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SOVIET LEADERS ARE HERE!

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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Editorial

UPHOLD THE REPUBLIC

THIRTY years ago in the chill dawn we, the people of India, took our pledge for freedom. We kept that pledge, travelled down the hard road of struggle and suffering and humbled in the dust the mightiest of imperialisms.

Ten years ago with all the past memory of stern sacrifice and all our surging hopes for a resplendent future we, the people of India, proclaimed our Republic. On January 26 we shall again celebrate the festival of this great proclamation, this proud day when we measured up to our destiny.

Our Republic has moved decisively into the world, our policy of peace and friendship has made its contribution to preventing the Damocles sword of war from plunging. We have striven hard, true to our past of struggle and work, to speed our Republic onward to an inviolable independence, grounded on economic strength, full democracy and the people's welfare.

There are those, and they are powerful, who would have us halt in our tracks, who would bring down our flag of Panch Shila, who seek to make short shrift with our nascent democracy, who would deny the people the right to a life worthy of a human being.

Our Republic faces danger, confronts a challenge. But we, who have never flinched and never retreated before our enemies shall pit against these schemes our irresistible united strength, our valour in struggle and all our aspirations for well-being and grandeur.

Our Republic shall be safe in our hands, the hands that built her are the hands that will protect her and impel her onwards to our chosen future of socialism.

On this day then, while we reverentially recall the past, we pledge again to preserve our freedom, strengthen our democracy, make more decisive our effort for a world at peace and fashion our Republic into a shining thing of the people's victory and joy.

FAITH AND CONFIDENCE IN THE FRUITFUL OUTCOME OF THE SOVIET UNION'S EFFORTS WHETHER IN THE FIELD OF ENSURING WORLD PEACE OR OF MAINTAINING AND STRENGTHENING FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH INDIA AND THE INDIAN PEOPLE WAS THE OVERWHELMING IMPRESSION THE SOVIET LEADERS TRANSMITTED TO THE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE GATHERED TO WELCOME THEM AT PALAM ON WEDNESDAY NOON. VOROSHILOV, KOZLOV AND FURTSEVA ARE THE HIGHEST SOVIET DIGNITARIES VISITING OUR COUNTRY AFTER 1955.

The serene dignity of their whole bearing as of President Voroshilov's brief speech replying to President Rajendra Prasad's welcome remarks could not escape notice.

Not humanity's great leap forward—the great pioneering victories of the Soviet Union in the conquest of space — but the unilateral enormous reduction of its armed forces was the proudest achievement the Head of the Soviet State found most appropriate to mention on setting foot on the Indian soil.

He spoke of "the sincere desire of our Government and all our people to avoid war, not to let it break out." Referring to the "friendship between our two countries" as "inviolable" and mentioning among others the common bond of both countries seeking "the liquidation of the vestiges of the shameful colonial system", he expressed particular joy over "this opportunity to celebrate this glorious

all-India holiday", "great historic event in the life of your State"—the completion of the first decade of the Indian Republic.

President Prasad in his remarks of welcome, while recalling the fact that "Our two countries have come close to each other in recent years", voiced the hope and prayer that "the efforts of the Great Powers of the world to achieve a stable peace will be crowned with success".

Later at the State banquet he gave in honour of the Soviet President, Dr. Prasad greeted Voroshilov as "the Head of a great country which through its revolution initiated a new epoch in human history". He noted with special satisfaction the "drastic reduction" effected in her armed forces by the USSR. He said the Indian Government "remain resolute and are determined to seek peaceful solution in our traditional spirit of nego-

tiation and conciliation" to "new problem" we face unfortunately on our horizons.

Voroshilov in his reply again emphasised the abiding character of Indo-Soviet friendship saying:

"Despite all the vicissitudes of history all the nations of the world will sooner or later live as one friendly family. For this reason the already existing friendship between many peoples must be cherished as the apple of the eye, it is the foundation of the happiness of future generations."

The Soviet President and other leaders' present visit to India which lasts till February 6 will certainly grow in significance as it progresses. It is sure to yield far-reaching mutually beneficial results. A hearty welcome from the people awaits them everywhere in India—the highest envoys of the new glorious world, the world without war, poverty, ignorance and misery.

NEHRU IN KERALA

★ by E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

ERNAKULAM, January 20

Prime Minister Nehru said in his election speech in Kerala on the 18th that "Many of the Communist leaders suffer, perhaps, a crisis of conscience. Or, at any rate, they suffer from what they know as a pull in mind, which had nothing to do with nationalism, and exigencies of the situation." He was, of course, referring to the well-known fact that it took some time for our Party to come to a unanimous conclusion on the stand that it should take on the question of India-China border.

HE, however, did not even dream of the fact that the above characterisation of the state of mind of the Communist leaders exactly applies to his own party in relation to its stand on the elections in Kerala. He himself and some other leaders of the Congress seem to be suffering from that very "crisis of conscience" or at any rate "a pull in mind which has nothing to do with nationalism," which he stated is the position of our Party.

As is well known, the Congress in Kerala today is campaigning not only for its own candidates but the candidates of the PSP and Muslim League as well. The election offices of the Congress, venues of their election meetings, vehicles that are used by

their candidates and election workers, etc. fly not the flag of the Congress alone but the flags of the Congress, PSP and Muslim League; they all give three symbols of a pair of yoked bulls, hut and the ladder.

Yet Prime Minister Nehru made his speech at Ernakulam as if he were oblivious of all these facts. The ground on which his meeting was taking place did not fly the three flags together, but only the Congress flag. As for his own speech, he made it appear as if the contestants in this elections are the Communist Party on the one side and the Congress standing on its own legs on the other. According to the daily papers, he took up the question how the Congress (and not the United



WELCOME AT PALAM: Left to right KPS Menon, Nehru, Kozlov, Voroshilov, Rajendra Prasad, Furtseva.

Front or the alliance of the Congress-PSP-Muslim League) was opposing the Communist Party and its candidates in these elections and answered:

"We oppose them in these elections or elsewhere because I feel that the policies which they pursue and which they have in mind are not right—at least some of them. I do not think that the basic approach of the Communist Party of India is right and will not be conducive to the growth of India and advancement of the Indian people."

He did not answer the question whether it was just a matter of conflict of policies

between the Congress and Communist Parties or whether it was a matter of agreement with the PSP and the Muslim League, either on the questions of policy or on practice. It was just a couple of days ago that he made a reference at the Bangalore session of the Congress to the conflict of policies between the Congress and the PSP and firmly rejected the idea of a coalition between the Congress on the one hand and the PSP etc., on the other.

As for the Muslim League, he has made it repeatedly clear in the past that he cannot think of any alliance or

united front or agreement with it, since it stood on the plank of communalism.

And yet he flies from Bangalore to Ernakulam in order to participate in a campaign in which the Congress is fighting united with the PSP and the Muslim League and makes a speech in which he does not make any reference either to agreement or disagreement on policy matters between the Congress and these parties.

The Prime Minister would have been fair to himself, fair to his colleagues of the Con-

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TREND TOWARDS RELAXATION

Soviet Review Of World Situation

Speaking on questions of the current international situation, N. S. Khrushchov told the Soviet Parliament on January 14 that the international situation has definitely improved of late. The clouds of war danger have begun to disperse, though not as quickly as we would like. The international tensions are beginning to relax, and the "cold war" champions are suffering a defeat. Such is the general tendency, Khrushchov remarked.

THE Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union's efforts toward the convocation of a meeting of the leaders of the East and the West to relax international tensions have yielded positive results.

He said that the Soviet Union would like the forthcoming summit meeting to be useful and fruitful. We are convinced, he said, that given reasonable consideration of the interests of both sides and a general readiness to meet each other half-way any problem, however, thorny and complex, can be adjusted to mutual advantage and in the interest of peace.

Khrushchov said that the most urgent questions today are those of total and universal disarmament. The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany (including the question of establishing the free city of West Berlin), a ban on the tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and East-West relations. It is these questions that we propose, above all, for inclusion in the agenda of the impending summit meeting, he said.

After referring to his own forthcoming visit to France and that of President Eisenhower to the USSR, Khrushchov said a lot should be expected from these.

Khrushchov emphasised the great importance of personal contacts between the leading statesmen and mentioned the forthcoming visit of Kliment Voroshilov and other Soviet statesmen to India and Nepal and his own coming visit to Indonesia, Afghanistan and Burma at the invitation of the Governments of those countries, and the projected visit of President Gronchi of Italy to the Soviet Union in February. Khrushchov expressed the hope that these visits would benefit the cause of strengthening relations between the Soviet Union and those countries and the consolidation of world peace.

He referred to the fact that influential forces were still active in the biggest countries of the West, above all the NATO countries, which opposed the improvement of international relations and personal contacts between the heads of governments of the East and the West. In this context he referred to statements by Governor Rockefeller of the State of New York, ex-President Truman and ex-Secretary of State Acheson.

Khrushchov pointed out that there were several contradictory tendencies in the policy of the capitalist states, with trends towards international co-operation and the aggravation of in-

ternational tension emerging alternatively.

As an example of such contradictory tendencies, Khrushchov cited the United States Government's stand on the question of ending atomic and hydrogen weapon tests.

Khrushchov again stressed that the Soviet Government, wishing to ensure the most favourable conditions for the early drafting of a treaty ending nuclear tests, would continue abiding by the assumed commitments not to resume experimental nuclear explosions in the Soviet Union unless the Western powers started testing atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers emphasised the Soviet Union's uncompromising view that all kinds of nuclear tests in the air, on the ground, underground and under water must be discontinued.

The balance of forces in the international arena, Khrushchov declared, was in favour of the peace-loving states. The serried ranks of the states upholding the cause of peace included the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, all the Socialist States. Many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were coming out more and more actively for the consolidation of peace.

The Head of the Soviet Government emphasised that total and universal disarmament was the straight avenue leading to the deliverance of mankind from the calamities of war. Our proposals, Khrushchov recalled, provide for the establishment of effective international control over disarmament which should correspond to definite stages of disarmament.

In the past four years, Khrushchov continued, the Soviet Union has unilaterally reduced the strength of its armed forces by a total of 2,140,000. Soviet troops have been withdrawn from the Rumanian People's Republic and the strength of the troops stationed under the existing agreements in the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic has been reduced considerably.

Khrushchov quoted figures to show the changes in the numerical strength of the Soviet armed forces over the past thirty odd years. Hitler Germany's treacherous attack upon the Soviet Union and the four-year war had compelled the USSR to bring the strength of its armed forces to 11,365,000 by May 1945.

As a result of the demobilisation carried out right after the war, by 1948, the strength of the Soviet armed forces was down to 2,874,000. As a result of the setting up of the aggressive NATO

bloc in the West, the atomic bomb blackmail at the time when the USSR did not have that bomb yet, Khrushchov said, the Soviet Union was compelled to increase the strength of its troops in order to strengthen its defence against possible provocations. In 1955 it reached 5,763,000.

Subsequently, Khrushchov continued, the Soviet armed forces were again reduced and their present strength is 3,823,000.

Big Cut In Armed Forces

Khrushchov submitted to the Supreme Soviet the proposal later adopted by them for a reduction of the Soviet armed forces by another 1,200,000.

Our confidence in the correctness of the measures suggested, Khrushchov said, is based on the fact that the Soviet Union has entered the period of an unprecedentedly rapid development of its entire national economy. It is based upon the unbreakable moral and political unity of Soviet society. Soviet scientists, engineers and workers have made it possible to equip the army with armaments never known to man—atomic, hydrogen, rocket and other modern weapons.

Our scientists, engineers and workers engaged in the munitions industry have built new types of modern armaments abreast of the latest achievements of science and technology. Today the Soviet army, Khrushchov continued, wields such means of warfare and such fire-power as no other army has ever had. We already have such quantities of atomic weapons—both atomic and hydrogen—and a corresponding number of rockets to deliver them to the territory of a potential aggressor, that if some madman were to unleash an attack on our State or on the other Socialist nations, we could literally raze to the ground the aggressor country or countries.

The Head of the Soviet Government said that the leaders of the Western powers have not yet renounced the policy "of positions of strength" and the policy of "brinkmanship." Chancellor Adenauer is especially zealous. To pursue a "position of strength" policy with regard to the Soviet Union and the other Socialist States today, Khrushchov continued, is to take the road to fatal adventures.

The Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers recalled that a tendency to whitewash and all but rehabilitate the bloody Nazi regime is becoming increasingly pronounced in West Germany of late. The recent anti-Semitic Nazi demonstrations in the towns of West Germany are a sign of the strengthening of the forces of reaction whose manoeuvrings have long been known to the world public.

The Soviet Union, Khrushchov continued, always was and is for friendship among all peoples, for friendship with the German people. We have very good, friendly relations with the German De-

mocratic Republic, and we cherish this friendship. We are doing everything to have good friendly relations with the Germans in West Germany too. We deeply regret, however, the activities of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and especially of Chancellor Adenauer, aimed at fanning up the "cold war."

Turning to the recent provocative statement of Chancellor Adenauer in West Berlin Khrushchov said "It should be most definitely stated that if the rabid fascists, who are now being allowed to take the reins of power and command, build up the Bundeswehr and command the NATO armed forces, gained the upper hand in West Germany, and if this vermin ventured to crawl out of its confines, it would be crushed in its own territory, let alone allowed to crawl as far as Moscow or Stalingrad, as it did during Hitler's invasion".

One cannot help feeling surprised at the fact that the war preparations of the Federal Republic of Germany are meeting with support from France, Britain and other states which fell victim to Hitler's aggression.

Khrushchov further stressed that all this showed once more how urgent is the problem of concluding a peace treaty with both German states, whose solution has long been urged by the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government considers the peaceful settlement with Germany to be a problem of paramount international importance, one whose solution brooks no delay.

From Masood Ali Khan

COLOSSAL STEP

MOSCOW, January 19.

ONCE again the big news comes from Moscow. Once again Moscow takes the initiative, leaves the wooden headed hot and cold warriors gaping and shows the way of hope. The bold, noble and historic decision to cut armed forces by one-third unilaterally and release 12 lakh men for peaceful production is not only an act of great statesmanship leading the way to worldwide disarmament, a colossal step away from war and a challenge to the West which no amount of propaganda could hide or belittle. Along with all this, it is also a great message of hope for the vast but poor and under-developed lands of Asia and Africa.

Here, in Moscow, we were expecting such a decision some time or another since Khrushchov's announcement at the New Year reception in Kremlin. He had made it quite clear then that the Soviet Union is not going to wait indefinitely for disarmament talks to succeed and if

the West would again lead negotiations in the labyrinth of confusion and inaction, the Soviets would take unilateral steps to reduce their armed forces and leave the West to follow and overtake.

Most of the foreign observers here consider this new reduction in Soviet armed forces to be a big real and concrete step towards total and general disarmament which was proposed by Khrushchov in his speech to UNO last September. Time and again Western powers have rejected complete banning of atomic weapons on the

Khrushchov again reiterated that if the efforts of the Soviet Union towards concluding a peace treaty with the two German states are not crowned with success, the Soviet Union, together with the other countries willing to do so will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, with all the attendant consequences.

Khrushchov disclosed that the reduction of the Soviet armed forces would yield an economy of roughly 16-17 billion roubles a year.

Khrushchov stressed that the Soviet Union was going to reduce its armed forces because it wants no war and because it did not intend to attack anyone, did not wish to threaten anyone and had no aggressive plans. In reducing the strength of our armed forces, Khrushchov continued, we show that our country's intentions are most peaceful and in no way aggressive.

We wish to rid ourselves and others of the threat of war, to reduce to the minimum the possibility of eventualities which may draw mankind into war, and, under the present conditions, war would inevitably become a world war.

Khrushchov again stressed that if an agreement is reached on complete and general disarmament, that would free enormous funds and make it possible to render great assistance to all the economically underdeveloped countries.

Peaceful co-existence of all countries, the Head of the Soviet Government said, regardless of their internal order, or social systems, is the fundamental question, the question of questions in international life today.

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Big Business Plan To Scuttle Republic

★ By ESSEN

Our Republic is ten years old, and now when it is entering its second decade, it is high time that we look at its health to see if certain undesirable features have not become a part of it to act as a drag on its future progress. Specially it is necessary to look for these features in the immediately preceding year, which has been rather crucial, both in terms of its economy and politics.

1959 saw the commissioning of the three steel units in the public sector. It also witnessed a record harvest of 73 million tons. While these were welcome features, the paradoxical phenomenon of prices rising by as much as 4 per cent (in foodgrains, 8 per cent) resulted in widespread misery and discontent. While balance of payments position improved, the foreign assets dwindled still further to Rs. 233.1 crores, and with a smaller trade deficit also went declining export earnings.

Commanding Position ?

The rise in industrial production—no doubt welcome in itself—arose mainly out of new units coming up in private sector. And with the sanctioning of newer private sector ventures in collaboration with foreign capital in aluminium, cement machinery, tyres and synthetic rubber, to fructify in 1960, and subsequent years, the prospects of the public sector attaining the "commanding position" assigned to it in the Plan, did not improve much during the year.

With all these paradoxical trends—of the economy as a whole apparently going ahead, but its vital statistics (price-line, public sector and export earnings) pointing in unseemly directions—1959 saw intensification of offensive on the part of big business on the very basis of planned development. Curiously such offensive was couched in phrases which showed fidelity to planned progress, but the demands which it set forth aimed at negation of all planning.

According to the basic objective of the Plan it has to progressively build a public sector to strengthen the economic prowess of the State to regulate the processes of economy. Simultaneously, it has to aim at such institutional changes as would enable the under-privileged in farms and factories to come into their own. In implementing these objectives, suitable measures in all spheres—from fiscal to industry—have to be taken to minimise disparities in income and raise resources for economic progress. In all these spheres, big business canvassed for adoption of policies which would reverse whatever of progress had been so far made.

Federation's Proposals

Thus, in a brochure, containing its tentative proposals, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) questioned the very need for institutional changes. "Disruption of traditional channels can in fact hold up development programmes" it said. What it meant by continuing these

traditional channels was also made explicit in its plea for removal of arbitrary restrictions on entry of private entrepreneurs into any sector.

While paying lip service to a big plan it sought to deflect its course in a way which would add only to the private sector's development. Pleading for a "pragmatic approach", i.e., an approach which does not preclude the private enterprise from entering into any line merely "on the ground that these were reserved for the public sector," it suggested allocation of Rs. 3,000 crores for industrial development under private enterprise while fixing public sector's share at a meagre Rs. 1,000 crores.

In respect of priorities also, the FICCI, as well as the Employers' Association, Calcutta, suggested placing of consumer industries on par with basic industries, since the criterion in this behalf had to be "short gestation periods" and "maximum return per unit of capital," and not any grandiose idea of giving "over-riding priority" to heavy industries.

With emphasis on heavy industries thus ruled out, the FICCI advocated giving maximum facilities to the private sector to float whatever consumer industries it liked. It also pleaded for removal of the many restrictive features in Government's in-

dustrial policy which "impede speedy development." These included not only reservation of certain projects for the state sector, but also various other measures instituted by the Government to scrutinise granting of licences under the Industries Act or to control import of industrial raw materials and equipment.

"Pragmatic" Approach

In short, as the FICCI explicitly stated "a pragmatic" (as opposed to idealistic) approach to industrialisation is called for "otherwise in the writer of public-private sector controversy" the country's development will suffer.

In its approach to industrialisation FICCI purposely misinterpreted the Prime Minister's pronouncements concerning the need to build up the country's defence potential to mean that what the country needed was industry regardless of who promoted or controlled it. It thus propagated the formulation of a "high priority" or "crash industrialisation programme in consultation with industry" to be pushed through irrespective of the policies underlying the Plan.

Likewise in agriculture, while pleading for increasing production, it debunked land reforms by remaining silent about them. Its scant concern for land reforms was also evident from its advocacy for "adequate care" lest policies for increasing marketable surplus adversely react on agricultural production itself. A paper on the subject submitted at its Planning Seminar also referred in this connection to what the USSR did in 1930s to raise marketable surplus "without there being

increasing agricultural production." Apart from the reference being irrelevant, since nobody in India had even so much as mentioned recourse to Soviet methods, nor was India anywhere near the plight which the USSR had to face in 1930s on account of the civil war, the paper did not care to take note of one important aspect: that the increased produce could not but be marketed if there was really a surplus.

The question, therefore, was not that of counterposing the two, but of giving precedence to measures like land reforms etc., which might unleash the initiative of the tiller of the soil to increase output. Being hostile to these reforms, the FICCI could not but frown also at the idea of forming co-operatives to strengthen the capacity of smaller peasants to increase production. The only way in which production could increase, according to the FICCI, was that of large-scale farming, run on capitalist lines.

In line with this pattern of industrialisation the resource pattern suggested by the FICCI, was also completely at variance with the Planning Commission's scheme. Terminating the tax pattern as "heavily drawn on the basis of ideological considerations" it presented the Federal Republic of Germany as the model to be followed in this respect. Since the latter was least concerned with removing income inequalities (which, however, forms a part of the basic objectives of India's Plan) what it suggests went against the very spirit of our planning.

In pleading for "rationalisation" of the tax structure FICCI suggested that the incentives so provided "would stimulate economic activity." That they very well might,

though the spheres in which such stimulation will manifest will be strictly confined to the private sector. Here again, in ostensible espousing the cause of industry as a whole it was only its sectional interests that the FICCI sought to serve.

In its preoccupation with serving these interests the FICCI went to the extent of denying to the State even its legitimate role of regulating the flow of foreign capital into the country. This role, it said, should be exercised the least with a view to providing further incentives to "the collaborator from abroad."

These demands of the FICCI and other sections of big business could be dismissed as inconsequential if the Government itself did not show signs of yielding to them. Thus in relation to removal of barriers between public and private sectors, it has relaxed considerably in oil. Now foreign private interests, who exacted a heavy price for setting up the three refineries, will not be shamed from prospecting for oil if they find it profitable. In steel also there is as yet no clear pronouncement that all future capacities will be assigned exclusively to units in the State sector.

Foreign Capital

In respect of providing new incentives to foreign capital, an Expropriation Guarantee Agreement was concluded with the United States, while negotiations for a similar agreement with West Germany are reported to be underway. The foreign entrepreneurs—as represented by Norman Kipping, Chandos etc.—as well as Government spokesman of advanced capitalist countries (President Eisenhower, CJM Alport etc.) have also been active to soften the attitude of the Government in this behalf.

In agriculture, too, while talking incessantly about co-operative farming and ceiling, there is very little that the Government leaders have been able to achieve concretely. Similarly, in holding the price line, the little that a half-hearted scheme of state trading could do is also likely to be lost because of S. K. Patil's preference for "free economy."

Thus, almost all along the line the authorities have been witting before the pressure of the vested interests—while the possibilities of resistance to this pressure have been increasing manifold. With three steel plants in their hand and a firm promise of aid from the USSR and other Socialist countries to set up more basic industries they could plant their feet on firmer soil. Instead, by acquiescing in the private sector's demands in the name of "pragmatism" they have only succeeded in showing their feet of clay.

At the end of its first decade the Republic faces the noble task of carrying forward the programme of planned economic development, initiated ten years back. To accomplish it, however, it will have to defeat the offensive of elements which want to put its clock back, and those who temporise.

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NEW AGE

DANGERS FACING THE REPUBLIC

The Indian Republic is ten years old. It symbolises the noble aspirations and grand hopes and the greater than ever future of the Indian people.

THE same party that led the struggle for independence has been ruling the country ever since but where do we stand today?

The head is worried and the heart bitter for the simple reason, writ large all over, that the people's hopes have not been fulfilled. The ruling party has signally failed to implement its solemn pledges all these years. The inevitable large-scale swing of the people to the Left is sought to be countered by a new emerging constellation of Right-wing forces and their noisy campaign.

India stands at the crossroads. The situation demands serious thought by all the healthy forces of our nation to defend the achievements of the Republic, root out the dangers and remove the hurdles that block further progress.

Our peace-loving people are justly proud of our independent foreign policy which has enhanced the country's prestige the world over and helped to safeguard world peace. The struggling people of Asia and Africa look to us for solidarity and support and value it greatly.

Our national policy is under fire today. The pro-imperialist, reactionary elements and disgruntled power politicians were an unpopular and ineffective lot and their efforts to change our independent foreign policy and give it a pro-Western orientation cut no ice with the patriotic Indian opinion.

They have, however, seized upon the recent dispute with China and put on the patriotic mask of "defenders" of India's frontiers. They attack the policy of Panch-sheel as a failure. They advocate the policy of alliance with imperialist countries.

Indian reaction, however, shall not triumph for there is no objective basis for any hostility between India and China, while everything calls for a settlement of the existing dispute. It would be folly to underestimate the differences but it would be still greater folly to exaggerate them.

A peaceful solution is the declared policy of the two countries.

All the efforts of the Communist Party are directed, in cooperation with all the honest champions of our foreign policy, to hurl back the vicious offensive of reaction and create the climate for such a meeting.

The record of the ruling party in the realm of national economy has been so dismal as to encourage the big landlord-capitalist reaction to challenge all the progressive objectives of the nation accepted by the Government, planned development, primacy of the public sector and land distribution. The birth of the Swatantra Party is a pointer.

The bane of our economy under Congress rule has been the contradiction between word and deed and the growing discontent of the working people who

have seen the exploiting strata growing fatter at the cost of their own toil.

Ten years after the establishment of the Republic neither the toiling people feel contented with conditions of their life and employment nor has our economy become self-reliant and self-generating, smashing through all the obstacles that hinder its planned progress.

In fact, the policy of appeasing the landlords and capitalists has come home to roost and new dangers to our economy and the well-being of our people have cropped up.

Last year, after long hesitation and under great pressure, the Nagpur Congress passed the resolution for land ceilings and cooperatives. The year's date-line is over and at the recent Bangalore session not one asked what has happened to the earlier much-publicised resolution.

Ten years of the Republic are over and the first and foremost anti-feudal task, land to the tiller instead of being solemnly implemented is being cynically played with.

Without land to the tiller we have become seriously dependent on PL 480. The new Food Minister S. K. Patil is energetically working to perpetuate this shameful position for the next five years by establishing his Food Bank stocked with foodgrains from America.

We are falling fast at the mercy of the American benefactors to decide the issue of food or famine for our people.

It is not only the agricultural sector of the economy that is being held back and its progress hampered. The declared objective of the Plan was to build and expand the public sector as the commanding height of the national economy, to strengthen economic independence and to be able to control the private sector, while giving it all just encouragement.

In the "reappraisal" of the Plan a good and vital part of public sector projects were mercilessly "pruned".

The latest figures issued by the Planning Commission and other official agencies reveal that it is the private sector that has expanded more than the public sector. Instead of the public sector controlling the private sector the fact is that the public sector serves its needs and will be controlled by it instead.

The Government spokesmen including the highest cloud the issue by pontifically stating that there should be no quarrel between the two sectors!

The capitalists have got all the tax and other reliefs they asked for. In fact, Indian Big Business is as satisfied by the end of the Second Plan as they were panicky at its beginning.

It is the common people who are bearing the burdens while it is the capitalists who are garnering the fruits under the present set-up of economic development. Discontent of the people inevitably grows which Swatantra and like reactionary propaganda seeks to turn against

the very principle of a planned development.

Unable to solve the problem of resources because of its compromising policies towards the landlords and capitalists the Congress ruling party has been softening its attitude towards foreign capital and thus creating new dangers.

Leaders of Indian capital in their narrow selfish interests have been openly and systematically campaigning for more incentives to foreign monopolies. The Government instead of pulling them up is giving them the facilities demanded.

Our Western foreign "aiders" demand equal rights with our national capital and free entry for their private capital into our country as a price for their "aid".

The alarming situation is that there is more foreign private capital invested in our country ten years after the Republic than before!

Add to this the huge burden of foreign loans, at higher rates of interest from the capitalist countries.

Think of this in the background of the overwhelming dependence of our foreign trade with the capitalist countries.

The gloomy picture is of course qualified by growing trade with the socialist countries on mutually beneficial terms and increasing aid for building up our heavy industry projects and thus strengthen our economic independence. It should not be forgotten that it is genuine aid that enables India to better bargain with and obtain concessions from the West as well. Putting it pitifully Bhilai, in a sense, got us Durgapur as well.

It is, however, very necessary to realise that if foreign private investment is allowed to come untrammelled and grow uncontrolled it cannot but overwhelm the public sector, dictate the pattern of Indian planning and get a controlling grip on our economy.

This is the year when the results of the Second Plan will be summated and the Third Plan formulated. The Communist Party will join hands with all who will seek to defeat the compromising anti-national and anti-popular policies and have a Third Plan based on real progressive policies that will lead to the well-being of our people and build up the independence of our economy and thus strengthen our nation.

We justly pride ourselves on being a stable parliamentary democracy in Asia, amidst a sea of reactionary military dictatorships. All Indian democrats must give serious thought to new dangers that face Indian democracy.

The election of the first Communist Government betokened the health of Indian democracy. The arbitrary dismissal of a legal constituted Government by a Presidential fiat revealed the grim danger that the Congress ruling Party places the interests of its party above democratic principles and does not hesitate to violate the constitution of our country to keep the monopoly of

power for itself.

The anti-Kerala campaign was soon followed by another and intense round of anti-Communist campaign organised over the India-China dispute, by the Rightwing parties in which the top leaders of the Congress joined up.

It was soon revealed that the Communist-baiters were also the campaigners to remove Krishna Menon from the Cabinet, get Pandit Nehru change his foreign policy or quit as the Prime Minister. Anti-Communism was only the mask.

The top leaders of the Congress, however, continue to indulge in anti-Communist slanders.

The Communist Party, we have no doubt, will also be defended by all honest patriotic and democratic elements, who may differ from our Party and be critical of us on some points, for they know that our Party is part of the flesh and blood of our nation.

Anti-Communism is not only directed against the Communist Party but against the mass movement and struggles of the people, for a better life. The very arguments that are used to threaten the Communist Party are hurled against our common people, warning the workers against resorting to strikes, the peasants against organising morchas and all sections against organising any mass movement.

Last year saw some of the most significant struggles of our people which all are agreed were very reminiscent of the struggles of the days of independence—the food satyagraha in West Bengal and the anti-betterment levy morcha in the Punjab. They were led and organised by our Party and broke through all political barriers, uniting the people into a mighty force irrespective of all party differences.

In Punjab, despite everything, Chief Minister Kairon had to suspend the betterment levy and appoint a Committee.

In Bombay, the Congress High Command had to split the bi-lingual.

In W. Bengal, the Congress leaders themselves admit their writ does not work as they wish.

Above all, last year witnessed the magnificent mobilisation in defence of the Constitution and Indian democracy in the great campaign in support of the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala. Cutting across all party barriers and reaching to every corner of our country there was a veritable popular upsurge against the reactionary assault on our democratic system. This clearly showed the bright hope for the future.

On this Republic Day let us all think anew how to defend and enhance the achievements of our nation.

(January 20)

EMS ON NEHRU'S VISIT

* FROM FRONT PAGE

gress in Kerala, fair to their allies of the PSP and the Muslim League in Kerala and fair to the people of Kerala, if he had explained to them where he stands—whether he endorses the policy of carrying on a united election campaign with the PSP and Muslim League and, if he does so, how he justifies it. But the way in which he has studiously avoided the whole question, does no good to a personality of such a high stature as our Prime Minister.

May we take it that he has been reduced to such a state of affairs because he is today suffering from what he himself calls "a crisis of conscience, or at any rate, a pull in mind which has nothing to do with nationalism"?

It is also interesting to note that the Presidential address which Sanjeeva Reddy delivered at Bangalore and the other documents of the Bangalore session do not make any direct reference to the existence of a united front in action between the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League.

They are obviously on the horns of a dilemma—they cannot openly admit the existence of and justify this actual alliance with the two parties with whom they have very little in common on the basis of policies; on the other hand, they know very well that it is necessary for them to have such an alliance if they are to try to keep the Communists out of power in Kerala.

Sanjeeva Reddy had obviously this alliance with the PSP and Muslim League in mind when he asserted that the results of the forthcoming elections in Kerala would teach the Communists a lesson which they will have to ponder over for several

WHERE DOES THE CEILING STAND TODAY?

The resolution on "Agrarian Organisational Pattern" adopted by the Indian National Congress at its 64th Session at Nagpur a good twelve months ago recommended fixation of ceilings on land holdings at an early stage. The resolution said:

"In order to remove uncertainty regarding land reforms and give stability to the farmer, ceilings should be fixed on existing and future holdings and legislation to this effect, as well as for the abolition of intermediaries, should be completed in all States by the end of 1959.

"This does not mean any ceiling on income, as it is expected that by intensive cultivation as well as additional occupations rural incomes will rise. Such surplus land should vest in the Panchayats and should be managed through co-operatives consisting of landless labourers."

In The First Plan

It may be recalled that the First Five-Year Plan had envisaged that "there should be an absolute limit to the extent of land which an individual may hold." In response to this during the First Plan period only ceilings on future acquisitions had been introduced in some States.

In U.P. it had been fixed at 30 acres, in Delhi at 30 standard acres, in Bombay at 12 to 48 acres depending upon the

class of land, in West Bengal at 25 acres, in Hyderabad at three family holdings, in Saurashtra at three economic holdings and in Madhya Bharat at 50 acres. It was proposed that during the Second Five Year Plan steps would be taken in each State to impose ceilings on existing agricultural holdings.

These ceilings were to apply to owned land (including land under permanent and heritable rights) held under personal cultivation. While broadly recommending that the ceiling should be placed at about three three family holdings, the Second Plan had left it to the discretion of each State to determine "the area of land which may be declared to be a family holding... according to the conditions of different regions, classes of soil, irrigation etc."

Further, whether ceilings were to apply to individual holdings or to holdings of families, latitude had been given to each State to take a decision "according to its social conditions and other factors."

Again, by way of offering certain "general suggestions which were to be adapted to the needs and conditions of each State," the Second Five Year

Plan had specified some categories of farms (plantations, well-managed farms, orchards, etc.) as deserving of exemption from the operation of ceilings.

While welcoming the proposal for ceiling on existing holdings some of these above recommendations of the Second Plan had been criticised by eminent economists and progressive political parties in the country.

It was generally felt that instead of leading to speedy legislation and action they would create a situation in which the issue of ceilings, like other vital and urgent measures connected with land reforms, would get bogged up in the States in the strait-jacket of never-ending debates and discussions, pulls and pressures.

Warnings From Experience

It was also apprehended that even if legislation in respect of ceilings was forthcoming in due course, the latitude given to State Governments (in defining a family holding, in determining the level of ceilings, in deciding whether ceilings were to apply to individual holdings or family holdings and in fixing exemptions or methods of distributing surplus lands) was bound to be exploited by the opponents of ceiling at the State level for defeating in practice its very object.

These apprehensions were grounded on past experience which indicated that landholding interests exerted tremendous influence and pressure at the State level and were not in-

frequently successful in getting land reform measures modified or even altered in their favour both at the stage of legislation as well as at that of implementation.

CRITICAL SURVEY by MAHESH PRASAD

In fact, there was already considerable evidence to show that the very talk of ceilings had put the large landholders on alert. Apart from resorting to large-scale eviction of tenants with a view to enlarging the area under self-cultivation, they had effected "innumerable partitions of family properties, with the aim of making units of ownership appear smaller than they really are so that the landlords will be able to slip under the proposed ceilings." (The Agrarian Prospect in India by Daniel Thorner.)

Similarly, there had been "many transfers to relatives outside the immediate family, to caste fellows and to friends." It was also reported that "in view of the special considerations urged for efficiently managed farms (the breaking up of which would presumably lead to a fall in output) some large owners have thought it wise to purchase tractors."

"Since the land reforms typically place the holdings of co-operatives and joint-stock companies outside their purview,

more than a few families have transformed themselves into co-operatives, some affluent landlords have organised themselves into corporations for the production and refining of sugarcane." (Ibid.)

The authors of the Second Five-Year Plan were quite aware of these developments and had urged upon State Governments to review the situation regarding mala fide transfers and to ensure that such transfers were not allowed to occur in future. But the serious situation that was arising as a result of these activities of landlords called for determined, bold and immediate action if the subsequent legislation on ceilings was to yield any tangible results.

The State Governments, however, were in no mood to meet this challenge and take any step which might harm the interests of big landholders or to antagonise them.

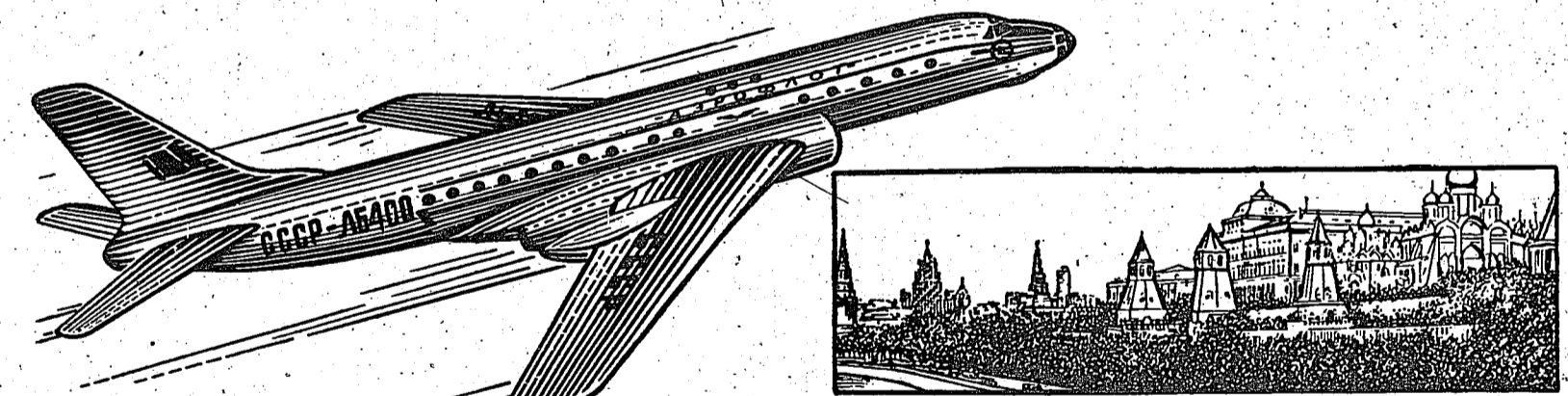
Appraisal Of Bills

It is in this context that an appraisal of the bills for ceilings on land holdings that have subsequently been enacted or are under discussion in the legislatures of different States has to be undertaken. It is worth while examining to what extent the bills and legislations following the Nagpur session are in conformity with its proposals, in spirit and letter, and

* SEE PAGE 14

Save time! fly AEROFLOT

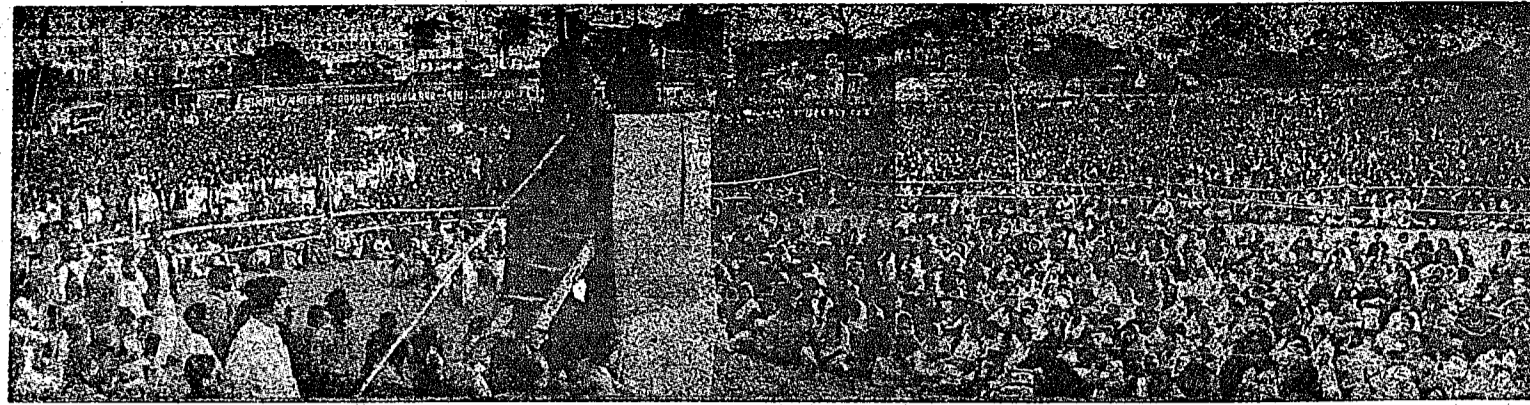
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Sisters and brothers,

I thank you sincerely for the magnificent response which you have given to our call for the Kerala Election Fund. I know that this amount has been contributed by the sacrifice of thousands of our workers, middleclass employees and other democratic-minded sections of our people. I thank them all on my own behalf and on behalf of my Party.

I can assure all those people who have contributed to this fund that every naya Paisa that has been paid to this fund will be usefully spent with the utmost economy in order that an effective fight may be put up to the reactionary alliance that is represented by the Congress, P.S.P. and the Muslim League.

May I at the same time appeal to all those people who have not so far contributed to this fund to do so at least now. May I also appeal to those who have contributed to consider whether they can do a little more because although I do not want to be greedy, I want to inform you that the opponents against whom we are fighting are very powerful and are supported by rich persons all over the country and we require every naya Paisa that can be contributed by our friends all over the country.

Issues In Kerala

It is a struggle between the national, progressive, democratic policies for which the entire national movement has always stood and those who are opposed to such policies. I would, therefore, appeal to all those progressive-minded, democratic-minded friends all over the country to do their best to support us, to give us their moral sympathy and material support.

Who are the people ranged against us, the Communist Party of Kerala and the democrats who are allied with the Communist Party? Those who are ranged against us are people who oppose all such basic policies of the democratic movement as secularism in politics, basic agrarian reforms, cooperative movement, the building of a free and industrialised economy in our country and all those who want to build healthy conventions of parliamentary democracy—those who are opposed to these policies have been ranged against us.

ADDRESSING the 150,000 strong mass rally in Calcutta on January 9 where he was presented with Rs. 76,257 for the Kerala Election Fund of the Communist Party E. M. S. Namboodiripad brought out succinctly what the Party is fighting against and what it is fighting for in Kerala—the crucial significance of these mid-term elections for the whole country. Asking for more contributions to the Election Fund, he underlined once again the supreme need for “every naya Paisa that can be contributed by our friends all over the country.” We print here the text of this highly illuminating and important speech.

posed to these policies have been ranged against us. Take for example, one of the constituent units of the United Front that has been built up in Kerala now, I am referring to the Muslim League. The Muslim League is an organisation which even now, as is clear from their election manifesto that has just been issued, is opposed to the very concept of secularism in politics. In this manifesto, they have stated clearly that they want a political party for every religious minority.

Muslim League And Secularism

Defending the idea of the Muslims having their own Muslim League, they state that the interests of any religious minority can be safeguarded only if that religious minority organises itself as a distinct political party. This is stated in their election manifesto which has just been issued in December, 1959. Again, this same election manifesto of the Muslim League demands an amendment to the Constitution of India to the effect that the system of voting to the State Assemblies and Parliament should be changed. They say that proportional representation should be introduced in order that each religious minority and each communal group may be enabled to elect its own representatives.

This means that the present system, in which the representatives of the people for the State Legislatures and the Parliament are elected by the will of the majority of a particular constituency regardless of the caste or creed to which she or he belongs, must be changed. The Congress or the other political parties which adhere to the idea of nationalism, common national citizenship, cannot accept these slogans. Yet it is strange that the very Congress which has fought all these ideas during the last 40 or 50 years is to-day in alliance with that same Muslim League. It will be very interesting indeed for us to hear the Prime Minister or

the other leaders of the Congress tell us whether they agree with this stand of the Muslim League. For some time we have been hearing those leaders telling us that the present Muslim League of Kerala is not a successor to the old Muslim League of Mr. Jinnah. They have been telling us that the present Muslim League is more in agreement with the Congress policy. Prime Minister Nehru himself made such a remark at one of his Press Conferences. I have not heard any one of them making any comments on these slogans raised by the Muslim League in their election manifesto.

The Congress cannot obviously accept such a position. That is why the Congress President, Indira Gandhi made the statement that the Congress has not come into a united front or alliance with the Muslim League. She said that it is difficult for her to explain what exactly is the relationship that has been established between the Congress and the Muslim League, but she made it clear that there is no such united front or electoral agreement with the Muslim League.

The reason obviously is that the Muslim League is still taking a communal stand, but while the Congress President makes such an official statement in her declaration, the Congressmen in Kerala itself are leaving no doubt about the fact that they are in working agreement with them.

If any of you go to Kerala now, go to any village or ward in the town, you will see election offices with the sign-post—the election office of the Joint Democratic Election Committee—which is the joint committee of the Congress, the P.S.P. and the Muslim League and on that signboard you will see three flags, joined together, the flag of the Congress, the flag of the Muslim League and the flag of the P.S.P. In all the cars and jeeps that are used by the Congress candidates or the workers of the Congress, you will see that these three flags are flying. I do not know whether during the forthcoming visit of the

Prime Minister and other Central leaders of the Congress, the cars which they will be using, will also be flying the same flags together.

PSP-China And Pakistan

Another constituent unit of the united front which has been built by the Congress is the PSP. That is a party, which as you know, is opposed to the basic fundamentals of the foreign policy which Prime Minister Nehru is pursuing. The fundamentals of that policy are that of non-involvement, non-discrimination between countries following the socialist system under the leadership of the Communist Party or the capitalist system or even the feudal and semi-fascist systems like that of Pakistan.

But here is a party which wants to make a distinction between Communist China and semi-fascist ruled Pakistan. They want a military alliance with Pakistan against China, in the name of protecting the frontiers of India. They want to build a military alliance with Pakistan.

Asoka Mehta, the leader of the P.S.P., has been coming to Kerala recently and he has been making speeches in Kerala. In all these speeches he has been expressing his satisfaction over the recent deterioration of relations between India and China but if you examine the reason why the relations between India and China have deteriorated, you will see that the reason for that is the existence of border disputes.

But surprisingly enough, Asoka Mehta and others try to forget or try to cover up the fact that there are border disputes, as serious as with China, between India and Pakistan. As a matter of fact Ladakh, where there are disputes between India and China and where certain unfortunate incidents and clashes took place, is claimed by General Ayub Khan who says that the area does not belong either to India or China but belongs to Pakistan. Till now,

as you know, the Government of India has not withdrawn the characterisation of Ayub Khan as aggressor and Pakistan is still in occupation of a part of Kashmir.

The leaders who grow indignant at the actions of the Government of China, are blind to the actions of Pakistan and in the name of defending the borders of India against China, they want to come to a military agreement with Pakistan. This is a policy which as you know, is opposed to the policy of Prime Minister Nehru and the Government of India, who do not want to make any distinction on the question of borders, whether it is with China or with Pakistan, or with Afghanistan or with Burma.

The question of the socio-economic system that China, Pakistan, Afghanistan or Burma is pursuing, is an internal matter of those respective countries. Whatever system they pursue, the Government of India wants firstly, to protect the borders of our country; secondly, to have all the disputes between us and those countries settled through peaceful negotiations.

There Should Be No Distinction

With regard to both these aspects of this policy our Government, the Prime Minister and all the genuinely democratic and peaceful citizens of our country would agree that there cannot be any distinction between Communist-ruled China and the semi-fascist ruled Pakistan, but our PSP friends want to make a distinction and that distinction they want in favour of semi-fascist ruled Pakistan.

That is why they have recently launched an attack on Krishna Menon, our Defence Minister, who is well-known to be the most reliable supporter of the Prime Minister's foreign policy. They do not dare attack the Prime Minister directly, but they want to attack his policies and they want to remove the most effective personality who is carrying out that policy.

It was in connection with such attacks on the policy and on the personality of the Defence Minister, Krishna Menon himself, that Prime Minister Nehru in the debate in Parliament characterised the alliance of the P.S.P., the Jan Sangh and a few others as the “motley crew”—and the P.S.P. was the leader of that “motley crew”. Unfortunately for the Prime Minister it is with that “motley crew” that his own organisation is in alliance in Kerala.

Now barring the Muslim League and the P.S.P. who are opposed to the policies of secularism in politics and to the basic fundamentals of the foreign policy of Prime Minister Nehru, there are elements in the Congress and the Muslim League particularly, who are opposed to all the basic economic policies which the Prime Minister has been defending for several years. Economic policies such as, the emphasis to be put on the public sector, rapid industrialisation, land reforms, State trading, cooperatives in agriculture etc., it is well-known opposed by the Swatantra Party.

There is, however, no Swatantra Party in Kerala. All Swatantra elements are incidentally found in the Congress and the Muslim League, and to a lesser extent in the P.S.P. itself.

V. P. Menon, one of the organisers and leaders of the Swatantra Party has advised his followers in Kerala not to form the Swatantra Party.

He told them they can form the Swatantra Party after the elections because if in this election, the Communists and their allies win, then there is no question of forming the Swatantra Party or its effective functioning. On the other hand, if the Congress, the PSP and the Muslim League are able to win in these elections, then it will be possible for them to form the Swatantra Party out of the MLAs who are elected on the Congress, the PSP and the Muslim League tickets and that is why there has not been any unit of the Swatantra Party formed in Kerala.

All these would make it clear that if the Congress-PSP-Muslim League alliance happens to win, the victory will be not of the Congress, but of all those elements who have been consistently fighting it for a few years.

UPHOLD AGRARIAN RELATIONS BILL!

Gopalan's Call To Tillers Of Kerala

THE President of the All-India Kisan Sabha and himself an eminent son of the people of Kerala who has devoted all his life in their service has appealed to the peasants and agricultural labourers of Kerala to cast on February 1 their vote for the Communist Party and Party-supported democratic candidates. The Party he points out not only brought forward the Agrarian Relations Bill but even after being thrown out by the undemocratic Central intervention has been fighting every inch—in Parliament, in the Parliamentary Consultative Committee and outside—to save the Bill from being scuttled. The Communists' return to power alone will ensure that the measure is securely placed on the statute book and actually implemented, says A. K. Gopalan. The following is the text of his appeal to the kisan of Kerala:

But the vested interests, the landlords, the capitalists, the bankers and their ilk brought pressure on the Government of India who surreptitiously dismissed the Government.

It was obvious to us even as the first proclamation was read out in the Lok Sabha that the bills, passed by the Assembly and which were pending the assent of the President, will not be assented to by the President. We found a sinister inclusion of Article 201 of the Constitution among the clauses which were suspended. This in effect meant that the President's own power to give assent to bills passed by the State Assembly was kept under suspension.

This was deliberately done. We pointed out that the proclamation would, as it was, disable the President in giving assent to the pending bills. The spokesmen of the Government of India suggested that it was

Government of Kerala is the best defender of the legitimate interests of all religious minorities and it is the defender of the common people. They, therefore, found that the continued existence of the Communist-led Government of Kerala was the best guarantee for the enjoyment by the religious minorities of their legitimate rights. They, therefore, were extremely dissatisfied that the Muslim League leadership sacrificed the legitimate interests of the religious minorities themselves and joined hands with the Congress in order to overthrow the Communist-led Government of Kerala.

Some of these erstwhile Muslim Leaguers, who have been active builders of the Muslim League, after the experience of the Communist-led Government got disillusioned with the League leadership and some of them have even come out and stood as candidates against the candidates of the Muslim League.

As for the common people, the workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, middle-class employees and artisans—they all realise that during the 23 months' existence of the Communist-led Government they have got far more benefits than they have ever enjoyed under Congress rule and they can ever expect to enjoy under Congress rule in future.

They, therefore, realise that if the Congress-PSP-Muslim League alliance happens to win in the elections, then their struggle will be far more difficult. That is why more and more of these sections of the people are coming to us and offering us their support.

All these give us the confidence that despite the unity that has been forged between the Congress, the Muslim League and the PSP, we will be able to win the elections because the agreements between the leaders of the Congress, the PSP and the Muslim League are not the same as the agreement be-

between the masses following these three parties. As a matter of fact, the leaders are making the calculations that in 1957, they polled so many votes for the Congress, so many for the PSP and so much for the Muslim League and if all these are added up, it will be more than the votes polled by the Communists. But actually, the shift that I have just indicated to you will mean that all that they polled last time, will not be polled in their favour this time.

I do not want to minimise the difficulties. The entire authority and prestige of the Central Congress leadership and the Central Government are being utilised against us, big money is being thrown against us as also the authority of religious leaders. The vested interests realise that if in this election, the alliance of Communists and non-party democrats win, in that case, Kerala is lost to them for ever.

They also realise that if such a result comes now, what they call the poison, will slowly spread to other States. That is why they want to prevent such a development at all costs. I am happy to find that the common people in the rest of India also realise this significance of the election.

“Do you want the Agrarian Relations Bill, as passed by our Assembly, to become law without any change or do you want your rights to be curtailed and the benefits to landlords, exploiters and bankers to be further increased?”

Your answer to this question must decide for whom you are going to vote. To the workers of the Congress and PSP and the Muslim League also I ask, “Do you or do you not want the Agrarian Relations Bill assented to, as it was passed? Do you want to torpedo the interests of the millions of our kisans by preventing the assent as your leaders have done?”

Kisans of Kerala Unite! Unite to get your Bill passed into law! Unite to expose your enemies and their misdeeds! Unite to put back into power the only Party which honoured its commitments to you, the trust you reposed in it.

rests. The Parliamentary Consultative Committee was convened on January 7, 1960 for this purpose.

Here at the meeting the Congress MPs from Kerala took a stand that all the agrarian bills required radical changes and assent to the bills as they were, should not be given. They were supported in their plea by very prominent Congress leaders outside Kerala. But we, Communists, stuck to our position that the Government of India had no business now, with the election only three weeks ahead, in any way to tinker with any provision and it was in duty bound, to approve all bills as they were.

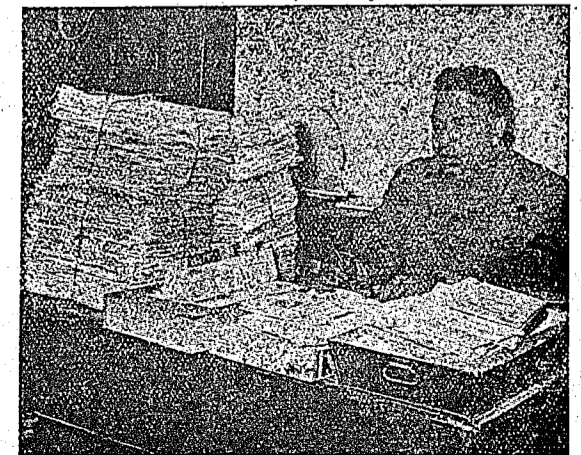
The kisans, whether under Congress, the PSP or Muslim League, the KSP or RSP or CPI, have similar demands for land reforms, covering the reduction of rent, proprietary rights, ceiling on holdings, freedom from harassment of the creditors. All these were provided for in the Agrarian Relations Bill and some other connected bills. I ask every kisan, irrespective of his political affiliation, caste, creed, religion or conviction only one question:

“Do you want the Agrarian Relations Bill, as passed by our Assembly, to become law without any change or do you want your rights to be curtailed and the benefits to landlords, exploiters and bankers to be further increased?”

Your answer to this question must decide for whom you are going to vote. To the workers of the Congress and PSP and the Muslim League also I ask, “Do you or do you not want the Agrarian Relations Bill assented to, as it was passed? Do you want to torpedo the interests of the millions of our kisans by preventing the assent as your leaders have done?”

Kisans of Kerala Unite! Unite to get your Bill passed into law! Unite to expose your enemies and their misdeeds! Unite to put back into power the only Party which honoured its commitments to you, the trust you reposed in it.

(Below: A. K. Gopalan with 8 lakh Kerala kisan signatures for Agrarian Bill.)



E. M. S. Namboodiripad Shows

THE ANTI-NATIONAL FACE OF CONGRESS ALLIES

From Parassala to Kasargode—that is how Kerala is generally described. In this southernmost constituency of Parassala the Communist Party had last time lost its security deposit. But this time Parassala is getting ready to wipe out this humiliation.

Parassala is one of the eleven constituencies in Trivandrum District, one of them Varkala, a double member constituency. The Communist Party had won eight of these twelve seats in the last elections, the PSP three and the Congress one.

THE Communist Party has its own candidates in eleven seats and in the remaining Ullur seat the Party is supporting an Independent, K. P. All Kunhu, a nationalist Muslim and once President of the Trivandrum District Congress Committee.

The Communist Party had won this seat last time with 42.43 per cent of the polled votes against the Congress, PSP, RSP and an Independent. This time, the Party-supported Independent is facing a PSP candidate and there is a third candidate, an Independent.

The PSP's calculation is that its candidate would poll this time what it polled last time and what the Congress and RSP also polled, which would be about 56 per cent. With its calculation, the PSP press has been dismissing the Ullur contest as nothing serious and the seat as something already in the PSP bag.

The first thing that will upset this nice calculation is that there is an increase of about 10,000 votes in the constituency. A comrade who had studied voters' list said this increase was going to help the

Communist-supported Independent.

The comrade in charge of the constituency said that the Party had reached out to new sections of people and new areas during the 28 months of Communist rule and this had brought new cadres into activity for the Party's election campaign.

In addition, the candidate has his own influence in the area as a nationalist Muslim leader of long standing and many people who had nothing to do with the Communist Party in the last election are now coming forward to help him win the seat. This could be seen in all the workers' conventions that were held in every ward and Panchayat to form election committees.

The same candidate had won the seat twice before for the Party, and with the smooth-running election machinery—the booth committees, ward committees, constituencies committees, house-to-house campaign, etc.—already in perfect action, I could see the comrades were justified in saying they would win again with a bigger majority.

THE ELEVEN CONSTITUENCIES OF

TRIVANDRUM

In two of the remaining eleven seats, there are straight contests—in Nedumangad, the Party's candidate is facing P. S. Nataraja Pillai, Finance Minister in Pattom Thanu Pillai's Congress-supported PSP ministry and the second Pattom Thanu Pillai's own Trivandrum II constituency. The Party had won the Nedumangad seat last time with 58.9 per cent of the polled votes against the Congress and the PSP and an Independent.

It was right in the middle of the main road of the city that I came across our candidate in Trivandrum II constituency, K. Anirudhan, the same comrade who had opposed Pattom Thanu Pillai last time also. He had got hold of a comrade from the State council centre who was here on a flying visit to persuade him to go to a particular area in the constituency. I couldn't but hear what was being said

lar fight—God knows by what inducements—has shifted himself to Trivandrum I.

Balkrishnan by himself would not have perhaps been much of a problem. To complicate the situation, a very powerful individual who was one of the driving forces of the "liberation struggle" himself a businessman, is interested in defeating the PSP candidate purely motivated by commercial rivalries.

He thinks that the Congress-PSP-League alliance will win a majority and when the Ministry is formed it will be difficult to keep out the PSP candidate from Trivandrum I and if he is included, it will not be good for the health of his own automobile business. He believes that the "united front" will have a majority even without winning Trivandrum I. His slogan hence, is defeat the PSP candidate. And the RSP candidate is his nominee.

Both the PSP candidate and the RSP leader and the financier behind him are making a play for the same Latin Christian votes—the poor fishermen who were deceived and made the sacrificial goats in the "liberation struggle". The Latin Christians are very angry with the PSP because despite their martyrs and their sacrifices, the PSP which was allotted nine seats in Trivandrum District did not set up a single Latin Christian candidate in any of these constituencies. The RSP candidate's effort is to make capital out of the justified wrath of the fishermen community.

But the fight is by no means between the PSP and RSP candidates. While the RSP leader will take away some of the "liberation" votes on which the PSP has been banking, the fight remains one between the PSP and Communist candidates. The RSP leader's arrival on the scene has only brightened the prospects of the Communist Party's candidate.

Apart from all the other factors, here as elsewhere in this district and the State, it is a much stronger Communist Party which faces the poll this time with far broader support than before.

In one particular ward in this constituency, I was told where the Party polled 900 and odd votes last time, this time the Party has about 500 activists, and that Brahmin women had held a special meeting in an area to form a committee to work for our candidate.

For the big shift in the situation, the coastal area itself is evidence. After two firings in this area during the "liberation struggle" anti-Communist feelings in this backward area had been worked up to the pitch. The fishermen went about openly saying they would kill any Communists they saw. A number of comrades, who used to stay in the area had to come away and take refuge in the city.

But now the fishermen had time to think about the "liberation struggle" after pas-

Kerala Election Scene

by RAMDASS

and it was a detailed report of the new elements in that area who had promised to vote for the Communist Party. When he had finished, I got in with my question: how about it this time. The answer was: You heard about the situation in one area. It is about the same everywhere. We will give Pattom Thanu Pillai the stiffest fight he has ever faced.

The constituency inauguration rally for Trivandrum I and II had been attended by 35,000 people and preceded by a 15,000 demonstration. But what conclusively showed the broader support to the Party was the thousands of women in both the demonstration and the rally. I have seen many demonstrations, and rallies in this city before, but never so many women participating in them.

Pattom Thanu Pillai last time had only 4,743 votes more than the Communist candidate and a Congress candidate in the constituency had polled just 3,358 votes.

And there are more people than Communists interested in making up this margin and defeating Pattom—among them some of Pattom's own former followers.

"Defeat Pattom To Cleanse Kerala"

One of them explained: "One can differ with the Communist Ministry on any number of issues. But Pattom Thanu Pillai did not have single thing constructive to say or do during 28 months of the Communist Ministry. What is worse, he did not even behave decently. I found that the Communist Party's slogan of Defeat Pattom to cleanse Kerala Politics is getting good response from among these sections who were once followers of Sri Thanu Pillai." The votes of the Tamil population will again be polled against Pattom, though I did not find them so bitter as they were in 1957.

Trivandrum I was also won by the PSP last time. The same PSP candidate is having a much more difficult time now.

For one thing, RSP leader K. Balkrishnan whom Pattom Thanu Pillai got rid of from his constituency for fear of defeat in a triangu-

JOINT APPEAL FOR MORE FUNDS

The Secretariat of the National Council and the Secretariat of the Kerala State Council of the CPI have jointly issued the following press statement:

THE response to the appeal for contribution to our Party's Kerala Election Fund has been magnificent throughout the country. The generous contributions from the people from all parts of the country especially Calcutta have underlined the greatness and the justice of the cause for which the alliance of the Communist Party and non-Party democrats is fighting this grim election battle. This has also immensely inspired our election workers and the people in Kerala and given them fresh confidence in victory. We express our deep sense of gratitude to all those friends and send our warmest greetings to them.

The election battle in Kerala is now approaching the decisive stage. The reactionary and unprincipled alliance of the Congress, PSP and Muslim League, financed by the millionaires and big landlords all over India, is spending money like water and they publicly boast that money is no consideration for them. Thus money and other material advantages which the privileged exploiters command have been pressed into service in all its limitless extravagance.

However, during the recent

weeks a great, new shift has taken place in favour of our Party and this continues to grow. It is no accident, therefore, that about four lakh men and women, drawn mainly from the poorer classes but also from other sections of the people are working in Kerala for the victory of the alliance of the Communist Party and non-Party democrats. Never before has Kerala witnessed such great initiative and upsurge of the masses in elections.

But our work still remains greatly handicapped by lack of even the minimum funds necessary for fighting such a big battle. We suffer from no dearth of men; but our financial resources, despite generous help so far received, are far too inadequate compared to the barest needs. We fervently appeal to all friends everywhere to help us overcome this hurdle. To those who have already given, we would appeal to consider if they can give us a little more. Those who are still to give may kindly send in their contributions without any delay. It is a matter of supreme urgency and decisive importance that the fund drive is stepped up in every State and among all sections of our friends and the maximum possible contributions are sent in the course of the next few crucial days to Comrade Umtraja, CPI State Council, Election Office, Ernakulam.

Howver, during the recent

The Case of DOCTOR JOSEPH

by O. P. MEHROTRA

Life had promised much. The vision of creative work for India had fired his soul. But now it had lost all its meaning. His scholarship and learning—the degrees (M.Sc. and Ph.D.) acquired by him in India and abroad—had proved useless in getting him an appropriate post. He was a bond slave for Rs. 160 minus deductions. The bureaucratic machinery of the Government and the Institute he was serving never allowed him to improve his lot, never allowed him to create for the people.

HE was unable to support his family of six—his five children and wife. He thought there was no way out. And so Dr. M. T. Joseph committed suicide on the morning of January 6. His death underlined the stark tragedy that is India today, the sense of futility that numbs so many of our best, young scientific minds.

An enquiry into the circumstances which led the 43-year-old Dr. Joseph to commit suicide is going on. It is learnt the interim report has been forwarded to Prime Minister Nehru.

Will this help to curb the bureaucracy that is thriving so well under Congress rule? Will the callous officials of the Indian Agriculture Research Institute and Ministry of Food and Agriculture who always blocked the attempt of Dr. Joseph to get a better job be taught a lesson?

These questions are being asked by the employees of the Institute and many others who have come to know the background of the tragedy that has sent a shock of anger and sorrow through the capital of India. The unfortunate Doctor was faced with the dire alterna-

school-going age, were living in Bombay when this unfortunate victim of bureaucracy committed suicide.

His sobbing wife, friends and the files of 90 copies of his applications for better jobs revealed that the scientist had at long struggled before, he finally embraced the noose of the telephone wire. Several of his applications for better positions in the institute and elsewhere were either not forwarded to the Public Service Commission or delayed so much that he could not appear for interviews in time. The most shocking case was the offer he had received—but was prevented from accepting—from the Hafeekine Institute of Bombay.

The callousness which the Institute authorities showed in dealing with him compelled the Doctor to write in one of the notes left by him: "Authorities of the IARI (the Institute) and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture are solely responsible for this tragedy."

It was due to this criminal attitude of the authorities that he could not accept better jobs and finally ended a life his family and his country needed so much. Prime Minister Nehru has referred to it as "distressing."

All of us are grieved at the loss of this precious life and demand that the Government take the responsibility for the education of his children and give adequate financial support to his wife.

But that would not be enough by far. What is the guarantee that such tragedies will not be repeated and the Government of the country would not treat men of high learning with such utter disregard as happened with Dr. Joseph?

Will the enquiry that is going on bring to book the men who loan he had taken for his Ph.D. studies. Enquiries revealed that after the deductions, he was sometimes getting less than Rs. 50 a month.

Obviously, he could not support his five children and wife. So he told her to take the children to Bombay and enrol them in some free school. Mary, his wife, with their children (two sons and three daughters) of

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FULL SCALE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM

THE YEAR 1959 WOULD GO DOWN IN HISTORY AS THE FIRST YEAR OF THE FULL-SCALE BUILDING OF A COMMUNIST SOCIETY IN THE SOVIET UNION, SAID N. S. KHRUSHCHOV IN HIS REPORT TO THE SUPREME SOVIET ON JANUARY 14.

We have begun our Seven-Year Plan very well. During the year industrial production rose by more than 11 per cent instead of the 7.7 provided for by the plan. Nearly 50 billion roubles' worth of goods were produced over and above plan (more than the entire industrial output of Russia before the revolution in comparable prices).

THE output of the means of production rose by 12 per cent during the year as against the 8.1 per cent provided for by the plan.

The light and food industries are also making rapid headway. The overall industrial output of consumer goods, which was to have increased by 6.6 per cent under the plan, actually rose by 10.3 per cent.

Experience indicates that the Seven-Year Plan will be carried out ahead of schedule and its targets appreciably exceeded, Khrushchov said.

Despite the drought which affected some areas, the Government has been able to purchase 2,848 million poods of grain which is enough to meet the needs of the population and other requirements of the State. The virgin and fallow land development areas played a particularly important role in the country's grain balance. In 1959 those regions sold 1,693 million poods of grain to the States.

Turning to the giant capital construction programme charted by the Seven-Year Plan, Khrushchov recalled that over a thousand large industrial establishments were put into operation in the past year. The volume of capital investment by the State and co-operative organisations, exclusive of collective farm investments, totalled 275 billion roubles last year, a 30 billion rouble increase over 1958.

Labour productivity increased faster than provided for in the plan. It rose 7.4 per cent in industry and 9 per cent in construction work. The above-Plan saving through reducing production costs amounted to over 10 billion roubles.

Income Up, Hours Reduced

The national income, which is the key factor behind the people's well-being in a socialist country, rose in 1959 by 8 per cent compared with a year before, or by about 100 billion roubles.

Over 13 million factory workers and employees had been put on reduced, 7 and 6 hour, working days by the end of the past year. This switchover of all of the country's workers and salaried staff to a shorter working day will have been completed before this year (1960) is out.

The steady rise of the working people's living standards, the improvement of the health services and medical assistance are having a favourable effect on the increase of the country's population which rose by 3,660,000 during the year to reach over 212 million by the beginning of 1960, Khrushchov said.

Turning to the Soviet people's

Khrushchov declared that they open up a new era in world science and engineering.

The Soviet Union pioneered the construction of atomic power stations for peaceful purposes, and continues to work successfully in this field, Khrushchov noted.

We are several years ahead of the other countries in the development and assembly-line production of inter-continental, ballistic missiles of various types.

The economic indices of our industry and agriculture for the past few years show that we are successfully solving the task of overtaking and surpassing the United States in per capita

production, set by the Communist Party, Khrushchov said.

Comparing the rate of growth of industrial production in the USSR and the United States between 1953 and 1959, he noted that in these five years gross industrial production had increased 90 per cent in the USSR and 11 per cent in the U.S. Per capita production increases were 71 per cent in the USSR and 0.3 per cent in the United States.

The industry of our country has been developing much more rapidly than that of the United States in the past six years, as indeed in the entire period of Soviet power, Khrushchov stressed.

There is no longer any

doubt anywhere in the world about the high rate of the economic development of the USSR, Khrushchov said. The only point in dispute is how much quicker we develop than the United States and how soon we shall overtake it. We are convinced that the more progressive and viable socialist system will win in peaceful economic competition.

The Seven-Year Plan drafted by the 21st Congress of the CPSU is the first stage in the period of the full-scale building of a communist society, Khrushchov continued.

We are now able to work out in greater detail a long-range plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR in the next 15 to 20 years. This long-range plan will simultaneously be a plan for the completion of the historic task of



N. S. Khrushchov

the one hundred per cent electrification of the country, set by Lenin. It will be the cornerstone of the programme of the comprehensive building of a communist society.

KHRUSHCHOV ON 1959 ACHIEVEMENTS

On December 25, 1959, N. S. Khrushchov delivered a speech at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "Make Fuller Use of Potentialities to Promote Agriculture."

AGRICULTURE is on the upgrade, N. S. Khrushchov pointed out in his report to the Central Committee of the CPSU. Although this year was an unfavourable one in many areas, the results achieved should be considered as being good, he said. This year 2,848 million poods of grain were produced. It should be said that the average level of grain procurements during the past four years amounted to 2,000 million poods as compared with 2,000 million poods in the preceding four years.

Production of meat on the country's collective farms and State farms increased in eleven months of 1959 by 32 per cent, and purchases by 36 per cent. Milk production on the collective farms and state farms went up by 15 per cent and purchases 16 per cent. There has been a considerable increase in the production of butter.

A good crop of cotton has been harvested. Cotton procurement has reached 4,669,000 tons as compared with 4,373,000 tons last year. This is more than we have ever had in any previous year in the entire history of cotton-growing in our country. Notable successes have been achieved this year by the cotton growers of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

N. S. Khrushchov further dwelt on the experience of the collective farms and state farms of Ryazan region particularly in animal husbandry. The region had sold in 1959 to the State three times more meat than in 1958. Formerly such a rate was considered impossible, N. S. Khrushchov said.

Milk yields have grown in almost all the collective farms and state farms, N. S. Khrushchov said. This is good, but the main thing now is not only to increase the yield of milk, although this task will always be in the order of the day. The main thing is to increase the number of cows, N. S. Khrushchov put forward the task of ensuring that the collective farms and the State farms of the country have at the least 25 cows per 100 hectares of farm land.

The output of butter has grown considerably. In 1959 it amounted to 845,000 tons, or 4 kg. per capita on the average.

In the United States of America, with taking into account the production of butter by farmers, 685,000 tons of butter was produced, or 3.9 kg. per capita. According to the estimate of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, this year the United States will produce, taking into account the output of butter by farmers, 658,000 tons, or 3.7 kg. per capita. Thus in 1959 the Soviet Union exceeded the United States of America in per capita output of butter.

We also have a higher gross milk production than the USA. The time is not far off when we shall surpass the USA in meat production also, N. S. Khrushchov stated.

A rise in labour productivity, Khrushchov pointed out, is the decisive requisite for increasing output of agricultural products. We achieved a rise in productivity not at the expense of human energy but by the better utilization of machinery, by improving skill, by a better organisation of work.

Khrushchov devoted a considerable part of his speech to questions of using all the resources of the collective farms and State farms for increasing production of grain and fodder. Besides developing virgin lands, N. S. Khrushchov spoke about virgin lands the development of which required no additional expenditure.

What are these virgin lands? N. S. Khrushchov asked. These are, firstly bare fallows in the wet zone. The collective farms and State farms of this zone have six million hectares of bare fallows. In the wet areas we shall have twelve or thirteen million hectares of this peculiar virgin land.

The second, a no less important source for replenishing our grain and fodder resources is to be found in revising the structure of the sown areas, and replacing lower-yielding crops by higher-yielding ones.

N. S. Khrushchov then dealt with the importance of organic-mineral composts for increasing the yield, and the expediency of organizing the production of area and herbicides for agricultural needs.

Possessing fine specialists, N. S. Khrushchov continued, we should not only increase

the sown areas but also increase the yield by introducing better agrotechnics, by achieving higher labour productivity, by cutting production costs.

Not extensive forms of agriculture based primarily on extending the sown areas but highly skilled intensive farming which yields a maximum amount of produce per hectare, per unit of labour expended—this is the road we should follow.

N. S. Khrushchov then spoke about mechanisation of agriculture as main condition for increasing labour productivity.

He dwelt on the proposals made regarding the reorganization of the repair and technical service stations and the establishment of special bodies for the direction of the collective farms in the forms of a collective farm centre. There is, obviously no need to re-establish the collective farm centre, he said, but the question of inter-collective-farm organizations in the districts should be seriously considered and they should be united on the solution of such problems, for example, as the construction of power sta-

tions, roads, boarding schools, etc.

Dealing with payment for work of the collective farmers, Khrushchov stressed that we are to fix such a system of payment on the collective farms that would exclude excessively high, unjustified earnings but would retain the method of stimulating the material interests in further developing the commonly-owned economy.

An ever greater role in developing agricultural production, N. S. Khrushchov continued is played by the agricultural science. It is necessary for us to bring science still closer to production, we are to promote more boldly to the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and to the institutes young capable and talented scientists so that they enrich science with their knowledge and help the agricultural workers to conduct farming.

Scientific institutions should conduct a considerable part of their researches on the basis of requests from the agricultural workers.

Extensive work has been conducted in the past five years in building and improv-

ing the villages. There have been built in the rural areas 3,500,000 dwelling houses, many schools, hospitals polyclinics, kindergartens and nurseries. Speaking about the future of the collective farm village N. S. Khrushchov stressed that one should not force many storeyed houses, for example, on the collective farmers today, they are not accustomed to them. But we ourselves should strive to this, not today but tomorrow, we shall deal with this question in real earnest. The maintenance of many scattered dwellings is more expensive than those assembled in one place. And it is harder to improve such a village.

We shall discuss it in the presidium of the Central Committee, N. S. Khrushchov continued, and may be we shall call a special plenary meeting of the CC in December 1960 to sum up the result of agricultural development in the second year of the seven-year plan.

In conclusion N. S. Khrushchov said that in the final analysis we have achieved brilliant successes. Possessing these victories we can advance more confidently.

GRAND JOB AT BHILAI

AT least fifteen different units were commissioned in the Bhilai Steel works during the year 1959. Eight of these were commissioned during the last month alone in order, fulfilling the various targets set for the year.

Among the units commissioned during the year under review were:

- Two coke oven batteries for production of metallurgical coke;
- Two blast furnaces for making pig iron;
- Two open hearth furnaces for-making steel;
- Two rolling mills for blooms and billets;
- Two chemical plants for manufacture of sulphuric acid and ammonium sulphate fertilizer;
- The foundry and some other auxiliary and repair shops.

Production of pig iron in Bhilai commenced on February 3, 1959. Upto December 31, production totalled 3,21,049 tons of pig iron of which 265,194 tons had been despatched to various foundries in India and 20,000 tons exported to Japan.

Steel production commenced on the October 12, 1959. Upto the end of December about 28,942 tons of steel ingots had been produced. The blooming mill started rolling steel ingots into blooms on the November 7, 1959.

The billet mill which went into commission on December 24, 1959 had rolled 1,200 tons of billet by the time the year closed. About 650 tons of billets had been sent to different places in the country by the end of December 1959. The project had received sale order for more than 2,48,760 tons of billets.

Sulphuric acid plant which started production on December 5, had produced 395 tons of the acid upto December 31, 1959.

The ammonium sulphate plant, which was commissioned on December 15 manufactured 324 tons of the sulphate fertilizer upto the end of the month. Of these 111 tons of sulphate had been despatched to neighbouring districts of Madhya Pradesh. Orders for 1,800 tons had been received upto the end of the year.

The coke production during the year totalled 3,84,841 tons.

The entire coke is intended for internal consumption.

The small oxygen plant filled about 5,000 cylinders during the year under review. A bigger oxygen plant was under construction.

About 14,182 tons of coal tar were recovered from the coal gases during the year, out of which 11,846 tons were despatched to consumers.

At the end of the year construction work was on progress on Coke Oven Battery No. 3, Blast Furnace No. 3, Open Hearth Furnace No. 3 and the two huge mills — rail and heavy structural mill and the merchant mill.

Construction work in Bhilai was started in 1957 and erection of steel structurals and equipment started in 1958. So far, more than twentyone mill cubic metres east earthwork and 950,000 cubic metres of concrete work have been completed, more than 135,000 tons of steel structurals and equipment have been erected, 1,10,000 tons of refractories have been laid, about 90 miles of rail tracks and 100 miles of underground communications set up in the steelworks.

PAVILION'S STRIKING FEATURE IS INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

"What is the most striking feature of the Soviet Pavilion in the World Agriculture Fair"? I asked a friend whom I had to accompany there last Sunday. Guess, what was his answer?

NOT the tremendous progress of the Soviet Union in science depicted by model of the Sputnik and the picturesque panels showing the launching of space rockets and the Lunik. Nor was it the great Soviet advance in agriculture or the impact of industrialisation and collective farming. "Love and admiration of the Indian people for the USSR," was his answer.

It was my seventh visit to the Fair. On all these occasions I found long queues of visitors before the Soviet pavilion. On no occasion I went (either on the opening day when it was open to "invitees only" or again on a chilly Wednesday when crowd was rather thin) was it possible to enter the pavilion in less than an half hour. This Sunday it was a herculean job to get in.

This is one pavilion in the fair where crowds wait outside everyday long before six. They wait in their large numbers to see the mighty advance of Soviet science, the films depicting the life and culture of the Soviet people and the lively folk dances from the Soviet Republics.

Entering the first hall you get familiar with the state system of USSR. In the middle of the hall there is a bas-relief of V. I. Lenin, the founder of the first State of the workers and peasants in the world. On the side of this hall are displayed photographs and pictures depicting the growing friendship between India and the Soviet Union.

In this very hall striking achievements of Soviet science and technology are clearly demonstrated. The progress of the Soviet scientists in launching rockets and the advance of the Soviet science in opening up the way for space travel is symbolised by the models of Sputniks which draw the biggest crowd.

Looking at these magnificent achievements of Soviet science, one feels that an age has come in which

in various agricultural research institutes and colleges. Soviet scientists have evolved and introduced in to farm production more than 2,000 new varieties of agricultural crops.

The sections demonstrating the achievements of the Soviet Union in the production of grains, industrial crops, fruits and vegetables, etc., is another impressive area of this pavilion.

There one comes to know how in the last few years the sown area in USSR has greatly expanded. The development of 26 million hectares of virgin and unused lands in 1954-56 is indicative of the tremendous significance of the new move of the Soviet Government. In the centre of the hall samples of 73 varieties of winter and spring wheat and other agricultural crops are demonstrated.

Besides these sections, the other which attracts the visitor is one which demonstrates the cultural progress and material welfare of the Soviet people. Amazing improvement of the standards of living of the people and all-round progress under socialism is illustrated in this section.

People in our country who have been long fed on the propaganda about the dearth of consumer goods in the socialist countries obviously find much interest in seeing for themselves the rich varie-

ties of consumer goods like textiles, cloths, footwear, bicycles etc.

It was a sight to see many a visitor crowding the Soviet officials in the pavilion and trying to get facts about the prices, durability, etc., of these goods.

While huge crowds line up for literature dealing with Soviet agriculture and other aspects of life of the people of the USSR, inside one finds the visitors, especially students and children, asking for the beautiful badges and proudly putting them on.

But this is not all about the Soviet pavilion. While those interested in acquainting themselves about agricultural machinery go round to the machine demonstration grounds, others, especially villagers, go to the cattle yard and admire the fine breeds of horses, cows etc.

Some line up once again to see the folk dances and other items of the cultural fare.

Thus, beginning with the amazing achievements of Soviet science, passing through the big halls showing the progress of agriculture and the improvement of the cultural and material life of the Soviet people, the visitor who has had to stand in a queue for a long time comes away not only satisfied but heartened.

—O. P. Mehrotra

A view of the huge crowds at the Soviet Pavilion.



HYPOCRISY RAMPANT

The West German Government has responded in the following manner to the wave of anti-Semitic outrages there:

1. By declaring that it was opposed to anti-Semitism and every form of neo-nazism.
2. By giving former nazi storm troopers and SS officers the job of investigating the outrages.

THE wave of public outbreaks began on Christmas Eve when two members of the neo-nazi "German Reich Party" smeared swastikas and slogans on the walls of the newly-built Jewish synagogue in Cologne. The old synagogue was burned down by nazi storm troopers in November 1938.

Overall responsibility for the investigation of this and other crimes lay in the hands of Gerhard Schroeder, Christian Democrat Minister of the Interior, himself a former nazi storm trooper.

The man immediately in charge of the investigation of the Cologne outrage is Police Major Karl Kiehn, who served as a major in the SS, Hitler's black-uniformed elite troops.

His immediate superior, Police Director Fritz Weber, who directs all the detective police in the province of North-Rhine Westphalia, was also a major in the SS, and worked during the Hitler era in the Reich Security H.Q. which was responsible for the whole concentration camp system and for the liquidation of the Jews of Europe.

When Fritz Weber applied for SS membership in 1937 he supplied a written autobiography which stated: "On the day after Hitler's appointment as Chancellor I was transferred to the Political Police, and was head of the SS Auxiliary Police and the Protective Arrest Centre. I was attached for one year to the staff of SS General Daluge." Daluge was hanged in 1946 for war crimes.

Old Story

As long ago as May 6, 1959 the American news agency United Press International had reported on what West German anti-Semitism looked like in one small West German town. Here is the story, as reported from Frankfurt:

"An anti-Jewish hate campaign in the nearby town of Koepfern has cost Kurt Sumpf his life savings and his means of living.

"Mr. Sumpf, 33, a Jew, settled in Koepfern in August 1958, with his wife and nine-year old son, Peter. With \$2,500 he had saved and another \$2,500 from the Jewish Restitution Board he bought a restaurant in the town. "Now, after investing all his money in the cafe, Mr. Sumpf and his family have succumbed to an anti-Semitic campaign which saw his restaurant nearly wrecked, his son tormented and his wife refused service when shopping.

"Mr. Sumpf told police the windows of his cafe had been repeatedly smashed, crockery and glasses thrown against the walls, his wife punched in the face and his son so tormented by other children that he had to be taken away from school. "Police charged 12 men on January 27 (1959) with heading the campaign. The case has not yet come to court."

In the case of the Cologne desecration of the Synagogue on Christmas eve, two young men, office worker Paul Schoenen, and baker Adolf Strunk, both aged 25, were arrested a few hours later and confessed to the crime.

Nazi Judges

If or when they come to trial, there is a considerable chance that they will appear before a court staffed with nazi judges, since no fewer than 25 of the judges and public prosecutors in Cologne Courts have been identified as having worked in Nazi special courts or military courts.

SS DETECTIVES

THE Security services in many of the key centres of West Germany are today commanded by former SS officers, the Social Democratic Press Service disclosed on October 10, 1959.

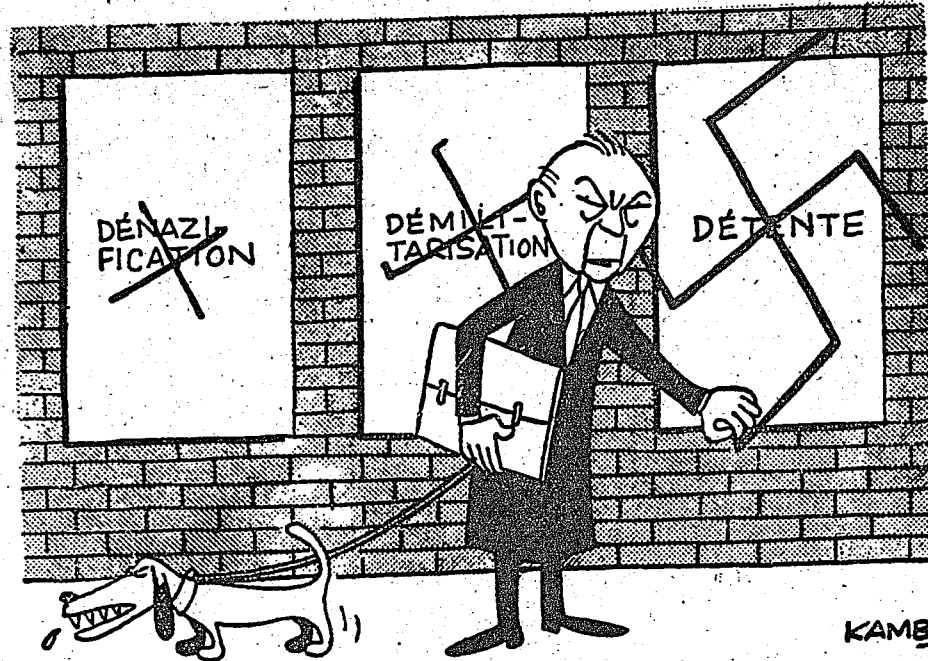
The Press service stated that there was a particularly high concentration of SS officers in the police force of North Rhine Westphalia, West Germany's most populous province, which includes the vital Ruhr area.

"Former high SS officers command the detective forces in Aachen, Bonn, Dortmund, Dusseldorf, Essen, Gelsenkirchen, Cologne, Moenchengladbach and Muelheim-Ruhr; the police director in the Ministry of the Interior responsible for all detective forces, was himself an SS Major and worked in the Reich Security H.A." the press service stated.

On October 9 the Welt der Arbeit, organ of the West German Trade Union Federation, reported that journalists had asked Dr. Sporrer, head of the provincial police personnel department, how it came about that so many SS officers had been re-engaged.

"Dr. Sporrer complained that only the police in North Rhine Westphalia were being attacked; he knew that more prominent SS men who had been concerned in shootings and other crimes were employed in the Federal Police office and the Bonn Security Group, and nobody worried about them", the paper reported.

The Welt der Arbeit stated that present investigations showed that at least 200 former SS officers and Gestapo officials were working in the police in North Rhine Westphalia, and that many of them had been promoted to key posts in the past few weeks.



ADENAUER'S RECORD

REFERRING to the wave of anti-Semitic outrages in West Germany the 84-year old West German Chancellor Dr. Adenauer seeking to allay the anxiety caused all over the world has spoken of his so-called anti-nazi past and his friends among Jews who first financed him.

This myth can be instantly dispelled by studying the authorised biography of Konrad Adenauer, published in West Germany in 1955 ("Konrad Adenauer — Die autorisierte Biographie" by Paul Weymar, Kindler Verlag, Munich).

This biography shows that Konrad Adenauer was in fact always a stubborn old reactionary, though never a nazi; he regarded the nazi as crude and rather unpleasant. But it also shows that he was never anything approaching a resistance fighter.

Here are some details of his career during the nazi period, culled exclusively from the pro-Adenauer authorised biography.

1. ADENAUER'S PENSION

Soon after Hitler came to power, Adenauer was sacked as Lord Mayor of Cologne, and for a period his pension was not paid. In spring 1936, however, he was granted a pension of "about 1000 marks monthly" (Biography, p. 185). At the rate of exchange then ruling this represented about £900 annually. There is no indication that this pension was ever stopped by the nazi authorities at a later date.

2. ADENAUER'S "RESISTANCE"

"Shortly before the outbreak of war, Adenauer travelled with his wife to Switzerland, and returned weeks later" (p. 193). At this period it was impossible for known opponents of the nazi regime to get passports for foreign travel. If Adenauer had in fact been a resistance fighter, he could easily have stayed in Switzerland.

"At that time (1943) Adenauer absolutely refused to take an active part in political affairs. When Goerdeler (of the 1944 anti-Hitler bomb plot) tried to get in touch with him... Adenauer made it quite plain that he would have no part in any such enterprise" (p. 198).

3. ADENAUER'S IMPRISONMENT

Despite his refusal to join with all decent Germans in opposing Hitler, Adenauer was in fact arrested three times, according to the authorised biography.

On June 30, 1934, at the

time of the Roehm purge, he was detained for 48 hours, together with a number of generals and bankers (p. 171-173).

On August 23, 1944, when the Gestapo made a round-up of most prominent old-time political figures, after the bomb-plot against Hitler, Adenauer was also arrested (p. 201). He was held in a detention camp in Cologne, in which he had the services of a batman who brought him breakfast in bed. (p. 206), and received daily food parcels (p. 207). The book is vague about how long he stayed here, but internal evidence shows it could not have been longer than three weeks.

In October and November 1944 he spent a further two months in prison in Brauweiler. Here too he received special treatment, and was released on instructions from the SS head office in Berlin (p. 247-248).

After his release he found nothing objectionable in hiring French slave labourers to work in his garden (p. 261).

WHOM THEY PERSECUTE

SEVERAL leading members of the West German Peace Committee went on trial in Dusseldorf on November 10, 1959, charged with membership "in a secret society... aimed at subversion of the constitutional order."

The case is being tried by the

Special Political Chamber of the Dusseldorf Provincial Court. The defendants are being defended by prominent German lawyers, and by D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

Three of the accused are members of the World Peace Council and the other four have been prominent in the work of the West German Peace Committee.

The defendants include: Edith Hoereth-Menge, aged 71, who won a name in the pre-Hitler period for her opposition to German rearmament. She was a prominent member of the International Women's League of Peace and Freedom.

Erwin Eckert, aged 65, former Protestant clergyman, who spent five years in Nazi jails on treason charges.

Pastor Johannes Oberhof, aged 44. He has been active in the West German peace movement since 1950.

Walter Diehl, aged 32, former theology student who has been very active in the International Student movement.

Gerhard Wohlrath, aged 52, who was forced to emigrate from Germany during the nazi period.

The goal of Communism is, in our opinion, the creation of a society in which everyone will enjoy an unlimited freedom for the harmonious development of all his or her best qualities and creative possibilities.

Neither high productivity of labour nor infinite abundance of material benefits can in themselves be this goal, though we cannot conceive of communism without these conditions. The same holds good for a shorter workday. Yet all of these are the basic prerequisites for attaining the ultimate tasks of the construction of a new society.

IT is no accident that, entering the period of comprehensive construction of Communism in the USSR, the Party set, among many other tasks, this specific task — to effect the shortest workday within a few years.

What is meant is a work week of 30 to 35 hours, that is, a six-hour workday in general and a five-hour workday, in all branches of more arduous labour. This is only the first decisive shift in this path.

The connection between a shorter workday and the movement towards Communism is as close and inseparable as can be. We know that a high rate of growth of the productivity of labour is a decisive condition for the construction of Communism. This is our chief trump in the peaceful competition with capitalist countries.

The productivity of industrial work in the USSR had increased ten-fold by 1958 as compared with 1913, while in the U.S.A. it had increased by two-fold times within the same period. Looking forward, we may say that a new, still more considerable growth of the productivity of labour is expected as automation develops. Practically it has no bounds in a foreseeable future.

Under the conditions of capitalism a higher productivity of labour leads to insoluble problems. As a matter of fact, it opens up only two quite real possibilities.

The first is the possibility of still greater cuts in the total labour force. But who is then going to buy those mass consumer goods, the production of which is helped by automation?

The second possibility is to reduce the workday without reducing the wages. In this case a source of profit will soon end as will the very purpose of capitalist production.

The builders of Communism are not faced with such problems. A shorter workday accompanied by a constant increase in the working people's living standards, far from contradicting anyone's interests as the growth of productive forces attains a certain degree, becomes an objective necessity and a law of development of our society along the road towards Communism. A shorter workday in our country is directly linked with a steadily rising productivity of labour.

V. I. Lenin foresaw these prospects as far back as 1914. "Largescale production, machinery, railways, telephones—all these offer thousands of possibilities to cut the working time of organized labour to a quarter and ensure living standards four times higher than now." In 1914 the workday in Russia was no less than 10 hours, with a legalized norm of eleven and a half hours.

The reduction of these norms to one-quarter would mean no more than three hours a day as a norm of labour necessary under Communism. Quite recently, in May 1959, N. S. Khrushchov, speaking in Moldavia, referred to a time when "the country will come to Communism" and "people will work three or four hours a day or perhaps even less."

that suits his desires and abilities.

The boundaries between these two realms are, of course, rather conventional. As technology progresses and the workday becomes shorter under socialism, work in material production noticeably changes its character. It becomes more rational and productive and therefore more in-

change and mutual enrichment in a collective. At the same time the constant changeability of occupations in passing from some working functions to others, evermore interesting and attractive, throughout the workday facilitates work, reduces fatigue and increases productivity.

Seasonal shifts of labour

replacement of those less worthy by more capable will be easier than ever before.

Under such conditions it will be possible to organize the work in shifts for all directors and organizers of production, selecting them for short periods and replacing them with new candidates from the same working environment. Given abundance of talent, this system would only do good, contributing to a more speedy promotion of people to those posts and jobs for which they are especially fit.

A short workday brings us closer to Communism by extending the self-activity of the masses and increasing their general cultural standards. This has already been showing itself, especially in an extremely broad development of the highly versatile and active cultural self-expression of the working people of the USSR.

A Higher Level Of Culture

The Soviet people may and will, not only perceive passively, but also actively reproduce, everything that brings them closer to socialist culture and cultivates a ready mature sprouts of Communism. Free secondary and higher schools are more accessible to them than in any capitalist country. This combination of production and science is very valuable in one's mature age. Yet all possibilities of such vigorous studies will be fully revealed only when the workday has been reduced considerably.

The Soviet working person is already striving to make all the arts and literature part and parcel of his or her life. At every factory, state farm or collective farm, the working people are putting out wall newspapers or even small, printed newspapers of a local nature. The dramatic, vocal, music, dance and other study circles and groups are widely popular in every city and well-nigh at every big enterprise.

The trade unions alone have 216,000 such amateur art groups which have a membership of about 4 millions and which in the past year alone gave more than 760,000 shows and concerts.

But to achieve the harmonious development of all of man's abilities, as we go along to Communism, it would be unpardonable were we to limit ourselves to the narrow confines of spiritual culture alone. As the ancients said: "Mens sana in corpore sano."

In the USSR the active work the working masses do on their own goes hand in hand with the education of physically strong, enduring builders of Communism.

The reduction of the workday is already an economic necessity. But when we have low

*SEE PAGE 16

THE WORKDAY AND COMMUNISM

interesting. Since it is not too tiring, it keeps on engendering in the sound organism the spirit of emulation for, better achievements in the comradesly collective.

Furthermore, by training the brain and brawn of all the emulating members, this kind of work often assumes in addition an entirely novel sporting interest and fascination of struggle, whereby, incidentally, the entire collective always stands to gain, regardless of who places first. We are gradually getting rid of the differences between men-

from one branch to another, for example, temporary "mobilizations" to countryside during harvesting, may prove rather important. Given good organization, they may prove highly useful. The fact is that harvesting machinery operates only a few weeks a year and to use it to the best in these weeks the operatives are to work with two or perhaps even three shifts.

It would be inexpedient to maintain excessive staff of combine and other machine operators throughout the year. It would be much more desirable

by

Academician S. G. Strumilin

tal and manual labour. In this respect, too, the productive sphere of labour is coming closer and closer to the non-productive sphere. Moreover, the shorter the workday becomes, the closer the two spheres get.

Let us imagine roughly the following daily regimen under Communism, when no more than four hours will be required for obligatory labour in whatever its application. We can allot 10 hours to sleep, meals, and other daily doings. Then every working man will have at his full disposal another ten hours of free time.

Of this amount he could spend at least four on reading and mental activity of his own choice, and another four on sports, amateur art, and social work. He would still have another two hours of free time, which he could spend watching television, going to the cinema or attending a concert. In these two hours he would surrender passively to all the influences of society around him.

These changes in activity already presuppose rather versatile abilities in every person and ensure an ever broader development due to constant ex-

to have them sent from the city for this period.

Under the conditions of the world victory of Communism there will be no need of state coercion and management. Soldiers and generals will also be redundant. Yet an anarchic discord and chaos is hardly permissible in large-scale collective production where the efforts of many thousands are united and coordinated.

Even in circles of quite free social self-expression, comradesly discipline, leaders and organizers of a common undertaking—coaches, producers, conductors—are necessary, if the undertaking is to be successful.

Under the conditions of Communism such "conductors" will be even more necessary in the economic sphere for regulating, planning and managing all production processes in the centre and locally. The only essential difference is that under Communism when the level of a college trained engineer or a secondary technical school graduate will be common to all the labour army, the promotion of organizers and "conductors" of all ranks out of its midst and the

Communism Is Humanity's Cherished Goal

What does it mean? Is it only High Productivity and Abundance of Material Benefits?

The emerging contours of the new social order, how do they appear to the Soviet people, fast advancing now from the stage of Socialism to that of Communism?

—Such are the questions tackled in this penetrating article on the significance of a shorter working day.

DISARMAMENT—HIGH TIME TO START!

to what extent they are a departure from it. Legislation for ceiling on existing holdings has been enacted in the following States:

CEILING: Where Does It Stand?

Assam	50 acres.
Andhra Pradesh (Telengana area)	4½ times family holding (18-27 acres).
Jammu-Kashmir	22½ acres.
Punjab (Pepsu area)	30 standard acres (40 std. acres for displaced persons).
West Bengal	25 acres.
Himachal Pradesh	30 acres in Chamba district, land assessed at Rs. 125 in other areas.
Mysore (Karnatak area)	18-27 acres.
Bombay (Marathwada area)	18-27 acres.
Rajasthan	30 standard acres, (with a provision of five acres for each additional member over and above a family of five, the upper limit being 60 standard acres).
Kerala	15-25 acres.

The proposals for ceiling on existing holdings in some other States are as follows:

Orissa	33 standard acres.
U.P.	40 acres (with a provision for 8 acres for each additional member over and above a family of five, the upper limit being 64 acres for a family of eight or more).
Andhra	Ceiling for an area of land fetching Rs. 5,400 as net annual income.
Madhya Pradesh	32 standard acres.
Bombay	Area yielding a net income of Rs. 3,600 per annum.
Tripura	25 standard acres.

other." (Hindustan Times, July 22, 1959)
The Punjab Government in respect of their former Pepsu area have also assumed power to take over land for management in the case of owners' holding in excess of 30 standard acres (40 standard acres in the case of displaced persons) for settling persons who may be ejected on the ground of the landowner's right to resume land for personal cultivation.

Under the land reform law which became operative there from April 13, 1955, "Landlords were required to file returns of their lands within six months after which the surplus lands would be declared to be used for settlement of tenants, ejected from the permissible area (i.e., 30 standard acres)."

It was recently reported in the newspapers (Statesman November 29 1959) that the Congress High Command was pressing the Punjab Government that before the end of 1959, a bill had to be passed afresh to impose a ceiling on existing landholdings throughout the Punjab.

This is considered the best method to ensure their efficient working and "to maintain the high levels of production in these farms." By this the Government, it is reported, "desires on the one hand to avoid the immediate payment of compensation and to keep the owners of these farms satisfied on the

proposed bill on land ceilings in Bihar.
Thus, the recommendations of the Planning Commission, which themselves were far from radical had been whittled down and flouted, and arbitrary departures had been made without any regard to any principled procedure.
The Land Reform Panel had also issued a warning that anticipating "imposition of ceilings, substantial owners were making benami transactions in favour of near relations and friends so as to bring their holdings within the assumed limits. If such transfers are allowed they will defeat the very object of ceilings." They had, therefore, recommended that "any transfer or lease made after a date, should be disregarded in determining the surplus area."

How Land Disappeared

That this caution was fully justified and necessary is borne out by facts, for instance, relating to the Punjab and Hyderabad. "In the Punjab according to the ownership pattern known to exist in 1956, about 50,000 landlords had between them nearly 400,000 acres of land which could be declared surplus. But because of the subsequent transfers, a new law may be able to discover a surplus of only about 150,000 acres." (Statesman, November 29, 1959).

These were the developments in the Punjab between 1956 and 1959 to which the State Government was, to say the least, an idle spectator. It is, however, since 1948-49 that the process of spurious transfers had gone on uninterrupted in the Punjab. Similarly, in Hyderabad it was reported that "the surplus land now being found is much less than the estimates." (A.I.C.C. Economic Review, August 1, 1958. "Progress of Land Reforms" by Gulzari Lal Nanda). The reason given was that "the Hyderabad law did not contain adequate provision with regard to transfers made with the object of evading the law." (Ibid.).

Divergence Without Basis

The divergence in the legislation of different States was quite unrelated to genuine variations in their regional conditions. The Land Reform Panel of the Planning Commission was of the view that three times the family holding should be the limit for the ceiling, i.e., a farm yielding a net annual income of Rs. 3,600. Not many States followed this recommendation. For instance, the U.P. Government announced ceiling on existing holdings at 40 acres ensuring a net income of Rs. 4,000 and allowed for each additional member 8 acres up to a maximum of 24 acres in addition to the normal ceiling area of 40 acres.

Unscrupulous Exemption

It is precisely such safeguards that are missing even now from the ceiling legislation now being proposed or enacted. Even when cognizance has been taken of such developments, the dates that are generally being fixed after which such transfers will be deemed to become null and void, tend to ignore the basic reality that transfers had been effected from a period much earlier than what has been specified in the present legislations.
In fact, in the opinion of some experts, Hyderabad experience shows that if the maximum gains have to be reaped from ceilings and their purpose has to be achieved, implemen-

ment should immediately follow the announcement of ceilings and the time lag should be reduced to a minimum.
The next important consideration is that of exemptions of some categories of farms from the operation of ceilings. The Planning Commission itself had been very ill-advised in recommending the incorporation of such a blanket provision in the ceiling legislation.
Nevertheless, if the States were earnest about the enforcement of ceilings, they should have used this provision with discrimination and with proper regard to the conditions of their respective States.

The fact, however, is that if the States have wholeheartedly seized upon any particular recommendation of the Planning Commission and shown the greatest readiness to incorporate it in their respective legislations, it is this provision. This necessarily implies a substantial reduction in the land surplus available for redistribution.

This would unfortunately also be tantamount to extending legal sanction and protection to the holdings of "joint-stock companies," "family cooperatives," "corporation for the production and refining of sugarcane" and numerous so-called "well-managed" and "mechanised" farms to which reference has been made earlier.

It is not far from the truth that in most cases such farms have come into being on the initiative of ex-zamindars and other substantial landholders precisely under the threat of the ceiling legislation and under the imminent necessity of circumventing it. Strangely enough, States like Orissa which have not been known to have much of "well-managed" large-scale farms, have also incorporated the exemption clause in their land reforms laws.

Prostitution Of Cooperatives

In the context of these regions the provision of exemption is tantamount to suggesting to the landlords the methods they can fruitfully adopt to escape ceilings. The Planning Commission has not been unaware of these activities of large landholders. While addressing the working group on cooperatives Sriman Narain is reported to have shown anxiety at the fact that "a number of joint-farming societies had sprung up either to circumvent land reform legislations or to take advantage of Government grants or subsidies!" He advised the members of the Group to find a remedy for the situation.

What had in fact happened and was continuing to happen was the logical corollary to the loose definition of "personal cultivation" adopted by the States, on the basis of which essentially non-cultivating large landed proprietors had been left in possession of substantial holdings and later promised exemptions if they engaged in large-scale farming.

The landholders were quick to take the hint. The Government policy itself had thus been responsible for creating a situation in which the large proprietors could quickly reorganise themselves into "coopera-

* SEE PAGE 16

Announcing its decisions to unilaterally cut the Soviet armed forces by 1,200,000 men which is one-third of its present strength, the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the U.S.S.R. in a renewed appeal for complete disarmament calls on Parliaments and Governments of all nations of the world not to relax their efforts and do everything in their power towards ending the arms race.
The text of the appeal reads:

THE Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has resolved to appeal to the Parliaments and Governments of all the nations of the world on a matter of supreme importance, affecting the interests of the whole of mankind.
The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has decided, without waiting for the disarmament issue to be settled on an international scale, to carry out a further big reduction in the strength of the armed forces of the USSR. We have enacted a law cutting them by another one-third, namely, by 1,200,000 men. The armaments of the Army and the Navy are to be reduced and so is the spending on military purposes.

When the law we have adopted today is put into practice, 2,423,000 men will remain in the ranks of our Army and Navy.
We should like you to remember that during the discussion of the disarmament problem in 1956 the United States, Britain and France proposed for the Soviet Union and the United States a level of armed forces of 2.5 million men. The Soviet Government accepted their proposal, regarding that naturally as only the first step towards disarmament. But no sooner had the Soviet Union accepted this figure than those who had suggested it renounced it themselves.
Three years have passed since agreement with the Western powers could have been reached. The question arises: What should we do now? Our Government which already several times had reduced its armed forces and the military budget unilaterally, decided to make a new daring and noble step: to effect another sizable cut in its armed forces without further delay.

The USSR expresses the hope that a similar constructive approach will be adopted at the forthcoming conference of the heads of government which has at last been agreed on.
The peoples expect that the summit meeting will bring about new positive developments in international relations, will help to solve the disarmament problem.
In its appeal of October 31, "To Parliaments of All Countries of the World", the Supreme Soviet of the USSR urged Parliaments and Parliamentarians of all countries to take advantage of the present favourable international situation and do everything in their power to relieve the peoples of the terrible scourge of the arms race and open to all mankind the road to a lasting peace.
Adopting the law on a new drastic reduction of the armed forces of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was guided by a realistic appraisal of the obtaining international situation. Indeed international tension has eased considerably. The prospects for the strengthening of peace have substantially improved.
The immutable truth that peaceful co-existence of nations with different social systems is an historical fact and a vital necessity, arising from the present stage of evolution of human society, is increasingly gaining ground in the minds of the peoples, political leaders and statesmen.
Meetings and contacts between leading statesmen are becoming an effective means of easing tensions and solving the most complicated international problems. The visit by N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to the United States and his discussions with President Dwight Eisenhower have opened a new chapter in world re-

A New Chapter Has Opened

lationships. The USSR state budget military appropriations. In 1960 these appropriations amount to 12.9 per cent of all USSR state budget expenditures against 19.9 per cent in 1955.

We deeply trust that the law on a new drastic reduction of the armed forces of the USSR adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR will greatly contribute to a further improvement of the international climate.
Now that we are looking forward to international negotiations on general and complete disarmament, especially important become practical steps of states in unilateral disarmament which could help to create an atmosphere of confidence and facilitate the success of forthcoming negotiations.
Such steps are all the more essential since despite the relaxation of international tension there still are forces in the world trying to prevent the ending of the cold war and the arms race which are so hated by the peoples.
The rearming of Western Germany and its equipment with atomic weapons and missiles, fraught as these are with grave consequences for the cause of peace in Europe and the rest of the world, are under way. Open calls for the conduct of the long bankrupt "policy of strength" are still being made in a number of countries.
All this makes it imperative for those who earnestly want to spare the peoples the horrors of a new war not to relax their efforts for achieving agreement on disarmament. There is much the Parliaments and their members can do in this respect. Their duty and responsibility to the peoples is to do everything within their power towards ending the arms race and solving the disarmament problem.

The more resources go into the arms race, the more guns, tanks, missiles and other weapons are produced, the greater is the burden of taxation the peoples have to shoulder.
An end to the arms race would enable large additional resources to be channelled to housing construction, health and education, to increasing the working people's incomes and providing assistance to the economically under-developed countries. The implementation of the USSR state budget military appropriations. In 1960 these appropriations amount to 12.9 per cent of all USSR state budget expenditures against 19.9 per cent in 1955.

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JANUARY 24, 1960

world into the abyss of war catastrophe.
Modern weapons have an unlimited range and destructive power. The explosion of a single hydrogen bomb can wipe off the face of the earth the largest centres of world civilization. Just a few H-bombs will be enough to destroy whole nations. Meanwhile, more and more atomic and hydrogen bombs are being stockpiled.

So Much Could Be Done

In view of the continued arms race, large numbers of people are divorced from peaceful pursuits and kept under arms or engaged in the manufacture of means of destruction.
The cream of human society—millions of workers, engineers, scientists, talented and hardworking people, whose

SOVIET PARLIAMENT'S APPEAL

creative mind and energies could do so much for the benefit of the peoples, are wasting their energies on the creation of increasingly dreadful instruments of death.
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How It Goes In Trivandrum

* FROM PAGE 8
sions have died down. Though they are not prepared to accept all that we say, a member of the Trivandrum District Council Secretariat told me, we can move around freely in the area, we can go into their houses and talk to them. That is a big victory.

Another constituency in the District which the PSP had won last time, and in which the chances of the Communist Party have become brighter this time is Vilappil. It is talk even in PSP circles that the response has not been very encouraging to the PSP candidate's house-to-house vote canvassing campaign. The Communist Party which lost the seat by about 4,000 votes last time has a much better organisation and far bigger influence this time, and to make the PSP candidate more uncomfortable a candidate of the KSP, another party which is trying to take credit for the "liberation struggle" is also contesting the seat.

The One Who Resigned

The alliance leaders had tried to exploit the resignation of the former Communist legislator from the Varkala Reserved seat. I went to the constituency and the comrades laughed when I asked them whether this resignation from the Party would have any impact on the constituency since he had won the seat last time and there were tremendous feelings against him, more in the people than ever in the Party.
When he resigned two days after the Party's list was finalised people knew that he had gone out because he had not given a seat. His stock in the constituency is nil.

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What Do We Mean By A High Cultural Standard?

cultural levels, extra free time may be spent in different ways. Bourgeois moralists are already prepared to view such extra free time as a menacing danger of encouragement of idleness, giving rise not only to do-nothings and dromes but also to drunken debauch and hooliganism.

The shorter workday will allow of enhancing general cultural standards and of broadening fields for the masses' own creativity. We shall require a high cultural standard also to repattern fundamentally the regimen of labour and the entire cultural level of the working men in a way that is bound to take place under Communism.

What do you mean by a high cultural standard?

It is, of course, not only observance of the elementary norms of politeness, social decency and bon ton. All these rules tell us only what we shouldn't do. But the task of cultural advancement is precisely to teach each and everyone what he must do to scale all the summits of human culture sooner.

By a high cultural standard we mean not passive acceptance of its components, but an active effort to rise to each new rung in its development.

It manifests itself above all in respect for another's man's labour and the working people and in the keeping of one's own dignity as a human being. It is expressed in service to science and worship of the truth, in the tireless cult of

the good and the beautiful, and, hence, in creative self-expression in study, the learning of art and the acquisition of mastery.

The high cultural standard gives us an organic disgust for such survivals of the old way of life as swearing, drunken debauch and hooliganism. As we are not Utopian dreamers, we realize that all these ugly things will not vanish at once, even under Communism. But we already clearly see how to get rid of them.

Neither drunken carousals nor abusive insults, neither fist fights nor even killings will disappear of their own accord. There still remain human passions, whether envy, anger or jealousy, that will impel people, in a fit of temporary insanity, and without any concerted repulse from those around them, to take to crime.

Under Communism, however, any collective is bound to repulse criminal passions. People who have made up their minds to live and work the Communist way cannot remain indifferent to wrongs done to their friends and to their mortification, or to tolerate incorrigible wrong-doers in their midst. Each collective will have more than enough of means at its disposal to act upon such wrong-doers, even when the militia become unnecessary.

Today it is not only for drunkenness but also for other breaches of Communist ethics that the Communist work teams call any member of the collective to book, publicly

censure him, or expel him from their ranks.

The future communes will have, whenever necessary, comrades' courts, enjoying broad possibilities for bringing public influence to bear.

"To go over to Communism," N. S. Khrushchov said, "we need not only a powerful material and technical base, but also that all the citizens of the socialist society have a high standard of awareness." In the process of building Communism, "the entire spiritual life of society likewise changes. Man himself changes and his Communist world outlook is moulded."

One can easily imagine how the everyday life of the working man will change when, already on the first rung of Communism all the working people will have free meals, free education for their children, and many other things.

This day is not at all a long way off. "It is quite likely," N. S. Khrushchov said at the 21st CPSU Congress, "that we can get in the not too distant future to a point when the requirements of all the Soviet people as regards food, housing and clothing will be fully satisfied within necessary and rational limits. We don't need so much time in order, say, to provide school children with free meals and have all the children kept at nurseries, kindergartens and boarding schools at the expense of society." This alone will already completely change the

every-day life of the working person.

Household chores and day-to-day affairs will give way more and more to collective forms and communal services. Free meals, the bringing up of children outside the home, and the maintenance of all the working people in their old age, will not only provide the best guarantee against the dangers of neglect towards and destitution of the old or minor members of the working man's family, but will also free all working wives and mothers from the bondage of the kitchen and other household burdens. This will also refashion the future family in a new way.

Communes Under Communism

The new forms of the public servicing of the working people outside their places of work will call likewise for the new organization of the working person's everyday life both in town and countryside. This may be conceived, considering the public provisioning of meals and the planned supply of big working collectives, as a whole system of consumers' communes, which would be linked with one or another urban factory or rural collective-farm centre.

As a model for such primary consumers' communes of the future, we could take, most likely, any of the present-day Soviet sanatoria or holiday

homes, where our working people spend their leisure without burdens or cares.

The combination of such house-sanatoria as primary consumers' communes, together with all the children, public service and cultural institutions catering to the population as well as the factory with which these house-sanatoria are linked, will form already a far more complex but integral big producers'-consumers' commune.

Such a big commune will, as time goes by, make out of its main collective, welded together as it is by common daily work and common interests, a friendly working-class family.

There can be absolutely free creative work, only provided all other civil liberties are guaranteed.

There is no bourgeoisie in the socialist countries. In these countries the working people now fully enjoy all the political liberties. The only elements who could complain of any restrictions here are the rump of the defeated counter-revolution and foreign spies and wreckers who are themselves the arch-enemies of the working people's freedom. Until class contradictions and the state machinery, used by one or another class for coercive purposes, are done away with on a worldwide scale there are bound to be such restrictions.

When one means the requirements for the fullest freedom of self-expression in all spheres of human activity, one must say together with Lenin: "The fuller democracy grows, the nearer the day approaches when democracy will become unnecessary."

When we have Communist labour, we shall have plenty and more not only of material boons but also of the fruit of free spiritual creativity and mastery.

Thanks to the short workday, there will be at every factory collective and in each sanatorium-commune many splendid artists and connoisseurs of art.

Each factory will become a cultural centre. Many are already now becoming combined factories and institutions of high learning, with their own experimental facilities and laboratories.

Each factory will have a green belt around it. Each workshop will have murals showing the workingman's everyday life and scenes from nature. The daylight lamps above the automatic lines of machine-tools will stimulate the labour of the operatives. The muted rhythm of labour will be enlivened by music.

The pure airconditioned climate of the factories, even in the hot shops—the ozone-enriched atmosphere will feel like the air in a pinewoods after a thunderstorm—will mitigate the infernal heat of the furnaces, and, dispersing by its fresh coolness all smoke and grime, will fill every breast with inexhaustible energy. Naturally, in such surroundings all labour will become only more appealing and productive.

And as we imagine this coming Communist labour we are already prepared to exclaim in heartfelt greeting: Glory to Labour!

PALGHAT DISTRICT

Organisationally, Palghat has been one of the weak districts of the Communist Party, but the Congress is weaker still and the PSP has never existed as a force. In the last general elections the Communist Party had won 11 of the 15 seats, the Congress three and the Muslim League one. The Party's organisation today is stronger than before, its influence much wider. Hence the confidence that the Party will improve its position in this district.

The district has drawn extraordinary attention this time because E.M.S. Nambudiripad is contesting from one of its constituencies, Pattambi. None of the leaders of the Congress or of the PSP were prepared to contest here and a lawyer from Perintalmanna, almost unknown in the constituency, has been put up.

As I got into the train from Pattambi, the usual election discussion was on. One person, a Leaguer, said E.M.S. would lose his deposit. And you should have seen how the rest of the compartment almost fell upon him. It wouldn't have ended as a mere wordy quarrel hadn't one person said, let him have the satisfaction of saying it till the 1st, after that he won't be able to say it.

Another member of the dismissed Communist Ministry is contesting from this district—Dr. A. R. Menon from the Parli constituency. Last time the Communist Party won this seat with a 7,629-vote majority in a straight fight with the Congress. Three thousand workers are active here organised in block and village committees in all the 28 villages.

I could see the mood of the people in Parli itself. A teashop had four Red Flags and when I asked the owner why he had so many, he told me the story. He had hoisted one flag. A rice mill-owner nearby who thinks he owns the place sent word that if the Red Flag was not removed no one from the mill would go there for tea.

When the tea shop owner heard this he hoisted three more Red Flags and the workers of the rice mill were happy. They continue to go there for their tea. The rice mill-owner can go elsewhere for his tea, said the channalla.

A similar situation exists in the Ottappalam constituency which a Communist candidate had won last time in a straight fight with a powerful Congress candidate. People have already begun saying that where Sundera Iyer could not win, the PSP candidate was not going to defeat Kunhunnai Nair, who is the Communist candidate again.

That name cannot be separated from the political history of Ottappalam. None of the leading PSPers wanted the seat. M. P. Govinda Menon, the locally known PSP leader, has moved over to Mannarghat; another PSP leader M. Narayana Kurup, toyed with the idea of contesting from Ottappalam but finally decided it would be better for him if he went back to his old constituency of Balusseri.

Of the 21 villages in the constituency, the Communist Party had a majority in 13 last time itself and in the rest the Party has very much extended its influence.

Perintalmanna constituency is the scene of an intense election battle. When the Muslim League lost this seat to a Communist candidate last time, it had been a severe blow to the League's prestige. And this time it is putting its all in regaining it.

The League's difficulties are many. Only 40 per cent of the 59,000 and odd voters are Muslims and even among them the Communist Party has quite some influence. In 13 out of 25 villages, the Communist Party was the first party even last time.

The League's second difficulty is its candidate. The report is that when the League paper, Chandrika, announced his name, one Leaguer rushed to the house of a friend to find out who this candidate was, only to be met with the answer that the friend was thinking of making exactly similar enquiries!

As against this E. P. Gopalan, the Communist candidate had begun his political work in this self-same Perintalmanna in 1931 with the picketing of a toddy shop. Later he was the Secretary of the Walluvanad Taluk Congress Committee and still later of the Walluvanad Taluk Committee of the Communist Party.

He is known not only in the constituency but all over the district for his interest in welfare and developmental activities. In Perintalmanna itself you can see the results of these activities. Seven villages here have been provided with electricity, the people of the town who have had to buy their water in the height of summer, have tube wells now, the hospital here has been expanded and a high school established in Adakkapuram.

The people of Karalmanna village told me with great emotion of the day when Malabar Special Policemen went there with pickaxes and shovels to work on the Karalmanna Lift Irrigation Scheme and of the day when V. R. Krishna Iyer went there to inaugurate the scheme. There was no proper road, the Minister had to traverse a track which ditches and mud and mounds.

The Muslim League held its State election rally in Perintalmanna and brought people from all over the State, I was told, in fifty lorries and many cars and jeeps.

E. P. Gopalan referring to this at an area meeting said, "Ours is a much smaller audience. But we have one advantage over the League. You all belong to this place and are voters here", and the people roared with laughter. Twelve hundred workers are active in the Communist Party's election campaign organised in village and block committees. Even in places where no committees have been formed, an election committee member told me, grey-bearded Muslim elders were on their own taking the Red Flag and going round appealing for votes for the Communist candidate.

In the double-member Ponnani constituency, both the reserved candidates had won last time, though in the general seat, the Communist candidate had polled more votes than the Congress and League candidates.

The Communist candidate in the general seat this time is K. Unnikrishna Warrior, a young journalist, who is known to this

constituency. He had won the Trittala seat (which forms part of this constituency) in the Malabar district board elections in 1954. Trittala was till then a PSP stronghold and in the 1952 general elections PSP leader K. B. Menon had defeated Communist leader K. Damodaran here.

Of the one lakh thirty thousand and odd voters, forty thousand are Muslims. The Communist Party had got most votes in the Trittala area of the constituency last time, but even in the Muslim areas, the Party has this time hundreds of workers.

In the reserved seat, the Communist Party and the Congress have the same candidates who won last time. One wonders what honest Congressmen feel when they see the same post displaying the League's ladder along with the two bulls of the Congress asking for votes for the League in the general seat and for the Congress in the reserved seat.

I said earlier that the Ottappalam PSP leader has shifted from his home constituency to the Mannarghat constituency. But he is not likely to find this new constituency—which was

won by the Communist Party last time—any healthier.

The PSP was so doubtful of its victory that it has induced a tribal from the Attappadi area to stand as an independent in an attempt to split the Communist Party's tribal vote.

But all these tactics have not made any impression on the voters. The Communist Party's campaign leaders are confident the Party will retain the seat with a bigger majority.

At the eastern boundary of the district is the double-member Chittur constituency where the Communist Party won the general seat last time, while the reserved seat went to the Congress. This time the Party will win both the seats, said a leading comrade of the area.

Four zonal committees are functioning in this area. In the earlier stage of the campaign, there were ward committees, but as the election date approaches, these ward committees are being converted into both committees and the village committees into station committees.

A SURVEY by RAMDASS

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In Kollengode area where the Party was very strong last time it is stronger today; in Chittur though it remains weak it is in a better position today.

In places like Kozhinpanpara where the PSP still yields a lot of influence, the Communist Party has made quite some headway. In Nelliampathi, for instance, where the entire vote went to the PSP last time, the Party expects to poll about a thousand of the 3,600 votes this time.

The Alathur constituency had been won by the Communist

Party last time with 55.17 per cent of the votes. In 16 out of the 19 villages, the Party had already a majority of the votes.

Agricultural workers and peasants are predominant among the 63,047 voters and the Land Reforms Bill and Debt Relief Bill have made them strong supporters of the Party.

Four thousand workers are active in the block committees. The candidate has himself gone on a house-to-house campaign and he had completed this in 18 villages when I met him.

For the first time, the Party is finding support among well-to-do sections of the people. In no election before had the Party received contributions of fifty and hundred rupees, said the treasurer of the election committee.

The Congress election rally was attended by only 6,000 people. But that did not make the Party complacent. They wanted to find out from where the Congress could mobilise even these.

On inquiry it was found that a few people in each village had been paid money to participate in the demonstration, that they had gone, but when they came back they were shouting Communist Party slogans.

The Congress in an effort to penetrate the strong Harijan base of the Party has brought paid workers from outside to campaign among them. But when such a worker went to Parathara for a meeting only nine of the 300 voters there attended the meeting. A Congress leader in one area, himself a Harijan, told our comrades, "My blessings are with you. I will

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No End Of Landlord-Tenant Relations Without Ceilings

*FROM PAGE 14

tives," etc., and take the lead even in the promotion of such a "progressive" idea as cooperative joint-farming!

From the above account it is evident that the ceiling legislations as they stand today are far from satisfactory and their outcome will most likely be disappointing. It appears that the vested inter-

ests have successfully stolen the march over the Government aided by the latter itself. By partitions of their landholdings among near and remote family members, by organising "well-managed" farms and "cooperatives," etc., they have been able to forestall ceilings.

Their aim now is to ensure that the land reform laws do not go much beyond legalising the arrangements which have already been established and effected by them. The Nagpur Resolution is thus to be scuttled both in spirit and letter.

The imposition of ceilings on existing land holdings is a crucial step both from the point of view of efficient farming and a democratic reorganisation of our village society.

A ceiling law genuinely formulated and effectively implemented can be expected to bring about a redistribution of land and a change-over from concentration of land resources and ownership among large landed proprietors divorced from self-tilling, to masses of genuine tillers of land who are at the moment deprived of resources as well as incentives for better farming.

It is by now an established fact that without an effective limitation of the area of land which a rural household is allowed to hold and operate an elimination of the landlord-

tenant relationship is well-nigh impossible.

It is no wonder, therefore, that according to various economic surveys recently undertaken by all official and non-official groups the performance of big holders in respect of better farming, as reflected in per acre yield and agricultural improvements, is by and by large disappointing.

"Progressive" Farming Lowering Yield

It compares very unfavourably with that of working peasants of modest size-groups. The prospects of better farming and of a big boost in agricultural production under the auspices of big landlords is only a myth publicised by the Right-wing propaganda machine.

Either we have a system of peasant proprietorship under which ownership rights and resources are vested in the genuine tiller of land or of thoroughly inefficient and exploitative landlord farming, which preserves and perpetuates the worst features of landlord exploitation and the resultant disincentives and hurdles to intensive, better farming.

While the Congress has been formally pledged to the former course of development, its half-hearted measures and policies have so far only allowed the latter course of development to

proceed unchecked and unimpeded.

The ceiling question too is getting soft-pedalled and side-tracked in the same process, with all its serious implications and consequences for agricultural production and reorganisation of the agrarian structure.

Since the Nagpur Session of the Congress developments have been rapid. The manipulations and offensive of the large landed interests, buttressed by the propaganda and campaign of their newly formed Swatantra Party and the pressure of the extreme Rightwing of the Congress, has thrown the genuine supporters of agrarian reforms within the Congress on to the defensive and almost into passivity.

The strength of the vested interests at the level of the Central and State legislatures and still more within the Government has proved effective enough to frustrate the possibility of an effective land ceiling in conformity with the spirit of the Nagpur proposals and the past declarations of the Congress.

The final shape and outcome of the ceiling legislation will however, depend on the strength and promptness with which the democratic forces, at the head of the peasant masses below and at the legislative level above, act and intervene in the next few months to reverse the process.

And as we imagine this coming Communist labour we are already prepared to exclaim in heartfelt greeting: Glory to Labour!

POLICE TAKE OVER ANOTHER UNIVERSITY

★ by RAMESH SINHA

As was feared, the University of Lucknow too has been handed over to the State's Armed Police Constabulary, which was already in occupation of the Banaras and Allahabad universities. The entrances to the University have been closed; nobody can enter the campus without a police permit. The hostellers have been thrown out and asked to quit Lucknow. Section 144 has been clamped on the city and perhaps before these lines are in print curfew too would be imposed on the worried people.

Nearly fifty students are already in jail and arrests are continuing. Lathi charges have taken place a dozen times and the outskirts of the university have once again become the unfortunate scene of pitched battles between the students and the town's people, who are supporting them, and the police.

Police vies with the boys in indulging in brick-battling. It has once again lost control of itself and is beating up all whom it happens to sight. The situation is extremely tense.

Apart from anger, the question on everybody's lips today is: Was all this necessary? Even the decision to close the University on December 10 was regarded as unfortunate by almost all people.

Writing about the ill-advised decision on January 14, the National Herald had commented: "It is not known who were the men who decided on closure when passions were dying down, but though there has not been the slightest evidence of university autonomy, the vice-chancellor must own the responsibility for the closure...."

Situation Had Improved

Making a strong plea for reopening the institution the same editorial said: "If he decided to close it, even in consultation with members of the Government, the responsibility for reopening is his.... All the con-

ditions for the opening of a propitious period for the university are available...."

What were those conditions? After the initial spurt of agitated demonstrations, the students had agreed to suspend their agitation. In a rather dignified appeal to the authorities they had disregarded the provocative statement of the university's registrar, which, according to National Herald, was "an example of distortion of facts and of peevish, propagandist badinage", and said, "We are not against everybody. We are not for chaos. We are for settlement. We are for opening the university and peaceful resumption of studies.... Hence, we would once again request the authorities to give up considerations of prestige, accept our demand, open the university and restore normalcy."

"We assure them that we shall cooperate with them in achievement of these commonly desired objectives with the same sincerity with which we have been forced to oppose them at this time."

A guardians' committee had come into existence under the chairmanship of an ex-Congress M.P., barrister Choudhury Hyder Husain. This committee had taken up the cause of the inquiry into its hands. At its suggestion the student leaders had stopped all meetings, de-

monstrations, etc. The committee had met the Vice-Chancellor and the Chancellor-Governor. Everybody was trying for peace, reopening of the university and ending of the unhappy dispute.

The only thing everybody wanted was an impartial inquiry. The National Herald had written: "It is sufficiently clear that the university cannot regain whatever reputation it had without an inquiry.... The demand for an inquiry is now general and will not be given up."

"There is rightly or wrongly, a sense of insecurity among parents and guardians, even if too much importance is not attached to the moral aspect...."

The case for an all-round inquiry had become irresistible. The National Herald had also made it clear what sort of inquiry was required. It said: "The only worthwhile inquiry would be by the chairman of the Universities Grants Commission and its other members, or by a commission of distinguished persons unconnected with the university presided over by a High Court judge."

But it would appear that it is this sort of a probe into the affairs of the university, that the authorities did not want for reasons of their own. For those who know anything about this university, its administration, its power-politics, its teacher-

politicians, its anonymous publicists, etc., it is not difficult to guess why. There are too many skeletons in their cupboard.

And the conclusion is inescapable that it is to avoid an inquiry and subsequent exposure that the powerful clique in the university with the obliging assistance of its supporters in the Ministerial group, has plunged the institution and the city into the present situation pregnant with dangerous possibilities. An orgy of violence has been let loose, not only on the students, but also on the people of Lucknow who are rightly defending their sons and daughters. As in other spheres, so also in the sphere of education the Government and its proteges want to establish the rule of the police.

It is most unfortunate the people have already begun to resist. On Monday, January 18, all the colleges and educational institutions in the city observed strike in sympathy with the university students. There was a hartal in the city on the issue of a municipal tax, the repression on the students gave a strong edge to it. Running fights are taking place in many parts of the city.

Unless there is intervention by the authorities at the Centre to restrain the State authorities and their men in the university, the trouble is likely to spread to other parts of the State, as had happened on the last occasion.

Interview With Father Mendonza

★ FROM PAGE 3

sues—social, political, religious—and the Spanish Jesuit's forced him to resign from the Jesuit Order in July 1958. Since then, Father Mendonza was only secular priest and was immediately appointed Head of the Philosophy Department of non-Christian Rani Parvati Devi College at Belgaum.

At the time of leaving the Society of Jesus in July 1958, Father Mendonza had stated that the Spanish Jesuits had forced him to resign "because I loved my country and all her greatness; because I want Goa, the place where I was born and still under foreign occupation to be liberated and integrated into the fold of Mother India."

"Because I respect the freedom of conscience, the freedom to think and the freedom to believe of my students, the majority of whom are non-Christians; because in my lectures I refuse to impose upon the non-Christians the dogmas of the Catholic Church."

Father Mendonza told me that soon after his resignation from the Jesuit Order in July 1958, Mons. Michael Rodriguez, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Belgaum, with an exceptional courage and spirit of independence, rarely found in an Indian Bishop, invited him to join his Diocese, which he willingly accepted. Then he added, "I never knew that I was marching into another trap."

Why He Left

Question: "Father Mendonza, will you tell me in short, what exactly made you resign from the Roman Catholic Church, after serving that institution for the last 25 years? And did you

not know what the Society of Jesus was, before joining it?" Answer: "Well," he smiled and said, "Nobody knows what exactly is the cinema-show before seeing it or after purchasing the ticket. You have to see it. If you are not satisfied, you wait for a while, hope that it will improve, but once you are thoroughly disappointed, you leave the picture-house."

"I waited and waited, hoping that the Society of Jesus and the Catholic Church will improve but without any success. In fact, my experience is just the reverse. In the Roman Catholic Church, there is no individual freedom of conscience and private judgment. The Church thinks for you and forces upon you its dogmas. Such is not the case with other Christian sects."

"In my own case, the Spanish Jesuits, the Papal Intermunio in Delhi and the Bishop of Belgaum have played a typical piece of Roman trickery against me."

When I asked His Holiness the Pope through the Belgaum Bishop, the inducement of religious vows as I do not wish to stay in the Society of Jesus, on condition that all my rights of a professed member of the Society of Jesus are safeguarded according to Can. 654, they forged my petition to the Pope and granted me, Exclaustration for three years, i.e., I am to remain for three years a Jesuit out of the Jesuit houses."

Question: "Have you to say anything in particular on the activities—social, educational, etc., of the members of the Society of Jesus?"

Answer: "The members of the Society of Jesus (SJ) or Jesuits as they are called, are the most dangerous agents of foreign imperialism. The Society of Jesus is more of a political organisation than a

religious one. Social work by any individual or institution should be disinterested one. The social work done by the Jesuits and other foreign missionaries in India aims for a particular end for which they have come here."

"They have come here to destroy. There are many things in India which should be changed. But there are many other things which should not be touched. The foreign missionaries do not make this distinction. They destroy everything and inculcate their own ideas."

"They make our children and people suffer from an inferiority complex. Education makes a man free and they do not allow that. The foreign missionary, besides, in general is anti-Indian."

"The Jesuit organisation was always suspected of political intrigue and harmful. Even Pope Clement XIV was forced to ban it in 1773. But soon this unfortunate Pope was poisoned. His successor, Pope Pius VII, dreading a similar fate was forced to revoke the decree of Clement XIV."

Education Should Be Taken Over

Question: "Are you of the opinion that education in India should not be left in the hands of private individuals or institutions? And in that context, can you give me your opinion on Kerala Education Act, which has been opposed by the Catholic Church?"

Answer: "Education of our children certainly should not be left in the hands of private individuals and institutions. It is the state which must have complete control over the education because it helps our unification and formation of the mind. The individuals and private institutions work for their own ends

while the state works for the good of the entire country.

"I support the Kerala Education Act because its provisions are progressive and it aims at controlling and unifying the educational system, at the same time rooting out certain corrupt practices."

"Such Acts were enforced by all European countries long ago. In France, U.K., and even in the United States, the state controls education. I shall very much welcome it if all the other States in India adopt legislation to control the educational system."

"Besides, our Jesuits and other foreign missionaries through the educational and other social institutions are forcing their ideas and religion on non-Christian Indians. Every man has a right to practise and propagate his ideas or religion in our secular India. But the missionaries use certain means, which are not honest and rational. They even resort to inducement and seduction."

Question: "Do you think that the Roman Catholic Church must own private property, especially land, for its existence?"

Answer: "Certainly not. The Catholic Church as any other institution should have no interest in private property, and above all in land. As air belongs to the person who breathes, so should land belong to the person who tills. I fully support the policy of Government of India on the land reforms."

In winding up this interview, Father Mendonza fully agreed with the view of Mahatma Gandhi who had said: "Today I rebel against the Orthodox Christianity (Roman Catholicism) as I am convinced that it has distorted the message of Jesus."

GERALD PEREIRA

WITHDRAWAL DEMANDED

CRITICISING the posting of the PAC in the university campus Kali Shankar Shukla, Secretary of the U.P. State Council of the Communist Party, says in a statement:

"The existing conditions in Banaras university after the PAC occupied it last year, the entry of the PAC in the Allahabad University and now the similar fate of the Lucknow University seriously poses the question: Will the educational institutions in this State be run under the protection and control of the Armed Constabulary?"

"I hope the teachers in the universities in particular and other institutions in general will ponder over this question and guarantee that the moral, intellectual and ideological influence of the teacher is not replaced by the influence of the police force."

"The action of the university authorities has definitely not helped those who were trying to restore normal conditions, it has made their task difficult. Let the university authorities realise that the PAC may have the power to suppress the students but suppression is not the same thing as normalcy."

"We would appeal to the students not to be provoked by this unfortunate development and maintain peace, relying on the strength of the public opinion. The Education Minister had to concede the demand for the appointment of a high-powered commission and the demand for inquiry is irresistible. Let democratic opinion assert itself to secure the withdrawal of the PAC from the university campus."

WEST BENGAL

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

OPPOSITION GROWS TO BLACK BILL

The hypocritical plea the Government of West Bengal has advanced for introducing the draconian measure—Control of Assemblies and Processions Bill, 1960—is that processions and meetings cause "inconvenience to the public!"

THE very public, about whose convenience the Government is so solicitous have however made it clear in no uncertain terms that they will not put up with this sinister move.

The Left parties have, in a joint statement, called upon the people of West Bengal to observe January 24 as "All-Bengal Protest Day." A mass signature campaign demanding withdrawal of the "anti-people and anti-democratic Bill" will be launched on that day.

The purpose of these preliminary steps is to coordinate the protest actions of different sections of people and to build up a centralised, united movement of the entire people to prevent the enactment of the measure.

The joint statement, issued under the signatures of Jyoti Basu, M.L.A., Amar Basu, M.L.A. (Marxist F.B.) and the leaders of the Socialist Unity Centre, Revolutionary Communist Party, Bolshevik Party, Democratic Vanguard, Revolutionary Workers' Party and Sadharantari Dal, says that the Bill is a grave attack on the fundamental right of the people to hold meetings and processions. Its sole purpose is to safeguard the interests of the hoardings, profiteers and other vested interests.

The statement further points out that taking advantage of the situation arising out of the border dispute between India and China, the Government has brought forward this measure in order to impose new burdens on the people and, at the same time, to stifle their movements against the worsening conditions of life.

It warns the Government that it would be committing a serious blunder if it were to think that the democratic movement of West Bengal, which has behind it a long and glorious tradition of struggle, can be muzzled in this manner.

The RSP has chosen to keep out of the united front of Left parties; but it has opposed the Bill and has decided to observe January 28 as a protest day.

As regards the PSP in this State, its record in the past one and a half years is one of rank treachery towards the democratic movement. It is now trying to put up a show of opposition to the Bill, just because protests

from all sections of the public are mounting. But nobody here will be taken in by its Leftist pretences. Moreover, at the moment, the PSP leaders are much more interested in whipping up hysteria over the border issue and in pushing India into the imperialist war bloc than defending the fundamental rights of the people.

Despite the separatist move of the RSP and the manoeuvres of the PSP, the protest movement is growing at a fast pace. The basis for a united State-wide movement has also been laid.

During the past week, the Jaya Engineering Workers Union, East India Pharmaceutical Workers Union, National Carbon Workers Union and

Employees Move Into Action

IT is now abundantly clear that the Central Government employees in West Bengal will not swallow the adverse recommendations of the Pay Commission and the Government's order extending office-hours on three consecutive Saturdays in the month.

In response to the call of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF) to observe January 15 as a protest day throughout the country, over 30,000 employees held a meeting at Subodh Mullaik Square, Calcutta. It was convened under the joint auspices of the S.E. Railwaymen's Union and the Eastern Railwaymen's Union. The West Bengal Coordination Committee of the Unions and Associations of other categories of Central Government employees also participated in it.

For more than an hour before the meeting started, a continuous stream of demonstrations from different Central Government offices in the city poured into the park. Reiterating the demand made by the AIRF for the appointment of a permanent Wage Board to determine, among other things, the pay scales and service conditions of railway employees, the resolution said that unless their just demands were conceded through negotiations by March 31, railwaymen

would be compelled to withdraw their cooperation. The staff of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works observed ten minutes' silence as a mark of protest.

Next day, a Saturday, the employees of almost all Central Government offices in Calcutta went on a token stay-in-strike for half an hour in response to the call of their Coordination Committee. Nearly 300 employees working at various administrative offices at Dum Dum airport also observed a pen-down strike.

Earlier, a Demands Week had been observed from January 11 to 16. Over 30,000 employees wore badges which listed the following demands:—

- Implementation of the concessions given by the Pay Commission with retrospective effect from July 1957.
- Fixation of minimum wages on the basis of the recommendations of the Fifteenth Labour Conference.
- Linking of D.A. with the cost of living index.
- No fixation of ceiling on the pay scales of employees.
- No compulsory deductions for the Provident Fund.
- No increase in working hours.
- No curtailment of existing leave and other facilities.

about 25 other trade unions, the Midnapore District Students' Federation, Democratic Student's Organisation, Students' Bloc, West Bengal Agricultural Labourers' Association, West Bengal Mahila Samity and many more democratic and cultural organisations raised their voices of protest. The unions of the employees of the Hindustan Standard, Ananda Bazar Patrika and Desh have also condemned the Bill.

The powerful Federation of Mercantile Employees' Unions and the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association demanded immediate withdrawal of the Bill. The Executive Committee of the Federation called upon the unions affiliated to it to adopt resolutions opposing the proposed legislation.

The Working Committee of the BPTUC at its meeting on January 12, directed its constituent units to build up a power-

ful movement against the Bill and to enlist the cooperation of the trade unions in the locality in this task. Apart from adopting resolutions at the extended meetings of their Executive Committees, the unions were asked to organise signature campaigns among the masses of workers in their respective areas.

The Working Committee further requested the unions to send the protest resolutions, letters and mass petitions to the Home Department of the West Bengal Government by January 31.

Big unions like the Burnpore United Iron and Steel Workers' Union, Raniganj Refractory and Ceramic Workers Union, Darjeeling District Chia Kaman Mazdoor (Tea-workers) Union and the Calcutta Corporation Workers Union have called upon the entire working class to resist the black Bill.

Judging from the trend of

events, it can be said that the protest movement against the Bill is now passing over to a new phase. It is no longer confined to resolutions and statements. Mass demonstrations and rallies have started.

In the past few days, about ten protest meetings were held in the districts.

The most powerful protest against the black Bill however, came from the 30,000-strong rally of Central Government Employees in Calcutta on January 15. A big meeting of railwaymen held at Kharagpur on January 13 to protest against the recommendations of the Pay Commission, adopted a resolution demanding that the proposed legislation be dropped.

A meeting of the representatives of different trade unions in Howrah is to be held on February 1 to consider the proposal of a central protest rally at the Howrah Maidan on February 5.

Grant of house rent or compensatory allowance in areas where the cost of living is high.

Starting negotiations with the Unions and Associations of the employees.

A big meeting of railway employees was held on January 13, at Kharagpur under the joint auspices of the Open Line and the Workshop Branches of the S.E. Railwaymen's Union. Of the 22,000 employees working in these two sections, 14,000 wore Demand Badges. A demonstration, the first since 1956, was also taken out. The meeting passed a resolution urging upon the Government to start negotiations with the AIRF.

A meeting of 3,000 employees of the Ordnance factory at Ichapore on January 14 demanded modification of the Pay Commission's recommendations with a view to improve the pay

scales and service conditions of the employees. S. M. Banerjee, M.P., Vice-President of the All-India Defence Employees' Federation, spoke at the meeting.

Addressing a Press Conference in Calcutta on the same day, Subiman Ghose, M.P., President of the All-India Station Masters' and Assistant Station Masters' Association, Eastern Zone, stated that these categories of employees were putting their signatures on letters signifying their conditional resignation in protest against the adverse recommendations of the Pay Commission.

He further said that out of 3,000 Station and Assistant Station Masters employed on the Eastern Railway, more than 80 per cent had already signed the letters. When all the signatures are collected the letters would be sent to the Railway Minister.

FOR INDIA-CHINA SETTLEMENT

ALTHOUGH the black Bill now occupies the centre of public attention, the mass campaign for an early meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and China for a peaceful settlement of the border dispute is continuing.

Jyoti Basu addressed a meeting of over 8,000 peasants and other sections of rural people at Domjur (Howrah district) on January 10. Local Congress workers tried to disturb the meeting. Brick-bats were thrown and gramophone records were played through loudspeakers put up in an adjoining field. All this happened under the very nose of the police, but they took no action. Shortly after these incidents two leaders of the District Congress Committee were found there. The meeting, however, continued till the end.

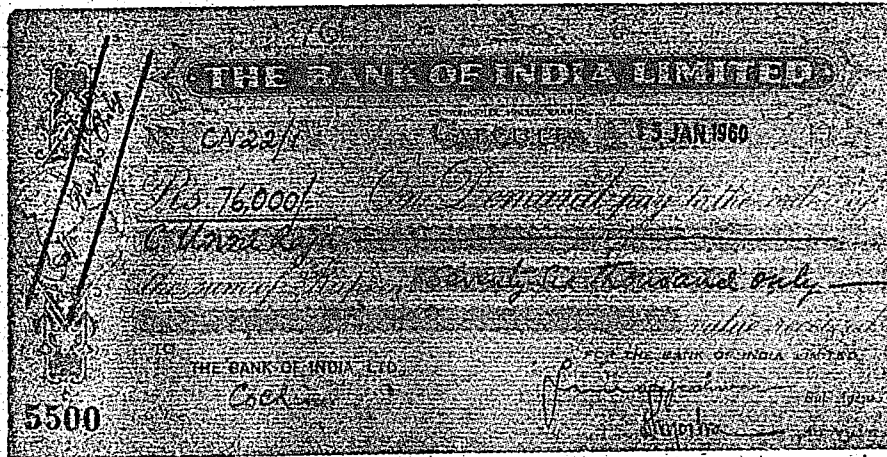
Over 4,000 people attended a rally at Bethradhari (Nadia dist.) despite the advice of the local Congress leaders to "ostracise" the Communists. Mohammed Ismail and Mansoor Habib addressed the gathering. As many as seven demonstrations came from villages lying

at a distance of eight to ten miles from the meeting-place.

On January 11, a 15,000-strong meeting of the people of Malda town and peasants from the surrounding villages adopted a similar resolution. Earlier, 10,000 peasants had gone on a mass deputation to the District Magistrate demanding distribution of surplus land among the land-hungry peasantry.

On January 13, a meeting of 2,000 peasants was held at Rajbari in the 24-Parganas District. It demanded immediate withdrawal of the Black Bill and an early meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and China.

Somnath Lahiri, M.L.A., Communist leader, addressed a meeting of businessmen at Rajakatra in Burdabazar, the commercial hub of Calcutta. Analysing the resolution of the Executive Committee of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee and the speeches of State Congress leaders in the recent past he showed how they had started changing their tone to some extent. This, he said, might be due to the fact that they had been pulled up by Delhi.



Cheque given at Calcutta rally for Kerala Election Fund on January 8.

BANGALORE

THE VANISHING GLORY

From Our Special Correspondent

Writing just at the end of the 65th session of the Congress gives little time to make a complete assessment. Yet dominant impressions do stand out — especially about this session. And these impressions, common to all I have talked with, will bring no cheer to Congressmen, to say nothing of the nation.

A PART from Krishna Menon's contribution to the discussion on world affairs and, of course, Nehru's repeated interventions, the whole affair at Sadashivnagar came perilously close to rather empty talk to comparatively empty benches.

Yet the expenditure was lavish. The Rs. 25 lakhs spent in setting up the township, characteristically of Tata's corrugated sheets, provoked adverse comment and some 80 delegates themselves protested. Sanjeeva Reddy riding to the session on a peacock throne, the Maharajah's bodyguard, the neon signs and the droves of policemen — where in all this was socialism and the Congress of the days of the freedom struggle?

The people just stayed

away. The Subjects Committee opening attracted 1,000 where the pandal could accommodate 20,000. And the open session was attended by 10,000 in the huge pandal meant for three lakhs. This fact alone should make the Congress leaders and Congressmen sit up and ask why the glory is vanishing.

But the debates did not seem to indicate that much was going on. In world affairs India's policy of non-alignment was reiterated and Nehru was roused to a point of passion where he hit out at the idea of "cooperative defence" and the suggestion for foreign military help.

Indira Gandhi called for solidarity with the African peoples and emphasised the need for

campaigning for Algerian freedom. This was no doubt a most positive achievement. But there was also a snag here. She went on to call for closer liaison since many African States do not seem to understand our policy on Tibet.

Voices were raised in the session against the dilatory methods of the Government vis-à-vis Goa.

Some extremely unfriendly and unwise words were hurled at China by the same quarters who talked of military alliances, and "cooperative defence". For the first time an official Congress resolution characterised the Chinese actions on our borders as "aggression". There was no positive indication of any immediate meeting of our Prime Minister and Chou En-lai, but Nehru did speak out strongly against the creation of any kind of war psychosis.

Both Nehru and Krishna Menon had very warm words of praise for Khrushchov's efforts for peace and his proposals for disarmament, coupled with

similar references to Eisenhower. It was the dominant impression that there would be no basic change of India's chosen policy of non-alignment, despite noisy clamour.

Another common reaction I found was the response to the marked contrast between Sanjeeva Reddy's persuasive approach to the Swatantra Party and his outburst against the Communists. Nor was his the only broadside. The West Bengal delegation, Sampurnanand and Indra Gandhi also joined in for good measure. The latter called ominously for "strong action".

Nehru sharply attacked the Swatantra Party and also declared that the Communist Party "in a moment of national danger wobbles and wobbles the wrong way. We have to deal with that situation and no doubt we shall deal with it." At the same time, he rebuffed S. N. Mishra who pleaded for closer alliance with "like-minded parties", pointing to the total lack of agreement over foreign policy conveniently shutting out for the moment from his mind the Congress alliance with PSP in Kerala. Nothing clear seemed to emerge from all these spirited interventions.

The resolution on Plan Implementation — Nehru termed it Call to Action — evoked little enthusiasm. Babubhai Chinai, however, welcomed it as "realistic" and was gratified at the absence of any reference to the public sector and the targets of the Third Plan.

Platitudes about the need for land reforms, cooperative societies, self-generating economy, overhaul of administrative machinery, etc. were duly poured forth.

But there was no mention of State-trading in foodgrains, though K. D. Malaviya spiritedly appealed for it. There was no check-up about the implementation of the Nagpur Resolution on ceilings. The question of strengthening the public sector was not touched upon at all. There was no provision to meet the growing calamity of unemployment.

Various delegates—K. D. Malaviya, Raju, Ram Subhag Singh, B. R. Bhagat, Subedar Prabhu Singh, etc., — tried to raise these issues but to no avail. There seemed to be a general desire to evade issues and let things go on drifting.

Another serious debit item of the discussions and resolutions was the almost complete shelving of the question of corruption despite Nehru's gesture about the publication of income-tax returns. Corruption in Government and the Congress Party will not vanish before such gestures and the public in general cannot but be deeply disappointed and alarmed.

Bangalore will be no landmark. It is far more a milestone on the road to decline. Sanjeeva Reddy's mediocrity symbolised the proceedings and all Nehru's exhortations failed to rouse the delegates, who can scarcely be expected to rouse the masses.

It is only natural that increasing numbers are asking the question—right here amid the rapidly emptying Sadashivnagar—can such a dispirited party undertake the task of national reconstruction? Can such a divided house give inspiration to the people? The very fact that these are rhetorical queries, providing their own answers, is the best comment on the 65th session of the Congress.

Cheap Electioneering

(By Wire From Ramdass)

SPEAKING in Ernakulam on January 18 Prime Minister Nehru is reported by the *Indian Express* as having "referred to a recent incident in Alleppey in which, he said, an ardent young Congress worker was found dead and added 'I don't wish to say who did it or who did not do it, but certainly this kind of thing shows how violence grows in the atmosphere and somehow or other this violence often accompanies Communist propaganda.'"

Though he said he did not wish to say who did it, or not, the impression created by these words is that the Communists are responsible.

The first thing a responsible person like the Prime Minister of India should have remembered is that nothing is known to show that the incident was a murder except reports in the Congress press.

What is known is that "a young ardent Congress worker"—a student, had squandered money and had not hesitated in dipping his hands in his father's purse. After taking the money which the father had saved by selling the bullock, the student kept away from home for a few days. The day before suicide, the father confronted him and abused him.

What is known is that the body was found hanging early in the morning and till 10 o'clock the parents told the neighbours the boy had committed suicide for the above reasons, that he had done it with a rope from the cattle-shed.

What is known is when the news reached the Congress candidate and her workers, they told the relatives of the boy that the Communists had killed him. They managed to get the body from the grief-stricken parents, and took it out in a jeep draped in black.

The Chenganoor incident is not the only one of its kind. Near Tellicherry a woman's body was found in a pond. The pro-Congress press published news with a slant that the husband is a Communist, that he had murdered and thrown the body in a pond. They have also found the reason: She refused to participate in a jatha.

The first fact is that the husband is not a Communist worker. His statement is that he had quarrelled with his wife about bath water and beat her. He had taken his bath and gone out. A neighbour is reported to have told the police that they saw the woman going out half an hour after the husband left.

Those in the house, including children, made similar statements. Still for the Congress press it was murder committed by a Communist. More unfortunate is that Nehru did not refer to certain other incidents like the murder of Headmaster Raghavan Pillai in Trivandrum in Patom Thanu Pillai's constituency and the man arrested for the alleged responsibility in this murder is known to be a PSP worker.

It could not be that Nehru did not see this report, published in all newspapers. He must have seen it but deliberately he kept silent on it in an effort to make out that the Communists are violent.

PALGHAT

do nothing to harm you." That is the net result of the special work the Congress has initiated among the Harijans.

The Communist Party is supporting an independent in the Kuzhatmannam constituency, who had won it last time also. Seventy-five per cent of the voters are agricultural workers and peasants. Two thousand workers are active in the block committees in the three zones of the constituency.

The candidate who was defeated last time was a top district leader of the Congress. This time to make the seat safer for the Congress, a Harijan has been persuaded to file his nomination as an independent to see whether he could cut into the Harijan votes.

In Elappulli constituency which the Communist Party won last time in a straight fight and will retain this time, Communist election workers began with a study of the Party's election manifesto and then launched a political campaign. Every house was visited and the people invited to conventions to form

election committees.

A study of the voters' list and the experience of the campaign so far have shown that the Party remains strong in the Elappulli and Kinasseri areas with 26,000 and 10,000 voters respectively and in the Koduvayoor area (18,000 voters) while in the Panchayat the Congress will, more votes, the majority will be made up from the rural areas in Koduvayoor itself.

When the Congress held its campaign inauguration rally, for the first time here the practice of bringing people from outside was resorted to. If there was any effect, it was counteracted by the Communist Party with an intense village to village campaign.

The Communist Party had lost the Palghat town seat last time by a margin of 625 votes and a PSP candidate had polled 6,058 votes.

But a changed situation exists in the constituency today. Both the Congress and PSP candidate had polled large numbers of Brahmin and Muslim votes. The Party has made quite some

From P. 17

headway into both these sections.

There are 26,000 voters in the rural areas attached to the town. Last time the maximum votes from these strongholds of the Party had not been polled. But this time that mistake will not be repeated. Along with the changes in the town itself, this has raised quite some possibilities of the Communist Party winning this seat.

The Party had lost Mankada last time and it was won by a Muslim League candidate. Sixty-three per cent of the 59,000 odd voters here are Muslims, only three of the 24 villages have Hindu majorities.

The 28 months of Communist rule have made their impact on this constituency also. Where there was no high school, there are three now, two new dispensaries, three child welfare centres, the Kattuppara lift irrigation scheme and four villages are receiving the benefits of electrification.

The Communist Party is supporting an independent candidate, K. P. Thangal, who was once an outstanding leader of the Muslim League in this area and a friend of the down-trodden.

Thangal told me that one of the League slogans was, "K. P. Thangade Pothrachi Mankada Kalathil Vepoola (K. P. Thangal's beef won't boil in the Mankada pot)." "The beef may not boil," said Thangal, "but the pot will be smashed by the time I finish with them."

Andathode is another constituency in the district which has a majority of Muslim voters. A Communist candidate had won the seat last time in a triangular contest.

Of over 30,000 votes, the League had then polled only 8,000 and odd and when the seat was allotted to them this time, there was an uproar among Congressmen, particularly the nationalist Muslims.

Giving details of the Party's campaign so far, a Party leader of the area—a Muslim who said that a majority of the Party members here were Muslims—told me that there were possibilities of retaining the seat.

Kerala Election Fund

There has been very enthusiastic response to the call for funds for Kerala throughout Tamilnad. The Coimbatore District Committee of the CPI alone handed over Rs. 15,000 at a mass rally where E.M.S. spoke—it just jumped its quota.

The Madurai District Committee has sent Rs. 15,000 over and above its quota while Madras City collections have come to Rs. 10,000 already.

The Nilgiris have sent Rs. 7,000. Many local units and individuals have sent their money directly. The total collection has come to Rs. 77,000 so far—the competition is on with West Bengal.

Andhra reports that Rs. 40,000 has so far poured in while 20 motor vehicles have already gone to speed the election campaign in Kerala. This is apart from the Rs.

5,000 presented to EMS when he visited Hyderabad and Vijayawada sometime back.

Delhi proudly states that its quota of Rs. 10,000 has been more than overfulfilled—Rs. 14,000 has so far been collected. The local Malayalees have been wonderfully active. About 25,000 persons, mostly workers, have contributed to the fund through 25 naye Paise and 10 naye Paise coupons which had been specially prepared.

In addition to the Rs. 3,600 already sent the comrades of the Central Headquarters Branch have collected another Rs. 2,400.

Friends from Port Blair, Andaman Islands, have sent in Rs. 400.

The campaign must now go on at a galloping pace. We request all State Committees to send us reports quickly.

(January 20)