

# NEW AGE

## COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. VII NO. 47

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1959

25 nP.

# CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL

## ★ Report on Meerut Session by Ziaul Haq

The momentous Meerut session of the National Council of the Communist Party of India which was being watched with such close interest by diverse elements inside and outside the country has come to a close. It came to a close on November 15 on a note of unity and determination to face the serious and grim situation that is emerging in the country.

THE atmosphere in which the National Council had assembled in that town on November 10 had undergone a definite transformation during the days that the Council had been in session there and a more serious and sympathetic mood had come over the people.

A considerable number for the town, some five thousand people gathered in the evening of the 15th on the Town Hall grounds and stayed there for four hours listening to the outcome of the Council's deliberations. They were addressed at length on the question of India-China relations and Right reaction's offensive by Secretariat members B. T. Ranadive and Z. A. Ahmad and for a short while at the beginning on the significance of the forthcoming mid-term elections in Kerala by E. M. S. Namboodiripad. Others who addressed that public meeting were Sohan Singh Josh, Sajjad Zaheer and Hajrah Begum.

### Public Meeting

The seriousness with which our people consider the problem and the keenness with which they desire its speedy and just, peaceful and amicable settlement were fully reflected at the meeting and the chairman, Dr. Dharmen-Dranath Shastri, stated in his remarks that there had been no meeting of this character in Meerut for years and decades.

What was it that this National Council had been discussing for five days? The basis of the discussions on India-China relations was a draft resolution

prepared by the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

In placing it before the Council, General Secretary Ajoy Ghosh warned the Party against any false optimism. He said that however the situation might improve, there was not going to be any smooth sailing for the Party and the democratic forces in the country. The campaign that had been worked up did not have China alone as its target, he explained. It was specifically directed, he said, against the system of parliamentary democracy, against India's foreign policy of non-alignment and against the Communist Party of India. It had very much in view the crucial mid-term elections in Kerala.

Hence, said Ajoy Ghosh, whatever temporary improvements might take place in the situation—and the Chinese Premier's latest letter did certainly open up real possibilities for the easing of tension and advancing towards an amicable settlement of the India-China border dispute—at every slightest sign of improvement a new wave of campaign was bound to be whipped up by the interested parties.

### For A Campaign Now

Serious damage had been done by this border dispute and this damage had to be repaired, said Ajoy Ghosh. Our Party, by taking initiative and unleashing a big campaign, had to play an important role in this which no one else can play.

In commending the draft of the present resolution, the General Secretary said that it de-

finied what the CPI considered to be the basis of negotiations between our country and China and said this would enable the Party to go into a full-throated campaign. Maps and mountains, history and geography that were being brought up from both sides to support claims and counter-claims might be important, but to settle the question, the most important consideration which had to be kept in mind was the administrative and political reality of today. A realistic stand on both sides was the need of the hour.

The General Secretary referred to the insistence in certain quarters on the charge of aggression against China and asked if this thing was going to help our country in any way. It certainly would not help the forces of progress and Socialism in India.

### Negotiation And Settlement

Settlement is the most important thing and negotiations are necessary to achieve it. But this certainly would not be helped by either side insisting on its own positions being accepted in advance by other.

Ajoy Ghosh's keynote speech was followed by a general discussion on the subject of the draft resolution. As many as 37 out of the 90 and odd members present participated in this and it continued for full two days, November 11 and 12. The intervening night was utilised by the Council members for a thorough discussion of the draft in their respective camps and in framing amendments to the draft.

Important contributions in the discussion were made by P. Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu, S. A. Dange, Z. A. Ahmad, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, G. Adhikari, Somnath Lahiri, H. K. Vyas,

\* SEE PAGE 4

We inaugurate a column by  
**E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD**

## THE KERALA ELECTION FUND

TRIVANDRUM, November 17

I AM sure that Party members and friends of the Party have seen the appeal made by the National Council for contributions to be made to the Kerala Election Fund.

During my recent visit to the various States, friends everywhere expressed their eagerness to help. Many of them wanted some of us to undertake more intensive visits outside the State. I, however, had to tell them that since electioneering work in our own State has to be started in right earnest, now it will be impossible for any of us to spare the time for it.

I, would, therefore appeal to all friends to start collections and to send the amounts so collected to the following address:

Secretary,  
Communist Party of  
India,  
Kerala State Committee,  
TRIVANDRUM.

May I remind all friends that we are in urgent and even desperate need of money. Our opponents have the backing of a number of extremely wealthy people. Many of their candidates are themselves people who can spend, on their own, huge amounts. On the other hand, we have only the sympathy and support of millions of people outside and the self-sacrificing and energetic work of our young men and women in Kerala.

Our opponents are spreading a false story that we have a huge amount to fall back upon. One of the newspapers has gone to the

—E. M. S. Namboodiripad

extent of putting the amount at our disposal at Rs. three crores.

I, may, however, inform our friends in all the States that the amount we have so far received from all over India is just about Rs. one lakh. But this Rs. one lakh is doing several times the work it would have done in the hands of Congress leaders. For, every Naya Paisa that is received in our office is sure to enable the tens of thousands of our selfless workers to have minimum technical equipment (like jeeps and mikes) to carry on effective electioneering work and also for such unavoidable expenditure as printing of forms for enrolment of voters, for filing claims and objections, etc.

Our Party does not require a large number of paid workers to keep an electioneering organisation going. It is the common people themselves who are carrying on our electioneering work; nor do we require to keep in reserve any amount for directly or indirectly bribing the voters on the eve of polling. We have such voters as will cast their votes as a matter of duty with the full consciousness that they are thereby serving themselves and the nation.

It is only because there are certain items of expenditure (like printing and stationery, purchase and upkeep of jeeps and mikes, etc.) that we require finance to the tune of a few thousands for every constituency. It is for this that we are issuing the appeal to all our friends all over the country.

## Resolutions Of The National Council... Pages 7, 8, 9 & 10

# INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

... NATIONAL COUNCIL  
RESOLUTION  
ON PAGE 7

## THE LAMA MENACE

DALHOUSIE was a quiet sort of place till the time of the descent of the Lamas. Now its peace is threatened and its young women—even school-girls—often scared out of their wits. It seems that bad days have fallen on the more sacred among our Tibetan guests. They are forbidden—according to scriptures interpreted by themselves—to work, we are told, and lesser mortals are supposed to approach them only on bent knees and with their tongues hanging out, as a sign of awe.

But the other Tibetans have begun to drop some of their fear of these almighty beings—their 'magic messages' of dung and flour flung in the direction of Tibet to destroy the "infidel Chinese" have borne no fruit. And Indians neither drop on their knees nor stick out their tongues but ask the Lamas to do a job of work.

Stung by this sacrilege and working up their frustrated feelings these holy men have begun to go about with sticks and knives. Carnal passions continue to work despite monastic robes and the old supply system having been disrupted, Dalhousie's young women are in danger.

These pleasant pastimes apart, a more sinister aspect is the circulation by the Lamas of Kuomintang propaganda, said to have come from Kalimpong. The moth-eaten Chiang is shown at his youthful best and his message is directed straight at the Tibetans—to join him when he begins his "libera-

# SCRAP-BOOK

tion" march. All manner of grossly insulting remarks are there in plenty against Mao Tse-tung and the People's Republic.

Dalhousie is near enough Delhi for the Government of India to check up this story, to put the Lamas in their place and to see that KMT propaganda sheets are not freely distributed.

## "SELL SADOBA" OPERATION

S.K. PATIL has returned home, only a few weeks after Morarjibhai. It is strongly rumoured that Sadoba is feeling mighty pleased. He is going round saying that Morarjibhai was able to get nothing.

The Development Loan Fund's new demand—buy American at 40 per cent more cost—is wickedly put down to the bungling of our austere Finance Minister.

In contrast the Food Minister claims that his Food Bank idea has caught on and this will save India enough foreign exchange and Indian cash to pay for Morarji's muddling. The conclusion—Patil is more efficient, more the man to do business for India abroad.

But this is not all. He has for quite some time been chafing at the rude fact that

Morarji has been built up abroad as the successor to Nehru. And so while helping India, he decided to help himself also, it is said. To begin with, his aides and officers began the "Sell Sadoba" operation. The line was that he was the real tough guy, the man who had smashed the Communists in Andhra, who had no crankish ideas and had the confidence of the Indian tycoons.

After this the hero himself stepped in and made a big hit, especially with the Iron Chancellor, Herr Adenauer. We don't quite know what the two talked about but we are sure it was nothing to do with food. Patil is reported to have made a masterly survey of India's political scene. In return he may have got a promise or two—to bombshell Morarji with at some crucial Cabinet session.

Of course, our Finance chief is no chicken, either. We can expect some fine manoeuvres and machinations between the two. But where in all this is India and where ethics?

## BEHIND S. P. JAIN'S GRIMACE

ON the eve of the Prime Minister's birthday, the readers of the Times of India were given an ugly shock. There prominently displayed was Shanti Prasad Jain grimacing gracefully with a smiling Nehru.

The occasion was the handing over of a birthday volume on Nehru to the Prime Minister. Distinguished men have written in it and many others laboured hard to make it a worthwhile effort. It is very likely that it will be a worthy addition to Nehruana.

Cunning Shanti Prasad thought this a wonderful chance to get some wholesome publicity—he has had a bad Press for some time. He is the man who is reported to have once asked Frank Moraes—before penning an editorial on West Asia—if Teheran was the capital of Kabul! But learning is not necessary when your money can talk. And so it was he who had to personally hand over the book and have his picture taken together with Nehru.

We don't know the PM's feelings but we do remember Nehru's remark about Shanti Prasad's father-in-law, Dalmia, "An ugly man with an ugly face and an

ugly soul"—the son-in-law is hardly different in pattern.

He is the man eleven of whose companies are being investigated by the Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission. He has refused to answer questions about one of them—Allen Berry—since court proceedings have been instituted against it, including a charge under Section 420. He is the man who had to pay Rs. five lakhs fine (earlier a fine of Rs. 55 lakhs had been ordered) for keeping undeclared foreign bank accounts. He is the man who has a case against him—and his wife—for returning with about twice as many dollars (again undeclared) as he had been sanctioned before leaving India.

Yet another ICS officer has obviously even bigger resources. He, too, was in Defence and then in Commerce and Industry but some intrigue of fellow civilians drove him off to Chandigarh. He is said to have sent his son for education in one of the exclusive Public Schools of England—the boy will stay there for some 11 or 12 years.

To ensure that the son is not lonely, Dad and Mum are packing their bags for a European holiday. They, too, have decided to spare the nation's exchequer but still won't feel the pinch abroad. The question is—how were the reserves built up?

## JAUNTS IN EUROPE

TALKING about scarce foreign exchange, some envious people have begun to murmur that some of our top Indian officials don't seem to feel the shortage.

A Joint Secretary, connected with India's oil refineries and recently recruited from a big foreign private oil monopoly, has gone off on a jaunt all over Europe to learn about refining processes even in countries without much of an oil industry. And for good measure, his wife has gone along, perhaps, for a shopping spree. This is direct waste of our foreign exchange.

A senior ICS officer of the Defence Ministry (formerly a topnotcher in the Finance

Ministry) and his wife have, however, gone one better. They are touring Europe by car, after a happy stay in Britain. From there, they are reported to be going on to the United States as a happy finale to their jaunt. And they, it is said, didn't ask a single franc, penny or cent of foreign exchange. Then how did they manage? Concealed bank accounts? Business friends of different nationalities helping out for favours rendered? Or what? Why can't a probe give us the facts?

PRATAP is a Hindu communalist daily—written in Urdu. It has been mighty vociferous about the so-called "foreign" propaganda material printed in progressive journals. We have been reliably told, however, that its Sunday edition dated November 22 will be a "Hate China" special, duly financed by the USIS. Tongues further wag that Pratap will ask its writers to take a day off and its translators to get busy—USIS is also supplying the articles!

## "HATE CHINA" —WHO PAYS?

—ONLOOKER

November 17

# WAGE BOARD IN STEEL?

THE Government of India is likely to appoint a Wage Board in the iron and steel industry soon. This was indicated by Union Labour Minister Gulzarilal Nanda during his visit to Bhilai in October.

It will be recalled that the demand for a Wage Board in the iron and steel industry was raised by the AITUC long ago, and figured prominently in the Jamsheer dispute and the strike there in May last year.

According to the agreement at the 15th Indian Labour Conference held in Delhi in 1957, a Wage Board was to be constituted for iron and steel, among other industries.

Apart from the chaotic wage conditions existing in the TISCO and IISCO in Jamsheer and Burnpur, a proper wage policy in the State Sector steel plants has also been completely lacking. A formal announcement of the constitution of the Wage Board in this industry is still awaited.

## INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

### U.K.'S BID TO REGAIN LEAD FROM USA

### Capital Exports To India

THE visit of the Director-General of the Federation of British Industries, Sir Norman Kipping, to New Delhi recently, and the high-level talks he held in the Capital are significant pointers to the 'British monopolists' renewed confidence to hold their own in the Commonwealth. They are also indicative of growing Anglo-American contradictions.

Never before in the post-war period did Britain attain production indices it now has, nor was pound sterling so singularly free from any dependency on the American currency. In fact, now the tables have been turned with the United States, so long sustaining Britain, seeking the latter's help to postpone the day when it may have to devalue the "almighty" dollar.

The first response of the U.K. in this connection has already come in the form of throwing itself open to imports from the dollar lands and the repayment of a 250-million-dollar loan five years before it was due. No doubt, by advancing the date of repayment it has saved interest charges and got back dollar securities, pledged as collateral.

Apart from these two steps, however, the U.K. is not likely to go farther in accommodating its one-time benefactor. On the contrary, its effort now would be to retrieve the position it had earlier conceded to the United States in its erstwhile dependencies. This is noticeable as much from refusal to relax the Commonwealth tariffs as from moves to match the U.S. efforts in exporting capital to underdeveloped countries.

### Significance Of Moves

The significance of these moves can be judged better if viewed in the context of the ascendancy which the United States had been gaining in making private investments in India and other countries—a pheno-

# W. BENGAL BEGINS

CALCUTTA, November 13  
Premier Chou En-lai's proposal contained in his letter to Prime Minister Nehru for the settlement of the Indo-China border dispute has been widely acclaimed by political circles here.

In a forthright statement, the Secretariat of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India has welcomed the Chinese proposal for a Nehru-Chou meeting as "highly sensible and timely".

Explaining the importance of the Chinese proposal the statement says, the proposal has come at a time "when imperialists and reactionary elements are seriously trying to create a war-psychosis by taking advantage of the fast deteriorating India-China relations. At this critical moment a meeting between Nehru and Chou for a peaceful solution of the border disputes will mark a new beginning in the struggle of the Asian peoples against imperialist intrigues in their countries."

### Call For Campaign

Pointing out that parties and persons who are "inter-

called for a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

### Seize The Opportunity

T. N. Sidhanta, Secretary of the BPTUC, has welcomed the Chinese offer as a very good basis for the peaceful settlement of the dispute. The noted journalist, Vivekananda Mukherjee, has in a meeting held here on Tuesday, greeted the Chinese Premier for his letter to Nehru. Mukherjee hoped that Nehru would be able to "overcome opposition from the reactionary circles and seize the opportunity for a settlement offered by Chou En-lai."

Already the Secretariat has worked out details of the campaign which, to begin with, will include intensive leafletting and street corner meetings. Reports are coming in of largely attended meetings in Howrah, Calcutta and other districts.

Support to Premier Chou En-lai's proposals has also been lent by the Forward Bloc, the Socialist Unity Centre and the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

Amar Bose, MLA, President of the Forward Bloc (Marxist), has said in a statement: "I am glad that the Chinese Premier has proposed a meeting of the Prime Ministers of

Dr. D. N. Sen, a noted authority on International Law, has hoped that the Chinese proposal will help to relax the tension, which unfortunately, has lately been increased by the "thoughtless acts and utterances" of some people.

He has further expressed the hope that "Prime Minister Nehru and his Government will accept Chou En-lai's proposal as the basis for a peaceful negotiation and act accordingly."

## Campaign For India-China

### Negotiations To Settle Border Dispute

ested in keeping up and aggravating Indo-Chinese dis-

the two countries which, I hope, will take place quite soon. A quick relaxation of tension is very welcome, for only the imperialists will gain from a quarrel between India and China."

The United States, however, is not to be caught napping. Realising that its official aid programmes cannot now be maintained at the previous level it is now pressing for greater incentives for private investments. In its latest agreement with India for avoidance of double taxation and its pressure for guarantees against expropriation it has provided credits, not only for taxes actually paid in India, but also for taxes which would have been paid but for concessions given by the Indian Government.

### Ominous Trend

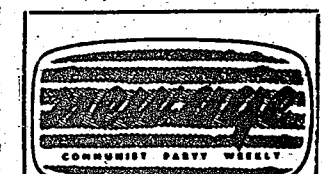
On an international plane also, some new trends towards joining hands with other countries—provided certain preconditions are fulfilled—are now visible in the United States. The fact that these preconditions prescribe the development of the recipient countries to conform to a certain pattern—by no means "Socialist"—makes this new trend all the more ominous.

Sibdas Ghose, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre, has said: "Premier Chou En-lai's latest proposal has once again demonstrated China's eagerness for a peaceful settlement of the border dispute. India Government should take advantage of this offer and quickly settle the dispute by mutual discussion."

The RSP leader, Jatin Chakravarty, MLA, has welcomed the conciliatory tone of Chou's letter. Though he has some reservation about the implications of the offer, as far as the Ladakh area is concerned, he has "heartily welcomed" the proposal for a meeting of the two Prime Ministers.

He says: "Every progressive Indian will pray for a peaceful solution of the dispute, for, otherwise the reactionary forces in the country will take advantage of the border dispute to strengthen themselves and that will be a serious danger to our democratic movement and institutions."

The General Secretary of the Democratic Vanguard, Jibanlal Chatterjee, has also



EDITOR: P. C. Joshi  
Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. Road New Delhi, and published by him from 7/4, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi

Phone: 25794

Telegraphic Address: MARXBADI

SUBSCRIPTION RATES  
INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;  
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and  
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.  
FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 16-0-0;  
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# National Council Discusses India-China Relations

Ranen Sen, P. K. Vasudevan Nair, Sajjad Zaheer, Bhupesh Gupta, Romesh Chandra, M. Basavapuniah, P. Ramamurti, M. N. Govindan Nair, Harkishen Singh Surjeet, S. G. Sardesai, Indrajit Gupta, P. Jeevanandam, Bhowani Sen, Jolly Kaul, Achinta Bhattacharya and Harekrishna Konar.

Sharp differences in approach and emphasis and sometimes even in outlook were revealed in the discussion. But even from the discussion it was clear that a great majority of the National Council members were in agreement with the general line of the CEC's draft resolution.

When the Council reassembled on the 13th morning, it was found that as many as 85 amendments had been received and it had not been possible for the CEC to sift and sort out these and to decide which, if any, of these could be incorporated in its own draft. It was, therefore, decided to postpone consideration of specific amendments till the next day.

Meanwhile, the National Council proceeded to consider two other important resolutions,

one on Kerala and the other on the conduct of the Maharashtra Committee and Comrades S. A. Dange and S. G. Sardesai.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad and M. N. Govindan Nair in their speeches substantiated and elaborated the resolution on Kerala and B. T. Ranadive and Indrajit Gupta moved amendments which were accepted and incorporated in the resolution after which it was unanimously adopted by the National Council.

General Secretary Ajoy Ghosh, moving the other resolution, pointed out that harm had been done to the Party's position among the masses and in the country by certain public pronouncements made by S. A. Dange and S. G. Sardesai and certain stand taken by the Maharashtra Committee of the Party.

The fundamental organisational principles on which the Communist Party is built could not be allowed to be violated whatever the stresses and provocations to which the Party may be subjected from time to time. At the same time, said Ajoy Ghosh, the

Party should not take a very stiff attitude in the circumstances. Hence it was suggested that the penalty of public censure be applied against the Maharashtra unit and the comrades concerned.

S. A. Dange acknowledged his error in departing from the accepted code of Party discipline. S. G. Sardesai in an impassioned speech reiterated his loyalty to the Party and its basic organisational principles. The Council rejected proposals both for a stiffer as well as a milder punishment for the erring comrades.

On the same day, which was the eve of Jawaharlal Nehru's 70th birthday, the Council asked the General Secretary to convey the Communist Party's warm greetings to the Prime Minister wishing him "many more years of active life in the service of the Indian people and the cause of world peace."

The National Council resumed next day the consideration of the resolution on India-China relations. The CEC came forward with certain amendments incorporating a number of points raised in the discussion

as well as in the amendments proposed by individual members and the General Secretary in a short speech summed up the discussion.

He reiterated the basic features of the CPI's stand on the India-China border dispute departing from which he said would mean departing from principles. He refuted the charge that the CPI was taking this particular stand in the present case because it involved China. He recalled the Party's stand in our country's disputes with Pakistan. "We want the same in relation to all our neighbouring countries, especially a country with whom we have signed the Panchsheel."

The amendments proposed by the CEC were adopted by an overwhelming majority. The rest of the amendments were either withdrawn or lost, except for one amendment moved by S. A. Dange.

The amended resolution was then passed by the National Council with no one voting against it. A few members, however, abstained from voting either way on the resolution.

This was a major achievement in the cause of political unification and organisational cohesion of the Party, which has become so necessary to enable it to meet the difficult situation. Never before has perhaps the collective wisdom of our entire Party been brought so fully and thoroughly to bear upon a serious and complicated problem in such a spirit of finding maximum common ground among ourselves and with all those who sincerely and soberly seek a solution in the best interests of the country.

The remaining two sittings of the session—the afternoon of

the 14th and the morning of the 15th—were devoted to a general discussion on the political situation and trends in the country. The basis of discussion was a draft political report which was presented by M. Basavapuniah. Although in the circumstances it could not be adequately prepared for, it was a most valuable discussion.

Participants in the discussion were Master Hari Singh, Thimma Reddy, Hajrah Begum, Shiv Kumar Misra, H. K. Vyas, Renu Chakravarty, Bhowani Sen, P. Sundarayya, H. S. Surjeet, Harekrishna Konar, Nagi Reddy, B. T. Ranadive, Jolly M. Kaul, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Dinkar Mehta, P. C. Joshi and Bhupesh Gupta.

What emerged from this discussion was a general agreement on the three-fold task facing the Party—mass mobilisation to stem the current offensive of Right reaction, to safeguard the Constitution against reactionary attacks and to ensure the defence of the popular interests against growing attacks.

The National Council directed the CEC to prepare a full Political Report and place it before the next Council meeting which it was suggested should be held as soon as possible after the Kerala elections are over.

The Council adopted two more resolutions on the last day—one congratulating the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat and the other on sugar-cane prices.

The National Council session has certainly demonstrated the growing maturity of the Communist Party of India. It has infused new confidence and strength in the Party. Many very serious weaknesses and shortcomings were brought to light and pinpointed at the session. But the earnestness about raising the unity of the Party to a higher and adequate political level which permeated the whole proceedings of the National Council is a guarantee that the task will be seriously tackled.

## IN HUNGARY

Győr (Western Hungary) is a town which has grown into an industrial centre with a population of 85,000 during the past fifteen years. Known as the "town of the four rivers", Győr is the seat of a county, which on March 16, 1959 resolved to become a "cooperative county", a decision reached by its 177 villages which teamed up to pursue cooperative, large-scale, mechanised farming.

Many factors went into this decision. One of them was the income of the 132 cooperative farms which existed earlier in the county. On an average, their members earned 41 forints per work unit (the basis for computing work norms in agriculture) despite the drought in 1958. Some of them paid even more like the Haladás Cooperative Farm at Sopron, for instance, where the members received 91 forints per work unit. Here a family of two earned 48,000 forints plus the income derived from their household plots.

### "Cooperative County"

On March 18, 1959, a sign board was put up on the county line reading "Cooperative County". It is well worthwhile taking a look behind that sign board.

Rabakoz is the largest single region in Győr-Sopron County. For centuries the peasants here have carefully cultivated every inch of soil, although the land has never been too fertile. The climate of the region is continental but it is cooled by humid winds blowing off the Alps and practically every known plant flourishes on its soil.

In the old days, the region was dominated by big landowners. Corn was a major crop grown both on large and small farms with yields running to 35.40 quintals per hold (one hold=1.42 acres). A peasant was able to breed four or five pigs with the price he got for 25 quintals of corn.

Sugarbeet paid better, and it was preferred by the Rabakoz peasants also because the sugar mills of Fertoszentmiklos and Vasvár were near-by, making transport easier. Then too the peasant received 60 per cent of the sugarbeet back from the factory in the form of wet or dry fodder, and the beet tops were fed to the livestock through autumn. Cattle bred on dry beet tops developed rapidly and the manure built up the fertility of the soil.

New plants grew rapidly on the improved land, and it was no accident that after liberation, research workers at the Sopronhorpacs Experimental Institute developed a new type of sugarbeet called the "Rose Beta" from a type produced by Istvan Major, a small farmer living at Egyhazasafau.

The milk, butter and curd produced by the peasants in the county were popular items as far as the Ober-Enns river which the Hungarians jokingly called the "region beyond the seven seas". That is why the livestock population here was the largest in the country, with 20-30 head of cattle per hold as against the national average of eight to nine.

Another region of the county, known as the Hansag, is good grazing land. Be-

fore liberation, Prince Eszterhazy kept vast herds on his estate here, establishing a meat factory at Kapuvar and a cheese factory at Repcelak. The whey obtained from the processed milk became a factor in pig breeding.

The peasants farming in the vicinity of Győr, Sopron and Vienna sold not only their surplus produce, but deprived themselves of eggs, milk and fruit at times of shortages in these products to sell them on the market. Modern technique and machinery were not employed to raise labour productivity although without these aids, intensive agriculture cannot be expanded.

### In The People's Republic

Industrial corps grown in the region of the Raba, Repce and Marcal rivers were in great demand abroad. For instance, chicory grown here brought in hard currency from Sweden, Norway and other Scandinavian countries. Consequently a chicory factory was built at Mosonmagyaróvár. One of the biggest distilling plants in the county purchased the entire potato crop of the county. Foreign tradesmen went to Szigetkoz to buy garden produce.

So Győr-Sopron County lying along the frontier became a "raw material source" for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy because of its geo-

graphical location, cheap transport and semi-manufactured or finished goods. This trend was promoted by the fact that from the mid-19th century onwards, Austria provided Germany with large quantities of bulk goods in return for industrial articles.

At the end of the century, Hungary became known as the granary of Central Europe supplying an integrated economic region with a population of 120 million with agricultural produce.

But due to Hungary's position as a semi-colony, her people did not benefit from this situation. Agricultural production under both the monarchy and the feudal-capitalist regime of Horthy, was unable to keep level with the trend in the world economy and, at the most, was able to meet only momentary partial recovery. It was the county's favourable geographical location which kept it going during the existence of the monarchy. The peasants did not display an "economic sense" in producing and marketing, and were able to resist the disintegrating effect of the latifundia only by drawing the appropriate conclusions from the production

methods adopted by the big farms in order to fight for their own existence.

The gradual dwindling of mistrust among the individual peasants was a major factor boosting the cooperative movement. Though the middle peasants did not agree with the Communists on all issues, they were ready to listen and talk. They realised that their competitor had been eliminated in 1945. But, if they wanted to rise above the miserable standard furnished by the small plot, they would have to replace it with a form of cooperative large-scale farming.

There could be no doubt that large-scale farming based on mutual help was advantageous for the Hungarian peasant here. In 1958, cooperatives built more barns, filling them with improved cattle stock. The cooperatives used 220 pounds of fertiliser per hold, considerably increasing the soil's fertility. Cooperatives like the Kossuth at Potyond and the Dozsa Nepe at Lovo sold large quantities of produce to the State this year. Most of the cooperatives harvested produce valued at 160,000-170,000 forints per 100 holds. The smallholders and middle peasants produced much less, though this county has been

wheat, 15 quintals more rye and 11 quintals more sugarbeet per hold than the individual peasants, thus demonstrating the superiority of the cooperatives in every sphere.

As indicated by the facts, this development was hastened in Győr-Sopron County because the political and economic conditions were better than in previous years. The skilled middle peasants put aside their mistrust and strengthened cooperative development in the county by providing pedigree animals and good equipment. The ploughland increased to 286,248 holds and despite the fact that the cooperatives were set up late in winter or early in spring, a considerable part of the land was planted to major crops. Sugarbeet was sown on 5.5 per cent of the ploughland compared to 3.5 per cent in 1958. The sowing area of rough fodders and leguminous plants was also increased. Vegetables were planted on a larger area although this required foresight because the cooperatives were set up in January and February, and a delay in vegetable gardening would have endangered the crop.

Streams are being used to irrigate the land, especially for truck gardening. For instance, Gyorszemere farmers have traditionally grown vegetables for the market, and now that they have become cooperative members, the Bakonyer stream has been harnessed for irrigation. Or take the villagers of Rabaszentmihaly and Kisgakov, who used the backwater of the Marcal river to set up large scale poultry farming.

### Good Start For Co-ops

The twelve machine stations in the county also gave a hand in promoting this extensive development. To revolutionise technique, the cooperatives have been supplied with 127 all-purpose tractors, 15 type DT 413 tractors and hundreds of implements since the end of March. In spring when the movement to end small scale farming got underway, 830 machines and plenty of horse-drawn equipment was put into operation. State farms also brought in their equipment so as to complete the field work on the cooperative land as soon as possible. The factory workers from the cities pitched in to help the new cooperatives get off to a good start.

Obviously these results made an impressive showing among the individual farmers. They realised that a cooperative farm was good to the extent that it was Socialist and large-scale, and bad to the extent it still had elements of small-scale farming. So they reasoned if a cooperative was established, it should be a cooperative and not a group of people cultivating on a small scale. Even individual farmers with old-fashioned views observed that mechanised agriculture was outstripping them in crop growing and stock farming. In 1958, the cooperative farms reaped 1.4 quintals more

Healthy Self-Reliance

Unwilling to rely much on their Government for funds, the cooperatives got busy building up their farms out of their own resources. Construction gangs were organised, and they built barns to house 410 cattle up to June 10, 1959; 220 buildings are nearing completion, 640 are ready for use, walls were put up for 1,050 other buildings and foundations laid for 673

### Major Factor

In 1955, the county's individual peasants were growing clover and alfalfa on 17,464 holds of land. In 1957, due to the agrarian policy of the Party and Government, the peasants were growing leguminous plants on 25,532 holds of land by expanding intensive farming. In 1957, sugarbeet was grown on 8,342 holds compared to the 6,936 holds in 1955. These factors gave a tremendous push to stock farming as well.

The individual farmers were supplied with good seed,

World renowned implements from Soviet industry...

**Exports**  
MACHINE TOOLS, PRESSES & HAMMERS, BALL BEARINGS, MICROSCOPES, ABRASIVES, MECHANICAL MEASURING TOOLS, GEAR & MILLING CUTTERS ETC.

STANKOIMPORT MOSCOW

**Exports**  
ELECTRICAL MACHINES & EQUIPMENT, COMPRESSORS, & PUMPING SETS, DIESEL GENERATORS, PRINTING MACHINERY, TEXTILE MACHINERY, BUILDING MACHINERY, MINING & DRILLING EQUIPMENT ETC.

MACHINOEXPORT MOSCOW

**Exports**  
AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY & IMPLEMENTS, WHEEL & CRAWLER TRACTORS, EARTH-MOVING MACHINERY, DUMPERS, MOBILE WORKSHOPS & GARAGE EQUIPMENT

AVTOEXPORT MOSCOW

## Urdu Weekly "AWAMI DAUR"

- Arrangements for the publication of the Urdu Weekly have now been completed. Publication would commence from Sunday, December 6, 1959.
- AWAMI DAUR would be of 16 pages in 20x30 1/4 size. Yearly subscription—Rs. ten; half-yearly—Rs. five; single copy 25 nP.
- AWAMI DAUR would be a weekly of wide political and cultural interests with a progressive outlook. Among its regular contributors would be eminent Urdu writers, poets, short-story writers, critics, historians, etc.
- Editor-in-Chief of AWAMI DAUR would be Syed Sajjad Zaheer and Editor: Asrar Ahmad Azad, to whom all editorial communications should be addressed.

Write to: Manager, AWAMI DAUR, 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi-1.

TRADE REPRESENTATION OF THE U.S.S.R. IN INDIA  
BOMBAY Branch: 46, Poddar Road. NEW DELHI: House No. 21, Block 48, Panch Sheel Marg, Connaught Place. CALCUTTA Branch: 1, Manjiv Chetty Street.

# CPI National Council

## Resolution On

(Resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its session in Meerut, November 10 to 15, 1959.)

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with concern the deterioration in India-China relations that has taken place in recent months. The two countries who were the first to proclaim the principles of Panchsheel have tended to drift apart over the question of settling their borders. The feeling of friendship has given way to feelings of bitterness and mutual suspicion and distrust.

### Grief Over Ladakh Incident

The National Council expresses its profound grief over the death of Indian personnel in the Ladakh incident and sends its condolences to their families.

The National Council is firmly of the opinion that it will be harmful to the interests of our country as well as of China and dangerous to the cause of world peace if the situation is allowed to drift any further and immediate steps are not taken to settle the border question in a friendly and amicable manner. Imperialists are seeking to utilise the present discord between India and China to put pressure on our country to abandon its independent foreign policy and to weaken Afro-Asian solidarity.

Taking advantage of the differences between the two countries that started from the time of the activities of Tibetan rebels, reactionary forces in our country such as the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra Party, the leadership of the PSP and some influential elements inside the Congress had already launched a campaign of hatred against China. With the occurrence of the first incident, they whipped up war psychosis and raised the false cry of Chinese aggression and threat to India's territorial integrity.

### Reaction's Machinations

These developments are being deliberately magnified and exploited for diverting people's attention from the problems of their life and living, for disrupting and suppressing the country's democratic movement. No wonder these elements are concentrating fire against the Communist Party which stands today as a powerful unifier of the patriotic and democratic forces, as a champion of India's peace policy, as also the defender of the rights and interests of the masses.

The Communist Party of India warns the people against the activities of these forces. Our Party has declared several times that it stands firmly for the defence of the territorial integrity of India. While reiterating the declaration, the

Government of China that the Line is illegal because it was the result of exchange of secret notes and was moreover never recognised by any Central Government of China. The Government of India, however, takes a different view of the matter.

The National Council feels that whatever the origin of the MacMahon Line may be, the fact cannot be ignored that for several years this has been the frontier of India and the area south of this line has been under Indian administration. The National Council holds that the area south of the MacMahon Line is now a part of India and should remain in India.

As regards the Western border, the Government of India has taken the correct stand that the traditional border in this sector should be accepted. There is, however, a dispute as to what exactly is the traditional border. Pandit Nehru had stated in Parliament that this was "a complicated matter... a vaguer area, so far as the frontier is concerned because

# INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

The exact frontier is not at all clear as in the case of the MacMahon Line." All this makes it obvious that the proper delineation of the traditional line would require friendly discussions between our Government and the Government of China.

### Call For Negotiations

The National Council urges that the Governments of India and China should start negotiations without either of them making the acceptance of its own stand by the other as a condition precedent for the starting of negotiations. Meanwhile, it is of paramount importance that border incidents and clashes are scrupulously avoided. For this, it is essential that pending final settlement, the status quo is maintained by both sides, no intrusions are made by any side into the territory held by the other and firing and similar harmful occurrences are avoided at all costs.

### Delimitation Of Border

After carefully considering every factor all the arguments advanced, the National Council feels that such settlement is possible if political and administrative realities are taken as the most important factor in the formal delimitation of the frontier.

As regards what is generally known as the MacMahon Line, it has been stat-

# GREETINGS TO THE PRIME MINISTER

MEERUT, November 13, 1959

Message of greetings sent to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his Seventieth Birthday:

My dear Panditji,

On behalf of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting now in Meerut, I convey to you warm greetings on your Seventieth Birthday. We wish you many more years of active life in the service of the Indian people and the cause of world peace.

Yours sincerely,  
AJYO GHOSH,  
General Secretary,  
Communist Party of India

to settle the entire border issue meets with the ardent desire of millions of people in India and China and of all peace-loving peoples who are anxious to see an immediate end to this deplorable chapter in India-China relations and to see abiding friendship between the two countries built on firm foundations.

The letter also contains proposals which demonstrate readiness to ensure the tranquillity of the border pending final settlement.

seeking to reverse the independent foreign policy of India and the principles of Panchsheel at a time when this policy and these principles have won for our country a high place of honour in the estimation of entire peace-loving humanity and when history has shown that it is the only correct code of relations between countries. They seek to drag India into a Western Military bloc and thereby jeopardise our hard-won independence. They have even raised the slogan, "A new foreign policy, a new Defence Minister, a new Prime Minister."

### Nehru's Stand Appreciated

The National Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to all democratic elements to fight the machinations of these reactionary forces.

The National Council places on record its appreciation of the stand of Prime Minister Nehru who, in spite of the terrific pressure from these reactionary forces, has expressed his determination to uphold the independent foreign policy, firmly rejected military alliances, has stressed negotiations and peaceful settlement and warned against war psychosis.

The National Council is confident that the present chapter of discord between our country and China will soon end and cordial relations will be re-established. (November 14)

# RADIO MOSCOW

PRESENTS ITS  
NEW PROGRAMME—SCHEDULE  
Started from 1 November, 1959

	(13-13.36; 16-16.37; 19-19.33; 25-25.59 metres)	
IN ENGLISH	10-30-11 a.m. 1-30-2 p.m. 6-30-9 p.m.	IN URDU
		10-10-30 a.m. 8-30 p.m.
		IN BENGALI
		12-30-1 p.m. 7-7-30 p.m.
IN HINDI	1-1-30 p.m. 6-30-7-0 p.m. 9-15-10 p.m.	IN TAMIL
		7-30-8 p.m.

The proposal that the two Prime Ministers should meet

## Shibbanlal Saxena, After On-The-Spot Enquiry, Describes...

★★★

did not take off the head-constable's uniform immediately after he was handed over to them for arrest at midnight for such a heinous crime. They did not even put him behind the bars in the lock-up. They did not even inform the Superintendent of Police or the Senior Superintendent of Police or any other higher authorities about the incident.

In fact when at 10 a.m. on November 3, 1959, Raja Ram Sharma, Correspondent of the Swatantra Bharat, Lucknow, telephoned to the Superintendent of Police, R. D. Pandey, to confirm his news, Pandey had till then no information about the occurrence, but promised to enquire and after 20 minutes at about 10.20 a.m. he informed Raja Ram Sharma on the telephone that his report was correct and that the head-constable had been arrested and that he could get fuller details from the Collectorganj Thana. It is thus obvious that the Collectorganj Thana authorities were trying to hush up the matter if possible, until Pandey got the information through Raja Ram Sharma and he contacted the Collectorganj Police Station to get the news confirmed.

If the Collectorganj Thana

Collectorganj Ward Congress Committee, who went to consult Chakrapani, Vakil, a member of the City Congress Committee, who lives about a furlong away from the Badshahi Naka Police Chowki as to what should be done in the matter. Chakrapani told him to get authoritative facts before anything could be done.

Zaullah, Dy. S. P. Police, then wanted to send the girl for medical examination with a police escort in a police van. People objected to her being sent alone with the police again, and suggested that some representatives of the public should accompany her. Reva Shanker Trivedi and Virendra Bahadur Singh were then allowed to accompany the girl, when she was taken for medical examination to the U. H. M. Hospital. After the medical examination at about 5 p.m., the girl was taken from the hospital directly to the kotwali and was lodged there.

### Leaders At The Thana

Munoo Lal Gupta then went away to find authoritative facts, and reached the Collectorganj Thana at about 9 a.m. Raja Ram Sharma, Correspondent of the Swatantra Bharat, has said in his statement to us that at 9.15 a.m. a man came to him and said that Munoo Lal Gupta wanted him to come to the Collectorganj Police Station. Obviously he wanted him to help him in getting confirmation of the rape story, which would also be important news for his newspaper. Raja Ram Sharma told the man to tell Munoo Lal Gupta that he would come shortly after making enquiries from the authorities by telephone.

When he telephoned the Collectorganj Police Station to get confirmation of the

rape story reported to him by Munoo Lal Gupta, he was told that no information could be given to him for the Press. Thereafter, he telephoned the Superintendent of Police, Kanpur, at 10 a.m. and as mentioned above got the story confirmed.

Raja Ram Sharma reached the Collectorganj Police Station at about 11 a.m. and saw that about 200 persons had collected outside the thana. Inside the thana, according to Raja Ram Sharma, there were about a dozen persons, and these included Jadhav Bajpai, Secretary, City Congress Committee and a member of the U.P. P.C.C. who has been recently elected a member of the Kanpur Corporation on the PSP ticket; Virendra Bahadur Singh, a member of the City Executive Committee - of the PSP; Reva Shanker Trivedi, Secretary of the Kanpur Socialist Party; Ramesh Chand Gupta, who has been recently elected a member of the Kanpur Corporation on the Independent ticket; and Ravindra Pandey, representative of the Navjivan.

### People's Demand

The people were demanding that those two constables should also be arrested, who went with the head-constable to the Dhankutti Dharamshala to arrest Chaitoo and Shanti, and who had kept Chaitoo away for some hours during which the head-constable is alleged to have committed rape on Shanti. The people demanded, that as they were accomplices in the crime they should also be arrested, and tried for the offence.

A few years ago, an exactly similar case of alleged rape on Surja Devi by three constables of the adjoining Coolie Bazar Police Chowki had created a sensation, but the alleged culprits had all been acquitted later on. The people, therefore, were apprehensive that this case might also end up like the Surja Devi case.

The police version appears to be that in this meeting, fiery speeches were made which incited the mob to violence against the police. But

★ SEE PAGE 11

[It was a sudden explosion that shook Kanpur on November 3 and 4, but behind this sudden explosion was all the seething anger of the people against police misbehaviour. Even then the tragic events leading to the loss of so many lives could have been avoided if prompt action had been taken against those who are reported to have been responsible for the rape of a helpless young woman inside a police lock-up. Not only was no such prompt action taken, but the police, on the other hand, according to all information available, went on behaving provocatively. Here we print a slightly condensed version of a statement released to the Press on November 16 by Prof. Shibbanlal Saxena, M.P., and Madan Pandey, M.L.A, President and Secretary of the U.P. Socialist Ekta Party, who enquired into the incidents in Kanpur.

The matter was sought to be raised in Parliament on the opening day but disallowed by the Speaker. Some 29 Opposition M.P.s have on November 17 signed a joint statement calling for, among other things, judicial enquiry. It is a shocking fact that when approached, N. G. Goray of the P.S.P., refused to sign the statement.

Editor.]

★★★

WE were in Ghughil in Gorakhpur District, preparing for the Second Conference of the Gana Utpadak Sangha (Cane-Growers' Association), Uttar Pradesh, on November 6, 1959, when the newspapers shocked us with the news of the tragic firings in Kanpur. We rushed to Kanpur immediately after the conference was over and reached there in the morning of November 8.

Immediately on arrival, we met the members of our party's City and District Executive Committees. After getting the general impression of these friends about the occurrence, which according to Government's own admission resulted in 18 deaths through police firings, we decided to make as thorough an investigation as was possible for us under the circumstances with our limited resources into the causes which led to these tragic events.

### Beginning Of The Incident

A girl named Shanti, aged about 20 years, came to Kanpur with her husband's elder brother named Chaitoo, and the register of the Dhankutti Dharamshala shows that Chaitoo was the son of Kodai of Village Kamarhia Ghat P. S. Jhangiraganj, District Faizabad and that they took their residence in this Dharamshala on October 31, 1959, which was Diwali, and were in it till November 2.

### Failure To Take Action

On that day, the General Manager of the Dharamshala, Ambika Prasad, appears to have informed the Badshahi Naka Police Chowki in the evening that Shanti appeared to be an abducted girl. Accordingly at about 7 p.m. one head-constable named Tribeni Bahadur Singh with two other constables went to the Dharamshala and arrested them. Actually it was not a case of abduction at all, and

their arrest was wholly illegal, as has been proved by the fact that both of them have now been released.

The head-constable took the girl with him in his rickshaw and Chaitoo was left to be brought by the other constable in another rickshaw. The head-constable and the girl reached the Badshahi Naka Police Chowki immediately after, at about 7.15 p.m. but the other rickshaw with Chaitoo in it came to the chowki after a couple of hours. There

is reason to believe that the head-constable planned all this with the other two police constables who thus become accomplices in his crime.

Immediately on arrival in the Chowki, the head-constable, Tribeni Bahadur Singh, took the girl Shanti to his room on the second storey of the police chowki building with the avowed object of interrogating her. But there, we were told, he raped her. Shanti sat in the room weeping when at about 11 p.m., Hari Singh, Sub-Inspector returned to the chowki, and learnt that the head-constable had been with the girl Shanti for about three hours.

Hari Singh immediately went to the room and finding the girl weeping asked her to tell her story. She told him that the head-constable had raped her. The head-constable denied the crime. Hari Singh then took the girl, Chaitoo and the head-constable to the Thana Collectorganj, and made a report.

### Responsibility For Tragedy

We are definitely of the opinion that if Zaullah, Dy. S.P., and Pritamsingh, S.O., Collectorganj, had been even one hundredth time as prompt and dutiful as Hari Singh, S.I. in-charge of the Badshahi Naka Police Chowki, and had taken off the uniform of the head-constable and put him in the thana lock-up just at midnight when Hari Singh handed him over to them, and had sent the girl for medical examination early in the morning of November 3, all the tragic occurrences of November 3 and thereafter would never have occurred.

These two police officers, are, in our opinion, therefore, mainly responsible for the entire tragedy. Their behaviour also shows that they consider such serious crimes by police constables as an ordinary affair not meriting any serious cognisance, and fit to be hushed up.

The news about the occurrence began to spread early next morning, and reached Munoo Lal Gupta, President,

# WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN KANPUR

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NOVEMBER 22, 1959

NOVEMBER 22, 1959

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN

# FORWARD TO A COMMUNIST VICTORY IN KERALA

(Resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India in its session in Meerut, November 10 to 15, 1959)

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction the countrywide manifestation of protest against the Central Government's action in dismissing the Government of Kerala. This countrywide protest against the Central Government's action showed that democratically-minded sections of the people realise the political importance of the break in the Congress monopoly of power that occurred in Kerala in 1957. It also showed the sympathy and support which they have for the Communist Party and non-Party democrats who successfully carried out their programme for nearly 28 months. That is why nearly Rs. 90,000 has been collected for the Kerala Election Fund during the last two months from States other than Kerala.

The Council takes this opportunity to thank all those friends who participated in these demonstrations of protest against the Central Government's action and made their contributions to the Kerala Election Fund. This sympathy and support of the people of the entire country would prove a source of great encouragement and help to the Communists and non-Party democrats who are today engaged in a crucial fight for victory in the forthcoming midterm elections.

The Council hopes that all those who have so far extended their sympathy and support will continue to do so in the coming months as well. The Council would, at the same time, appeal to those democratic groups and individuals who have not yet found it possible to extend their sympathy and support to realise that what the Communists and their allies are engaged in today is not an ordinary election, but a struggle for the very preservation of parliamentary democracy and the realisation of the great and noble aims for which our nation has been fighting for the last several decades. For, the issues before the people of India in general, and the people of Kerala in particular, are:

## Issues Before The People

Will the Communists and non-Party democrats who were returned to power by the electorate in Kerala but were unjustly dismissed by the Central Government be allowed to continue their work of improving the living and working conditions of the common people, which was interrupted by the sudden and unjustifiable dismissal of that Ministry?

Will the people give their blessings to the opportunistic and unprincipled alliance of the Congress, PSP and Muslim League, who have nothing in common except their common hatred for the Communists?

Will Kerala be forced to have another term of continuing ministerial instability and the ever-present threat of President's rule?

The Council has no doubt that, faced with the alternatives of a stable Government carrying out a programme of improving the living and working conditions of the common people (which is guaranteed if the alliance of Communists and non-Party democrats is given an absolute majority in the coming elections) and the continuous ministerial instability with the ever-present threat of President's rule (which will follow the return of the strange combination of parties and groups of all sorts, ranging from those who sympathise with the Swatantra Party to those who mouth Left Socialist and even Marxist slogans), the intelligent electorate of Kerala will choose the former. The Communists and their allies in Kerala are, therefore, going into the election battle with confidence.

## Enormous Difficulties

The Council would, however, like to draw the attention of the democratic groups and individuals in the entire country to the enormous difficulties which the Communists and their allies in Kerala have to face. For, against

## CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL CALLS ON DEMOCRATS EVERYWHERE TO PROTEST AGAINST

- ★ Landlord Terror Against Agricultural Workers
- ★ Catholic Church's Interference In Elections
- ★ Attempts To Tamper With The Constituencies

them is ranged not only a combination of three political parties (Congress, PSP and Muslim League) but a combination of men of money and power; big landlords, money-lenders, big planters, big contractors and capitalists, not only in Kerala but in the other States, too, want to ensure that the first experiment of a non-Congress Government carrying out radical, though limited, reforms would be the last. They are, therefore, mobilising their financial resources, utilising all the means of propaganda which are at their disposal, and using all other means which are at their command, in order to defeat the alliance of the Communists, and non-Party democrats.

Statements of Mannath Padmanabhan and letters written by certain persons connected with the church give sufficient ground to believe that foreign money is being poured in to fight the alliance of Communists and non-Party democrats. In the opinion of the Council, this constitutes an intervention in India's internal affairs. The Council asks the people to take note of it and demand explanation from the parties receiving this assistance.

## Landlord Offensive

The Council expresses its concern at the concerted offensive which the landlords in certain parts of Kerala have launched against the agricultural labourers and other toiling people with the double purpose of (i) forcing them to give up their allegiance to such mass organisations as they like and to join such of them as the landlords and employers like, and, (ii) terrorising them out of casting their votes for the alliance of Communists and non-Party democrats.

Reports have already appeared in the Press, and representations have been made to the Governor of Kerala and his Advisor, to the effect that dozens of homes of agricultural labourers have been burned down, scores of them have been physically attacked with the result that large numbers of them have left their homes and villages. All this was done with the connivance of some local officials. Unfortunately, however, the Governor and his Advisor have not only failed to take effective steps to put a stop to such instances, and to facilitate the return of these people to their homes and villages with a guarantee

of personal security, they have, on the other hand, given positive encouragement to those who launched these attacks by their glib talk of "improvement in the law and order situation."

While landlords are thus trying to apply physical force against the supporters of the alliance of Communists and non-Party democrats, the anti-Communist combination is also utilising religion in aid of their election campaign. Despite the clear provisions in the Representation of the People's Act that no appeal to religion should be made while

canvassing votes for this or that individual or party, the Catholic Bishops of Kerala have issued a joint Pastoral Letter to their followers forbidding them in the name of religion against voting for the alliance of Communists and non-Party democrats. The Bishop of Mangalore has also called upon his followers (some of whom reside in a part of the Northern strip of Kerala) to defeat the alliance of Communists and non-Party democrats.

All these in the opinion of the Council violates the spirit of the Constitution

and constitute an attempt to vitiate the verdict of the people of Kerala. The Council appeals to all people to see that free and fair elections are guaranteed in Kerala to ensure a democratic verdict in the coming elections.

The National Council notes that efforts are being made to disturb the conditions under which elections took place in 1957, the limits of one particular constituency (that of Ranni in Central Travancore) has already been redefined by including part of it in the neighbouring constituency.

Efforts are also being made to split all the present double-member constituencies to form single-member constituencies. Such changes in the formation of constituencies being carried out on the eve of such a hotly contested election as is now going to take place in Kerala, raises the legitimate apprehension that the method of tampering with the constituencies is being adopted by the Party in power with a view to defeat the alliance of Communists and non-Party democrats.

While drawing the attention of all the democratic groups

and individuals throughout the country to the above tactics adopted by the ruling party, the National Council calls upon them to raise their powerful voice of protest against them and to demand—

- That the attacks on agricultural labourers be immediately stopped and compensation paid to those whose houses have been burned and those who were forcibly evicted from their homes;
- That effective measures be taken to prevent the Christian Bishops and other religious heads from interfering in the elections;

That whatever changes and modifications are considered necessary in the limits of constituencies be carried out only for the country as a whole when the next General Elections take place and that the coming midterm election of Kerala is carried out under the same conditions as during the last General Elections.

While carrying on a campaign for the above demands, the National Council also appeals to all friends of democracy to make their contributions to the Kerala Election Fund. It is only with the humble contributions of hundreds of thousands of ordinary men and women in the whole country that the alliance of Communists and non-Party independents in Kerala can hope to face their political opponents who have the resources of the richest and the most powerful in the country at their disposal.

While thus extending their moral and material support to the Communist and non-Party democrats in their election campaign, the National Council also appeals to the democratic groups and individuals in the country to raise their voice of protest against the attempts being made by the President's administration to reverse the policies formulated by the elected Government, such as on education and cooperatives and against the inordinate delay in the Central Government approving the progressive agrarian legislations that the Kerala State Legislature has passed. The Council desires to point out that the Bills that have thus been held up at the Centre are:

- (i) The Agricultural Indebtedness Bill, which reduces the rate of interest and scales down old debts in certain cases;
- (ii) The Jenmikkaram Bill, which finally puts an end to one type of old feudal landlordism which was prevalent in Kerala;
- (iii) The Agrarian Relations Bill, which provides for comprehensive reforms in the whole system of land relations in Kerala.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, therefore, appeals to all the democratic individuals and groups including the mass of Congressmen to demand that immediate assent is given to these Bills.

(November 13)

## SEND YOUR ALL TO ELECTION FUND

### - Kerala Committee's Appeal

The conspiracy to suppress the Kerala Government was hatched even before it was born; and in pursuance of that conspiracy the Congress Government in the Centre finally dismissed the Kerala Government—India's first non-Congress Government which had created a breach in the Congress monopoly of power.

The Kerala Government was suppressed because capitalists and landlords in the country, the communalists and Catholic church in Kerala, the reactionary forces all over India did not like the progressive policy of the Kerala Government. The Communist-led Government was forced out of office because it stopped evictions completely in Kerala; introduced and passed a Land Bill, the first of its kind in the country for its provisions giving security of tenure to the poor peasants, land to the landless and protection to the middle peasants; passed and started implementing the Education Act, hailed as the Magna Carta of the teachers. Our Government was an eyesore to the capitalists and Congress leaders because our Government always stood by the workers and peasants in their struggle for a better day.

After the dismissal of this popular Government, President's administration is taking away from the people of Kerala, one after another, all that was given

to them by the Communist-led Government. The present administration through its executive orders is tampering with the reform measures introduced by our Government.

## Reversal Of Policies

This reversal of policy initiated by the Presidential administration hits hard at the vital interests of all sections of our toiling people. It deprives hundreds of agricultural labourers of their rights and freedom to stand up against their oppressors. It binds again the liberated teachers hand and foot and throws them at the mercy of the greedy managers.

Under the new administration contractors and capitalists have started an offensive against the cooperatives in which the workers have come to their own. The administration succumbing to their pressure is taking measures to destroy the workers' cooperative movement. Democratic liberties are being denied to workers and peasants and they are being constantly harassed and terrorised by the police and Congress-Liberation-Front hooligans.

Elated by Central intervention, attempts are being made in several places in Kerala to forcibly evict agricultural workers from their homesteads, violating the provisions of the Anti-

Eviction Act passed by the Communist Government. In Central Travancore, with the backing of the State police, the landlords and their henchmen, who were volunteers in the "liberation" struggle, have succeeded to a very great extent in forcibly evicting tenants.

These are not isolated incidents but part of a plan to intimidate and terrorise the exploited masses with a view to keeping up the tension and hampering a free and fair poll in the forthcoming midterm elections.

The reactionary forces are working hard to realise their aim of establishing a Congress Government in Kerala, so that they can continue their unbridled exploitation.

The Congress and other Opposition parties started their political campaign with the help of communal reaction led by the Catholic church in the State. They are hatching an unprincipled alliance of all anti-Communist parties which had constantly opposed the progressive measures of the Kerala Government right from its formation in April 1957. Their campaign is supplemented and strengthened by the concerted political slander campaign of anti-Communism led by top-ranking Congress leaders.

The Congress is using its immense financial resources garnered from the coffers of Big Business and landlords in this country.

Contributions are coming from foreign interests also. It is a well-known fact that during the reactionary "liberation" struggle against our Government, crores of rupees came to Kerala from foreign capitalist countries in the garb of subsidies to various missionary organisations. Facts about foreign money pouring into Kerala were given by the Home Department itself in Parliament.

## Hard Battle Ahead

The reactionary forces in Kerala, India and the whole world were interested in ousting the Communist Government in Kerala. They will do everything in their power to install a Congress regime in Kerala so that they will regain what they had lost in this State.

The people of Kerala, therefore, have a hard battle to fight. They require the support, sympathy and cooperation of their bretheren in all the other States.

The coming election battle in Kerala is of all-India importance though it is being fought in Kerala. It is the battle of Indian democracy against the intolerant reactionary vested interests. The Congress representing these interests has given short shrift to the much vaunted, oft-repeated slogan of coexistence. Their object is to prevent the repetition of a

non-Congress Government coming to office in Kerala. So it is a bitter, life and death struggle for them in which they will stoop to any stratagem, seek help from any quarter as is evidenced by their opportunistic alliance with the Muslim League, the Catholic church and all communal elements.

As against this, what are our prospects? The people are with us. They know who are against them and who stand by them. We have their active support. The various legislations we passed during the short time we were in power and the attempts of the Presidential administration to scotch these legislations have been a revealing experience to them. We are confident that the people of Kerala will defeat the reactionary alliance of the vested interests and return the Communist Party to office so that the good work started by our Government can be carried forward and completed.

The State Committee appeals to the democratic forces throughout the country to look on the forthcoming elections in Kerala as of vital concern to themselves and not to the Kerala people alone. By returning the Communist-led Government again to office the people of Kerala will retain their democratic achievements and socio-economic gains while, for the entire country, it will safeguard the growth of parliamentary

democracy and defend our Constitution from the menace of dictatorship.

## Immense Task

At the same time it is a matter of great importance for the workers, peasants and toiling people of India to reinstate their Government led by the Communist Party in Kerala. They must realise that it is only with their active help—both in money and materials like jeeps, bikes, etc.—that the Party and the forces supporting it beat back the offensive of reaction and win the elections.

The immensity of our work in Kerala can be realised when you know that the Communist Party and its allies are contesting all the 126 seats in the State Assembly.

Malayalees living and working outside Kerala have always been in the forefront of fund collections for our Party's various campaigns.

They know that the Communist Party was in the vanguard of the fight for a united Kerala while the reactionary forces that have now rallied round the banner of the Congress in

Trivandrum  
November 11, 1959

Kerala were consistent opponents of Aikya Kerala and they raised the cry of a Southern State to sabotage the formation of United Kerala.

It was the Communist Party that drew up a comprehensive programme to build a prosperous Kerala State and the Government led by the Party initiated policies to achieve this objective. An electoral victory and formation of a Government led by the Communist Party would help to carry out this task.

The State Committee particularly appeals to the Malayalees living and working outside Kerala to note the importance of this election and contribute liberally to the election fund of the Communist Party.

Election work has already begun and there is hardly any time to lose. The State Committee appeals to every defender of democracy, every friend of Kerala, every Communist and sympathiser—in short every patriot, to go into action and raise as much money as possible and send the collections to:

The Secretary,  
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Communist Party of India,  
India.

*M. P. S. Pillai*

Secretary,  
Kerala Committee of  
the Communist Party of India.

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# RESOLUTIONS OF CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL

## FOR A SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT CONFERENCE

(Resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India in its session in Meerut, November 10 to 15, 1959.)

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India warmly welcomes the success of the visit of Soviet Prime Minister N. S. Khrushchov to the United States of America, which has opened up a new phase of relaxation of international tension, which holds out the prospect of an end to the cold war and the beginning of that close co-operation among nations for which all mankind yearns.

The National Council extends its full support to the Khrushchov-Eisenhower Joint Communiqué, which pledges the United States and Soviet Governments to settle all outstanding international questions not by application of force but by peaceful means and which calls for renewed negotiations by the Great Powers.

The National Council calls for the holding, as soon as possible, of a Summit Conference of the Heads of Governments of the Great Powers to settle the most urgent problems threatening world peace. The Council urges immediate removal of all impediments which are being placed by certain Western Powers in the way of early convening of the Summit Conference.

India's policy of non-alignment, of opposition to military pacts and alliances has played an

important part in thwarting war plans of the imperialist Powers and winning support for peaceful negotiations, disarmament and international cooperation. The National Council of the Communist Party of India places on record its appreciation of the contribution made by the Government and the

people of India towards the creation of the atmosphere for the Summit Conference.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India trusts that both the Government and the people of India will continue to work for further strengthening this beneficial process and for the convening and success of the Summit Conference

(November 13)

## Greetings To People Of Maharashtra And Gujarat

(Resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its session in Meerut, November 10 to 15.)

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India greets the people of Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat for their victory in forcing the Congress leadership to take a decision for bifurcating the present Bombay State and form the linguistic States of Gujarat and Maharashtra. This is a great success of the heroic struggle of the people of Gujarat and Maharashtra and a defeat of the undemocratic policy of the Congress which had foisted upon them the bilingual Bombay State.

The National Council pays homage to the martyrs whose sacrifices inspired the successful struggle. It appeals to the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat to maintain and strengthen the popular unity as embodied in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad and come to an amicable settlement of the questions of border and other questions in a spirit of friendship and good-neighbourliness.

The National Council notes with satisfaction that the units of the Communist Party played a fitting role in the struggle for the achievement of Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat and in building popular unity.

## Homage To Martyrs

(Resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India, at its session in Meerut, from November 10 to 15, 1959)

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India pays its homage to the memory of those brave sons and daughters of the working people who fell in the struggles for the

people's cause, in West Bengal, Punjab, and other States in defence of the honour of the Party in Kerala and elsewhere.

(November 10)

## Support To Cane Growers' Demands

(Resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its session in Meerut, November 10 to 15.)

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India welcomes the decision of the Government of India to raise the price of sugar-cane by 19 nP per maund. However, this announcement only partially meets the demand of the sugar-cane growers and also falls short of the recommendations of the Bihar and U.P. Legislative Assemblies and U.P. Bihar Joint Sugar Control Board which wanted the prices of sugarcane to be Rs. 1.75 per maund.

While partially accepting the demand of the sugar-cane growers under pressure of their mass movement, the Union Government has increased the price of sugar. This way the burden of the increase in sugarcane prices has been thrown on the shoulders of the consumers.

To add to the profits of the sugar millowners the Government has decided to reduce the rate of excise duty on the additional quantity of sugar produced this year. The National

Council cannot also ignore the fact that restrictions have been put on the production of Khandsari sugar by raising the tax rate on it.

The National Council, therefore, demands that the price of sugar should be raised in accordance with the demand of sugar-cane growers without any increase in the price of sugar. The benefit of reduction in excise on sugar should go to the consumers and not to the mill-owners as decided by the Government. The Khandsari industry should be given encouragement by reducing the taxes on it so that more sugar may be produced for the people and an important village industry may be saved from extinction.

The Communist Party greets the decision of the various peasant organisations and parties to continue their struggle for the fulfilment of the demands of the sugar-cane growers and assures them of its full support in this just struggle.

(November 15)

## Censured For Breach Of Discipline

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India has censured Comrade S. A. Dange and Comrade S. G. Sardesai for breach of Party discipline.

The National Council hopes that these comrades, learning from their mistakes and the criticism made, will in future abide by the discipline of the Party and untiringly work to strengthen its unity.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India censures Comrade S. S. Mirajkar for expressing views contrary to the views of the Party in a public statement.

The National Council censures the Maharashtra Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India for breach of Party discipline.

## REPORT ON KANPUR

FROM PAGE 6

our enquiry has convinced us that the leaders acted in a very responsible manner, and the Action Committee was formed to pacify the agitation amongst the people, and the device of forming the crowd in the meeting into a procession to the District Magistrate was thought of to take the agitated crowd as far away from the Collectorganj Thana as possible.

Guru Prasad Dikshit is the elected representative of five Ward Congress Committees to the Kanpur City Congress Committee and is a highly respected leader of the Collectorganj Ward.

On his way to the Shyama Charan Pandey, influential members of the Collectorganj Ward Congress Committee, met him, and all the three proceeded towards the Collectorganj Police Station. On the way, they appealed to the crowds to disperse and go home.

## Incorrect Allegation

The procession started at about 1 p.m. through Nayaganj and according to Raja Ram, it was vending its way through Generalganj when news came that the police had made a lathi-charge in front of the Collectorganj Police Station at about 2.30 p.m.

What had actually happened was this. When the leaders took away the first crowd to the Dhankuti meeting, other persons collected in front of the Collectorganj Thana which is very near the railway station and is situated at the entrance on the main road which leads to the city. A about 2 p.m., there was a crowd of about 500 persons before the Collectorganj Police Station, and its main demand was that the other constables of the Badshahi Naka Police Chowki, who were accomplices of the head constable in the crime, should also be arrested and tried.

The crowd was also demanding the removal of the Dy. S. P. and the police staff in the Collectorganj Thana, who had tried to hush up the case, and some of whom were otherwise notorious for their corruption in the locality.

The District Magistrate of Kanpur has said in his Press-Notes that the mob wanted to lynch the head-constable and was demanding that the head-constable should be delivered to them. We have examined a large number of witnesses on the point, and everyone has said that this allegation was absolutely incorrect.

The main demand of the people was that the other police constables who had participated in the crime should also be arrested and that the Dy. S. P. and the other police staff which was posted in the Collectorganj Police Station should be changed. The demand for the removal of Ziaullah Dy. S.P. and his staff infuriated him and at about 2.30 p.m. he ordered a lathi-charge on the crowd which had now swelled to about a thousand persons.

## Provocative Lathi-Charge

The lathi-charge was very severe and many heads and bones were broken. This further infuriated the people, who were then leaderless, and the crowd swelled and began to throw brickbats on the police, who also returned the brickbats. The A.D.M. and the S.P. arrived in the Collectorganj Police Station immediately after the lathi-charge.

At about 3 p.m. Guru Prasad Dikshit learnt in his house from his son that a lathi-charge had been made by the police in front of the Collectorganj Police Station, and he immediately left his house for the Collectorganj Police Sta-

tion. Guru Prasad Dikshit is the elected representative of five Ward Congress Committees to the Kanpur City Congress Committee and is a highly respected leader of the Collectorganj Ward.

On his way to the Shyama Charan Pandey, influential members of the Collectorganj Ward Congress Committee, met him, and all the three proceeded towards the Collectorganj Police Station. On the way, they appealed to the crowds to disperse and go home.

## People's Wrath Roused

This beating of such a respected person as Gur Prasad Dikshit by Sub-Inspector Pritam Singh and his constables on the Collectorganj crossing infuriated the people beyond measure, and the crowd swelled to about 3,000 persons. The police then ordered tear-gas to be used, but it was of no avail as the wind was blowing in the wrong direction. The crowd was now demanding the release of Gur Prasad Dikshit, and the suspension of the Sub-Inspector and the constables who had beaten Gur Prasad.

The authorities and the police then got frightened, and became nervous and resorted to firing at about 4 p.m. on November 3, 1959, for the

dered the police to shoot. We are definitely of the opinion that a tactful handling of the situation could have saved the tragedy, and the firing was wholly uncalled for. Besides, the shooting was most barbarous and revengeful, and virtually became a manhunt, pursuing and shooting fleeing people and of spectators on housetops.

After the firing, Ganga Sahal Choubey, Badri Vishal, Kishen Kedia, and several others reached the Collectorganj Police Station and on their intervention, Gur Prasad Dikshit was released at about 6 p.m.

This firing on the crowd at Collectorganj dispersed it from that place only to lead to disturbances at other places, which have been mentioned by the District Magistrate in his communique. We do not think it necessary to go into those details, as our purpose was to enquire into the causes which led to the firing and to find out whether the firing was justified or not. The first firing may at least be said to have been due to the authorities becoming frightened and nervous, but the subsequent firings were a pure man-hunt by the police out of sheer revenge.

Apart from resort to firings, we have been deeply pained at the barbarity and

trate had led us to believe that the hospital would be full of wounded police officers and policemen.

But we were surprised to find that out of 120 policemen who got themselves treated for injuries, only three were thought fit to be admitted to hospital, and their injuries were also very simple. None of these three was an officer. On the 8th, when we visited the hospital, one of the three had already been discharged and the other two were also quite recovered. The remaining 117 persons had very minor injuries like scratches and abrasions and obviously the medical examination of their injuries had been made only to swell the number of injured policemen.

But the worst feature of the whole tragedy is the subsequent arrests, which are mostly of wholly innocent people and which are continuing even today. The arrested people in the jail told us that almost everyone of them was mercilessly thrashed after his arrest both all along the road and in the police lock-up. All enmities by the police and their helpers are being revenged today. A reign of terror prevails in Kanpur.

A most interesting allegation has been made by the

# But For Provocative Police Behaviour Blood-Spilling Could Have Been Avoided

buke offended him and Pritam Singh, Sub-Inspector in charge of Collectorganj Police Station who said that they were giving them lectures like leaders while they were being hit by brickbats. Then Gur Prasad and his friends said that they were going to take the mob away from the thana, and they should withdraw the police force inside the police station.

Accordingly, Gur Prasad, Ganga Ghulam and Shyama Charan Pandey came out of the thana and told the crowd to follow them in a procession to Nayaganj and promised them that the police would be withdrawn inside the thana. While Ganga Ghulam and Shyama Charan Pandey led the vanguard of the procession, Gur Prasad remained behind at the Collectorganj crossing exhorting people to go in the procession or to go home.

## Official Version Untenable

The communique issued by the District Magistrate has omitted these most important causes which infuriated the mob, and has only recounted the number of places railed by the mob, and the number of policemen injured. His communique does not explain why the mob became infuriated and indulged in the subsequent hooliganism. A reading of the communique shows as if the people had gone mad without reason, and the authorities and the police were models of perfection.

We feel convinced that if the police had not lost their head and had taken the help of Gur Prasad Dikshit and his friends, the crowd would have been controlled. Instead, they infuriated it by the beating and humiliation of Gur Prasad Dikshit on the Collectorganj crossing in front of the whole public. When the situation deteriorated as a result of this foolish action, the authorities became frightened and nervous, and or-

the revengefulness with which the authorities have behaved after the crowds dispersed after the firings at Collectorganj and Badshahi Naka. Everywhere the bullets were fired to kill and not to disperse crowds. This is clearly proved from the hospital records.

Of the 64 wounded who were admitted in the U.H.M. hospital, 39 had bullet wounds above the waist and only 25 below the waist. All the five who died on the spot had injuries above the waist.

Innocent people including several students and women have been wounded and killed. The total number of persons admitted to Government hospitals with bullet wounds in Kanpur is nearabout 100 according to official sources and the Government admits 18 deaths by police firings. The wounded treated by private doctors for fear of arrest are many more in number. The National Herald put the figure of deaths at 22, and unofficial sources put this figure still higher.

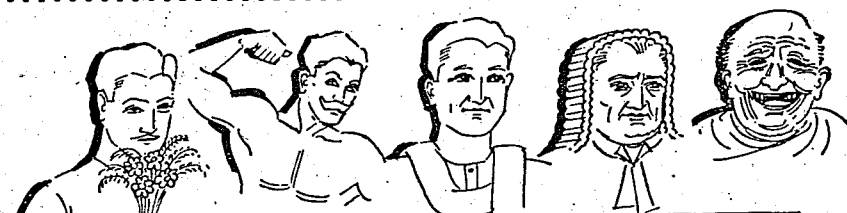
## Police Injuries Exaggerated

We cannot here fail to make an observation about injuries to policemen. A reading of the communiques issued by the District Magis-

Home Minister of Uttar Pradesh who now asserts that political parties were behind the tragedy. The communiques issued by the District Magistrate on November 3, 4, 5 and 6 made no such allegation. The allegation is, therefore, an afterthought.

From our enquiry we find that the political parties including the Congress did all they could to help the authorities to pacify the people who had been infuriated by the police vandalism. It was only because the authorities despised their help and humiliated and beat respected public workers who were trying to pacify the mob that the situation got out of control.

Our enquiry, we think, makes out a prima facie case for a judicial enquiry by a High Court Judge. We hope the Government will not delay the appointment of such a committee of enquiry any further. Meanwhile the administrative staff concerned with these tragic events should be transferred from the district to save the people from their revenge. In our opinion, we witnessed in Kanpur the elemental and spontaneous fury of the people against a most heinous crime by policemen and the attempt by authorities to hush it up. The attempt to prove that it was an organised, preplanned effort is futile.



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SISTA'S

# Kerala Youth Movement Leaps Forward

## URGE FOR UNITY DOMINATES CONFERENCE

The State Conference of the Kerala Youth Federation which met on October 30 and 31 in the Mamman Mappilai Hall at Kottayam marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Kerala youth. It holds out the promise of a new hope and lead for our young men and women to devote their talents and energy for national progress and create healthy conditions for their own material and spiritual development.

TWO hundred and fifty-seven delegates from all parts of Kerala attended the Conference. They included representatives of the youth in all walks of life, from workers and peasants to students, lawyers, journalists, sportsmen, writers, artists, etc. The majority were the educated middle class youth but working class and peasant youth were also there though in fewer numbers. Most of the delegates had been active for a considerable time in the youth and cultural movements in their own localities and they brought with them their varied and rich experiences and knowledge of the problems of the youth.

### Common Platform

The Conference declared its faith in the unity of all the youth above all narrow partisan interests. In Kerala today, where political differences are acute and the youth are attracted to opposite political camps, the task of bringing all the youth under the same banner is not an easy job. There were those who sincerely doubted whether it was not impracticable in the prevailing conditions. But the urge for unity was universally voiced by the delegates and the Conference made a successful effort to translate this urge into practice. The Conference in its debates and resolutions visualised a common platform for all youth belonging to all political parties and religions.

F. K. Vasudevan Nair, M.P., President of the Youth Federation, inaugurated the Conference.

### Phenomenal Growth

The Secretary's report pointed out the phenomenal growth of the youth movement in the State. Even though the Federation was formed only on the June 6 last, it has been able to organise its activities in all districts except one in this short time. There had been warm response from hundreds of youth clubs and cultural and sports organisations of youth in all these districts to the call of the Federation, and local committees and taluk committees had been organised on a big scale. The report was followed by a lively discussion.

### Conference Tasks

The main tasks before the Conference were, however, to adopt a programme and constitution for the Federation. The question whether the Youth Federation should declare Socialism as its aim led to a very interesting debate in which a good many pointed out that Socialism was already the objective of all political parties in the country and there was nothing to prevent the Youth Federation from accepting it as its goal.

But there were others who, though themselves holding no prejudice against Socialism however, felt that it was not necessary for the Conference to commit itself on this issue. They pointed out

that even though Socialism as an idea had been accepted by all, there were as yet serious differences among youth belonging to different parties regarding the nature of that Socialism and the programme and method of action for achieving it. They did not want the Youth Federation to restrict itself by any slogan or programme which might exclude any section of youth from under its banner. After a long and interesting debate the Conference decided that it was not necessary for the Federation to declare Socialism as its objective.

### Programme For Youth

The programme adopted by the Conference touches upon the various aspects of youth life such as their education, sports, cultural activities, social service and above all their task of building a new India and safeguarding the peace and happiness of the people.

On the question of organisation and constitution of the Federation, the main discus-

\*\*\*\*\*  
by V. N. ACHUTHA KURUP  
SECRETARY,  
KERALA YOUTH FEDERATION  
\*\*\*\*\*

sion was on the relation between the Federation and the innumerable sports and cultural organisations in the country. The question was raised as to how these organisations which have their own separate central organisations in each sphere should be associated with the Youth Federation. Should they all become members of the Federation or should they be allowed to remain independent and at the same time be associates in the Federation? Finally, it was unanimously agreed that these organisations should have the option to affiliate or associate themselves with the Federation.

### Activities For Next Year

There were two reports before the Conference, one by a Cultural Commission and the other by a Sports Commission. Both reports contained detailed plans of activities for the next year. The Conference also resolved to enroll one lakh members in the coming year.

The Conference by a resolution asked the State Government to coopt its representatives to the State Youth

Welfare Board.

The Conference sympathised with the famine-stricken flood-affected people of West Bengal and welcomed the steps taken by the All-India Youth Federation for a flood relief fund. It called upon the youth of Kerala to cooperate with this endeavour of the All-India Youth Federation.

Another resolution called for collection of aid to Kozhikode Abdul Khader, who delighted the hearts of the youth of Kerala by his songs but is now on his sickbed.

### Council Of 101

A Council of 101 and a Working Committee of 31 headed by P. K. Vasudevan Nair, M.P., were elected at the conference. The Conference concluded with a largely attended public meeting which was inaugurated by P. Bhaskaran, one of our better known young poets of Kerala and Secretary of the Kerala Sangeetha Natak Akademy. The famous cultural troupe, the Kerala People's Art Club entertained the audience with their programmes.

## COOPERATIVE COUNTY IN HUNGARY

\* FROM PAGE 5

barns. Hog-fattening pens are also being built.

This healthy self-reliance is evident everywhere. For instance, the cooperative village of Merges met all the capital investments itself required for their 1,200-hold farm. Barns formerly owned by kulaks were rebuilt by the 400 inhabitants of the village to make them suitable for keeping large herds. The only item they asked the State for was bricks, which were supplied by the six brick plants in Sopron.

Two years ago, this county had one cooperative farming 800 to 1,000 holds; now the average cooperative here farms 1,467 holds. Naturally, on such huge tracts of land, it is necessary to build up stock and crop farming on a large scale, and big farms like this have all the potentials for it.

Good results have been forthcoming. This county, for instance, bought 18,319 more quarts of milk from January to March 1959 than in the same period of last year. In 1958, 7,203 tons of beef cattle were bought in the county, while up to May 10, 1959, the figures were 5,095 tons. Add to this the fact that most of the beef cattle is delivered in the last six months of the

year and we have some idea of the prospects for 1959.

"Today's science is the agriculture of tomorrow," an elderly scientist put it. He was right because agriculture is becoming a scientific profession more and more every day, and it calls for people with extensive know-how and understanding.

Experts from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Economic Academy of Mosonmagyaróvár and the Institute of Agricultural Organisation acted as advisers to the new cooperative from the outset. They helped to select sites for industrial centres and farms at spots where public works could be installed cheaply and to which goods could be transported rapidly and at low cost. With an eye to the future, the central buildings of some cooperatives were located at spots where the area could be utilised for the setting up of new farms later on.

### Large-Scale Operations

An important consideration was that the cooperatives formed from small farms should begin the spring work on a large scale basis. Parcels of land which had been

planted in autumn were left untouched with the proviso that large scale farming would be guaranteed when planning the spring ploughing. Some of the horses were kept by cooperatives located far from railway stations or town centres even though most labour operations were mechanised. Experts decided to keep one horse per 25 holds where necessary, and to give them up in the autumn in line with the speed of mechanisation in transport.

Just as the foundation for a new house is built solidly, so too the basis for the new Socialist large-scale farming had to be strong and durable. Cooperative agriculture has brought a great change in the life of the peasantry in Gyor-Sopron County. As of March 1959, small-scale individual farming became a closed period in the country, and the conditions for large-scale agriculture were ensured at the very outset. So the county Party Committee encouraged where possible the principle of "every village a cooperative village." Mechanisation and the organisation of labour are far more economical on large-scale farms than on small ones. Consequently, more than one cooperative was set up in some parts of the county only if the move was warranted by the class stratification of the peasantry—in this instance mainly middle peasants—if the peasants did not want

to join the existing weak cooperative. In bygone days, the peasant of Gyor-Sopron County never took time out to think matters over before making a penny profit; he merely toiled and suffered without benefiting by his hard work. Now the situation has changed radically. Today the peasant ponders whether it will pay to grow chicory, and what the wine he produces will bring for him and the county. He knows that the sugarbeet grown along the Raba River with less effort, will supply cheap primary materials for the sugar factories not only in his county but throughout the country. The price which vegetable seeds grown at Szigetkoz will bring on the world market is also a matter he considers. He becomes excited about the idea of how furniture, radios and TV sets which are shipped up the Lajta and Raba rivers to the Ranube could be carried further on the new and light aluminium boats designed at the Vac Shipping Yards. And then, he argues, agricultural produce, far better than the butter and cheese of the one-time price, could be shipped over the oceans to countries belonging to the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance—in fact far, and wide where man's labour is respected and where the work of the Gyor-Sopron County cooperatives would receive the esteem it has earned.

## KERALA NOTE-BOOK

### PATTOM DOES A VOLTE FACE

IT was Pattom Thanu Pillal and the PSP that were supposed to be taking an adamant attitude and making an agreement with the RSP impossible. Then when everything was settled, negotiations closed with KPCC boss Sankar announcing that there would be no more talks with the RSP. Pattom Thanu Pillal suddenly made approaches to the RSP and asked the Congress also to re-open negotiations.

People were stunned by the sudden magnanimity Pattom had developed. He was earlier unwilling to give away two seats to the RSP and here he was offering four. What had happened?

One guess is that the announcement of the RSP's list of twenty constituencies and candidates had made Pattom and a few other PSP leaders very shaky. With all the contempt which the PSP has for the RSP's strength and influence or lack of it—a feeling fortunately reciprocated by the RSP—these PSP leaders knew that even in the handful of constituencies in which they were hoping they might win, triangular contests forced by the RSP would make it certain that none of the PSP leaders would see the inside of the Assembly except as visitors.

RSP leader Srikanth Nair made them more jittery when he announced in a public speech in Qullon that the Congress had never really wanted to bring the RSP into the united front, what it was aiming at, right from the beginning, was to push the RSP into a position of creating triangular contests so as to ensure the defeat of the PSP in a number of them.

The roles were reversed now. So far it was Srikanth Nair who was offering satyagraha at Pattom's gates for a few seats. Now it was Pattom's turn to fall at Srikanth Nair's feet with the offer of four seats. And so begins another series of negotiations. Are they likely to continue till polling day?

### RSP LEADER SOBS

PATTOM's offer of seats, however, has not helped to dispel the gloom in the RSP leadership. The RSP used to criticise the Communist Party for deviating from the revolutionary path of Marxism-Leninism and its leaders used to shout, the Congress and the Communists are the same.

But that seems so long ago. Since then the RSP has replaced Marx with Mannath Padmanabhan as its acharya and as the recent negotiations have shown if "the Congress and the RSP are not the same" today it is certainly not due to any fault of the RSP leaders.

But where has all this led the RSP? Listen to its mightiest leader, Srikanth Nair speaking at a Qullon meeting:

"The Congress offered us such seats where we would

not win. In Mararikulam, Kayamkulam, Attingal, etc., even if all of you try together we won't get our deposits back. We don't even have a person to become RSP candidate in Mararikulam.

"As for the PSP, we do not know what seats it will give us. We are worn out going from door to door. What has befallen us is the fate of the love-lorn Surpankha in Ramayan. When she goes to Ram, he would direct her to Lakshman, from there she would be sent back to Ram, to be sent again to Lakshman. Thus we have been pushed from pillar to post, as this child's play or what is this?"

Why did the RSP sacrifice all self-respect and allow itself to be pushed around? What was it aiming to get in return for such abject surrender before the vested interests? Srikanth Nair is very modest, he at least has not inflated ideas about the RSP's prowess.

He said: "When we asked for ten seats, all that we wanted was to win for the RSP the status of a State party. For this we require 3.5 per cent of the votes. If we had been part of the united front, we would have got this 3.5 per cent votes from 105 seats. Maybe, one or two might have also got elected. That was all, we were not hoping to become Ministers or anything."

"It was for this 3.5 per cent votes that we ran after them. We are not going to do this shameful thing any more. Because we were not given the ten seats, we will contest twenty seats and try to get the 3.5 per cent votes."

What a fall from the days of the United Front of Leftists when the RSP was one of its constituents and had its honourable seats in the Legislature. When the RSP lined up with the Congress-PSP-Catholic Church-Nair communal combine it had been warned—in a language plain enough to be understood even by the middle-headed theoreticians of the RSP—that it was digging its own grave. How true the warning has come and so soon!

### CHURCH SPOKESMAN SPEAKS OUT

MATHAI MANJOORAN needs no introduction to you. He began as the leader of a Left party, the KSP, which he dissolved at the time of the last General Elections and supported the Congress saying Kerala State had been won and Congress had accepted Socialism, hence there was no need for the KSP.

During the "liberation" struggle, Mathai was in its front ranks and emerged as the spokesman of a section of the Catholic Church. At the time of the division of seats, however, the Congress-PSP leaders did not even remember his existence. And so he has been talking since then and how enlightening he has been.

His main theme these days is that the Congress and the PSP have betrayed the Catholics and so he cannot have anything to do with the United front. What has led him to this conclusion? Listen to what he said in a recent speech.

REASON NO. 1: "It was not the political parties which launched the liberation struggle. The struggle began from the church courtyard for the withdrawal of the Education Act. When it succeeded, the Congress, PSP, RSP, League, etc., are now trying to make political capital out of it. But betraying the struggle, they are now enforcing the Education Act. The KSP can unite only with such parties as will demand the withdrawal of the Education Act."

REASON NO. 2: "We have no confidence in Pattom Thanu Pillal. He has no politics except that of becoming Chief Minister. He will go with anybody who offers him Chief Ministership. If he is entrusted with this State, he will destroy it. Even if he is born seven times over again, we can't trust him. This man must be removed from Kerala politics."

To make his attack on the Congress leaders more effective, Mathai even paid a few compliments to the Communists:

"Is this united front really for fighting the Communists? The Communists came to office on the basis of 25 years of work. They are people who left the Congress because the Congress did not have a programme."

"Look at the front ranks of the Congress today. There you see people who during the freedom struggle were Sri C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's bootlickers."

And then a warning to these leaders: "They should remember one thing. Of the one lakh and fifty seven thousand people who participated in the struggle, only three thousand came from the political parties. The rest were brought into the field by the Catholics."

We are thankful to Mathai not only for his compliments to us but also the information he is doing out about the "liberation" struggle. We already knew the real face of the "mass upsurge"; but it is far more interesting to hear it from an insider like Mathai.

### THE LEAGUE MONSTER

WE had warned that the Congress was playing with fire when it entered into an alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala. We had said that the League which had become extinct in the rest of India would be revived. We had said that the Congress was breathing new life into the "dead horse."

The residents of Central Bombay have already had their experience. In the morning of November 3, League flags began to flutter in the streets. It was the occasion of a public meeting to welcome Mohammed Ismail, President of the Indian Union Muslim League.

Mr. Ismail devoted the major part of his one-hour speech for criticising Pandit Nehru for his remark that the Muslim League was a dead horse and was only fit for the zoo. He challenged the Prime Minister to come and witness meetings like the one he was addressing and see for himself that the League was in fact very alive and

## PARLIAMENT: WINTER SESSION BEGINS

THE Winter Session of Parliament opened with a number of adjournment motions in the Lok Sabha on November 16. The one moved by Acharya Kripalani to discuss "the failure of the Government to take prompt and effective action" against what he called the Chinese violation of India's sovereignty asserted that this failure had "caused grave sense of insecurity in the minds of the public as to the Government's ability to maintain the integrity of our frontiers."

Mark the conclusion of the motion: it was an attack on the Nehru Government. And during the discussion on the motion, the Acharya did not forget to belch his venom "on our Communist friends."

Frank Anthony, the Anglo-Indian member whose loyalties were once questioned by fire-eating Hindi pundits during the language debate, moved another adjournment motion to ban the Communist Party for their "treasonable policies."

### Nehru Answers Critics

Prime Minister Nehru ward off the criticisms on his Government and its policies regarding the India-China dispute by the reasonable plea that the Government was willing to have a debate on the whole question as early as possible.

Jan Sangh M.P. Vajpayee returned to the Sino-India border dispute the next day again with another adjournment motion on the evacuation of Bara Hoti.

Prime Minister Nehru pointed out that the dispute on Bara Hoti has been there for a long time: "This has happened in several parts of the border for the last half a century—certainly before the changes in Government in China, even in the brief period in 1947-48-49.... It was

carried on with the Tibetan Government,"—perhaps he should have added the Tibetan Government of the Dalai Lama, whom the PSP and the Jan Sangh are now canvassing to restore.

Before Parliament started, there had been the devastating floods in seven States, the DVC failure, the unprecedented Kanpur killings in which 18 innocent citizens fell victim to police bullets. Communist M.P.s made attempts to draw the attention of the House to these, but in the hysteria over border disputes, people's interests were drowned.

### Arms Bill

Among the legislative business that came up before the Lok Sabha notable was the Arms Bill. Communist Party spokesman, D. Venkateswara Rao, speaking on the Bill pointed out that the Bill fell far short of the expectations. It was one of the demands of our national movement that the British-imposed restrictions on our citizens holding arms should be removed. It was a pity that the Congress Government also approached the problem from the same viewpoint of the British. He argued for more freedom for the people to possess ordinary weapons.

He pleaded for a distinction being made between the possession of lower types of arms like shot-guns, etc., and higher types like rifles, etc. "Every citizen of India should have the right to possess a fire-arm which he can keep in his house and use when necessary. For this, there should be no licence, permission or anything of the sort required. If there are certain higher types of arms, the Government may ask for information. They can be regulated by the issue of licence also. But so far as ordinary types of arms are concerned, there should be no permission required."

### —K. P. S. Menon

becoming popular day by day. It may be that Panditji does not like the Muslims of this country uniting under the League flags, said Mr. Ismail, but at least after the alliance his party had forged with the Muslim League in Kerala, he should have been courteous enough to withdraw his old and meaningless remarks about the League.

Except for a handful of die-hard nationalist Muslims still inside the Congress, all Congressmen, according to Mr. Ismail approved of this alliance. I am sure when the Congress sanctioned the Kerala alliance, Pandit Nehru never thought he would have to listen to League leaders so soon giving him lessons in courtesy. Now at least he must be aware of

the Frankenstein monster his party has raised under the benign presidency of his beloved daughter.

### TAIL-PIECE

WHEN it was taken for granted that the next Congress President would come from the South, KPCC boss R. Sankar's name did not come in for serious consideration because of his notorious record of liquidating every organisation over whose destinies he presides. Opinion in high circles was that the experience of the Congress in Kerala under his presidency was good enough and need not be extended to the rest of the country.

### OBSERVER

# CEYLON : COMMUNIST LEADER ARRAIGNS DAHANAYAKE

When Ceylon's Finance Minister Stanley de Zoysa returns home this week after attending the Commonwealth Parliamentary Union Conference in Australia, he would find himself faced with a strong demand for his removal from the Dahanayake Cabinet.

THE continuance of Mr. de Zoysa and two other Ministers—R. G. Senanayake (Commerce and Trade) and Valentine Jayawickreme (Justice)—has led to the sponsoring of a new set of no-confidence motions to be discussed on November 27 by the Ceylon Parliament.

The Dahanayake Cabinet had survived the last no-confidence motion on October 30 with five votes—48 against 43, but six of the votes which were cast in favour of the Government were of nominated members. There was no doubt that the Government had suffered a big moral defeat.

But that was only the beginning of Dahanayake's problems. Within a couple of days after the voting on the no-confidence motion, two Cabinet Ministers, P.B.G. Kalnegalle and C. Wijesinghe, became signatories to a Youth League of Sri Lanka Freedom Party resolution, submitted to Prime Minister Dahanayake and Governor-General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, demanding the removal of Mr. de Zoysa from the Cabinet.

The crisis deepened when three more Ministers—A. P. Jaysuririma, T. B. Illanagaratne and Maithripala Senanayake—joined in the demand for de Zoysa's resignation. A Cabinet meeting held to discuss the demand was adjourned after a decision to await Mr. de Zoysa's return from Australia.

Meanwhile, the Opposition has submitted its second set of no-confidence motions, while outside the demand is gathering strength for the dismissal of the Zoysa brothers—Finance Minister Stanley and Deputy Inspector-General of Police Sidney.

## Damning Indictment

All this was inevitable the way Dahanayake was catapulted to power after the assassination of Bandaranaike. Listening to the speeches made during the no-confidence debate on October 30 there was no doubt left in anyone's mind that Bandaranaike's murder was anything but the crime of an individual crank motivated by personal revenge.

Communist leader Pieter Keuneman was a damning indictment of the Dahanayake Government and a thorough exposure of the social forces behind the Bandaranaike assassination.

Prime Minister Dahanayake, said Keuneman, had described his Government as a "Caretaker Government. This is true only in the sense that its main concern is to take care of itself. In actual fact this is not a Caretaker Government. It is an Undertaker Government. It is a

Government that has not only buried Bandaranaike but is also now engaged in burying everything that was good, democratic and progressive in that man.

## Dubious Distinction

The Government of the Hon. W. Dahanayake, continued Keuneman, has the unique but dubious distinction of being the only Government in the modern history of Ceylon to have a no-confidence motion tabled against it even before it faced Parliament for the first time.

This is because the misdeeds and crimes committed by the Government over the period of the first month of its existence are so heinous and have aroused such widespread suspicion, mistrust and opposition that no other course of action was open to any honourable member of this House who values pro-

gress and elementary decency in public life.

Since the days of the UNP Government, there has never been a Government which is so widely suspected and condemned by the people as this Government. And no wonder.

Here we have a Government born out of an assassination and still stamped with the blood marks of its birth. Here we have a Government riddled with internal contradictions, seeking desperately to keep alive through a needless Emergency and through several suppressions and invasions of civil liberties under that Emergency. Here we have a Government led by a handful of men dedicated only to the proposition that if they do not hang together, they will all hang separately.

Referring to Dahanayake's earlier statements, Keuneman said: He spoke then, not as a caretaker, but as a would-be strong man who intended to use his strength to impose what he considered to be law and order on this country.

In his Press interview of October 3, the Hon. Prime Minister will remember he made a historic statement, "I want all the people to know that the 'D' in my name stands for disci-

pline." What does the 'D' stand for now, Mr. Dahanayake? It stands for Discredited, it stands for Demoralised, it stands for Divided, and it will not be long before it stands for Defeated.

## Criminals In The Dock

What a difference between the arrogance and threats of a month ago and the miserable spectacle we see before us today. Those who then blustered, threatened the trade unions, gagged the Press, contemptuously rejected the demand for an early meeting of this House, curiously turned down every request for the withdrawal of the Emergency, are now huddled together like criminals in the dock, woe-begone and apprehensive. The would-be Government of strength and discipline has turned out to be the weakest and the most unstable Government in the recent history of the country.

Why has this been so? Keuneman gave the answer: The character and actions of the Dahanayake Government can only be understood in terms of

its origin—and that origin is the criminal, brutal and cowardly assassination of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.

This Government claims to be a successor to the Government of the late Mr. Bandaranaike. But it is headed by a man who has been built up by the Right wing as a rival to Mr. Bandaranaike.

We all know what went on before the Sri Lanka Freedom Party sessions of May 1959. I do not want to anticipate what the persons involved will say about it. We know the intrigues that went on. We know how the late Mr. Bandaranaike was told sharply that if he did not agree to the demands of the Right, he would not be President of the SLFP and Mr. W. Dahanayake would be President instead; that very shortly Mr. W. Dahanayake would be Prime Minister of this country.

Those who were working to displace Mr. Bandaranaike from the leading position which he held in his party and the State now claim to be his political heirs and successors. They call him a Bodhisatva now. But when he lived, they called him a spineless and weak man, an appeaser of the Left.

These men are not Bandaranaike's political heirs. They are men who have stepped over his dead body into positions of power which they do not deserve.

## GROWING DEMAND IN CEYLON: SACK THE ZOYSA BROTHERS

THE de Zoysa brothers must go is a demand being powerfully voiced in Ceylon today.

Stanley de Zoysa is the Minister for Finance in the Dahanayake Cabinet. He has already admitted in Parliament that the person who helped to supply the revolver used to assassinate Mr. Bandaranaike is a friend of his.

This man, Ossie Corea is a very close friend indeed. He was recently discharged, as an accused in another murder case following a statement by Stanley de Zoysa that provided him with an alibi.

About this friend, Pieter Keuneman said in the Ceylon Parliament, "I know a good deal about this individual. He was very closely connected with certain activities in my constituency and a large number of his activities came to my notice."

What a sorry state of affairs it is when a Minister can boast on the floor of this House of his friendship with a man who is nothing but a bootlegger, a gangster and a suspected murderer.

"According to the statement of the Hon. Minister of Finance yesterday, this intimate friend of his is involved in the case of the assassination of the late Mr. Bandaranaike not as a suspect but as a witness."

"A friend of a Minister who was a suspect has now been made a crown witness. Judging by the number of persons who are becoming crown witnesses in this case, I shall not be in the least surprised if at the end of it all, the pistol is charged with the murder of Mr. Bandaranaike and all the others involved are made crown witnesses."

Stanley's brother Sidney de Zoysa is the Deputy Inspector-General of Police and is officially supposed to have no direct connection with the investigation. But he has written letters to the Press proving that he has intimate knowledge of all the facts of the investigation and is obviously keeping in close touch with it. A question which is frequently heard in Ceylon just now is: Is Sydney de Zoysa a servant of the Government or is he running the Government?

A third brother, Dicky de Zoysa, has been a very close business and political associate of Maitripala Bandaranaike Thero, arrested in connection with the Bandaranaike assassination. Dicky was actively associated with him in the attempts to start a new shipping company (which was given concessions by Minister Stanley which were later rejected by Bandaranaike and the Cabinet) and in other enterprises.

A number of statements have been made to the police about a close relation of the de Zoysa brothers, including one from a Minister. This relation is also known to have visited the Buddhakkita Thero at Kelaniya Temple in the evening of September 25 (the day Bandaranaike was assassinated).

Can any proper investigation be conducted as long as close relations are in positions where they can influence the enquiry? Despite the weight of evidence linking the assassination with the Right-wing, both Stanley and Sidney continue to frame the Left.

Lacking moral courage to make this charge in Ceylon, Stanley de Zoysa had to run to Australia to talk about Communist plots and master plans.

The evidence that Sidney de Zoysa, using his position as Deputy Inspector-General of Police, has been peddling a "hunt the Left" line has been given by Government M. P. Mahanama Samararatne and by Sidney himself in his notorious letter to the Press.

The activities of the two brothers can have only one result—sidetrack the investigation. Hence the growing demand that the unholy duo cannot be allowed to remain in any position of authority where they can influence the investigation.

## Beginning Of The Conspiracy

Keuneman traced the conspiracy from its origin in 1956. The forces behind this assassination, he said, are the same forces who have, since 1956, been working assiduously to prevent the progressive aims for which the people voted, from being implemented; to purge the Government of those forces within it who were fighting for these aims; to move the Government steadily to the Right; to create the conditions and pave the way for a coalition of the Right-wing forces in this country; and by these means to install reaction once again in power in Ceylon.

The Communist Party of Ceylon has never underestimated the importance to Ceylon of the election victory over the UNP in 1956—a victory which Mr. Bandaranaike led and in many ways symbolised. We did not regard this victory, continued Keuneman, as a mere replacement of one capitalist Government by another, as a matter of little or no consequence to the forces of the country who are fighting for Socialism. We realised that, despite the reactionary, obscurantist and chauvinist forces that had jumped upon Mr. Bandaranaike's band-wagon, there was also a basic anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive content in the aims which the late Mr. Bandaranaike asked the people to endorse in 1956. We realised, too, that there were great potentialities for progress in the popular

\* SEE FACING PAGE

## ENDING "SLAVE LABOUR"

★ by T. B. VITTAL RAO  
PRESIDENT, INDIAN MINE WORKERS' FEDERATION

THE Ministry of Labour and Employment has decided on discontinuing the recruitment of Gorakhpur Labour Force through the Gorakhpur Recruiting Organisation in the present form. The recruitment is now proposed to be carried out through an employment exchange.

The labour so recruited will be treated as permanent unlike as at present for a period of 11 months and then reappointed.

Originally the cost of recruitment per worker used to be Rs. 40 in addition to railway fare to and from the coal-fields to Gorakhpur. Every year nearly 15,000 workers were recruited from the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh.

The labour force recruited through this organisation are sent to various coal-fields in the country. At the coal-fields they are housed in separate barracks. They are under the control and supervision of a commandant.

There have been several instances when these commandants have man-handled the workers. They are prevented from mixing with local labour in the coal-fields. They are used to break strikes and utilised to work in difficult headings underground where the local labour refuse to work. They are forbidden from joining the trade unions. Trade union leaders have very often described them as slave labour.

## Opposition From U.P.

In 1950, then Union Labour Minister Jagjivan Ram decided to close down this organisation. But on the intervention of Govind Ballabh Pant, then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, the decision was not put into effect. He persuaded the Labour Minister to continue the organisation, otherwise it would create unemployment in the densely populated eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and eventually become a law and order problem for the State.

Later on, this subject was included in the suggestion of the AITUC in the agenda of the 13th Session of the Indian Labour Conference held at Mysore in January 1954.

All the four central trade union organisations demanded the abolition of this recruiting organisation on the ground that it was slave labour and that they were utilised as blacklegs during strikes. The State Governments of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and Hyderabad also supported its abolition.

But the employers' organisation led by Naval Tata, the Coal Commissioner, Government of India and the Secretary of the Labour Department of U.P. opposed vehemently the suggestion for its abolition. The plea put forward by them was that they were efficient and their productivity was higher than the other labour. Of course, this was not borne out by any facts.

There was a deadlock at the conference and it was adjourned for a couple of hours. Even at this stage, as a compromise, the AITUC representatives suggested that all those working in the coal-fields should be made permanent and no further recruitment should take place. Thereby the demand of the Uttar Pradesh Government that it would accentuate the unemployment problem could be met. This was also not agreed to by those who opposed abolition of the organisation.

## Tripartite Committee

At last the conference adopted a resolution for the appointment of a tripartite committee to go in to the question of welfare facilities provided for the workers and about their trade union rights. The committee was constituted with Vishnu Sahay, the Secretary of the Ministry of Labour, as Chairman and two representatives each of the workers and employers. The AITUC was not given any representation on it. The committee submitted its report some time in 1955.

The main recommendations of the committee are that these workers should be allowed to join trade unions, and allowed to bring their families, if they so choose, and could remain after the period of eleven months. These recommendations were accepted by the Government.

One of the members of the committee, Kanti Mehta, General Secretary Indian National Mine Workers' Federation, after a year moved a resolution at the annual session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress held at Madurai in January 1958 for the abolition of the Gorakhpur Labour Force Recruiting Organisation.

This subject came up again for discussion at the Sixth Session of the Industrial Committee on Coal-Mines held at New Delhi in February, 1959. During this meeting, the representatives reiterated their former stand for its abolition. Gulzarilal Nanda took note of the strong views expressed and said that the Government would review the

movement that he unleashed through that victory.

In 1956, after the UNP had been defeated, the question that arose was: who will win? Would the popular forces be able to consolidate and carry forward their victory or would the forces of reaction, both within and outside the people's camp, be able to take the upper hand and negate that victory?

In this situation, said Keuneman, "our Party as a party dedicated to the eventual establishment of a Socialist society in Ceylon, felt that it was our elementary duty to assist the implementation of all that was progressive in the MEP Manifesto while at the same time combating all the efforts of reactionary forces, both within and outside the MEP, to prevent this."

Ever since 1956, Keuneman continued, a grim struggle was being waged between progress and reaction to decide whether this country should go forward or back to the old state of things. It is to the credit of the late Mr. Bandaranaike that although he sometimes succumbed to the pressure of the Right, he was never with them. His towering personality and his great authority among the popular masses made him an obstacle to the aims of the Right wing, an obstacle that had to be removed and that has now been removed.

The whole country can now

see the real face of the Right wing in all its nakedness. It can see how despicable, how unscrupulous those forces are. It can see the real nature and aims of the obscurantists who paraded chauvinism as patriotism. It can see the real character of the racketeers in robes who use their religion as a cover to promote their most sordid business interests and their struggle for political power. It can see the real nature of the men and women who were praised as heroes when they opposed the Paddy Lands Act, when they fought against, the vote at 18, when they conspired to wreck the Cooperative Land Development Bill and other pieces of progressive legislation.

They are all exposed now and the people can see their real aims and nature. These are the heroes of anti-Communism, these degraded wretches with democracy on their lips and blood on their hands.

## Dastardly Plans

Step by step, these forces of the Right wing have carried out their dastardly plans to negate the victory of 1956 and install in power a Government that would be fully subservient to their dictates.

They opposed every attempt to implement the progressive aims of the MEP Manifesto. They raised the bankrupt slo-

a prisoner of the Left. He made a fatal mistake and ended, not as a prisoner of the Left, but as a victim of the Right.

His removal became essential for these Right-wingers because Mr. Bandaranaike; more than any other man, symbolised for the common people their victory in 1956. The hundreds of thousands of people who fled past his bier did so to pay a last tribute to a man who, in their minds, was still the man who led them to progress in 1956.

Concluding his speech, Keuneman said: Like the rest of the people, the Communist Party demands that the persons behind the murder of Mr. Bandaranaike should be hunted down ruthlessly and punished. The social forces behind this assassination must be exposed, isolated and politically destroyed. We do not believe that this Government can do that. This is one of the reasons, among others, why our Party gives its full and unstinted support to the motion of no-confidence in the Government of the Hon. W. Dahanayake.

Earlier in his speech Keuneman lashed out against the Emergency the Dahanayake Government has imposed on Ceylon. The Prime Minister had declared that it was "purely precautionary". This "purely precautionary" emergency had now been ex-

# AN UNDERTAKER GOVT. THAT HAS BURIED BANDARANAIKE AND ALL HIS POLICIES

gan of anti-Communism. They advocated a "get tough" policy towards the working class. They expelled the member for Matale from the post of General Secretary of the SLFP when, at Mr. Bandaranaike's behest, he proposed a united front with the Leftist forces of the country.

Last May, before the Kurunagala sessions of the SLFP, they threatened the late Mr. Bandaranaike with removal from his leading position in the party and the State unless he gave into their demands. They engineered a Cabinet crisis and succeeded in bringing about the end of the MEP Government elected in 1956.

In May 1959, when they drove out of the MEP Government those who were fighting for the 1956 programme, these Right-wing forces thought they had succeeded in their aims. But they found to their chagrin that the late Mr. Bandaranaike was not prepared to go along with them. He became an obstacle to the Government going further to the Right. They found that it was difficult to circumvent him as long as he was alive owing to the great authority he enjoyed among the people. The removal of this obstacle, by fair-means or foul, became imperative for this people.

At the time of the Cabinet crisis of May 1959, the Right-wing told Mr. Bandaranaike that if he did not go along with them he would become

tended for a second month and to judge from the Prime Minister's statement today in regard to elections, it is going to continue in November and December and probably longer.

Every sane person, said Keuneman, knows that there is no justification whatsoever for the state of Emergency. There is no unrest or civil commotion in the country. From the moment of Mr. Bandaranaike's death, the people have shown exemplary calm and discipline. The Government's pretences that a state of Emergency is necessary have been blown sky-high by its own decision to proceed with the holding of local Government elections. If there was any situation warranting a state of Emergency, would it have been possible to hold elections over a large portion of the country?

This Emergency is not intended to protect the people or to maintain law and order. It is intended to protect a shaky and insecure Government from exposure and opposition to its misdeeds.

Keuneman on behalf of the Communist Party of Ceylon demanded that the Emergency be withdrawn forthwith and protested against the holding of local government elections under conditions of a state of Emergency. The remedy is not to postpone the elections, he said, but to lift the Emergency and that is the demand which the Communist Party makes of the Government.



# Kerala : Communists In Election Campaign

## DEMONSTRATION OF MASS SUPPORT

FROM Parassala in the south to Kasargode in the north, picturesque Kerala is today throbbing with life—intense activities have begun for the ensuing elections.

Reports of preparations of electoral rolls, filing of claims and objections, demonstrations against the treacherous alliance of the Congress and the Praja Socialists with the communal forces and of public meetings to declare people's support to the Communist Party are pouring into the office of the Kerala State Committee and the Party newspapers.

In Mattannoor constituency, for instance, in every village block committees have been formed and they are approaching voters now to canvass votes for the Communist Party. Every block committee has opened its own office. The first round of explanatory campaign meetings to educate Party members and sympathisers is now over. The Red Flag has been carried to every nook and corner of the constituency, even where in the past the Party did not have much influence.

Party workers have noticed considerable shift in the political attitude of the people who in the last elections had voted for Congress. A big section of the people who in 1957 worked and voted for the Congress are now talking against the Congress betrayal of democracy which they had never expected.

On the other hand the Congress-FSP-League alliance is day after day indulging in more and more false propaganda and dirty lies. From many parts of the constituency petitions are being filed with the police involving Communist workers in false cases.

In villages where the Communist Party has a majority in the panchayat board, these parties are even opposing the good work done by the board. They are sending in fabricated complaints, opposing small-scale irrigation works, house construction projects, etc. Such petitions are even sent up to the higher officials with the hope of influencing the bureaucracy against the popular measures of the people's panchayat.

In Chirakkal village, 600 workers have come forward to campaign for the Communist Party. The village has been divided into 25 blocks. The workers are given a course in preliminary election work and now they are going to the people to teach them how to mark

their votes and why they should mark for the Communist Party's symbol.

Hundreds of village elections committees have sprung up throughout Kerala. These committees function directly under the constituency committees of the Communist Party. There are nearly 114 such constituency committees in Kerala today.

Reports from Kozhikode District show that in the month of November, nearly 200 propaganda meetings were held in villages to explain the Land Bill passed by the Kerala Assembly under the Communist Government for which Presidential assent is being withheld by the Congress administration in the Centre. These meetings were attended by peasants, workers and many women.

In the Muslim belt of Kozhikode District the campaign is especially intense, big meetings have been held in Kottakkal, Parappanangadi, Kondotty and many adjoining villages where the Muslims predominate the population.

## THIRD PLAN FOR KERALA

### Communists Demand Outlay Of Rs. 250 Crores

WHEN the Kerala Planning Advisory Board met in Trivandrum recently, representatives of all political parties, irrespective of their differences, urged that Kerala should not be neglected in the Third Plan as it happened in the First and Second Five-Year Plans. Everyone demanded in one voice that the Centre should give special attention to Kerala to end her present backwardness.

Adviser to the Governor P. V. R. Rao presided over the meeting which was inaugurated by Governor Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao.

#### Special Problems

Representing the Communist Party E. Gopalakrishnan Menon and V. R. Krishna Iyer attended it as special invitees. Congress leader Panampally Govinda Menon was also among the special invitees. Planning Board members E. M. S. Namboodripad and M. N. Govindan Nair could not attend the meeting since they were away in Meerut for the meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party.

## POLITICAL PUPPET SHOW

—V. R. Krishna Iyer On The  
Jurists' Commission

V. R. KRISHNA IYER, Minister of Law in the dismissed Communist Ministry of Kerala, says in a statement: The Jurist Commission, through a pliable committee composed mostly of legal men of pronounced partisan views, has started its post-mortem into the Nambudiripad Ministry's administration.

The invidious selection of Kerala, the discriminatory choice of only the Communist Ministry's doings, the tell-tale hurry to get through this ex parte autopsy before the elections—clearly reveal who has called the tune.

The KPCC had, in its memorandum to the President, asked for an enquiry. The Jurist Commission has, without appearing to fulfil the behest, stepped into the field under an academic garb. Who asked this Commission to embark upon this unchivalrous, ex parte juristic investigation, and under what authority, moral or legal? No political party has wanted it publicly.

The Prime Minister says

his Government will have nothing to do with it directly or indirectly. The victim who lies low, thanks to the "Liberation fight", i.e., the Communist Ministry, has not been even informally consulted.

Why don't they venture into the Punjab, Bengal, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and even Madras and Andhra Pradesh where the 'rule of law' and civil liberty are under a penumbra, according to many reports?

Why do they wink at that most scandalous and spectacular violation of the rule of law (and the Indian Constitution itself) in a violent and organised way by the Congress and other 'vimochna' partners?

Dare they examine whether the Governor and President, the former by reporting behind the back of his Ministry, and the latter by issuing an unjustified 'proclamation' violated the Constitution?

Have they the fairness to see the outrageous assault on the rule of law by the 'President's' administration?

by withdrawing, en masse, serious criminal cases for political purposes, dropping criminal investigations, without legal power, to placate "vimochnites" and tilting the whole official machinery to serve party ends?

Is this Commission a "pseudo - non - political" weapon of the anti-Communist front? With Messrs Munshi and Purushothamdas and Amin actively in the enterprise (they were publicly FOR Central intervention and AGAINST Communist Party rule), no one will be in doubt about the purpose and the predetermined result. It is a pity that through this stunt of an enquiry they should hasten to supply legal grist to the mill of anti-Communist election propaganda.

The Kerala people, I trust, will not be taken in by this 'pre-fab' performance—a shrewd political puppet show played through non-political figures. Could it be that the judgement is ready, the evidence all sorted and arranged but the trial must be gone through, for form's sake?

The Governor in his inaugural address dwelt with the special problems of Kerala and suggested that there should be large provisions for the extension of large and small-scale industries in Kerala if she is to increase employment opportunities and create greater prosperity in the State.

About the achievements of targets in the Second Five-Year Plan, the Governor said:

"Considering the achievements of both financial targets and physical targets of the Second Five-Year Plan, I do not think that we need be very much apprehensive. In the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan our targets were rather low. But in the second and third years (this happened to be the first and second years of the Communist Ministry—Ed.), there has been considerable improvements. So far as the annual achievements are concerned, last year, we exceeded our expectations. Therefore, we may assure that 80 per cent of our targets, physical as well as financial, would be achieved by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan".

The Governor also referred to

Kerala's Master Plan (which was prepared by the Communist Ministry) and said that by implementing it, the State would not only meet its own requirements, but would be able to spare electric power to the sister States of Madras and Mysore on equitable terms.

Communist representative E. Gopalakrishna Menon pleaded for a larger plan outlay for Kerala than the one suggested by the Planning Department of the Kerala Government. The Planning Department's suggestion is for an outlay of Rs. 180 crores only. Gopalakrishna Menon said that they should ask for larger central assistance.

#### Step-Motherly Attitude

He said that in relation to plan outlay and resources of States, the proportion of Central share to the total outlay in Kerala was only 45 per cent in the Second Five-Year Plan whereas for Orissa it was 90 per cent, Andhra 69 per cent and Mysore 60 per cent. Similarly Central investments during the Second Five-Year Plan in heavy industries in the State was only Rs. 79 lakhs (a D.D.T. factory) while in West Bengal

it was Rs. 138.60 crores, Orissa Rs. 186.00 crores and Madras Rs. 61.00 crores. While Central assistance to Kerala was grossly inadequate, location of Central-sponsored industries are very much neglected here.

V. R. Krishna Iyer said that Kerala should get at least Rs. 250 crores in the Third Plan and that any attempt to prune the size of the plan should be resisted. He laid stress on irrigation and power development projects and asked for adequate outlay in the Plan. He was sure that by way of willing cooperation and contribution of the people, necessary internal resources can be made available because irrigation projects mean more food, more water and more electricity.

Panampally Govinda Menon also said that Kerala should get Rs. 250 crores in the Third Plan.

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