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NEW AGE
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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

SECRETARY OF THE KERALA STATE COUNCIL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR HAS REITERATED IN A STATEMENT AT ERNAKULAM THE PARTY'S "FULL CONFIDENCE IN RESULTS OF THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS".

VOL. VIII No. 2 SUNDAY, JANUARY 10, 1960 25 NP.

PATTAMBI, January 6

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

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

be a three-cornered contest in about one-fourth of the total number of seats being contested.

Communist Bloc Alone Can Fulfil Purpose Of Constitution

From

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

be three-cornered contest in about one-fourth of the total number of seats being contested.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"We hope that the authorities will not change the present attitude and that the officials will observe complete neutrality as the election date approaches nearer and the strength and possibilities of victory of different political parties become clearer."

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

"Even if these parties jointly get a majority the elementary aim of an election, namely the formation of a government of people's representatives, will not be fulfilled; again there will be a governmental crisis; again President's rule will be imposed. That will be the fate of our State.

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

stable government led by the Communist Party or continuous governmental crisis and Presidential rule."

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

Against Provocation

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

Referring to the mischievous propaganda that the Communist Party has crores of rupees and hundreds of jeeps and bikes, he says:

"The Communist Party in

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

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

As for the argument of a stable government being synonymous with a government of the type of Franco's in Spain, people know that "stability" that is referred to here is the stability not coming within the framework of the

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

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

A serious charge levelled against the Congress in Kerala is that it has not been able to fulfil this intention of the Constitution; and it has been the proud privilege of the alliance of Communists and non-party democrats to have been able to provide the State with a

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

"It will be foolish on our part to try to defeat the vested interests and parties representing them by their own measures in this connection. While they emphasise on money the Communist Party emphasises on organised and systematic work to make the voters politically conscious and to remove the misunderstandings which the Party's opponents daily sow among the people.

"Hence the Party has decided to organise on a broad scale volunteers on the basis of one volunteer for ten houses and to set up organisation at the constituency and lower levels.

"The coming election is a decisive one as far as the future of our State and of Indian democracy is concerned. The common people in our State who remained peaceful and behaved with utmost self-restraint in the face of the violence and atrocities that were perpetrated in the name of the 'liberation struggle' are today marching forward with determination for the victory of the Communist and Communist supported candidates.

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

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

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

C. Unniraja,
Kerala State Council,
Communist Party of
India,
Valanjambalam,
ERNAKULAM.

FOR FULL LIST OF COMMUNIST AND SUPPORTED CONDIDATES

WHY NOT LET COOPERATIVES DO IT ?

GEORGE CHADAYAM-MURI, President, of Kerala Toddy Tappers' Federation has issued the following Press statement.

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

Charges Untrue

The advisor has stated that Government has incurred a loss of nearly Rs. eight lakhs on account of the negotiated contract with these societies for sale of toddy, in the year 1959-60 alone. Dr. Ramakrishna Rao, the Governor, had once referred to the loss as Rs. one crore. It is gratifying that P. V. R. Rao, has reduced the amount to Rs. 8 lakhs, from the peak of Rupees one crore.

But this statement also is contrary to facts. Government have entered into negotiated contract for sale of toddy with 12 tappers' societies. Toddy shops in the taluks of Trichur, Mukundapuram, Parur, Alwaye, Vailom, Kunnathur, Quilon, Karunagappalli, Mavelikkara, Ambalapuzha, Sertallal and in the ranges of Narakkal and Kottayam are thus entrusted with Societies.

Total kist amount for these shops in the year 1958-59 was Rs. 65,39,265. This year, 1959-60, the amount is reduced to Rs. 63,40,958.50 nP., i.e. a reduction of Rs. 1,98,306.50 for all the 12 societies put together.

Total number of toddy shops given in auction in the year 1959-60 was 563 and the bid amount was Rs. 65,23,660.50 nP. Shops were auctioned this year at a higher rate of 15%. The advisor makes his whole calculation on the basis that his Government would have fetched the same rate of increase from toddy shops given to societies.

The average kist remitted

by society shops and auctioned shops being taken into account, we will be arriving at a different conclusion. The average kist amount remitted by each of the 536 society shops is Rs. 11,830.14 nP. while the average kist amount of 563 shops given in auction is only Rs. 11,587.39 nP. This is Rs. 242.82 nP. higher than the average kist amount of auctioned shops.

It is to be noted that among the auctioned shops are included those at Ernakulam and Mattancherry ranges which fetch the highest amount every year. And yet the auctioned shops fetch an amount of Rs. 1,36,700 less than those given to societies, if the average kist is taken into account. This means, auction rate is less than the rate of negotiated contract entered into with societies. Knowingly or unknowingly, P. V. R. Rao is hiding this fact, which means he is simply agreeing to the arguments of private contractors who are necessarily enemies of the societies.

The whole argument above is based on the assumption that entire auction amount will be realised by Government. But the whole amount is never realised. A balance of Rs. 84,10,162 has still to be realised from contractors ever since 1952-53; while there is no balance to be realised from the societies. If the loss incurred by Government from non-realisation of auction amount from contractors is also taken into account, it can be seen that Government is enjoying a big gain due to negotiated contract entered into with the societies.

The advisor has also not enquired into the reasons for the increase in auction amount. The auction amount in Kottayam district in the year 1957-58 was nearly Rs. 9 lakhs less than that in the previous year. There were no societies at that time. Societies were entrusted with shops in the year 1958-59 only in the taluks of Trichur, Sertallal and Ambalapuzha. The loss incurred could not be made up that year also. The situation has very much improved in the year 1959-60. P. V. R. Rao could have found that these 12 societies were responsible for improving the situation.

NEW AGE

Political Monthly of the Communist Party.

Editor: B. T. Ranadive.

January issue contains:

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

Manager: T. Madhavan, 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, NEW DELHI.

A memorandum submitted jointly by the Kerala State Chethu Thozhilali Federation (Federation of Trade Unions of Toddy Tappers) and the Kerala Chamber of Toddy Tappers Co-operatives, to the Government of India urges upon the Government of India to direct the Kerala Government to follow the policy of entrusting the procurement and vending of toddy to the Toddy Tappers' Co-operatives and to extend them the contract for the coming year, i.e., 1960-61.

A conference of the excise officials which met on November 26 has, it is reliably learnt, recommended to the Government that the policy of entrusting the toddy vending business to the Toddy Tappers Co-operatives through negotiations, be scrapped.

These cooperatives, the memorandum says, have been, to the toddy tappers, instruments of emancipation. Previously they were the most exploited, downtrodden section. Their condition was more akin to slavery. But now, thanks to these cooperatives, their lot has changed. No more are they to snivel at the feet of the contractors, be abused and suppressed. Economically also they

per annum; they get only five days' casual leave while paid festival holidays is limited to three.

The enhanced emoluments now enjoyed by the tappers under the above three cooperatives will be extended to the tappers under all other nine cooperatives as soon as these societies complete this financial year.

Above all, the toddy tappers have become conscious of

Tappers' Memorandum

have gained. Of the twelve societies, only three, viz., the Trichur Taluq Chethu Thozhilali Cooperative Society, the Sertallal Taluq Chethu Thozhilali Cooperative Society and the Alleppey Chethu Thozhilali Cooperative Society (the other nine having been commissioned only this year) have been functioning last year. These three societies have increased the emoluments of the toddy tappers considerably.

For example, the Trichur Taluq Chethu Thozhilali Cooperative Society alone has paid the toddy tappers Rs. 5,13,543. 19 nP. more during the year 1959-60 than the previous year, i.e., 1958-59. This works upto nearly 27% of 1958-59 emoluments. The toddy tappers under these three cooperatives get an annual bonus ranging from Rs. 40 to Rs. 240, 15 days' leave with wages, seven festival holidays with pay, allowances for accessories, implements, etc. Most of these benefits are not enjoyed by the tappers engaged by the contractors. As regards bonus, tappers under contractors get only Rs. 10 to Rs. 20

their dignity. A new life has opened out for them. Therefore, if the cooperatives are denied the contract for the coming year, not only will they be deprived of all these benefits but they will also lose a sum of over Rs. 10 lakhs invested by workers as initial capital.

These 12 cooperatives have, between them, engaged over 2,000 people as accountants, clerks, shop managers, salesmen, etc. These are new employments. Thus, these societies are feeding another 2,000 families besides the toddy tappers, i.e., about 10,000 persons.

Besides the above 12 societies, five other societies of toddy tappers in other taluqs have been organised and they are conducting shops taken under auction. These societies are looking forward to being entrusted with the toddy vending business in their respective areas.

In our memorandum submitted to Advisor Rao, we had suggested that a scheme of sharing profits between the societies and the Government could be worked out.

Kerala Tragedy

WE are giving below extracts from an editorial appearing in Pradeepam, a nationalist daily, on December 26:

Our Prime Minister declared in a press conference during the liberation struggle that Mannath Padmanabhan had dissolved the Nair Service Society and now he is doing social service with a College established in the name of Mahatma Gandhi. It is true that Sri Mannan had his college named after Mahatma Gandhi. It is also true that he is propagating a certain message and spreading certain ideas. What are those ideas? He has even evolved a new Panch Sheel. His five principles are:

- 1) If one is a Communist he should not be given even water to quench his thirst.
- 2) Hate the Communists like lepers.
- 3) A woman should divorce her husband if he is a Communist.
- 4) Do not attend any social functions like marriages etc. held by Communists, and
- 5) Social boycott of all Communists and treat them as untouchable.

It is not necessary to tell the people of Kerala who knew Gandhiji very well whether these principles of Mannan have anything to do with the Mahatma. The greatest tragedy is that Kerala, the land of culture, had the misfortune to witness the doings of such a person like Mannath Padmanabhan.

1) If one is a Communist

ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN FULL SWING

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

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

DEMONSTRATORS marching through the street for an hour finally converged in a big public meeting which was addressed by outstanding speakers like A. K. Gopalan and Thazhava Keshavan. E. M. S. Namboodiripad who was returned from the same constituency in 1957 general elections inaugurated the campaign rally.

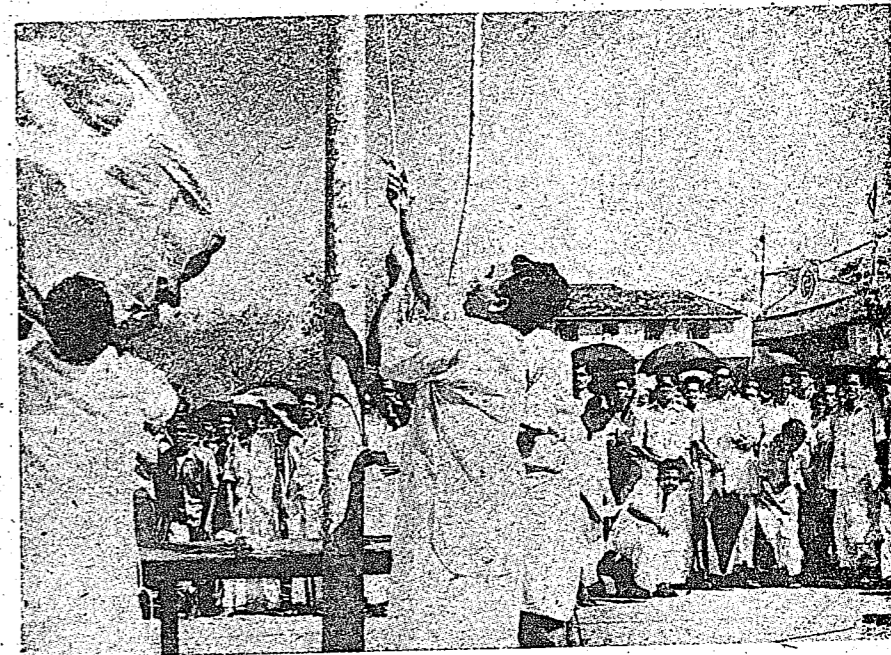
Congress and defeat Shankar.

Drawing the attention of the people towards slogans written on the walls by the triple alliance Keshavan said, "If the Congress slogan is that no vote for those who fired upon the people, then what right has the Congress that has shot down hundreds of people who asked for food and jobs and killed hundreds of persons in prison to ask for votes?"

He placed the responsibility of the unfortunate firings in Kerala square on the shoulders of those who provoked the so-called liberation struggle. He accused the Congress of throwing innocent people into the fray as cannon fodder of reaction's struggle. The leaders of the triple alliance should bear the full responsibility for all the violence that was committed during the 'liberation struggle'.

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

He said the campaign of the Muslim League against the Communist Government will not go down among the people because the people of Malabar know very well that it was the Communist Government that included Sri Kunhipakkal Saheb, in the Public Service Commission, the first Muslim ever to be made a member of that body in Kerala. He recalled the Memorandum of the KPCC in which R. Shankar had opposed the appointment of Kunhipakkal Saheb as a member of the Public Service Commission.



A. K. Gopalan hoists the Red Flag.

Kesavan Exposes Shankar

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

Narrating the past history of R. Shankar, Thazhava said, that Shankar had always supported landlord interests of Travancore. He told the people that a vote given to R. Shankar will be a vote against the toiling people.

R. Shankar finding no hope in his own place in Travancore had fled all the way to the north to take refuge in Cannanore. A person who has nothing to his own credit except ignominy and manoeuvrings had come to a far off place to impose himself on a people who do not know him and do not want him. But, Keshavan said, gone are the old days and the people of Cannanore will certainly ignore the mandate of the

FOR UNITY OF ALL COMMUNITIES

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

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

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

"It was only under the Communist-led government that religion and the minority communities of Kerala received considerable protection and aid from the State. When Malabar was part of Madras State till 1956 permission was not granted to reconstruct mosques and such places of public worship. Immediately on assuming office our Government relaxed legal provisions which prevented the Muslim worshippers from freely building their own places of worship. It was an act which extended religious freedom in the State. There are many instances like this."

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

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

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

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



People gather to march in procession.

LESSONS OF KERALA COUP

BOOK REVIEW

ANATOMY OF THE KERALA COUP by H. Austin. People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Price Rs. 3/-.

TWENTY-EIGHT MONTHS IN KERALA. A RETROSPECT by E. M. S. Namboodiripad. People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Price 75 Naye Paise.

THESE two books together constitute what can be called the intelligent reader's guide to the momentous Kerala elections, now a bare three weeks off. In a way, not merely a guide to these elections, however crucial, but to the emerging problems before and path forward for Indian democracy. They can be missed only at considerable peril, if one wants to define one's attitude to the biggest thing that happened after we became free.

H. Austin's is a complete documentation of the searing weeks in June and July when the dastardly offensive was mounted against the popular

ministry of Kerala. Naturally enough, it is not confined to these few weeks alone. We have been given a factual and most penetrating analysis of the forces behind the coup and of the long months of their subversive preparation.

Planned Long Ago

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

nists came to power in the State. A study of the political and other skirmishes in the past, in and out of the legislature, discloses that hardly had the ministry been formed when the plan to overthrow it had been forged broadly and put through piecemeal over these two years. The last few months witnessed but the fulfilment of the same political objective through a paroxysm of violence in which the 'central' leadership played a clever and effective, though sub rosa, role." (pp. 2-3)

In presenting his case of who the "liberators" were the author has used telling quotations from the speeches of Mannath Padmanabhan, the mediaeval mascot of the "struggle", Panampilly, Shankar and others.

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

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

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

"He had stated that the

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

He goes on to ram home the point: "The role played by Shankar and others in forming a joint action council with representatives of other parties, the Church and 'Marshall Mannom', to carry on the 'struggle' imply general approval by the Congress leaders of the various deeds done by the several groups of people in response to the call of the Vimochana Samara Samiti.

"Necessarily, there is joint responsibility on all the 'Vimochana' parties for the whole venture and all that was done in pursuance of the common object by any member of the Samiti.

"No expulsion or disciplinary proceedings against and no sincere condemnation of those who had overstepped the limits of non-violence or overrun the Travancore collectorate, tore open bus tyres or stoned police vans have taken place at the instance of the Vimochana Samara Samiti or the Congress Party.

"On the contrary, every such act of hooliganism has been looked upon by the Samiti leaders as indicative of the intensification of the struggle." (pp. 65-66)

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

Issues Involved

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

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

In essence all these arguments boiled down to: "To put it in a nutshell, the original sin of allowing the Communist Party to assume office has put an end to the Constitution and constitutional government is ex hypothesi impossible if the Communists run the administration. Central intervention is, therefore, permissible to avert a further breakdown of the Constitution wherever and whenever Communists rule!" (p. 83)

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

* ON FACING PAGE

WHY NOT ENQUIRE NOW INTO THOSE FIRINGS?

—Asks Achutha Menon

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

HE made this challenge while inaugurating the election campaign of Professor Joseph Mundassery in the Manalur constituency on December 27, 1959. He said:

"It is true that a number of police firings took place when the Communist Party was in power here. All of you know the circumstances that led to those firings. When the police was forced to open fire in Chandanathope (near Quilon) and in Munnar, without waiting for anybody's advice, the Government instituted public enquiries into those incidents.

Why We Refused?

"But it is also true that, when there were firings in the course of the 'liberation struggle', we were not prepared to institute enquiries immediately. Even when Prime Minister Nehru directly suggested to us to institute enquiries, we said that it was not possible then. As far as the Kerala Governor was concerned, he used to write to the Chief Minister advising him to institute enquiries.

"We took such a stand because it was impossible to conduct any enquiry into those incidents before the disturbances subsided.

"Now anyhow we have been necked out of office. The Central Government and the Governor are directly in charge of the administration here. They were so anxious then to conduct enquiries into the police firings. Let me ask them why have they not yet instituted an enquiry into those firings?

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

Party of being responsible for the shootings in Anakkali, Cheriathura, Kochuvell, etc.? You can easily enquire and find out whether the firings were justified or not.

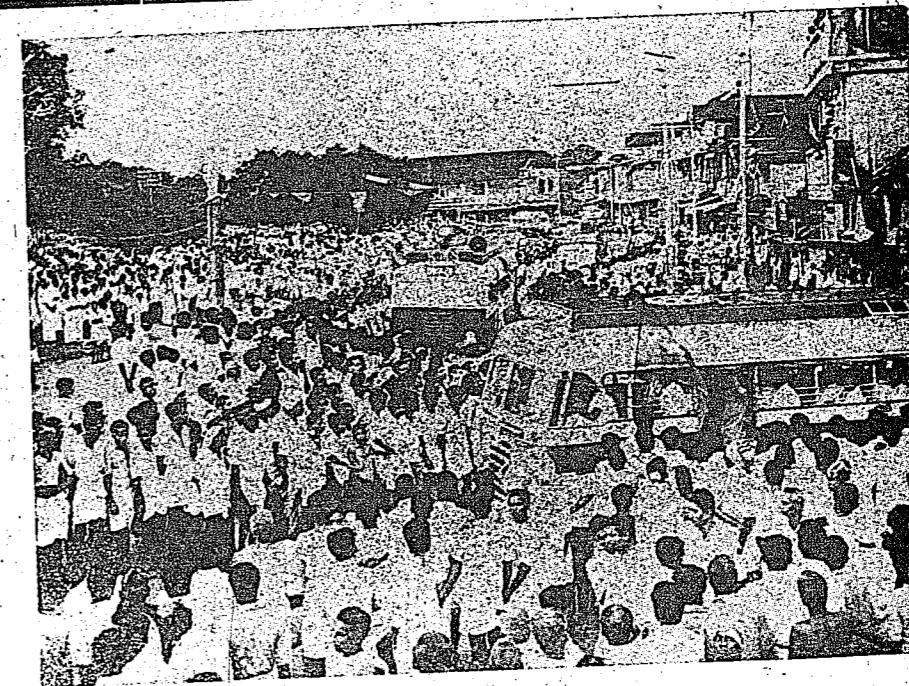
"There is an opportunity now to find out whether the opposition parties who incited innocent people with all sorts of false propaganda and threw them in front of rifles of the Government which was controlling the police who had no other go but to open fire, were really guilty.

"I ask Kerala Governor Dr. Ramakrishna Rao with full sense of responsibility if he and his Government are prepared to show their sincerity by instituting such an enquiry."

Achutha Menon began his speech by referring to a remark made by Panampally Govinda Menon while inaugurating the Congress election campaign in the same constituency that what was taking place in Kerala now was a Mahabharatha battle. He said that in a sense he agreed with that remark:

"This is really a great battle between right and wrong—a battle against violence and injustice. I will say that this is a battle for the future of our country. A serious danger is staring at the future of our country. It was the beginning of that danger, that took place against the Communist-led Government in Kerala.

"If the people say through the ballot box that they want such and such a party to govern them, then that party should get a chance to be in power till the next elections, for five years. What is guaranteed by our Constitution is the right to elect a Government of our own choice. Hence the Kerala episode is not a question of legal niceties; it is a question of life itself. We must be able to cry a halt to this danger."



People arriving to join the procession

* From Facing Page—

E. M. S. Looks Back On 28 Months

abide by the rules as laid down in the Constitution.

Finally, Austin draws the correct parallel from Pakistan: "Although there are major differences, some features of the Kerala episode have a seeming resemblance to Ayub's tactics."

"Is it not shocking to know that the State Ministry was kept in the dark about the move to introduce President's rule? And now the Prime Minister has the temerity to say that the surgery was done at the instance of, at any rate, for the relief of the Communist ministry!"

"There is a strange likeness to Ayub's usurpation of power! Even in Pakistan, section 93 government came in when parties of the Opposition at the Centre were returned in a majority in East Bengal. Thus, began the indiscriminate use of Governor's rule culminating in absolute dictatorship. Does it all have to repeat in India?" (p. 121)

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

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

In eleven pithy chapters the former Chief Minister places before us the record of 28 months in office. The one dominant theme is that his ministry was only trying to implement what were the common demands of the national movement and the officially proclaimed policy of the Congress itself.

Where Lay The Difference?

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

As a matter of fact this difference is, in essence, the basic tenor of Indian polity today—who will lead, the capitalists or the workers? Here also is to be found the explanation for the frenzy into which the Congress High Command worked itself up against the Communist-led Ministry.

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

"On the one hand, our legislations being in full conformity with the declared policies of the Congress as an organisation and of the Central Government and the Planning Commission, they could not raise any objection to them.

"On the other hand, they could not enthusiastically support them or allow them to be passed and fully implemented. For, that would rouse the anger of those very sections in society on whom they depended for support—landlords, money-lenders, large-scale employers of agricultural labour, etc." (p. 44)

Exactly the same kind of dilemma was presented by administrative reforms proposed by the dismissed ministry. Mentioning the Panchayat and District Councils Bill, Namboodiripad, writes:

"These two bills would go a long way in extending the principle of the executive being responsible to the elected representatives of the people at all levels of administration, rather than confine it to the Centre and the States as is now the case.

"These proposals were violently opposed by the leading members of the Opposition parties, although there were several members of these parties who were in sympathy with the idea of vesting the people's representatives with more and more powers. This is obviously a stand which has nothing to do with the basic policy declaration of our national movement." (pp. 28-29)

And this is exactly the issue of issues in the present mid-term elections: Will the demonstration-effect of democracy be permitted to inspire us? Will our national aspirations be fulfilled? Or will there be an eclipse of our Constitution? The elections in Kerala are the beckoning of our future—and we must shape it.

MOHIT SEN

PAGE ELEVEN

FROM RUMANIA

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View of the Dais at Trichur Conference. Left to Right sitting: E. M. S., A. R. Menon, C. Achutha Menon, A. K. Gopalan, P. Ramasurti, K. K. Warrier at the mike.

Ruinous Terms Of Trade With Palliatives Of "Aid"

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

It has also brought home to our people the antipathy of the US ruling circles towards developing two-way trade with us to enable us to earn necessary resources to buy machinery and equipment, for industrialising our economy. And yet, in quest of facilitating this trade further the Government has lifted whatever of curbs it had left imposed on imports from the dollar area.

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

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

While these are ominous trends—of whose significance the Government here can by no means be un-

aware—there is little talk in Washington, London or Bonn to improve India's export prospects in overseas markets. Nominally, no doubt, certain relaxations are said to have been decided upon in Bonn (in respect of jute goods, coir products and handlooms) but by and large the old rigidities have not been forsaken.

What, however, lies behind them? So long only the critics on the Left had been indicting the ruling circles in industrialised capitalist countries in the West for pursuing a restrictionist policy in respect of imports from the underdeveloped regions of the world. Through such a policy, they had been saying, these circles sought to solve their own problems of recession and over-production and thereby, at the cost of the poorer areas, to maintain and even improve the indices of their profits etc.

Balogh's Testimony

Now a well-known bourgeois economist, Prof. Thomas Balogh, has also expressed more or less the same view. In a recent article in the New Statesman (December 12) he says that in the UK "price stability since 1957 could be maintained only because import costs (of foodgrains and raw materials), declined by eight per cent". Further, "the improvement in the standard of life (in UK) since 1957, some two or three per cent is entirely due to the violent improvement in the terms at which we are able to purchase food and raw materials—to the discomfiture of poor areas".

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

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

The role of foreign aid, according to Prof. Balogh can only be "marginal". Else "the main effort must come from the recipient country itself". This is possible only "if a desire for general popular participation can successfully be evoked—(through) far-reaching social and economic reforms, including mass education".

With "aid" and private investments thus proving to be inadequate to lay "a sufficiently broad basis to start a self-generating process of expansion", promotion of mutually beneficial trade remains the only dependable way in which the West can help develop the economies in the underdeveloped East. Here, however, the West's own policies stand in the way. Relying on monetary methods to stabilise prices, and then to impose tariffs to help those hit by resort to these methods, the West deliberately retards growth both of its own industries as well as of economies which supply raw materials to them. In this way the Western rulers consciously create a crisis of confidence, assuaging which, at the cost of underdeveloped countries, they manage to claim support of their electorate.

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

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

'Economist' Corroborates

Professor Balogh's analysis in this respect is corroborated by Aneurin Bevan. According to the former "the tendency in general economic management (especially in the United States) has been to tighten financial policy to beat inflation and then to increase protection to help those who are hurt by this tightening. A check has had to be imposed on the rate of industrial growth in order to keep prices down and then restrictions on various forms of agricultural or textile imports have been imposed to put prices up again."

The Economist calls it the first set of illogicalities to appear in Western policy, while, according to Prof. Balogh, the riches acquired thus, engender "a feeling of growing spiritual poverty and dissatisfaction as well as guilt, impatience and aggression" which together constitute a "psychological malaise".

Bevan, too, has expressed more or less similar views in an article, reproduced in the Indian Express (December 26). "No sooner does production get into full swing", he writes, "than rising prices frighten the Western countries into credit restrictions". Even in West Germany, where a miracle was supposed to be happening, "... interest rates are marked up in an attempt to contract the credit base and arrest the rise in prices". Obviously, this cannot but have a disastrous impact on underdeveloped countries.

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

- Growing productivity in food and raw materials in western countries.
- Policy of granting protection to agricultural commodities in highly developed areas, "including US efforts to get rid of its commodity surpluses without being willing to pursue a planned policy of economic expansion in underdeveloped areas".
- Progressive manufacture of synthetic substitutes and eradication of waste.
- Change in tastes due to "incessant advertising" towards "highly manufactured durable consumer goods and against goods with a high content of important agricultural products such as food or clothing".

Contrasting with these discouraging prospects of trade with advanced capitalist countries, evolution in the socialist world says Prof. Balogh, "is likely to favour the Soviet buyers of primary products at high prices relative to manufacturers". Further, "if the USSR were to make use of her superior industrial production capacity to obtain raw materials and food by exchanging them for industrial products, the terms of trade of the primary countries would instantly shift in their favour".

The Soviet rate of growth also, according to the Professor, has been almost three times that of the US, at least since 1954. It has been six times the rate of increase in UK's gross product in the same period.

Thus, on the one side are a set of economies suffering from what Bevan has called "endemic underemployment of resources", leading to uncertainties about demand for products like ours, and on the other, there is a fast developing economy with increasing demand for them. No doubt, with suitable modifications, even the former could enhance their intake somewhat. But to expect them to do so, in face of the considerations referred to by Prof. Balogh, will be like running after a mirage.

—ESSEN

NEW TRADE AGREEMENT WITH GDR

A TRADE agreement between India and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was signed on December 18. The agreement is for three years, with effect from January 1, 1960.

Under the present arrangement, payment for all commercial and non-commercial transactions will be made in non-convertible Indian rupees and trade will be on a balanced basis on a higher level.

India will export, besides traditional items, items like iron and manganese ore, tea, coffee, spices, cashewnuts, lentils and readymade garments, jute manufactures, laminated jute bags, coir products, handicrafts, sports goods, canned fruit and fruit products, shoes, woolen and silk fabrics, plywood and refrigerators.

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

Erich Renneisen, Trade Representative of the German Democratic Republic, told newsmen on December 19, that he expected the trade between the two countries during the next year to go up to Rs. 20 crores as against about Rs. ten crores last year.

Bank Employees Restive, Prepare For Action

The Central Committee of the All-India Bank Employees' Association (AIBE) which met in Delhi in the last week of December took serious note of certain developments in the industry. It took serious note of the fact that the Ministry of Finance and the Reserve Bank of India have now made it a practice to interfere, over the heads of the Ministry of Labour, in disputes between the banks and their employees.

The recent instance of the refusal of the Union Ministry of Labour to issue a notification amending the Bank Award "dearness allowance formula in terms of the Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision Amendment Act, 1958, is a glaring example of such an act of sabotage by the Ministry of Finance.

The Amendment Act was passed by Parliament in October, 1958 and the AIBE in December, 1958, invoked its operation. The Government maintained silence till recently, when it came out with the plea that the bankers were raising legal complications about the Act—although it was introduced in the first place with the bankers' concurrence.

Similarly, no decision has so far been taken by the Government in respect of the bonus dispute which has been pending since 1949.

The Reserve Bank authorities have taken upon themselves to act as the leaders of the bankers in all anti-employee activities, and are interfering with even individual disputes and cases pending with the Labour machinery. Their own service rules are retrograde and are even opposed to labour legislations. They have refused to ratify the Code of Discipline and have advised the commercial banks to reject even the request made by the Labour Minister.

In fact the interference of the Reserve Bank of India has reduced the operation of the Industrial Disputes Act in the banking industry to a mockery.

At the tripartite conference held on August 8, 1959, for settlement of issues raised by

GOI Employees Protest

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

Responding to the call of the Confederation of Central Government Employees' Unions in West Bengal, 25,000 employees of 54 associations demonstrated in their respective offices and went on mass deputations to their office heads to lodge their strong protest against the introduction of full day's work on three consecutive Saturdays in a month. They went back to their seats only after their respective office heads had promised to send to the proper quarters the employees' reaction to the Government's instruction.

- Over 2,000 employees working in the Head Office of the South-Eastern Railway at Garden Reach, took out a demonstration and held a protest meeting.
- About 3,000 employees of South-Eastern Railway workshop at Kharagpur observed two minutes' silence as a mark of protest and brought out a demonstration in the afternoon.
- Demonstrations also took place in a number of offices of the Eastern Railway and the Defence Department.

For India-China Settlement

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

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

The District Congress Committee did its utmost to confuse the people and to scare them away by putting out rumours that there would be serious disturbances in the meeting. But all these nefarious tactics were of no avail.

On January 3, Jyoti Basu addressed a gathering of 8,000 at Ichapur in the suburbs of Calcutta. It was the biggest meeting in this area in the past ten years. Only a few days earlier, Asoka Mehta, the PSP stalwart, had addressed a meeting here. Another meeting was held by the Congress. Attendance at the PSP leader's meeting was no more than 200. The Congress put up a slightly better show—about 400 people.

A number of processions were also held in different places. The workers of the small engineering workshops at Salkia (Howrah) took out a big procession. A procession of over 1,000 workers, peasants and middle-class people paraded the streets of Jalpaiguri town in North Bengal on December 26.

SCRAP-BOOK

WHOSE VOICE?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AYUB-JP TALKS

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

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

LATIN AMERICA

US imperialists are helped by the fact that, as yet, in most Latin American countries the governments are headed by the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, which is all too prone to compromise. Frondizi in Argentina is a typical representative of this section of the bourgeoisie.

As Comrade Arisnandi noted: "The conciliatory big bourgeoisie are today the most influential political force in many Latin American countries, and this is an obstacle to the broad development of the patriotic movement." It is this section that in many States has taken

over from the former utterly comprodor dictatorships.

But there can be no doubt that even this obstacle is not going to be insuperable. For as Comrade Luis Korvalan of Chile wrote: "It can be said that the revolutionary forces in Latin America has changed qualitatively. The working class is becoming the leading force." The conciliatory big bourgeoisie is often enough being forced on the defensive.

In one State after another the working class and its Communist Party is going forward to the building of a broad democratic, national-liberation front to include all patriotic social strata, up to the national bourgeoisie. Typical in this connection is the Popular Action Front of Chile which includes the Communist and Socialist Parties, and which reaches out to united action with the centre parties.

Indicative of the impact of this combination of social forces, led by the working class—apart from examples mentioned earlier—is the big strikes in Argentina against the IMF policies, the broad movement for the retention of State control over

oil resources in Brazil, Argentina and Chile, as well as the heavy defeats in the municipal and provincial elections suffered by Frondizi and the election successes of the Left forces in Chile.

This growing and politically articulate popular pressure, combined with the "contagion" of Cuba as well as the new prospects offered by the socialist world, is compelling even the political representatives of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie to take a stand against US imperialism. For example, the President of Brazil was forced to discontinue talks with the IMF representatives because of popular protest. And in the Pan-American Economic Conference the Latin American governments turned down almost all the US proposals.

Thus, at different levels and in varying forms the peoples of Latin America seek to emerge from the status of a U.S. "backyard" to the sunlight of independent and progressive development. The last year has seen a big advance and 1960 is very likely to witness many more "festivals of the Latin American peoples."

From Page 12

Ask for AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS INDIA —THE PRESENT PHASE 50 p. NEW LITERATURE 2, Tropical Buildings. Post Box 206, New Delhi-1.

BIG SHIFTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN KERALA

ERNAKULAM, January 6.

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

THEIR calculation is very simple: Communists had won only a few seats in the last elections with absolute majority votes; the rest of the seats were won by them because of triangular contests; this time there is a united front, votes polled by the constituent parties of the Front last time will all be recorded in favour of the Front candidates. So the Communists will be routed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the 1958 bye-election, the Communist Party faced the united might of the Congress, PSP and League and retained that seat with 51 per cent votes. The 57 to 60 per cent votes of the constituent parties of the present united front came down to 49.

Since then, despite "the liberation struggle", this shift in favour of the Communist Party has continued. And this has become more and more evident with every passing day of the election campaign.

Many powerful elements who stood with the parties of the present united front in 1957 and even during the "liberation struggle" which they organised, have been neutralised and have become inactive.

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

● In the Pattambi constituency which E. M. S. Namboodripad is contesting, the constituency election committee which has been formed has on it a number of Congressmen like K. Raman Bhattathiri (who is the Vice-President of the Committee), M. Kunhappa, P. K. Narayana Menon, Vadakkedath Neelakantan Namboodiri and Mozhikkunnam Brahmattattan Namboodiri. Any number of people, till now workers of the Congress and League are on the committees at lower levels and are active in the Communist Party's election campaign.

● In Chalakudi, a constituency won by the PSP candidate last time the president of the election committee of the Communist candidate this time is Vijayan Menon, so far of the PSP. There are over a

of the Congress and had to call on all progressives and democrats to fight and defeat the anti-people policies of the Congress. Sharma is now the President of the Communist Party's election committee in the area.

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

In Ernakulam constituency itself, many KSP activists of the "liberation struggle" are now campaigning for the Communist Party.

The story of Panikkassery P. Francis, a leader of the "liberation struggle" is typical of many who have been disillusioned with the struggle into which they went with much fervour then. He had participated in it thinking that it was being organised against the Education Act.

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

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

illusionment with the "liberation struggle" can be seen in Aranmula constituency. A meeting here to form an election committee of the Communist candidate was presided over by Bhaskaran Nair, a teacher in one of Mannath Padmanabhan's Nair Service Society schools.

He had attended as an invitee a secret meeting of the NSS before launching of the "liberation struggle". He had then thought there was some truth in the argument that the system of reservation worked against the Nairs. But his experience since then has taught him that behind the opposition to the Education Act was really opposition to giving any rights to the teachers, that the struggle against the Communist Ministry was in fact a struggle against all the progressive reforms. Today Nair is not against reservation, he is no longer a faithful follower of the NSS bosses. Today he is working for the victory of the Communist candidate in Aranmula constituency.

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

At the time when the Party fought the last general elections in 1957, it had a membership of 25,000. Today Party membership in the State is 75,000.

The Kisan Sabha which had a membership of about a lakh

campaign, an election organisation came into being by September for the purpose of enumeration work in connection with the electoral rolls.

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

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

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

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

These are all the positive factors which have gone to create confidence in the ranks of the Communist Party and the Party's supporters. There is also the weakness of the Congress-League-PSP alliance which works in favour of the Party.

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

Naturally, the Congress-PSP-League camp would like to avoid discussing all these important problems facing the people. That is why their campaign speeches rarely touch on the problems of Kerala.

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

What they tried to make as their most important propaganda weapon has also proved to be a damp squib. Their slanderous attack on Communists as Chinese spies and exhortations to isolate China's fifth column are finding no response from the people.

With all that, it is a very tough battle that is going on here. Everybody has realised the forthcoming elections are no ordinary elections and every resource is being mobilised for the battle. I have never seen the Congress so active as it is now. That itself is an indication of its realisation of the strength of the Communist Party.

ON THE SPOT REPORT

From Our Staff Correspondent Ramdass

100 more in the local committees.

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

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

● In Kanhirapally, won by the Congress last time, when a meeting of voters in Ward II in Mundakayam was being held, a student leader of the "liberation struggle" addressed the gathering and pledged support to the Communist supported independent candidate, Mustafa Kamal.

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

● At a meeting in Kalnikara panchayat in Thakazhi constituency an old Congressman and Gandhi-ite, A. K. Sharma, came on the platform to relate his experiences

Party in the present elections.

● Mattancherry was the scene of many goonda attacks and terror in the days following Presidential intervention. Here the Communist Party is supporting an independent candidate, Smt. Ratnabal, who belongs to the minority Gowda Saraswat community. Sponsoring of a candidate of this neglected community? Yes. A remark made by a Congress leader of the area in a public speech about this candidate had roused the wrath of the entire community. The Congress leader had said, this woman is not known to anybody in the constituency, unless being a Saraswat woman some people had met her in some by-lanes. The community has decided to teach the Congress a lesson for this insult to the women of their community.

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

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

● Another instance of dis-

then has on its rolls today 175,000 members.

Trade unions affiliated to the AITUC which had a membership of less than a lakh then have a membership today of 2½ lakhs.

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

In E. M. S. Namboodiripad's Pattambi constituency, for instance, special women's squads are working in almost every village and in Mararikulam in Alleppey District, women's meeting held to form a women's committee was attended by 4,000 women.

The Party has a far bigger number of activists in the field today than last time. In 1957 there were about 2 to 2½ lakh election workers for the Party. Today it is 3½ to 4 lakh activists already in the election battle.

Thirdly, the election organisation of the Party is far stronger today than it was in 1957.

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

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

Along with this political