in the various parts of the State including Munnar and Devicolam. And when the general strike begins the figure will be somewhere near two lakhs.

In places like Mundakkayam the entire rubber plantations have been paralysed by a complete strike since October 13. In a telegram sent by the Vice-President of the Rubber Board, Sri A. V. George to the Union Home Minister, "acquainting" him with the strike situation it is stated that practically the whole of the major rubber area of Mundakkayam is under strike. The AITUC unions have the maximum hold in the Mundakkayam rubber estates.

These developments and the latest decision to start a united general strike from the 25th everywhere and the election of the united central action committee are all only too welcome to the friends of the working class particularly after the nauseating experience of Sri Ramanujam's disruptive tactics in Munnar. If the action of Sri Ramanujam has helped anybody, it is only the vested interests of the British-owned Kannan Devan Plantations who have the biggest stake in any major united strike of plantation labour in Kerala.

No honest trade unionist can reconcile himself to such a position and it is no surprise that even his own followers in Kerala like Sri B. K. Nair, President of the Kerala INTUC, are not prepared to follow the lead given by Sri Ramanujam to disrupt the big strike wave that is sweeping the plantation regions of Kerala. Sri Nair along with P. Balachandra Menon of the AITUC, N. Sreekantan Nair of the UTUC and A. Subbiah of the HMS and others are members of the central action committee constituted for the general strike.

# ON THE DECISIONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

The National Council of the Communist Party of India held its first meeting at Madras from October 8 to 13. The meeting of the National Council was preceded by a meeting of the Central Executive Committee.

The period that had passed since the Amritsar Congress of the Party had been full of major events in the international and national arenas. The counter-revolutionary uprising in Indonesia had been suppressed. The imperialists had suffered a heavy defeat in Iraq. Their efforts to retrieve their position and destroy the young Republic of Iraq had brought the world on the verge of war, a war in averting which the stern warning given by the USSR had been the decisive factor, demonstrating once again that the Socialist world, headed by the USSR, is the mightiest bastion of peace. The People's Republic of China had surged forward. Its phenomenal advance in every sphere was exercising profound influence on the people of every country in Asia.

Thwarted in the Middle East, finding themselves dislodged from one position after another, realising that time was working against them, the imperialists had become more desperate than ever. A grave situation had developed on the shores of China.

Inside our country these six months have witnessed the further deepening of the crisis of the Second Plan, a growing food crisis, mounting burdens on the people and their increasing resistance which all have led to a number of big struggles.

In Punjab there was a State-wide demonstration for agrarian reforms and against betterment levy.

In Bengal, a powerful movement developed on the issue of food, a movement that compelled the Government to concede a number of immediate demands.

Most significant of all was the food movement in Uttar Pradesh, the heart of the

Hindustani-speaking areas and the main base of the Congress where a struggle, stronger than any the State had seen since the achievement of freedom, attained unprecedented dimensions, drawing lakhs and lakhs of people in all areas.

A number of major working class struggles have taken place in this period—struggles marked by doggedness and determination, all-in working class unity and wide democratic support.

In practically each one of these movements and struggles, the Communist Party has played the major and leading role.

In the context of the growing crisis of Government policies and mounting wave of struggles against them, Kerala has assumed immense significance, acting as the focus of popular attention. Inevitably therefore, the attack on Kerala, the efforts to overthrow the Communist-led Ministry have intensified.

## Tasks Before The National Council

Meeting in this background, the National Council had before it a heavy agenda. It had to assess the international and national developments of the last six months and draw appropriate conclusions.

It had to review the work of the Central Secretariat and of the Central Executive Committee (CEC). It had to examine to what extent the political and organisational tasks set forth at the Amritsar Congress had been carried out and what steps had to be taken to implement the unfulfilled tasks.

It had to review critically the developments in Kerala and evolve ways and means to defend the Kerala Government against reactionary onslaught.

It had to adopt a document on the agrarian question analysing the changes in the

OCTOBER 26, 1958

by  
**AJOY GHOSH**

place. There were other shortcomings too.

Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the first meeting of our National Council did an immense amount of work and was a great success. It was a convincing demonstration of the correctness of the decision to change the Party Constitution and broaden the leadership of the Party at all levels. The discussions were on a high

level. Valuable contributions were made. The atmosphere throughout the meeting was one of confidence and earnestness. Criticism, though pointed, was absolutely free from rancour and bitterness. Suggestions for improvement were constructive and useful. On all major issues, discussed in the meeting, the understanding was more unified than ever before and the decisions unanimous.

## Shed Complacency In Struggle For Peace

The National Council noted that the events in Iraq were a continuation and carrying forward of the process that had begun after the Second World War—the process of break-up of the colonial system and of achievement of national freedom by the former colonial and dependent countries, the process of growing bonds of friendship between the countries of Asia and Africa and between them and the Socialist world, the process of war-crises being resolved and war-danger averted not by retreat as before the aggressors in the years before the Second World War, but by a resolute stand against them.

As the result of this process, the balance is continuously shifting against the imperialists and the possibility of maintaining peace is growing.

At the same time it must not be thought that the war danger has receded. Growing increasingly desperate because of the defeats they have suffered, the imperialists headed by the USA are intensifying preparations for war. There can be no doubt, however, in view of the shift in the balance of forces, that if they do impose war on the people, it is they who will be destroyed.

Confident of the outcome in case the ordeal of war has to be gone through, the peace-loving forces must intensify the battle for settlement of disputes by negotiation, for cessation of nuclear tests, for Afro-Asian solidarity; for closer relation of India with the

Socialist and peace-loving States.

Since the Amritsar Congress, our Party has conducted several activities in defence of peace. But the activity is still inadequate. In major cities like Bombay, Madras, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Trivandrum and even Calcutta, too little attention is paid by the Party to this task. The ominous significance of the efforts made by high-placed men in the Government like Sri Morarji Desai to modify our foreign policy and the need for mass mobilisation have yet to be grasped by our Party units.

The immediate campaigns which we have to launch, in alliance with all peace-loving forces, are—

- For withdrawal of the Anglo-American forces from the Middle East.
- For recognition of the Government of Algeria.
- And, above all, for withdrawal of American forces from Taiwan, Penghu and the offshore islands.

The Party must also carry on a sustained ideological campaign against the false theory of two Power blocs, the theory that places the Socialist States striving for peace in the same category as the imperialist aggressors, the theory that prevents effective mobilisation against the real instigators of war.

## Drive Towards Fascism And Dictatorship

The victories that the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism have won have been stupendous, but it would be blindness to focus attention on them alone. Determined efforts are being made by the imperialists, as seen in the

Fund-Bank Conference at Delhi to fasten their economic grip over the countries of Asia and Africa. Also the drive towards fascism and military dictatorship has gathered momentum in a number of countries. The events in

France, Burma and Pakistan are full of portents which we can ignore only at our peril.

We have declared that it is possible to achieve Socialism by peaceful methods and that we shall strive our utmost to realise that possibility. That declaration remains fully valid. That policy guides our activities as can be seen from our practice. In contrast with the Congress which, while professing faith in peaceful methods, indulges in a campaign of violence in Kerala, we have conducted State-wide struggles in Uttar Pradesh and Bengal in a disciplined and peaceful manner which has won the respect even of our opponents.

But the very success of peaceful path depends on the existence of democracy in the country and its continuous expansion. And the fact has to be noted that in several countries, the ruling circles, facing an increasingly difficult situation, are striving to find a way out by suppression of democracy and establishment of dictatorship. The danger will grow as the crisis of capitalism deepens.

Defence and expansion of democracy in every sphere, vigilance against reactionaries, have, therefore, become tasks of paramount importance.

The National Council conveyed warm greetings to the Communist Party of France, the only party which has been waging a consistent struggle in defence of democracy and of the Republic, the only Party which has energetically championed the right of freedom of Algeria and other countries held in subjugation by French imperialism.

## Events In Pakistan

The ruling circles in Pakistan had, for years, pursued a foreign policy inimical to the interests of the Pakistan people, a policy which was disliked by the masses.

They had permitted American imperialism to secure increasing grip over the political and social life and the military apparatus. They had reached that the economic backwardness of Pakistan could be overcome only with the help of American dollars. They had refused to tackle the problems facing the people—feudal survivals in agriculture, unemployment, inflation, rampant corruption. They had forced the one-unit scheme in violation of every principle. They had sought to divert the attention of the people from their internal problems by the cry of jihad against India, by unjust claims on Kashmir and by border provocations.

These policies had brought Pakistan on the verge of ruin. They had led to political im-

\* Continued Overleaf

stability, repeated changes of Government, weakening of democratic institutions, degeneration of political life and frustration among the masses.

The sweeping advance of Arab nationalism, the popular victory in Iraq and its profound impact on Pakistan was creating a serious situation for the U. S. imperialists.

In this background was to take place the first general elections in Pakistan, elections in which parties and elements opposing these policies were bound to secure a substantial number of seats in the legislatures and in Parliament. That would have given a powerful impetus to the democratic movement in the country and to the movement for an independent foreign policy. The American imperialists, the real masters of Iskandar Mirza and his friends, did not want to take the risk. The result of the general elections in East Pakistan held in 1954 were still fresh in their memory.

Hence the coup of Octo-

ber 8 which its authors are now trying to palm off as a revolution. A few measures against corrupt politicians and against hoarders and profiteers that have given temporary relief to the people cannot conceal the deeply counter-revolutionary content of what has happened. The main blow is directed against the progressive and popular forces. The people have been denied all rights to shape their destiny on the specious plea that democracy of the parliamentary type is not suited to the genius of the Muslim people. Power has passed into the hands of a narrow clique of adventurers who are neither capable, nor willing to change the basic policies that have brought Pakistan to its present pass. The formidable military apparatus, built with American help, ostensibly to defend Pakistan against aggression has acted against the people of the country, against their democratic rights and liberties.

## "DEMOCRACY REQUIRES BREEDING!"

With unconcealed glee, and not in the least perturbed by the demagogic foreign policy utterances of Iskandar Mirza in his first broadcast, the most reactionary circles in the United States have hailed the coup in Pakistan, as another victory over the politicians by the army, "the most stable and uncorrupted institution in the country." (Time, October 20)

The same journal remarks that in a number of countries power had passed into the hands of military leaders who had been "trained by the British or French, had been schooled in Western ideas and had developed an esprit de corps."

What the Time's concept of "Western ideas" is can be seen

## NO PANIC—BUT NO COMPLACENCY EITHER

The situation in India in many respects is different from Pakistan. We have a powerful democratic movement. The national bourgeoisie here is far stronger. The working class, the peasantry and the common people are far more conscious, far better organised. We have pursued an independent foreign policy and have no military entanglements with American imperialism. American influence over our economic, social and political life is far less. Hence, there is no reason why we should get panicky.

But we cannot afford to be complacent either. It is well-known that reactionary elements trained by the British and deeply anti-democratic in outlook, occupy important and leading positions in the administrative, police and also military apparatus. Some of them have close links with the extreme Right-wing political leaders both inside and outside the Congress. Some of them, in their private talks, are reported to have openly expressed contempt for democratic forms.

It is not from this alone, however, that the danger arises. It arises from a deeper reason.

The Five-Year Plan is in a crisis. In its essence, it is a crisis of bourgeois policies. It is a product of the refusal of the Government to carry out radical agrarian reforms and mobilise the resources of the country through nationalisation of the key industries owned by British capital, of banks, and adopt other measures advocated by our Party at the Paigat Congress and by many democratic elements. The striking contrast between what is happening in China and in India shows the difference between the two paths of development.

The difficulties that the Second Plan is facing have been seized by extreme reactionary circles in the country and their representatives inside the Government to press for concessions to monopolists, landlords and American imperialists. And the Government has already yielded to this pressure to a dangerous extent.

This is seen in the reappraisal of the Plan, the emasculating of the public sector, the shelving of a number of vital projects and the heavy concessions given to private

monopoly capital. It is seen in the scuttling of even modest land reforms in State after State—Andhra, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Orissa, etc. It is seen in the utterances of Sri Morarji Desai in America. Above all, it is seen in the growing and heavy reliance on America which through the Report of the World Bank Mission (see New Age of October 12) has made clear the terms on which it can give "aid".

The arrogant American financiers consider that the Second Plan is too ambitious. They demand that India should concentrate on consolidating the investments already undertaken rather than embark on new projects, that the Third Plan should mainly confine itself to the carrying out of the unfinished tasks of the Second Plan, that India

## CAMPAIGN AGAINST DEMOCRACY

It has also to be noted that systematic efforts are being made by certain circles in our country to decry democratic institutions, preach that Parliamentary democracy is not suited to India. There can be no doubt that events in Pakistan will give impetus to this campaign which in effect is the ideological preparation for rule by "strong men" allegedly free from "party affiliations."

Significant in this context are the recent utterances of Jai Prakash Narain who, it may be remembered, on the eve of the last General Elections, had pleaded for a strong opposition in the legislatures and in Parliament.

After his return from Europe he has been preaching that what India needs is not democracy of the Parliamentary type but a "partyless" democracy, that a "non-partisan" programme of national reconstruction should be evolved which would be put into practice by a Coalition Government consisting of leaders of parties which are genuinely Socialist and democratic (from which the Communist Party is specifically excluded) and that the Congress as the "big brother" should take the initiative in the matter.

This is not the place to examine in detail the proposals made by Sri Jai Prakash Narain. We shall do that in a subsequent article. It is worth remembering, however, that this discovery about the unsuitability of Parliamentary democracy in India came to be made after two General Elections which proved that the Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party had no hopes of emerging as the main alternative to the Congress and when it had become clear to everyone, including the Socialist leaders, that it is the Communist Party of India which is becoming more and more the spearhead of the democratic movement and the main challenge to the existing regime.

Parliamentary democracy has all right as long as the hope remained that a bourgeois party or the party of "democratic Socialism" would become the main party of opposition, canalising mass radicalisation into "safe" channels. With the vanishing of that prospect, with a Communist-led Government in one State, with the Communist Party grow-

ing in influence in all States, new slogans have become necessary—slogans of partyless democracy and of Coalition Government. Till a short while ago it used to be propagated, and it is being propagated by many even today that Communists do not believe in Parliamentary democracy. But the ideological offensive on Parliamentary democracy is coming today not from the Communist Party but from quarters who are hostile to the Communist Party and who fear that Parliamentary democracy will help the further growth of Communist influence.

In the context of the crisis of the Plan, the growing reliance on the United States, the retreat before monopolists and landlords, the mounting burdens on the people giving rise to powerful movements and struggles, and the happenings in India's neighbouring countries, this campaign against Parliamentary democracy which has won the approval of a number of influential newspapers in the country acquires ominous significance.

While hailing the achievements of the Kerala Government, under extremely difficult conditions and in face of overwhelming odds, achievements of which the entire Party is proud, achievements which have won for Kerala the love and respect of democratic elements all over the country, the National Council, on the basis of conclusions arrived at by the CEC and the Kerala State Committee, also emphasised the necessity to correct certain defective understanding that had developed and the need for further improvement in the work of the Ministry.

Many had come to believe that the ruling classes, after the formation of our Government in Kerala, would tolerate the Government and not adopt a discriminatory attitude towards it, that the Congress, PSP and other parties in the State, while opposing the Kerala Government would resort only to constitutional and peaceful forms of struggle, that their resistance would grow less and less as our Government by serving the people consolidated its position and simultaneously sought to enlist their help for nation-building activities, by affording them far greater rights than are enjoyed by

them. We have to conduct a vigorous explanatory campaign to bring home to the people the menace to our freedom and sovereignty and to democracy by reliance on the United States.

We have to ruthlessly unmask the extreme reactionaries and their representatives inside the Government who are advocating the line of surrender.

We have to conduct a nationwide campaign for agrarian reforms to solve the food crisis, for nationalisation of the scheduled banks and coal-mines and for taking over of the gold hoard held in billions by millionaires and speculators as compulsory loan against long-term bonds, in order to augment resources for the Plan.

We have to redouble the fight against the policies that have led to the present crisis, against the growing burdens on the masses and attacks on their standards of life.

We have to defend and extend democracy in every sphere, waging a relentless battle against all curtailment of civil liberties and combatting the propaganda that seeks to discredit Parliamentary democracy.

All these constitute part of a line and there is no mistaking as to where that line is expected to take India.

Reliance on America in this context and in the light of the experience of Pakistan would mean a grave menace to our independence and sovereignty, to our foreign policy, to democracy. Also, the burden on the people would continuously increase.

Together with all this, the contrast between the two paths of development, as exemplified in the events in India and China, need to be brought out to explode the myth that Marxism is outmoded, to win over increasing sections of our people for Socialism.

The National Council directed the Central Executive Committee and the Central Secretariat to take steps to prepare literature on all these issues and to organise the campaign.

The National Council decided to step up the campaign for defence and popularisation of Kerala in every part of the country.

## Defence Of Kerala

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The decision was taken on the basis of an oral report prepared jointly by the CEC and the Kerala State Committee, after prolonged discussion, dealing exhaustively with the developments in Kerala during the last 18 months. The report was unanimously approved by the National Council.

The defence of Kerala, the most important achievement of the democratic movement since the winning of national independence, has become a task of decisive importance in the present situation.

With the bankruptcy of Congress policies becoming more and more evident, with mass struggles and mass discontent growing in all parts of the country, the Kerala Government has inevitably become the focus of popular attention and a powerful rallying point. Hence it is that determined efforts are being made to overthrow it and every means is being adopted, including violation of constitutional proprieties and gross discrimination. To what length these efforts have gone can be seen from the denial of foodgrains to Kerala which, as is well-known, produces only half its food requirements.

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\* ON PAGE 14

## On The Present Food Situation

# Govt. Policies Responsible For Crisis

## IMMEDIATE MEASURES SUGGESTED

1. Extend the Essential Commodities Act to all States and procure sufficient stocks from the millers, wholesale traders, speculators and landlords. Stern measures against blackmarketeers should be taken;
2. Open fair-price shops in all scarcity areas at the rate of one shop for 500 families and introduce identity cards;
3. Supply rice to Kerala at the rate of 25,000 tons per month;
4. Form people's food committees at all levels consisting of representatives of all parties and mass organisations, giving them supervisory powers over the fair-price shops and all relief measures;
5. Start enough relief works and development schemes in all scarcity areas so as to provide work and give purchasing power to the poor people;
6. Declare remission of taxes and rents in all areas worst hit by the food crisis;
7. Grant liberal cash and grain loans to the agriculturists;
8. Purchase on Government account during the coming harvest season foodgrains from the peasants and build up enough stocks;
9. Fix minimum and maximum prices fair to the producers and consumers for the coming short-term paddy, the maximum price not exceeding 15 per cent of the minimum; and
10. Drastic restriction of bank credit to traders and speculators, against stocks of foodgrains. The National Council greets the people of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, who carried on a wide struggle against the policies of the State Governments and forced them to take some temporary steps to meet the situation. The National Council is proud of the significant role played by Party Units in carrying on these struggles and congratulates them.

## Grow More Food

The National Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to the peasants and agricultural labourers that a heavy task rests on them—while fighting for the basic agrarian reforms which alone will unleash the productive forces in agriculture, they should make all efforts to grow more food to feed our people.

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its grave concern at the continued worsening of the food situation in the country.

Contrary to the claims of the Government, the prices of foodgrains are still rising in many parts of the country. Vast regions, particularly West Bengal, Bihar and Eastern U. P., are experiencing extreme scarcity conditions and even Kerala, which due to the effective measures taken by the State Government has so far carried through well, is now facing a deteriorating situation. People in the surplus areas also are suffering due to rise in prices.

## Failure Of Congress Govt.

Contrary to expectations, the Central and State Governments under Congress rule have failed to tackle the food situation in a correct and energetic way but have allowed themselves to be led into complacency and too much reliance on American wheat loans. In spite of the signs of the approaching serious food situation and in spite of the repeated warnings by the democratic parties, they never made serious attempts to build buffer stocks by themselves purchasing from the producers at the harvest time in order to ensure supplies to the grain depots. Thus they helped the traders and speculators to corner foodgrain stocks.

They have criminally refused to seize the hoarded stocks from the speculators and traders until they were forced to take some steps by popular pressure; they refused to take effective steps to stop smuggling and blackmarketing; in spite of the serious crisis, they have refused to take timely steps to open fair-price shops, grant loans and relief to the distressed.

And over and above all, they have stubbornly refused the cooperation of the political parties and of the mass organisations in tackling the issue. They have not even accepted the major recommendations of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, which was appointed by themselves.

With a stagnant and marginal food production, which itself is the result of the agrarian, fiscal and financial policies of the Government, the pursuance of such harmful policies is the immediate cause of the present serious food crisis.

Thus, the foodgrains, which the peasants sold at low prices are garnered by speculators and wholesale dealers and have become in the hands of these vested interests a weapon of exploitation of the people.

They say every girl is born a mother. Wedding expenses involve a lump sum. Her interest in household matters, her love of dolls—these are signs of that time, confident that the money she has earned will be available for the happy home of her own, to be a mother herself.

Your wife does her duty towards the girl by grooming her for the responsibilities of a housewife. Are you doing yours?

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OCTOBER 26, 1958

ASPLIC-34

## tomorrow's housewife

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## U.S. Imperialists' War Drive And India's Role

### WARNING AGAINST INCREASING ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its serious concern at the repeated accentuation of international tension brought about by the actions of the imperialist Powers, particularly the United States of America, which have again and again brought humanity to the brink of a world war.

In 1956, the imperialists threatened a world war when Egypt asserted its national sovereignty and nationalised the Suez Canal. In 1957, the U. S. imperialists prepared to attack Syria and plunge the world into war when Syria sought to strengthen its economy in an independent and sovereign way without reliance only on the imperialist Powers.

In July 1958 the revolution in Iraq and the upsurge for national independence in the Lebanon and Jordan were sought to be crushed and the world was again brought to the brink by the action of U. S. and British troops invading the Lebanon and Jordan.

Once more the U. S. imperialists by their aggression and intervention against the People's Republic of China created a situation when the world appeared to be on the verge of war.

Each time that the tension has been raised to the point of peril, the world has been saved and the imperialists defeated by the united power of all the forces of peace, independence and Socialism—the might of the Soviet Union and the Socialist States; the solidarity of the independent countries of Asia and Africa and the sweep of the national independence movement and the resolute and courageous actions for peace of the working class and peoples of the whole world including and in particular the working class and the peoples of the USA and the imperialist countries themselves.

The strength of the forces of peace and freedom is ever growing and is far greater than the strength of the forces of imperialism and war. It is this fact which gives confidence to the peoples of the whole world of their capacity to impose peace and destroy the root cause of war—the imperialist system itself. But this confidence does not blind the peoples of the

world to the reality that with its defeat, the collapse of the entire colonial system, imperialism's desperation grows and with this desperation the danger of lunatic actions which may bring about a world war.

The part played by the Government and the people of India in the struggle against the imperialist war drive is of vital significance.

India's policy of peace, its championing of the cause of the colonial peoples and of all peoples striving for national independence has won for it a pivotal position among the countries of Asia and Africa. The moral weight of India is respected by peoples all over the world.

India played a significant role against the imperialist aggression in Egypt, in defence of Arab nationalism in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan. It is playing the same role today against United States' interference in People's China.

The U. S. imperialists have again and again sought to prevent India from acting boldly for peace and independence, utilising the pressure of loans and aids in the crudest possible manner. But the people of India have frustrated these designs by giving their wholehearted support to the peace policy of the Government and insisting that it be strengthened further. Imperialist pressure on India to modify its foreign policy continues and grows as the dependence on U. S. "aid" increases.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India warns against the sinister war-drive of the imperialist Powers led by the United States made more desperate by their repeated defeats and the growing collapse of the entire colonial system. The Council warns against the dangers to our foreign policy inherent in increasing economic dependence on imperialism.

The National Council appeals to all parties, organisations and individuals to join hands in building and strengthening and widening the united movement for peace and national independence based on the overwhelming sentiment in India for Afro-Asian solidarity and against imperialism.

# On The Developments In Pakistan

## IMPERIALISM'S ATTACK ON FREEDOM OF ANOTHER ASIAN NATION

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India views with concern recent developments in Pakistan, where the constitution has been abrogated, legislatures have been disbanded and the democratic liberties of the people totally suppressed.

The National Council considers it necessary to draw the attention of the people to the fact that these develop-

ments have taken place in a country, which is an important member of the U.S.-inspired Baghdad Pact.

Having suffered serious setbacks in a number of Middle East countries, including Iraq—another member of the Baghdad Pact—Anglo-American imperialism has attacked the freedom of another Asian nation through its familiar stratagem of helping reactionaries to come to power by installing the rule of a mili-

tary junta. It is well-known that the USA was building the Pakistan Army and military strength. It is this same army that has acted against the freedom and liberties of the people of Pakistan.

The deep ferment and mounting anti-imperialist upsurge throughout the Arab world has had its impact and is exercising a profound influence on the people of Pakistan. It is with this background and in the context

of general elections scheduled to take place soon, that the military coup was engineered. The general elections, if allowed to take place, would have given the people of Pakistan an opportunity to express their will. The coup was clearly an attempt to forestall the verdict of the masses, a verdict which might have gone against the reactionaries.

The military dictatorship in Pakistan represents the

most reactionary elements working in league with the imperialists. The suppression of all the civil liberties, the establishment of martial law all over Pakistan, the arrest of popular leaders and the dissolution of all political parties—all these show unmistakably the fear of the reactionaries and their U.S. patrons, of the masses of Pakistan. The imperialists and their stooges do not want to take any chances and are determined to establish a totalitarian dictatorship

and suppress the people of Pakistan.

The National Council expresses its feelings of solidarity with the democratic movement in Pakistan. It expresses its feelings of sympathy with the people of Pakistan in this hour of trials and tribulations. It is confident that the people of Pakistan will soon defeat the conspiracy against the freedom and independence of Pakistan and come into their own.

These undemocratic and authoritarian trends, if unchecked, can only result in the vulgarisation and subversion of our democratic institutions, whatever may be the outward facade.

The National Council appeals to all patriotic and democratic-minded people to take due note of the conspiracy and attacks against the country's democratic institutions and make common cause for the defence of democracy. For this, it is necessary to exercise the utmost vigilance both inside and outside the Legislature and unitedly resist all attempts, open as well as covert, to undermine democratic institutions and conventions. Only through such popular initiative, can we ensure progress in our political life and safeguard the future of Indian democracy.

## CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS UNDERMINING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

### Defend Democracy! Defeat This Conspiracy!

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India views with apprehension the growing tendency on the part of Congress Governments and the ruling class to undermine democratic institutions and flout, at pleasure, well-established conventions and norms of the parliamentary system.

The use of armed constabulary and physical force against the leader and members of an Opposition group in the Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha within its very precincts, compelling the Opposition to boycott the entire session; ever-increasing attempts by Congress Governments to stifle opposition, while encouraging the Kerala Congress, which is in opposition there, to indulge in all manner of provocative and destructive activities; the refusal to advise the summoning of assemblies even when the entire Opposition, as in the case of West Bengal, demands it for discussing urgent issues affecting the life of the people; the cynical indifference to the views of Opposition parties and groups and unwillingness to take them into confidence

even with regard to matters where cooperation between the Government and Opposition is essential; attempts at influencing the presiding authorities of Legislatures—all these would show that Congress rulers are interested more in the appearances of parliamentary democracy than in its substance. More and more obstacles, procedural or otherwise, are being placed in the way of a healthy growth of our nascent parliamentary system, thus making it ever more difficult to raise vital issues in the Legislatures in the interests of the people and the country. If these methods are allowed to pass unchallenged, the future of our parliamentary system itself would be in great jeopardy.

Panchayats and other local bodies are often denied their legitimate authority and power; they are sought to be transformed into mere appendages of the bureaucracy and at times even suppressed. Recently, the country has witnessed how the Central Government for sheer narrow party advantages, treated a confidential and privileged communication from a non-Congress State Government

in utter disregard of all constitutional proprieties and principles governing the relations between the Centre and the States.

All these years, the country has been told about the independence of the Services. But, some Cabinet Ministers and leaders of the all-India Congress Party are behaving in a manner which, in effect, amounts to tampering with the services in Kerala State for purposes of the Congress

Party. This is a plain departure from the normal constitutional and administrative practices. Should also be recalled here how on the occasion of a ministerial crisis in another State, Orissa, the Governor went out of his way to hold consultations with members of the Union Government in New Delhi and did not even hesitate to write a letter to the resigning Chief Minister in which he gratuitously boosted

the strength of the Congress Party in the Orissa Assembly and asked its leader to withdraw his resignation letter. This was clearly done with a view to denying the leading Opposition in the Orissa State Assembly an opportunity to form an alternative Ministry. The Governor's conduct was assailed from all quarters except, of course, those who were benefited by it, as highly partisan and unworthy of the constitutional head of a State.

## U. S. AGGRESSION AGAINST PEOPLE'S CHINA

### Mobilise To Demand : U. S. Quit Taiwan! Restore China's Right In U. N!

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the deliberate concentration of mammoth military naval and air forces by the United States Government on the soil and in the territorial waters of the Taiwan area, which rightly belongs to the People's Republic of China.

By this concentration described by United States Military Commanders as "the biggest striking power in history", by repeated violation of the air and waters of the Chinese mainland itself, by the building up and arming of huge Chiang Kai-shek forces on the Chinese offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu with the most dangerous weapons, by the actual use for the first time in history of guided missiles against Chinese planes—the U. S. Government has again raised international tension to a fever pitch and brought the world once more to the brink of war.

The Chinese Government

and people have borne for many years with unparalleled patience in the interests of world peace, the continued provocations of the U. S. authorities who have illegally occupied, behind the facade of the so-called Government of Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese territory of Taiwan, the Penghu islands and the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

These islands and the waters surrounding them have been used for repeated acts of aggression against the Chinese mainland, for the sending of spies and agents into China, for preventing the free use of the adjacent ports and harbours of China and for harassing ships engaged in peaceful trade between China and the rest of the world.

When the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, till now garrisoned by a small force, were suddenly filled with Chiang Kai-shek soldiers—90,000 were rushed to Quemoy alone—and steadily

weapons of aggression including nuclear weapons and guided missiles and rockets, were threateningly made ready on these islands, it became clear that the American ruling authorities planned to use them as bases for an all-out aggression against China.

The Chinese Government and people, in sheer self-defence had no option but to open fire from the mainland on these islands to halt the further stocking of armaments and prevent them from being used to attack the mainland.

The Chinese Government and people rightly demand that the U. S. forces quit the Taiwan area so that the territory may return to the motherland. The urgency of this demand has been highlighted by the latest aggressive actions of the U. S. authorities.

The whole world roused to action once again by the acute danger of war, has expressed its disapproval of American policies in the Far East. The Soviet Union

and the other Socialist countries and the Asian-African nations have come out in full-throated condemnation of U. S. aggression.

India has always supported the Chinese People's Republic's demand that Taiwan and other islands be freed of U. S. occupation and returned to their motherland. Our Government has again and again declared that Taiwan is an integral part of China.

India has taken a leading part in the efforts to ensure the seating of the People's Republic of China in its rightful place in the U. S.—a demand backed by the vast majority of mankind and an increasing number of States.

At this moment again, India's representatives in the U. N. have acted to ensure that the just stand of the Chinese Government in regard to Quemoy and Matsu and also Taiwan and the Penghu Islands is upheld and the United States forces are withdrawn. The

## CELEBRATE NOVEMBER 7

### 41st Anniversary Of October Revolution

WITHIN less than a month's time, the Soviet Union along with the worldwide forces of peace, democracy and Socialism will be celebrating the 41st Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India considers that it is a major responsibility of all Party Units, Members and sympathisers to organise the biggest possible popular mobilisation of this historic occasion throughout our country in order to explain widely to our people the decisive significance of the Soviet Socialist power in the present international and national situation facing India.

In the extremely serious international situation of cold war tension, nuclear arms race, military coups in various countries and repeated imperialist provocations and military aggressions, leading to one war crisis after another, the Soviet Union is boldly discharging its role as the leader of the world peace forces and is thereby making a vital contribution to

the defence of the national independence of all countries against the imperialist strategy of direct and indirect aggression.

Further, for India today, faced with the grave crisis of the Second Five-Year Plan and the growing trend of the ruling class to rely more and more upon imperialist circles for "aid", the key role of economic and technical Soviet assistance, both existing and potential, for the genuine national reconstruction of our country on an independent basis becomes more vital than ever.

Hence it is essential that the occasion of the 41st Anniversary of the October Revolution be fully utilised to popularise the achievements and policies of the Soviet Union, to explain its role today as the active champion of the interests of the peoples of the world, including our own, and to strengthen the cause of Indo-Soviet friendship.

The National Council calls upon the entire Party to go into a rousing campaign to bring about extensive mobilisation of the people on this occasion.

## Sympathy With Flood Victims

### IMMEDIATE RELIEF URGED

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its sympathy with the people of Punjab, the western parts of West Bengal, parts of Andhra, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa who have recently suffered huge losses as a result of heavy rains and floods. Official estimates themselves have put the

damage at Rs. 33 crores in Punjab alone.

The Council urges the State Governments to render immediate and adequate relief to the affected people through remission of government dues, grant of material assistance for house repairs and reconstruction, food and fodder.

# Writers Of Two Continents Meet

At the Asian-African Writers' Conference which closed in Tashkent on October 13 the Indian delegation, numerically the largest, was the centre of attention throughout. The people of Tashkent gave a very warm-hearted and friendly welcome to writers from India and everyone was deeply moved.

At the University of Central Asia, one evening was devoted to the commemoration of Tagore. It was a thrilling occasion for all Indians present.

Some members of the Indian delegation also saw the play *Daughter of the Ganges*, based on Tagore's novel *Nauka Dubi*, which had been running to packed audiences at the Hamza Theatre.

A Mushaira was organised at the Mukim Theatre where along with Zulfia and Ghafur Ghulam of Uzbekistan and Tursun Zade of Tajikistan, Indian poet Ghulam Rabbani Taban and Pakistan's Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Hafeez Jalalhari received ovation after ovation. Hafeez was called twice to recite his poem on Tashkent.

At the huge Pakhtakar Stadium of Tashkent a mammoth mass meeting took place to greet the writers of Asia-Africa. It expressed solidarity with the Afro-Asian struggle for freedom.

The Conference had opened on October 7 in the impressive hall of the Navoi Theatre. The streets of Tashkent were colourfully decorated and the illuminations at night reminded one of Diwali. Banners in all Asian-African languages welcomed the delegates. Fountains played in the streets as happy people crowded everywhere.

Sharaf Rashidov, famous Uzbek writer-statesman, President of the Afro-Asian Preparatory Committee, opening the Conference said:

## Great Assembly

"The work of our Conference which has developed into a really great assembly of writers is followed with great interest and attention by the whole of the cultural world. We represent two great continents with a population of more than 1,500 million—nearly two-thirds of mankind. We have the support of writers who have devoted themselves, their talent and labour, to the service of the people. Our great historic mission is to become the true bards of the great battle that is being fought for freedom and independence of nations...."

"Our Conference is not confined by any racial, political or other bounds. Far from setting up barriers between writers of the East and the West, it forms a reliable bridge for promoting friendly relations."

Nikolai Tikhonov greeted the writers of all nations on behalf of the writers of the Soviet Union. The Tashkent Conference, he said, was an historic event of world significance. Never before had so many writers representing modern progressive literatures of the East gathered together to discuss such important problems.

"It was often said that the

Asian classics, some of them printed in India, and modern publications were displayed.

One saw such proud announcements: The Soviet Union publishes books in 124 languages. 5.5 books per person are published every year. Since the October Revolution, 20,000 million copies of books have been printed.

Hundreds of translations of Indian and other Asian and African writers published in the languages of different Soviet Republics were also being shown in the Exhibition. In course of the Conference, writers of many lands, one

force, he said. "On us history has placed a special responsibility for we have tasted of many civilizations and known the worst. We know through our own sufferings what it is to be preyed upon by fellow-men. This experience of the last 200 years and the many thousand years before that has been our baptism by fire which makes us willy-nilly couriers of the brave new ideas."

"We from India come to this assembly of Asian-African writers with gladness of heart. The spirit of the writer is the song of freedom. We have

essential prerequisite for all cultural progress.

Chinese writer Mao Tun's appearance on the rostrum led to great ovation. His speech making a "Brief survey of development of Chinese Literature" was heard with rapt attention. He gave a survey of ancient cultural ties between the countries of East.

"We all know that after the spectre of colonialism came to East in the sixteenth century our peaceful friendly cultural relations began to be destroyed. Colonialism brought cultural invasion. After the 18th century many countries among us were forced to accept what the Westerners called 'Civilisation' and our nations were slandered as backward. Our literary masterpieces were excluded from the treasure-house of the world literature. It was made very difficult for us to know each other's best works...."

"After the birth of New China, all nationalities have started to publish their best works and many promising new writers have appeared. In economic construction China had made the great leap forward last year. Total grain production was doubled, steel production leapt from five to ten million tons.

"In such historical conditions literature too had developed with an unprecedented speed. Writers groups had appeared in agricultural cooperatives and factories. During the last year more than seven hundred writers have gone to live in the villages, factories, mines, etc. Therefore, this year's literary harvest is better than usual."

Referring to the recent provocations of American imperialism in the Taiwan Straits, Mao Tun declared that all China had risen to resist the aggression and threat of war. "Chinese writers have mobilised all their forces for this sacred struggle. No provocation can intimidate our people." His speech was greeted at this point with stormy applause.

"We of Asia and Africa must strengthen our unity till we finally drive away the ugly spectre of colonialism. For then can we establish a firm and lasting foundation for peace and friendly cooperation among all Asian and African countries."

## Purpose Achieved

Hsinhua, reporting the closing of the Asian-African Writers' Conference, said its six-day meeting had achieved its purpose.

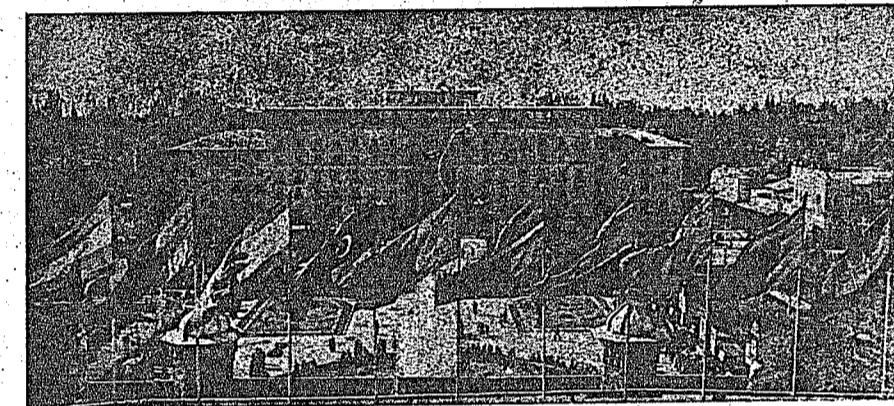
A resolution on the establishment of a permanent bureau of Asian and African writers was also passed at the meeting. The bureau is composed of representatives from Ghana, Indonesia, the Cameroons, China, the United Arab Republic, the Soviet Union, Sudan, Ceylon and Japan. The permanent bureau will set up its office in Ceylon. The conference considered it desirable to have an Indian delegate at the permanent bureau.

The Indian delegation at a

\* Continued Overleaf

main prerequisite for literary creation is freedom of human spirit. But it is not only the writer and the poet who strive to achieve such freedom. This freedom is also the goal of the hero of modern literature, the ordinary man who suffers and surmounts social inequality, fights for independence,

## TASHKENT, THE CONFERENCE CITY



## SOME DELEGATES



Indian delegates Gopal Haldar (extreme right) and Sant Singh Sekhon seen with African, Chinese and Soviet colleagues.

peace, justice. He is the embodiment of his age. This man is the builder, inventor and creator. In some countries, he is still fettered but he shall not lay down his arms until he has won freedom for himself and his children. The future belongs to the courageous representatives of progressive ideas of our world who fearlessly pave the way for a new life."

Many writers referred to the Conference as the Literary Bandung and that was the real spirit that prevailed. On the eve of the Conference an exhibition of books was opened where old prints of Central

after another, spoke on problems of development of literature and culture of these two great continents. The role of literature in the struggle for human progress and national freedom against colonialism and for peace was brought out with great force and feeling by nearly all the speakers.

The leader of the Indian delegation, Sri Tara Shankar Bannerjee, emphasised the dangers that beset humanity if greed, suspicion and hatred were to get the upper hand in the world.

Panch Shila should find wider acceptance throughout the world not only as a matter of political expediency but as

fought against colonialism and we will continue to fight against it. We go even further. We oppose any form of domination of one country by another. We writers cannot ignore this struggle and yet, as we see it, the focus of this conference should be literary and cultural and not political."

Writers from countries still struggling for their freedom particularly emphasised just this anti-colonial, anti-imperialist aspect of their literary activities. One after another, representatives of colonial Africa placed before the Conference the grim facts of imperialist exploitation and declared freedom to be the es-

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# Pakistan's Hour Of Trial

Once More

POEMS BY FAIZ

Once more a day of wrath's loud din  
Fills old Ambition's hall,  
The doomsmen seated on this hand,  
The accused there in the dock—

Now let us see on whom the sin  
Of honesty will fall!  
There its vile perpetrators stand,  
And near them stands the block.

## The Hour Of Chain And Gibbet

On all the garden broods this hour of waiting;  
No hour that strikes is the longed hour of Spring.

A dangerous world lies heavy on our souls;  
This is the touchstone hour to try love's spells.

Blest minute that brings a dear face back to sight,  
Blest hour that brings rest to a restless heart!

Wine-cup and cup-filler denied, in vain  
That hour when cool clouds walk across the  
mountain,

Or cypress, or crenar leaf, when no comrades  
Share with us its green hour of dancing shades.

These scars ached long ago, a little—not  
As this hour does that keeps all friends apart,

This hour of chain and gibbet and of rejoicing,  
Hour of necessity and hour of choice.

At your command the cage, but not the garden's  
Red rose-fire, when its freshest hour begins;

No noose can catch the dawn-wind's whirling feet,  
The spring's bright hour falls prisoner to no net.

Others will see, if I do not, that hour  
Of singing nightingale and splendid flower.



(Faiz Ahmad Faiz is the greatest of Pakistan's living Urdu poets—and a most significant and representative poet of our age. In his immortal poems and lyrics is reflected the torture and travail of the people of Pakistan.)

(The selection given here is from Victor Klerman's translation recently brought out by the People's Publishing House.)

Comrade, night's dark last moments cannot  
cheat us;  
We shall see yet the flame they have choked down,  
The star that is to flash from morning's crown.

## My Humble Duty

My humble duty to your haughty pavements,  
Oh native land! where none dare walk erect,  
And your true lovers bringing you their vows  
Must crouch, hide, tremble; snarling curs  
unchecked,

As honest men learn and daily lessons teach,  
And stones to pelt them locked up out of reach.

Your name still cried by even a faithful few  
Inflames the itching hand of tyranny.  
What advocate shall we call? the bad are judge  
And prosecutor too; from whom can we  
Claim right?—But all the days that men are sent  
Pass, and suns rise and set in banishment.

When this jail's narrow window-slit dims, fancy  
Sees your hair spangled with its tinsel stars—  
When chains grow visible once more, your face  
Sprinkled with sunrise. Held fast by these bars,  
Black shadows of gate and wall, while the hour  
brings

Its changes, life is such imaginings.

This war is old of tyrants and mankind;  
Their ways are not new, nor ours; the fires they  
kindle

To scorch us, age by age we turn to flowers;  
Not new that our hopes triumph and theirs must  
dwindle!

Therefore I make no outcry against fate,  
But exiled from you learn to bear its weight.

Parted today, tomorrow we shall meet—  
And what is one short night of separation?  
Our enemies' star stands at its zenith—what  
Are their few godlike hours of usurpation?  
The covenant between us is my charm  
Against time's whirling wheel, against all harm.

## At The Place Of Execution

We shall see yet the goal of hope's long race;  
Patience—night's length will come and go, and we  
Shall see its tomorrow rise with shining face.

Men's thirst once sharpened a little, we shall see  
How long the fiery grape can be denied,  
Or flask and cup kept under lock and key.

One cry from the Street of Reproach where  
love must hide—  
And we shall see who stops for idle saws,  
Or ventured once has power to turn aside!

Today true men go out to try their cause;  
Let the adversary come with legions, meet us  
At the place of death—we shall see who wins  
applause.

# WRITERS' APPEAL

\*From Page 11

meeting unanimously welcomed the proposal to set up a permanent bureau and expressed readiness to participate in its work.

The Conference also discussed the UAR proposal and decided to hold the next conference in 1960 in Cairo. The Conference also proposed to the permanent bureau to set up an Asian and African publishing house to publish a periodical and works of Asian and African writers and give literary awards to Asian and African writers as well as set up a fund in aid of them.

An Appeal to the Writers of the World was read out at the final meeting by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand and was adopted by the Conference.

"We have assembled in Tashkent, informed with faith in the future of our peoples and our literature. We are united in the conviction that the cause of literature is indissolubly linked with the destinies of our peoples and that the abolition of colonialism and racism is indispensable for the full development of literary activity. We are the exponents of the renaissance spirit of 1,500 million, heirs to ancient civilisations and cultures."

The Appeal points out that the development of these great civilisations was held up by ruthless exploitation, slavery and colonialism. Yet, all the attempts to destroy the languages and cultures of the Asian and African peoples failed. The best poems and songs of our day reflect the militancy of these peoples and their determination to resist foreign rule.

The Conference expressed support for the nations still subjected to economic and cultural expansionism.

The Appeal emphasises that the Tashkent Conference furnished evidence of the deep-rooted interconnection of literature with the struggle of the peoples. The writers there showed that only in conditions of freedom was the great cause

of literary and cultural creative activity possible. They declared that their objectives and their struggle were the same as the objectives and the struggle of their peoples against colonial domination, against the nuclear war menace and for peace.

The Conference appealed to all men of letters and workers in the arts, in Europe, America and Australia, regardless of their colour, nationality or creed, to lift their voices in

protest against all the evils perpetrated against men and nations. The writers there called on their Western colleagues to sing praises to the sublime qualities of man, to fight against the literature of darkness and animosity which poisons the minds of the adults and depraves the children.

They declared that they want to strengthen cultural contacts with all the nations of the world and called on Western writers to join them in seeking truth, beauty and freedom.

A marked feature of the Conference, Hsinhua adds, was its clear-cut anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist tenor.

The Conference was noted for the marked solidarity shown by writers representing various shades of opinions and views. Apart from delegates from 40 Asian and African countries, guests were present from 12 European and American countries.

Government leaders, well-known people and literary groups in many Asian and African countries sent messages of greetings to the Conference. Especially notable were messages from Soviet Premier N. S. Khrushchov, China's Prime Minister Chou En-lai, Pandit Nehru, Vice-President Radhakrishnan and President Nasser.

## BLACK AMERICA SPEAKS

ADDRESSING the Tashkent Conference on October 11, famous U. S. Negro intellectual W. E. B. Dubois condemned the persecution of the Negro people by the United States authorities.

The struggle of the Negro people had been going on for 300 years, he said. He was an American inasmuch as he had been born in the United States and his family had lived there for two centuries. But he was also an African by origin. His great-grandfather had been a slave. He represented Black America at the Con-

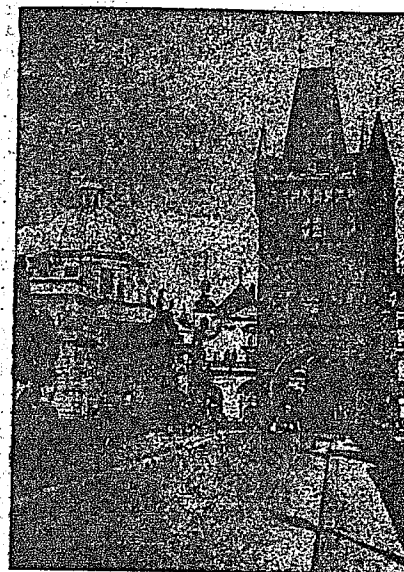
ference and was proud of it. He said that the Negro people who had been fighting for so long would continue the struggle.

Dr. Dubois pointed out that today imperialism and colonialism were living out their last days. With the establishment of Socialism in the USSR and China the days of colonialism were numbered. He charged that imperialism would go to any length to destroy the cultural treasure of men in order to dominate the world.

Referring to the role of literature in the anti-colo-

onial struggle, he said that writers should serve the people and fight for the progress of mankind and freedom. The writers of Asia and Africa should teach peoples to be vigilant in the struggle against the new variety of imperialism, economic imperialism.

Dr. Dubois stressed the need for cultural contacts between the East and West. African writers should learn from Europe, the Soviet Union and China, he said. In conclusion Dubois said that capitalism had reached an impasse from which there was no way out for it.



# 40 Years Of The Czechoslovak Republic

THIS year the people of Czechoslovakia celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the independent and sovereign Czechoslovak Republic. October 28, 1918, when the Republic was proclaimed, was the day which saw the culmination and victory of the centuries-old struggle of the oppressed Czech and Slovak nations for their independent State.

The founding of Czechoslovakia was the main factor in the breaking up of the mediaeval and reactionary Hapsburg monarchy which for centuries had stifled the development of numerous nations—Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians, etc.

The disappearance of that "jail of nations" was a necessary historical act. The fight for the liberation of Czechoslovakia was a continuation of the struggle for the realisation of the great democratic ideals proclaimed by the great French Revolution which had subsequently led to the establishment of independent Italy, united Germany, the liberation of Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania, Norway and other countries, ideals which are today being proclaimed by the awakened countries of Asia and Africa.

The history of the Czech and Slovak nations is a long one. The Slav tribes inhabited the Czech lands already in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. if not earlier. In the 9th century the united Slav tribes created a huge Great Moravian Empire—one of the advanced States of early Middle Ages in Europe.

When an independent Czech State was founded late in the 9th century and played an important role in European history throughout the Middle Ages and clearly demonstrated the political maturity of the Czech nation. At the end of the 13th century, the territory of the Czech State spread from the Baltic to the Adriatic Seas.

Still greater advance was re-

gistered by the Czech State under Charles IV, when it was the heart of the Holy Roman Empire. In Prague the first university in Central Europe was founded at that time. The Czech gothic art in painting and architecture even today demonstrates that Czech art in those days ranked among the best of the world had produced.

Soon after the death of Charles IV, the Czech nation stood at the head of all progressive Europe. By the Hussite anti-feudal and socially progressive movement, the Czech people initiated the era of Reformation which had subsequently led to the Great French Revolution.

The Czech humanitarian culture strongly influenced the culture of the neighbouring countries. Prague continued to be an important cultural centre still under the rule of the first Hapsburg who had been called to the Bohemian throne by the free election of the Czech Estates. This was true especially under the reign of Rudolf II.

The hopeful advance of the Czech nation was, however, stopped in 1620 by the unfortunate defeat of the Czech Estates in the Battle of the White Mountain and the storm that had swept Europe in the Thirty Years War. The defeat resulted in the loss of the State independence of the Kingdom of Bohemia and in the threat for centuries of Germanisation of the Czech nation.

The hard-working and capable Czech and Slovak people, of course, never acquiesced in the foreign oppression. The revolutionary movement of 1848 fully incorporated the Czech national liberation struggle into the worldwide struggle for progress and freedom. And in the First World War, the Czech and Slovak people determinedly turned their weapons against the Hapsburg monarchy, with a revolutionary enthusiasm, went into the streets and won for themselves and their country national independence.

A mighty impulse to their determined fight against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was provided by the Russian Revolution and its call for the self-determination of nations. October 28, 1918—the day of the proclamation of the Czechoslovak independent State—became memorable for the restoration of Czech and Slovak national freedom.

The people wanted to have a Socialist State but their struggle for this ideal was not suc-

cessful. The Czechoslovak Republic became a bourgeois State. But thanks to the constant effort and struggle of the progressive forces, headed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which was founded in 1921, Czechoslovakia remained to be democratic until Munich, and that made Czechoslovakia quite different from the neighbouring countries where fascism came step by step to power and bourgeois democracy was liquidated.

The fateful Munich dictate in September 1938 and the occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 by the Nazi forces brought to end even this "island" of democracy in Central Europe and started the Second World War.

People of Czechoslovakia, however, began fighting against the Nazi occupiers right from the very beginning of the occupation. Hundreds of thousands of Czech and Slovak fighters for democracy and freedom died in the Gestapo torture rooms and concentration camps. Thousands of Czechs and Slovaks fought side by side with the Russian, Yugoslav and French partisans and in the ranks of the Czechoslovak armed forces in the Soviet Union and England.

The Czech and Slovak working people drew a profound lesson from the past. They learned from the Munich betrayal, from all the past defeats as well as from the horrors of occupation, and were firmly determined to establish a new Republic where they themselves would decide about their own fate.

Thus the idea of a People's Democratic State arose. It was evolved and already in the course of the Second World War was begun to be implemented by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This new concept was, of course, reflected also in Czechoslovakia's foreign policy. Its mainstay in the future was to be the new treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance concluded with the Soviet Union in December 1943.

The growing resistance of the Czechoslovak people to the Nazi occupiers culminated, in the autumn of 1944, in the Slovak national uprising and in May 1945, in the Prague uprising. The victorious advance of the liberating Soviet armies then brought an end to the six-year long suffering of the Czechoslovak people and the Czechoslovak State re-entered as an equal the family of other independent countries.

## Resolutions Of The National Council, Communist Party

# Gujarat Martyrs' Memorial Satyagraha

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India fully supports martyrs' memorial satyagraha struggle sponsored by the Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad at Ahmedabad.

The Council takes note of the fact that the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation which is the final authority to sanction the site for erection of a memorial has already sanctioned the proposal of the Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad, while because of political considerations, the Bombay Government has encroached upon the rights of the Corporation to block the erection of a memorial for those who fell in the glorious struggle against the formation of the bilingual State.

The National Council also takes note of the fact that

once again the martyrs' memorial satyagraha struggle and solidarity actions in support of it throughout the bilingual State have demonstrated the unity of the Maharashtra and Gujarati people behind the demand for their separate States and brought the question of break-up of the bilingual State to the forefront.

Even Pandit Nehru had to admit the large amount of popular support behind this demand.

The further continuation of the bilingual State is undemocratic and against the wishes of the people. Therefore the National Council calls upon the Government of India to move immediately in this direction and take suitable measures for the break-up of the bilingual State.

## Recognise Free Govt. Of Algeria!

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India hails the formation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria as a historic landmark in the struggle for national independence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

With the birth of the Republic, the fight for independence of the Algerian people has entered a new stage. Following closely the historic revolution in Iraq which decisively changed the entire situation in West Asia, the proclamation of the Provisional Government of Algeria will inspire and exert a tremendous influence on the movement against colonialism and for national independence, particularly of the peoples of Africa still battling to throw off the yoke of imperialism.

The heroic armed struggle for liberation waged by the Algerian people for the last four years against the savage brutalities of French imperialism has resulted already in the freeing from colonial slavery of a considerable portion of the territory of Algeria. The formation of the Algerian Government is proof of the Algerian people to free the rest of their country without further delay.

At the point of the bayonet the de Gaulle Govern-

ment has carried out what it claims as a "referendum" in Algeria. False and utterly illegal, this so-called "reference" is sought by the French imperialists and their military fascist spokesman de Gaulle to "prove" the "desire" of the Algerian people to remain under the hell of foreign rule.

But all these fantastic lies and all the slanderous

accusations and provocations by the French Government against the Algerian Front of National Liberation and the Provisional Government cannot deceive the peoples of the world.

More and more Governments have already extended their recognition to the Provisional Government, including the Governments of the Arab States, the People's Republic of China and Indonesia.

The Indian people have always stood for the independence of Algeria and have given proof again and again of their solidarity with the independence movement of the Algerian people. All parties and sections of our people have joined in the collection of material aid for the Algerian freedom-fighters. The tours of the representatives of the Algerian Front of National Liberation in our country have seen great united demonstrations for Afro-Asian solidarity and Indo-Algerian friendship.

The National Council appeals to the Government of India to extend its recognition to the Provisional Algerian Government and exchange diplomatic representatives with it and thus fulfil the hopes and aspirations of our own people and all the peoples of Asia and Africa.

The National Council calls for a united nationwide campaign of solidarity with the people and Government of Algeria and to demand that the French Government open negotiations with the Provisional Algerian Government for ending the war in Algeria on the basis of complete independence of Algeria and the withdrawal of all French forces of occupation.

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opposition parties in any State led by the Congress.

Actual developments have belied these hopes. In fact, after the Deviclam election, which shattered the hopes of removal of the Communist-led Ministry by constitutional means, the opposition forces led by the Congress have come out in their real colours and resorted to tactics of violence and lawlessness on an unprecedented scale. The top leadership of the Congress has given them every encouragement and support, actively aided by the locals as well as central leadership of the PSP.

All this makes it clear that the struggle for the defence of Kerala is going to be a sustained and prolonged struggle, growing in intensity as time passes.

From the defective understanding that had gradually crept in, about the perspective, the understanding of a path of smooth advance, free from conflict and crisis, a sense of complacency had grown. This expressed itself in the dulling of vigilance, lack of a sense of urgency, absence of priority in the formulation and implementation of tasks. The Central leadership of the Party had paid scant attention to the machinations of the opponents in Kerala and had acted as though the battle for Kerala had been already won and now attention had to be focussed on other States.

While correcting this defective understanding, the National Council re-emphasised the Amritsar thesis about the path of peaceful advance and about safeguarding the legitimate rights of the opposition parties, allowing them every facility to criticise the Government, to mobilise popular opinion against it by peaceful methods and even to remove the Government by constitutional means if they can do so. Our comrades in Kerala will constantly strive to secure the cooperation of the opposition parties in the formula-

tion as well as implementation of popular measures. But they will not yield to tactics of provocation and blackmail. Nor will they be unnerved by campaigns of slander and threats of violence and intervention.

Our Ministry in Kerala, as hitherto, will uphold the rule of law and not permit any party or individual to take the law in their own hands. It will ensure equality before law and equal justice for all.

The National Council also fully endorsed the decisions taken by the Kerala State Committee of the Party in order to improve the efficiency of the work of the Ministry, better coordination inside the Ministry and between the Party and the Ministry.

A task of immense importance for our Party and Government in Kerala, a task the implementation of which will enormously help the movement for the defence of Kerala, is coordinated activity by our Party, Ministry and mass organisations in Kerala for increase in production, especially of foodgrains so as to reduce the deficit from which the State suffers. The labour enthusiasm of the people has to be roused on a vast scale for nation-building activities and in order to step up the production of industrial goods, to put the Government-owned industries on a sound footing, to augment the wealth of Kerala, to meet the urgent needs of the people.

The National Council greeted with cheers Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad's declaration that the Party and the Ministry in Kerala will redouble efforts to improve their work and serve the people of Kerala to the best of their ability. The National Council assured the Kerala comrades that the entire Party would go into action in defence of Kerala and combat the propaganda offensive of its slanderers.

## On The Agrarian Question

The Amritsar Congress had drawn pointed attention of the entire Party to the weakness of the kisan sabhas and the agricultural workers' unions which "constitutes the greatest weakness of the democratic movement." One of the main factors which contributed to this weakness was lack of unified understanding in the Party with regard to the changes that have come about in our agrarian economy during the last ten years of Congress rule.

The Resolution on "Certain Aspects of the Agrarian Question" adopted by the National Council is a major step towards the overcoming of this weakness and a major achievement of this meeting of the National Council.

The resolution deals with certain outstanding issues of the agrarian movement on which there has been lack of clarity inside the Party during the last few years.

The first question that the resolution deals with is the question of the aim and direction of Congress agrarian policies. The resolution shows how the failure of the Congress Government to solve the agrarian

problem is the result of the class policies which it pursues, policies which do not liberate the peasantry from its age-long bondage, but which, while curbing feudalism, promote and strengthen all types of capitalist interests in agriculture. The general course of development of Indian economy under Congress rule is causing expansion of capitalist relations in rural areas and subjecting the agrarian system more and more to capitalist exploitation.

The tightening of the grip of Indian and foreign monopolistic trading interests over agricultural produce is subjecting the producers to the ravages of unequal exchange and violent price fluctuations. The growing monetisation of agriculture and the utter paucity of cooperative or government credit is throwing the peasantry evermore into the grip of usurious capital. Alongside this, Congress agrarian legislation is seeking to develop, both in the former zamindari and ryotwari areas, a class of substantial landholders, by transforming feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and also by helping and strengthening the rich peas-

ant, a class which can be depended upon to produce enough surplus of agricultural wealth to meet the requirements of capitalist development in the country and which can also act as the main political base of the Congress in the countryside.

The intensification of the agrarian crisis in India is due essentially to this anti-peasant direction of the Congress agrarian policies. For, the development of capitalist relations has not led to an unleashing of the forces of production but to a more intensified exploitation of the actual producer. The great mass of tillers have been subjected to various new forms of capitalist loot without being fully liberated from their semi-feudal bondage.

"It is patent," the resolution says, "that our agrarian economy cannot be lifted out of its age-long backwardness through the path of capitalist development." It adds, "In a system where there are strong survivals of feudalism, where over 15 per cent of the peasants hold tiny uneconomic holdings, where the triple burden of rents, taxes and interest is grinding down the actual producers, where industrial and technological development is at a very low level and where there is unlimited wastage of human labour power, to think that the agrarian problem can be solved through development on capitalist lines is nothing short of self-deception."

The Resolution, therefore, calls upon the Party to dissociate itself from the class policies pursued by the ruling bourgeoisie and to pose sharply the basic demands of the movement for bringing about a radical transformation of the whole system of land relations.

The Resolution further formulated certain key demands of the agrarian movement in this period such as, vesting of ownership rights in all tenants subject to restricted right of resumption by small owners and security against ejection for sharecroppers, substantial reduction of taxes on the poorer sections of the population and cancellation of all unjust taxes, breaking up of monopolistic trading interests in the agricultural market and ensuring fair price to the producer, substantial scaling down of debts and provision of adequate credit by Government and cooperatives, fixation of minimum wages and provision of work and employment for agricultural labourers and finally democratisation of rural administration.

The Resolution stated furthermore that whereas the problem of land still remains the basic problem of the agrarian movement, with increasing capitalist and monopolistic exploitation the problems of credit, taxation and unequal exchange have also assumed vital importance.

In consonance with the above analysis of the agrarian situation, the Resolution indicated the direction and content of peasant struggles in the present period. It stated, "Agrarian struggles in the present period will develop not only against the remnants of feudalism but also against certain capitalist elements. These struggles will grow simultaneously against semi-feudal exploitation and against the growing stranglehold of capitalist landlords, big traders, etc., over the agrarian economy and

would in certain areas tend to get intertwined." The edge of these struggles would obviously be directed against the anti-democratic and anti-peasant governmental policies.

Under these circumstances, the Resolution visualised the development of a complex pattern of class alignments during the course of struggles depending upon the nature of issues involved and the dominant character of class relations in the area concerned. It stated that the old slogan of all-in peasant unity against feudalism can no longer be treated as the central strategic slogan of the peasant movement on a countrywide basis.

The Resolution, however, emphasised that agrarian struggles and movements led by the Party must be based, under all conditions, on the unity of poor peasants and agricultural labourers in firm and unshakable alliance with the middle peasant. With the expansion of capitalist relations in agriculture and the curbing of feudal landlordism, the role of rich peasant cannot be the same as it was in the earlier period. He is one of the smaller beneficiaries of the present regime and provides the Congress with its main social base in rural areas.

He cannot, therefore, be treated as a part of the class alignment on the basis of which the kisan movement

## For All-Round Strengthening Of The Party

While recognising that the work of the Party Centre has registered some improvement in recent months, the members of the Council were sharply critical of several failures to implement the Amritsar decisions. The most important of these was the failure to take steps to organise Party education—a task which had been given top priority at Amritsar.

It was pointed out by several comrades that in order to bring about radical improvement in work it is necessary that the National Council should not merely be a body which meets once in six months but that as many members as possible of the Council should be drawn into Central work, consistent with their responsibility in the States and Provinces. It was, therefore, decided to constitute a number of Sub-Committees of the National Council with clearly defined functions.

The sub-committees formed are: Education Sub-Committee; Peace Sub-Committee; Trade Union Sub-Committee; Kisan Sub-Committee; Student and Youth Sub-Committee; Women's Sub-Committee; Cultural Work Sub-Committee; and Sub-Committee for collecting material for a Party History.

The National Council resolved to call upon State Committees to introduce a system of graduated levy on the income of Party members.

It also decided that a call for Rs. 40,000 should be given for the starting of central journals in Hindi and Urdu and that all State Committees should contribute to the Central Fund at the rate of annas four per member in the State.

The Report of the Central Committee at the Amritsar Congress had noted the decline of Marxist-Leninist consciousness in our Party

will grow. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to treat him as a class enemy because he himself is subject to various types of exploitation by bigger capitalist interests, particularly through the market. It is, therefore, possible to neutralise him on many issues and also to win his support on general democratic demands.

The Resolution gave a very high priority to the task of organising agricultural labourers who constitute about one-third of the rural population in the country as a whole. It stated that "With the expansion of capitalist relations in agriculture, the organisation of agricultural labourers assumes a new significance. For, agricultural labourers are not only the most consistent fighters against the remnants of feudalism, but also constitute a leading force in the struggle against growing capitalist exploitation in agriculture."

It characterised the failure to build a powerful organisation of agricultural labourers as one of the biggest weaknesses of the work of the Party among the rural masses.

The National Council adopted a number of other resolutions some of which were printed in the previous issue of New Age. Others are printed in the current issue.

Several important organisational decisions were taken by the National Council.

## HYPOCRISY UNLIMITED

The disarmament debate in the 81-member Political Committee of the U. N. General Assembly that has been dragging on for the last ten days found time for excursions in various domains, from the technicalities of an atomic nucleus to semantics. The only point on which the Committee is left just where it was at the start of the debate is, however, the disarmament problem.

THANKS to the American diplomacy, followed and abetted by the British and the French, the General Assembly is being prevented by all possible means from taking any concrete steps towards disarmament at this session.

While the various occasions in the very recent past that brought the world a number of times on the verge of atomic destruction and while the continuation of the nuclear test explosions contaminating the earth's atmosphere, have all brought home the very real danger of nuclear armament race to the peoples of the world, all that the U. N. could do was to recommend a "new approach"—a non-political technical approach, as it is called. A less suitable time, a less suitable place for manifesting such an academic inclination, could hardly have been found.

### Western Resolution

The vaguely worded 17-nation resolution sponsored by U. S., Britain, Canada and 14 others mostly connected with the NATO and SEATO Pacts—had nothing more concrete to recommend to the General Assembly than the suggestion that the Big Three Nuclear Powers be urged "not to undertake further testing of nuclear weapons" while negotiations at the Geneva Conference which is to start on October 31, continue.

On top of this Mr. Lodge deemed it fit to remind the world of "the twelve years experience of disarmament negotiations!"

If anything, it is this twelve years of experience of disarmament negotiations that shows that every time the imperialist powers were concerned, either they tried to invent some new excuse to escape or to flatly turn back from their own position.

The facts are too well known to be repeated here. One might recall the U. S. acrobatics of connecting, disconnecting and again connecting the problem of banning nuclear weapons and that of reduction of conventional armaments, for instance.

And now, when the demand for putting a final stop to nuclear test explosions has become the most wide-spread demand in the world, including in the U. N. itself, and when the result of last Summer's Geneva Conference of experts has proved that a system of control on the nuclear test explosions is possible, the U. S. tactics in the course of this debate have been to prevent the U. N. Political Committee taking a categorical stand that calls for immediate cessation of nuclear test explosions, by derailing the discussions into the labyrinth of such problems as exploring the technical aspects of controlling conventional armaments and armed forces, and the U. S. offer to enter into a technical

study with the Soviet Union for an inspection system which would assure that outer space would not be used for military purposes.

To avoid facing the issue squarely, even the thoroughly exposed theory of the atomic weapons being "deterrents" and as such instruments of peace, was again paraded out.

Sharp and quick was the retort it got from India's representative, Krishna Menon. Said he: "There is the theory, to which my Government is irrevocably opposed, that these atomic weapons are the instruments of peace. That is what is called the theory of deterrent! The theory of deterrent is logically, philosophically, and practically fallacious."

But Krishna Menon could not convince the French delegate. In the course of the debate, France showed herself determined to have the nuclear weapons, and so to continue with tests, to catch up with the other three Powers.

The discussions show that the imperialist powers persist in their nuclear-happy approach and their attempts to bog the discussions in the technicalities of armament control are meant to sidetrack the basic problem that is facing the U. N. today—

## Dag In The Footsteps Of Trygve Lie

THE U. N. Secretary-General Dag Hammerskjold has come out with a voluminous 75-page report to the General Assembly.

Two years of experience of the United Nations Emergency Force that was sent to Egypt, it is stated, has led the Secretary-General to certain conclusions, the principal one being his support for the principle of a so-called "United Nations Peace Force".

It will be recalled that special U. N. armed forces were sent to the Middle East in the particular case of anti-Egyptian aggression jointly undertaken by Britain, France and Israel.

Now Mr. Hammerskjold has discovered that stand-by arrangements for an operation of the UNEF of the type in Egypt would "not have been of practical use" in the recent troubles in Jordan and the Lebanon.

So he concludes: "In considering general stand-by arrangements for United Nations operations, a course should be followed which would afford a considerable degree of flexibility in approaching the varying need that may arise." And the General Assembly should "attempt to do no more than endorse cer-

## PEACE AND FREEDOM

by RAZA ALI

that of immediate cessation of nuclear test explosions and the start of negotiations for the institution of a control system that has proved to be quite possible.

At Geneva, talks are to start shortly, on October 31, and it is hoped that at least on some stages, they would be on the Foreign Ministers level.

The Soviet Union, by its previous stands as well as by its draft resolution in the present session of the U. N. Political Committee has proved to be the most consistent supporter for immediate and unconditional cessation of nuclear test explosions and for negotiations to reach an appropriate agreement.

There can be no doubt that at the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union will again come out for the adoption of a decision on the immediate and unconditional cessation of tests.

If the U. S. and Britain should try to turn the forthcoming Conference in Geneva, into a new Conference for the study of technical questions of control, that would once again prove to the world that all their talk of holding an olive branch and all their professions of limited approach, new approach, non-political approach and what not, for sparing the world an atomic catastrophe, is sheer hypocrisy, unlimited.

degree of flexibility" is suggested. A permanent U. N. armed force is to be instituted. For this force, all that the Assembly should do is to "provide an adaptable framework for later operations."

The purpose is thus made quite clear.

A temporary measure taken by the Security Council such as UNEF in Egypt, is to be converted into a permanent force overlooking conveniently that the UNEF did nothing to help the victim of aggression and were stationed on the Israeli-Egyptian border.

But the proposed U. N. armed forces are to be sent to any country simply on the invitation of that country's Government (too late for Chamoun!). But once they are in, they are not going to get out simply on invitation. The rules now change. The question of

withdrawal, it appears, cannot be decided unilaterally by the inviting government, it is to be subject to negotiations and agreement.

How unfortunate for Mr. Dulles that such proposals are not yet adopted by the U. N. It would have saved him the trouble of a round-about talk of "unforeseen development" to which he had subjected the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Lebanon.

This idea of a so-called permanent U. N. "Peace Force" is not new. It is basically the same U. S. idea which Mr. Hammerskjold's ill-starred predecessor, Mr. Trygve Lie had tried to put across the U. N. the idea of an "armed U. N. guard."

The U. S. State Department evidently has not committed a mistake in entrusting its plans to Mr. Hammerskjold.

## DULLES' TAIWAN MISSION

DULLES has set himself the task of squaring the circle. With his back turned towards reality, he carries on doggedly. For a long time he refused to recognise that there exists a country of 600 million people united solidly around their Government. For him, it was just a nightmare. Now he wants to save a tiny bit, an island, of the Chinese territory, to sit there at times and brood over a dream that will never materialise.

Now, condescendingly, his ilk openly talk of "turning over" Quemoy and Matsu to "the Chinese Communists"—New York Times editorial of October 16—as if in bargain, for Taiwan! Openly, demands are made to strengthen "the defence of Taiwan" by "strong reinforcement of U. S. arms" and by joint guarantees with "Australia, New Zealand and other Pacific nations."

No Government in the world can tolerate it. The Chinese people's forces have started shelling Quemoy. Chiang's position is a cover for U. S. imperialist designs. No Government in the world can tolerate a renegade clique providing cover to foreign aggressors against the motherland.

If the Dulles-Chiang meet, further aggravates the situation in Taiwan Straits, Dulles would have added to his record one more black deed against world peace and security.

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**AITUC  
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# OBSERVE AITUC'S 38TH ANNIVERSARY

## INTENSIFY STRUGGLE FOR WORKING CLASS UNITY

*The Secretariat of the All-India Trade Union Congress has issued the following Manifesto on the occasion of the 38th Anniversary of the AITUC:*

OCTOBER 31, 1958, will mark the 38th Anniversary of the birth of the All-India Trade Union Congress. This is a historic occasion for the entire working class of our country, irrespective of present-day affiliations, because it commemorates the founding of the first central trade union organisation ever to be established in our country.

Through what trials and tribulations, what vicissitudes and conflicts, what victories and setbacks, the Indian working class movement has had to pass in the last four decades is well-known. This history is at the same time essentially the history of the AITUC, and there is no section of trade unionists in our country today who have not at some period or other been associated with the AITUC and identified their careers with its fortunes....

### Disastrous Split

Since 1947, the trade union movement has been disastrously split along essentially political lines. Whatever the verdict of history may be, it can never place the burden of responsibility for this disruption on those who remained loyal to the AITUC and to the principles of democratic functioning. It was the leadership of the Indian National Congress and the Socialist Party which deliberately chose to break away from the united trade union centre and to form their INTUC and HMS, thereby bringing grief to the mill of the bourgeoisie.

The AITUC remained faithful to the ideology of class struggle, of firm defence of the workers' interests, of uncompromising resistance to the onslaught of the capitalists, both Indian and foreign, upon the workers' living standards. And because of its stand, the AITUC became the main target of the wrath of the ruling class and was subjected, in the years

from 1948 to 1951, to the concentrated fire of repression.

Any other organisation, in similar circumstances, would either have collapsed or abjectly surrendered. But the AITUC braved the storm in conditions of virtual illegality, with many of its unions crippled, its leaders and cadres imprisoned, its members shot down, beaten and tortured, its legal rights brutally violated, its normal functioning dislocated. Still, the enemy failed to crush the AITUC.

*In the last six years, what a different story has unfolded itself! Despite severe handicaps, despite the hostile discrimination practised by the Government and the employers, despite the common weakness of disunity in the general movement, the AITUC has steadily grown in strength, in mass influence, in organisation and in effective leadership until today it is once again bidding for recognition as the country's premier trade union organisation with an affiliated membership of over 14 lakhs, thereby challenging the claims of the officially-sponsored INTUC itself.*

This story of growth and development is by no means fortuitous. It is the outcome of the AITUC's continued and loyal adherence to all that was historically best in its traditions—the struggle for unity and for united struggles of the working class against the constantly intensifying attacks of the bourgeoisie. The AITUC has played a leading role in the overwhelming majority of the mighty strike struggles waged by our workers, from 1953 onwards, for higher wages, security of service, the right to bonus, extension of trade union rights, and against retrenchment, rationalisation, wage-cuts, victimisation, and unemployment.

And through all these struggles, whether conducted singly or jointly, the AITUC has striven to forge a united front of

all unions, irrespective of affiliation, and has also repeatedly made unity proposals and appeals to the other trade union centres.

### Concern For Peace

At the same time, what has particularly distinguished the AITUC from other central organisations in this period has been its active concern for the cause of world peace and anti-colonialism. Rejecting the false ideology that trade unions should hold themselves aloof from "politics", the AITUC has sought to educate the workers on their obligations as a part of the international movement against imperialist war plots, military blocs, and the threat of nuclear aggression and for peace, disarmament, Afro-Asian solidarity, friendship and co-operation with the countries of Socialism and their trade union organisations and the defence of the national independence of all peoples.

The application of this correct working class policy has itself developed the AITUC's maturity and helped to extend greatly the scope of its activities and organisation. The AITUC has penetrated into new sectors of industry; it has organised vast "backward" sections in the plantations and mines as well as the more "advanced" workers of the steel mills and the new State-owned industries; its representatives in various States have won striking victories in the 1957 General Elections to Parliament and the State legislatures; its mass base among the working class of Kerala is one of the most solid pillars of the new, democratic Communist-led Ministry there; it has established new and fruitful contacts with the international working class movement and become a worthy detachment of the great World Federation of Trade Unions.

The AITUC can no longer be ignored by its enemies and detractors. Its prestige today in the eyes of the workers and the democratic public is unrivalled. Its right to recognition and representation, though still curbed, are being increasingly wrested from the unwilling hands of the Central and State Governments and the employers.

*Today, the biggest task still facing the workers of India is the overcoming of the divisions within their ranks and the forging of their class unity both in struggle and in organisation. So long as disruption remains a major force, the working class can never win even its minimum rights and demands, can never be sure of those already won, and can never play its true role in the great struggle for genuine national reconstruction and independent development of the national economy, as a stepping stone to the goal of Socialism. Unity is all the more urgently necessary because attacks and burdens upon the working class are intensifying daily, due to the deepening crisis of the world capitalist economy and of our own Second Five-Year Plan.*

The AITUC has dedicated itself to the central task of developing workers' unity in action, and of taking every possible initiative for strengthening fraternal ties between itself and all non-AITUC trade union organisations without distinction. At the same time, the AITUC must work tirelessly to strengthen itself, to expand and perfect its own organisation, to accelerate its own development activities also—because every advance registered by the AITUC means an advance for the forces of unity.

It is with this outlook and in this spirit that we should celebrate the 38th Anniversary of the AITUC on October 31. This is an occasion for expressing pride in our past, enthusiasm and class fraternity in the present, and confidence and determination for the future.

The AITUC appeals to all its affiliated units, to all its friends

and well-wishers, to all its brother trade union organisations and to all fraternal mass organisations of other sections of our democratic people, to join with it in countrywide observance of October 31.

The AITUC calls upon its units to pledge before the workers on this day that we shall, as ever, stand unflinchingly beside them through all trials and struggles, and shall always try to help the great working class to unite itself in its onward march to peace, democracy and Socialism.

**LONG LIVE THE AITUC!  
LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF  
THE INDIAN WORKING  
CLASS!  
LONG LIVE THE FRATER-  
NAL ALLIANCE OF THE  
DEMOCRATIC MASSES!  
LONG LIVE WORLD PEACE!  
WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
— UNITE!**

## RALLY TO SUPPORT OF TATA WORKERS

—Resolution of National Council, Communist Party of India

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India greets the workers of Jamshedpur for their heroic struggle against the onslaught of the Tatas in the face of severe government repression.

The National Council notes that the Tatas and the Government have joined together to work up a campaign of slander against the Communists in order to justify their attacks against the Jamshedpur workers.

The National Council considers that the TISCO workers were fully justified in organising a token strike in protest against the Tatas who refused to give any increase in wages, etc., during the last eight years despite soaring cost of living and continuous rise in the production, prices and profits of TISCO steel. And further, even the token strike came about because of the refusal of the Government of India to set up a wage board for the steel industry as per the decision of the 15th Indian Labour Conference.

The National Council is constrained to note that instead of giving any consideration to the demands of the workers even after the peaceful token strike, the Government and the Tatas decided to wreak vengeance on the workers for daring to protest against the Tatas and embarked upon a provocative policy of mass victimisation, closure of the plant and unleashed a reign of terror by calling in the army, resorting to wanton firing, lathi-charges and mass arrests.

And it is this provocative and vindictive attack on the workers with scant regard for the production of steel that is sought to be hidden through the talk of a Communist plot

to blow up the plant and sabotage the Five-Year Plan.

It is a matter of great concern that even today the Government is pursuing its policy of repression in a spirit of vindictiveness. Nearly 700 workers are being prosecuted in scores of criminal cases, the leaders are being refused release on bail and treated as Class III prisoners and the Labour Department refuses even to start conciliation over the question of hundreds of workers who have been dismissed on the charge of participation in illegal strike, though the question of legality or otherwise is yet to be decided by a court of law.

The Government not only refuses to consider any of the demands of the workers even today but is engaged in actively helping the Tatas in increasing the workload through efforts to double the production of steel without any increase in the total labour force.

The National Council wants to tell the Government and the Tatas that the workers cannot be cowed down by the methods that they have chosen to adopt and urges upon them to take immediate steps for meeting the demands of the workers regarding dearness allowance, wages, workload, reinstatement, withdrawal of cases and settlement of the question of union recognition as per the resolution of the Government of Bihar.

While congratulating the workers of Jamshedpur for their magnificent unity and determination in the face of such severe attacks, the National Council calls upon workers all over the country to rally to the support of the Tata workers so that the combined offensive of the Tatas and the Government may be reversed.

## Oil Refinery Agreement Signed With Rumania

ON October 20, 1958, the Government of India and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic signed an agreement in Bucharest for the building of an oil refinery in India. Signing on behalf of the Indian Government was Sri K. D. Malaviya, Minister for Fuel and Mines, and Mr. Marcel Popescu, Minister for Commerce, signed on behalf of the Rumanian Government.

During his visit to Rumania, Sri Malaviya was received by Mr. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secre-

tary of the Rumanian Workers' Party and member of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, by Mr. Chivu Stoica, Prime Minister of Rumania. He had also talks with Mr. Emil Bodnaras, Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Mihail Florescu, Minister for Oil and Chemical Industry, as well as Mr. Marcel Popescu, Minister for Commerce.

The Indian Minister also visited factories, oil refineries and oil fields and had talks with specialists and technicians who will be in charge of building the refinery in India.

[FULL STORY NEXT WEEK]