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Food Minister Is Out

Editorial

HOW often has the age-old slogan of food self-sufficiency been advanced, how often its achievement prematurely celebrated and how far we are from it! All this stands writ large over the last twelve years of Congress rule. And this year is one of record harvests, but the food prices have reached a new high.

Glory be to India's millions who refused to take hunger lying down, and began to stir. Their rising protest found its echo even inside New Delhi, in the Lok Sabha. Food Minister A. P. Jain has been compelled to resign. Transport Minister S. K. Patil is to replace him with the vain hope that his vaunted efficiency will help overcome the food crisis. It is not at all a question of changing horses but of changing policies.

When the Congress rulers have been hiding the truth about the food situation and spreading complacency by mouthing big slogans, our Party has been persistently pointing out the danger which today stares us all in the face. While the Prime Minister has been talking of treating food as a national problem, it is the pro-hoarder pro-landlord policies of his own Government that have produced the present crisis leading to the resignation of his Food Minister.

The departure of the Union Food Minister is a victory for the people which must be pressed home. The Congress Government must be made to retreat still further and compelled to adopt and implement a national food policy.

Our Party has not only been pointing out the defects and dangers but also patiently advocating a concrete and constructive policy to meet the grave situation. The Central Executive of our Party, in its last meeting, demanded that the Government requisition all food stocks lying with traders, millers and big landlords, launch an anti-hoarding campaign with people's cooperation, open cheap grain shops, start relief and test works and give liberal taccavi loans in distress rural areas, control prices of other essential commodities, promptly constitute and honestly function really representative Food Advisory Boards at all levels. This is the simple and realistic way to ensure food at reasonable prices.

State trading was adopted as Government policy but no concrete measures taken to ensure its success while the hoarders were allowed full play to seize the stocks. Again no administrative machinery was set up to enforce the accepted State policy. All this was owned up by the departing Food Minister himself.

Bitter experience of the past years is enough to teach us all that there can be no national food policy, under the Congress regime without a nationwide mass movement to ensure and implement it.

The hungry but heroic people of W. Bengal have already started the battle for people's food. The Press black-out cannot hide the magnitude of the movement for long. Other States are beginning to move.

A mighty people's movement is the only manly and practical way out of hunger and high prices and to get an effective national food policy implemented.

Bengal has begun the battle. Emulate the glorious example of Bengal, help the nation's hungry!

(August 25)

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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FOOD FIGHT GOES STRONG

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA, August 26

Desperate at the magnificent resistance of the people and the vast sweep of the food movement, the B. C. Roy Government has started hitting out madly. The decision of the PIFRC to hold a giant rally on August 31 and the joint trade union decision to call a general strike on September 3 have driven it to a frenzy. A phase of most savage repression began throughout the State from yesterday. Brutal lathi-charge and tear-gassing in different places were resorted to. One hundred men and women were injured. Forty were removed to hospital.

IN Howrah the police twice indiscriminately lathi-charged the demonstrators and the public, injuring 45 people, three of them very seriously. Ninety-seven arrests were made. It was evident from the method of attack that the police deliberately charged to injure grievously.

The whole town resounded with protests. A 20,000 strong rally held later to condemn the attack was addressed by Easwara Iyer, M.P. Thousands of people demonstrated in pouring rain.

In Serampore, one square mile around the court was turned into an armed camp. A savage lathi-charge and tear-gassing was resorted to in which two students and a 72-year-old man were seriously injured. A huge protest rally in the afternoon was the answer of the people.

In both places goondas and local Congress workers helped the police and acted as agent-provocateurs by throwing stones but the people refused to fall prey to the provocation.

Communist M.P.s Prabhat Kar and K. T. K. Thangamani

were arrested in Chinsurah while watching the satyagraha. They were stripped of all their belongings, including identity cards. A case was registered in the court and they were produced before the Magistrate after four hours in police custody and discharged. They sent protest telegrams to the Prime Minister and the Speaker.

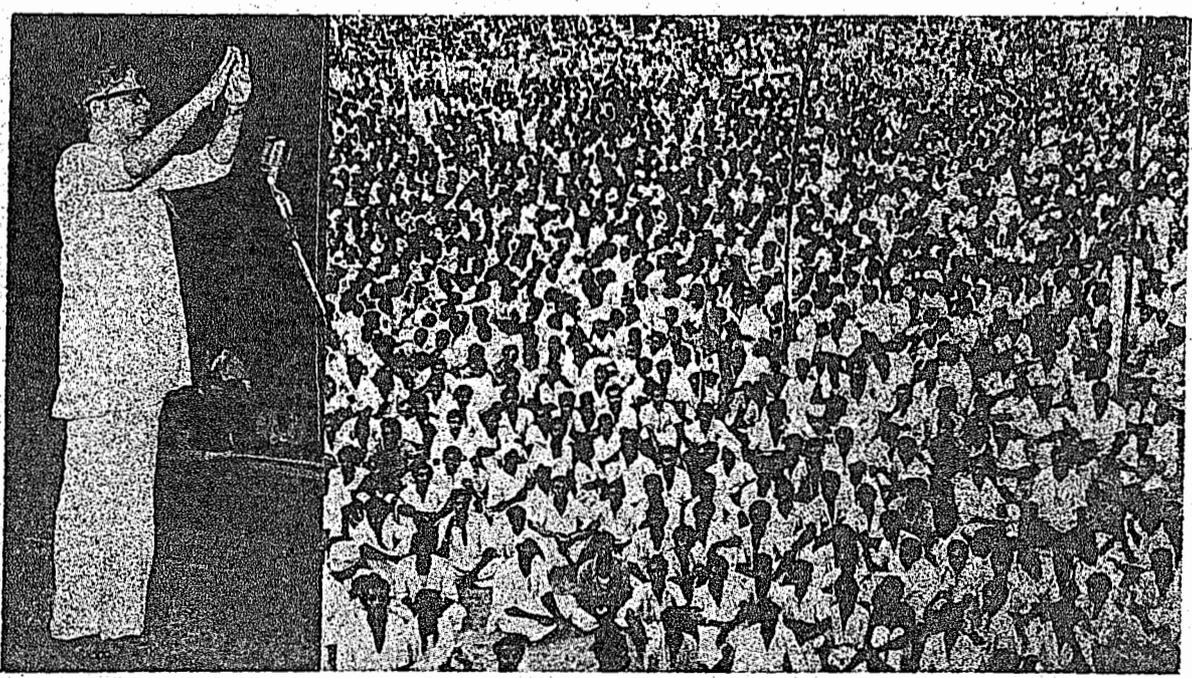
On August 24, the Belghoria Party office was surrounded when Prabhat Kar and K. T. K. Thangamani went there after addressing a rally. Three local Communist leaders were arrested.

On August 25 Surhid Mallick, Forward Bloc (Marxist) MLA, and three Leftist leaders were arrested while returning from a meeting of the Famine Resistance Committee. Arrests under Detention and Security Acts are continuing and now come to over 3,000.

The seven-man M.P.s' delegation visited various ration shops and have addressed a series of mass meetings in different districts. On August 25, a huge crowd of over 50,000 gathered at Calcutta to hear them. They have sought permission to interview prisoners but the conditions imposed by the authorities are tantamount to virtual refusal.

In a statement, warmly greeting the West Bengal people for their glorious struggle, Secretary of the West Bengal Council of the Communist Party Jyoti Basu urged: "Let not a handful of tyrants of the West Bengal Cabinet cow us into submission. Let it not be said that willingly and without protest near-famine conditions were accepted by the people of West Bengal."

In the days to come the mighty mass protest, growing in sweep and tempo, will teach these tyrants that the only invincible power is that of an aroused people.



CONTINUING UPSURGE

Huge rallies continue to be held all over Kerala in honour of the dismissed Ministers. Picture above is of C. Achutha Menon addressing a mass rally in Calicut on August 15.

"LIBERATORS" CELEBRATE "VICTORY" WITH LOOT, ARSON AND RAPE

Orgy Of Violence Against Communists

Incidents in Kerala after the Black Friday have made many people ask: Was the break-down of law and order the cause of Presidential intervention or did law and order break down as a result of it?

The orgy of violence—loot, arson and rape—with which the "liberators" celebrated the dismissal of the Communist Ministry was certainly not possible in any State whose law and order was intact. Communists, their sympathisers and the working people, specially the agricultural workers, became the targets of brutal attacks by people who call themselves "volunteers" of the "liberation struggle" and they are led by Congress, communal and landlord elements. From the nature of these attacks all that one can say is that what these people have liberated themselves from are only human values and their respon-

sibility to society. On July 31 itself, twenty of these volunteers entered the houses of an agricultural worker woman near Ambalapuzha in Alleppey District. The victim of the attack was the President of the local committee of the Agricultural Workers' Union. She ran into a neighbouring house to save herself. The "volunteers" ran after her, caught her and one of them raped her while the others looked on and shouted their approval. Another young woman from a nearby house was their next target and it was the same story again. Both the women had to be admitted to the hospital. These

"volunteers" are the people whose "mass upsurge" the Prime Minister saw when he went to Kerala and has been talking about since. The office of the Ambalapuzha Taluk Labour Contract Society was attacked and a shop near the Thiruvampadi school was burnt down. In Kuttannad Taluk, the rice-bowl of Kerala whose big cultivators decided to lay their huge tracts fallow till the Communist Ministry was thrown out, on July 29 itself, even before the formal announcement of Central intervention, the Agricultural Workers' Union Office in Mankombu was attacked and all the furniture was destroyed. The office was attacked

again on the 31st after the proclamation of President's rule. The same night, a hotel-owner in Champakulam was assaulted and the radio in his shop was smashed into bits. A cloth shop nearby was broken open and Rs. 4,000 worth of cloth was stolen. A laundry was destroyed and a printing press was attacked and machines were damaged. Among those assaulted here was a primary school teacher. When the teacher escaped, the volunteers turned their wrath on his father, brother and brother-in-law. Both the wife and mother of the teacher were dishonoured and everything in the house including pots

and pans were broken. The eight-month-old child of the teacher was kicked brutally by the goondas and is on its deathbed. In Spherthallai taluk, the "volunteers" entered a fisherman's house and violated the honour of his mother and sister. Then they rushed into the office of the Taluk Committee of the Communist Party. In Mavelikkara Taluk, a car parked in front of the office of the taluk committee of the Communist Party was attacked. Some of the goondas then rushed into the office, destroyed the electric fittings and tried to assault the inmates. In the town they destroyed the hut owned by a widow, threw stones at the house of a Municipal Councillor and attacked and looted two shops. Organised attacks were comparatively less in Changanassery Taluk because of Section 144 which had been imposed here. Even then a number of Party offices were attacked and people participating in a demonstration against Central intervention were assaulted.

In Thiruvalla Taluk, church bells were rung to collect people to raid Communist Party offices and attack Communists and sympathisers. Three huts of agricultural workers were burnt down near Kallupara and many of the workers were beaten up. The condition of one of the victims, a woman, is serious. In Kaviyur, a goonda gang under the leadership of the Panchayat Congress Committee President attacked the local Communist Party Office and destroyed it. Then they surrounded the house of the building's owner, a teacher, and stoned his house continuously for two days causing great damage. These were some of the more serious incidents in Alleppey District in the first days after Central intervention.

In Kottayam District, for full four days the "liberation volunteers" ran amuck celebrating their "victory". Meenachil taluk is a stronghold of the Catholic church and here open armed attacks were made and daylight robberies were committed. It was as if the law and order situation was just nobody's concern. In Thidnad village, the goondas entered a carpenter's house and violated the honour of the women there. In Palai, the Party office was stoned and damaged. In Rappuram, the protest demonstration against Central intervention was attacked. Congress "liberators" occupied the Party Office here and ceremoniously burnt the Red Flag. Heart-rending cries of women and children could be heard for a long time during and after this "victory" celebration of the church followers.

In Anthikkad, they took over a procession carrying an effigy of Joseph Mundassery, Education Minister in the Communist Cabinet who was the Legislator from that constituency. On the way, they assaulted a number of people. A toddy shop belonging to the Toddy-Tappers' Cooperative was set on fire. A private bus from Anthikkad to Trichur was stopped and damaged. These attacks have not stopped after the first flush of "victory". They are still continuing. During the last ten days or so, in Trichur District alone, heinous attempts were made to disturb public meetings and processions and assault people who came to participate in the receptions for E. M. S. Namboodiripad and C. Achutha Menon at Amballoor, Irinjalkuda, Vilakkancheri, Cranganore and Nattika. At least a dozen people including women were injured by the stone-throwing, etc., on these meetings. In Ponnal, the procession organised to receive former Industries Minister K. P. Gopalan was attacked by Congress-PSP followers. In Mattancheri, some people belonging to the INTUC and the Cochin Thoramukha Thozhilali Union assaulted Sando, Gopalan, a member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party, and other Communist workers. Sabres and iron rods were used in the attack on them. They were removed unconscious to the hospital and are still battling for their lives.

The Union Secretary and a member of the Managing Committee of the Cooperative who had escaped from the factory and got into a bus were dragged out and assaulted. P. K. Velayudhan, Secretary of the Carpenters' Cooperative Society, was stabbed at Ollur. The assailants went to the house of the Ollur Branch Secretary of the Communist Party but could not find him there. But they broke the head of the Secretary of a reading room whom they met on the way. A hundred armed "volunteers" surrounded a Communist, Padmanabhan, in his sister's house in Kizhakkattuchery. Hearing the news, Padmanabhan's father, brother-in-law and some others went to the house and escorted him out. The moment they came out, the goondas fell on them and began beating them. The victims tried to escape but they were dragged out of the houses where they had gone for shelter and mercilessly laboured them. Padmanabhan succumbed to his injuries in the hospital.

Exposing the open incitement and encouragement to organise violence against the Communist Party that is going on, the statement says: "Some people may like to divide the people into two camps as Communists and anti-Communists and to intensify that division and in that way prevent people's attention being drawn to the real issues facing our people and country. It may be necessary for some people to keep up tension in the State and create an atmosphere of terror in which it becomes difficult for the Communist Party and for the working people to act freely. But the Communist Party knows well that neither the vast majority of people in the State nor those who are democra-

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

LAST week we referred in this column to the incongruity of the Government's oil policy in leaving an opening for the private interests to intrude to exploit the country's mineral resources. Such a policy of "coexistence," we had said, was fraught with danger since, with their enormous economic strength, these interests could flout the Government's dictates with impunity. Unfortunately, our apprehensions in this behalf have received a ready confirmation during the last week in the statement of the Minister of Mines and Oil, K. D. Malaviya, wherein he expressed his disappointment at the slow progress of his Ministry's negotiations with the foreign distributing companies for reduction in prices of oil products. Malaviya's annoyance at the obduracy of the companies can be understood—for, it is now for well over a year that the issue of price reduction has been hanging fire. And yet the annoyance seems to be formal without its bitter lesson having been learnt, else he would not have kept the door open for foreign oil concerns to undertake prospecting and production in the country. No doubt, he will bless it as he says, only "under certain conditions" which leave the "policy" and "initiative" with the Governments. Of what avail can this "initiative" be, however, if the power of the vested interests to blunt its edge, which his new "approach" will only

strengthen, remain unimpaired? Malaviya debunked any other approach since, as he said, "there is no fanatical enthusiasm on our part to keep away from foreign oil concerns." Presumably what he meant was that he would prefer to be a pragmatic practicalist rather than a doctrinaire firebrand in this behalf. Does this pragmatism (in respect of the aforesaid negotiations) also not lead him, however, to a realisation of the pitfalls which his ambivalent policy might have in store for him?

U. S. EXPERT'S RECOMMENDATION

A day prior to the statement on oil prices, which Malaviya made in the Lok Sabha, he had also communicated to the House a summary of the recommendations of W. J. Levy, U.S. Oil Consultant, who had visited India some time ago. The keynote of these recommendations was that to augment Government's own effort, private capital also should be admitted to exploration, and if successful, development of the potential oil resources. The same note was struck by Commerce (August 22) which said that "in the national interest, the Government, in addition to encouraging the Oil and Natural Gas Commission to face its complex tasks, should not hesitate to permit private agencies, capable of applying their local resources in men, technical know-how and material, to

MORE ABOUT OIL POLICY

the location and exploration of oil reserves." The work of a policy is often revealed by the interests which espouse it—and here, a "non-doctrinaire" policy of the Ministry of Mines and Oil is being echoed almost word for word by both a mouthpiece of the indigenous private interests, as well as by an executive who must have served the U.S. oil interests all his life. Surely, it cannot merely be a coincidence, and even if it is, it is we suppose important enough to make Malaviya sit up and ask as to how it can be reconciled with his Government's Industrial Policy Resolution which has specifically reserved development of mineral oils for the State sector.

In making this criticism, however, we do not minimise the great achievements of Malaviya's Ministry, both in prospecting and in successfully arranging for setting up two refineries in the public sector. Its setting of a distribution company, too, was a move which we welcomed as being in the country's interests. But these steps, significant as they were, should have only strengthened the Ministry's hands to resist the overtures of the vested interests, and not succumb to them as it has apparently been doing. The Ministry's clear retreat from its earlier more determined stand vis-a-vis the private companies looks all the more unwarranted when viewed in the context of the vast prospects of oil development in the public sector, presented by the Soviet and Rumanian offers of assistance. Already, a team of Soviet

oil experts has reached Dehra Dun to advise the Oil and Natural Gas Commission on the oil programme to be included in the Third Plan. The Rumanians, too, have submitted the blue-print of the first oil refinery to be set up by the Government at Noonmati near Gauhati in Assam. They have also offered to help in setting up projects for utilisation of national gases. The Soviet experts are confident of the richness of India's oil resources. They even envisage a more than threefold increase in indigenous production in the next five years, as their Minister of Geology, Pytor Antrapov, has said in a recent interview to the Soviet Land.

OIL IN PUBLIC SECTOR

Obviously, with such vast vistas opening up before the country, and with a streamlined Oil and Natural Gas Commission to explore them, what is needed of Malaviya and his Ministry is that they stop all talk of "augmenting the Government's efforts with private capital" forthwith and adhere steadfastly to developing the nation's oil only in the public sector. To make them do it, however, it is necessary for the people as a whole to redouble their efforts to decisively defeat the shift towards reaction which has lately been only too discernible in the Government's entire economic policy—of which oil forms an important sector. —ESSE

August 25.

* FROM FACING PAGE

ed the streets brandishing daggers and knives and began assaulting everyone they came across. By about ten in the night, church bells began ringing in all the neighbouring churches and about a thousand people gathered armed with knives, daggers, sticks, stones, etc. They then marched into the town and for full two hours, it was one round of houses being broken into and looted as terror-stricken cries rent the silent night sky.

The house of a lawyer, V. T. Thomas, was surrounded, doors were smashed open, and the goondas rushed into the house. But the attempt to murder him was foiled by the arrival of the police. Still undaunted they marched towards the Communist Party's Taluk Committee office, smashing and looting shops on the way. During this drunken orgy they destroyed a library and reading room.

In Trichur District, in Ollur church volunteers armed with sticks, daggers and stones came in jeeps and raised a beddi factory, managed by the Trichur Taluk Beedi Workers' Cooperative Society. They beat up the tobacco workers, destroyed the tobacco leaves and smashed the glass-panes of the windows. A number of injured workers had to be admitted in hospital.

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Church Bells To Collect Goondas

There was simultaneous tolling of bells in all churches at Karur, Palai, Alur and Kizhakkattuchery and thousands of the "faithful" gathered with arms and threw a cordon round Kizhakkattuchery. They began entering the houses, beating people and destroying furniture, vessels, etc. One harijan who ran out of his house to escape the goondas fell into a well. He was dragged out and beaten. Heart-rending cries of women and children could be heard for a long time during and after this "victory" celebration of the church followers.

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effigy of Joseph Mundassery, Education Minister in the Communist Cabinet who was the Legislator from that constituency. On the way, they assaulted a number of people. A toddy shop belonging to the Toddy-Tappers' Cooperative was set on fire. A private bus from Anthikkad to Trichur was stopped and damaged. These attacks have not stopped after the first flush of "victory". They are still continuing. During the last ten days or so, in Trichur District alone, heinous attempts were made to disturb public meetings and processions and assault people who came to participate in the receptions for E. M. S. Namboodiripad and C. Achutha Menon at Amballoor, Irinjalkuda, Vilakkancheri, Cranganore and Nattika. At least a dozen people including women were injured by the stone-throwing, etc., on these meetings. In Ponnal, the procession organised to receive former Industries Minister K. P. Gopalan was attacked by Congress-PSP followers. In Mattancheri, some people belonging to the INTUC and the Cochin Thoramukha Thozhilali Union assaulted Sando, Gopalan, a member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party, and other Communist workers. Sabres and iron rods were used in the attack on them. They were removed unconscious to the hospital and are still battling for their lives.

The statement says: "Neither the Congress leaders nor others who organised the struggle to overthrow the Communist Government have till now spoken a single word against these atrocities which are not only anti-democratic but are also revolting to culture and human decency. On the other hand, they are carrying on a concerted false propaganda, hiding these atrocities against Communists, saying that Communists and their friends are indulging in violence."

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Communist Party's Protest

The Secretariat of the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party has expressed its deep concern and recorded its protest against these developments "during the last three weeks after the establishment of President's rule in Kerala." The statement says: "Neither the Congress leaders nor others who organised the struggle to overthrow the Communist Government have till now spoken a single word against these atrocities which are not only anti-democratic but are also revolting to culture and human decency. On the other hand, they are carrying on a concerted false propaganda, hiding these atrocities against Communists, saying that Communists and their friends are indulging in violence."

All-Parties Conference

"We ask the Congress and other 'liberation' leaders in Kerala if they are prepared to openly oppose and unconditionally denounce the bestial anti-social activities indulged in by their own followers. The Communist Party is prepared to do it. "The Communist Party would like to impress upon the authorities in the State that it is their task to take the initiative to call the representatives of all political parties and to work out agreed measures for relieving tension, for avoiding clashes and for ensuring civil liberties for all."

SCRAP-BOOK

THE GRAND MUGHUL

IT is not the people alone who are the victims of Bidhan Roy's high-handedness. They, at least, hit back and hit back hard. Pity his poor Cabinet colleagues who can only whimper and whisper. Meeting PSP chieftan Prafulla Ghosh, Bidhan Babu decided he would tolerate the presence only of Prafulla Sen and Tarun Kanti Ghosh. Poor Kallipada Mukherjee—the Police Minister—was mighty upset. A high policy meeting and he was not even informed!

Dr. Roy was moved by Kalida's sniffings. So, on August 14, he summoned him to a fresh "high policy" get-together. The top bureaucrats were the only other invitees—the Chief Secretary, Home Secretary, Inspector of Police and the DIG (Intelligence Branch).

The topic of the talks—how to deal with the food movement. "Kali, speak up," the Big Chief ordered with scant ceremony. And in sheer funk Kalida mumbled that the immediate arrest of 15,000 would end the movement. Not wanting to be impolite the officials scratched their heads, commended the idea and said the only trouble was that there was neither place nor food for so many. And they looked slyly at Dr. Roy. Bidhan Babu roared with laughter, called Kali a fool and suggested a selective list. Then, the final rub. In a loud aside he told Satyen Ray, the Chief Secretary,

tic-minded and peace-loving desire it. "The Communist Party is fully confident that the people in the State will come forward to arrest this dangerous trend towards resorting to and encouraging fascist methods to indulge in violence and to create terror so as to endanger the freedom of expression, organisation and demonstration of any section of the people or of any political party.

MINISTERIAL PATRONAGE

DEHJI was agog with rumours and counter-rumours mounted a powerful case. Lokpati Tripathi is a director of the Hindustan Commercial Corporation. It is said to have had a capital of Rs. 32,500. But in its director it had an enormous asset—Kam-lapati Tripathi is reported to be a loving father. And the wretched dissidents are reported to have alleged that this puny company secured a Rs. ten lakh contract from the Irrigation Ministry and another from the Power Ministry of Rs. one crore and 85 lakhs. Then the Food Department is also alleged to have not been behind with its gifts. They sold gunny bags at Rs. 123 per 100 for a total sum of Rs. 194,700. The purchaser was supposed to have deposited 25 per cent of the value immediately. Not a single naya paisa came to the treasury. Suddenly the Department needed bags. And it is reported that they bought them from the same contractor's relative but at the rate of Rs. 174/75 per 100! In March 1956, the New Central Jute Mills Co. Ltd. was given a loan of Rs. one crore and 45 lakhs. It was earmarked for setting up a soda-ash ammonium-chloride factory at Varanasi. The terms of the loan were violated, the payment of interest was ignored and the factory remained on paper for 21 months. Sabu Jain, in the meantime, had Rs. 1½ crores to speculate with. The U.P. Ministry, needless to say, did nothing. It is rumoured that the industrialists have in this way, netted nearly Rs. 40 crores up to last year. In 1948, Rs. 136,441 worth of electric wires were purchased. Why? So that in 1956 Government could sell it at some 36 per cent loss, despite the fact that during these eight years the cost of the wires had jumped up. And so we can go on and on. But the Congress High Command—to whom much more was told—neither called for an enquiry nor for an explanation. Sampurnanand just had to say that if the dissidents were not rebuke—Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan et al would witness similar scenes. Because, Congress corruption was no U.P. monopoly nor the scramble for gains immediately party principles were

"What idiots I have to deal with. Yet they insist on being asked to high policy discussions!" All Kalida did was to grin sheepishly and thank his stars he could still amuse the Big Chief.

KAIRON'S KITH

THE Jassid has appeared in many districts of the Punjab. It is a specially noxious pest. But the peasants are far more bothered with Kairon. Rumblings are in the air again. But the doughty Sardar just at the moment has more pressing worries. He is, after all, an old hand at the game and knows that the Congress High Command will only ask him to press on with repression if the people raise any legitimate demands. He made a dash to Delhi because other seasoned campaigners of the Punjab power-elite were busy moving the Grand Mogul. Prabodh Chandra must have been feeling rather safe, otherwise how had he declared that the place par excellence for Central intervention was not Kerala but Punjab. He made charges which made an impression even on those who had learnt to tolerate much. Then there was the report that Kapur, the recently dismissed Patiala Commissioner, had played to Indira a tape-record of a conversation with Kairon's son where the latter had pleaded for personal favour in connection with some property. Thim-mayya was also said to be standing up for his officers, whose wives had been subjected to some mauling by Kairon's heir, it is alleged.

This time the Punjab boss is said to be scared especially as Governor Gadgil is reported to have declared that his Ministers are hard to distinguish from decoits. One sign of the nervousness was the delay in proceeding with the tube-well scandal charge against Rarewala. The usual "lightning decisiveness" does not seem to be possible any more.

DHEBARBHAI'S STARS

DHEBARBHAI is flying higher and higher. He does nothing without a sense of personal purpose. People had wondered why suddenly a year ago he developed a penchant for planning and got all sorts of persons to write theses for him. But, it is said, that all these plagiarisms have paid off well. Le-ray fellow Sirman Narayana to the Planning Commission. V. T. may be pushed out, TTK kept out and Morarjibhai's shadow showed in as the Vice-President. The obstacle—Pant wants to reward TTK for his discretion! Guest Diarist

ISOLATION—WHOSE ?

THE Kerala debate was in the calculations of the Congress ruling class, meant to isolate and damn the Communist Party. Truth, however, cannot be easily sidestepped. Reality asserts itself, in various ways, unforeseen by our rulers.

Bhakra, the nation's pride might become a national calamity. We Communists persistently warned against its weaknesses, the corruption and inefficiency that inevitably go together with the Congress regime. The Dulat Committee had estimated Rs. five crores at least having gone down the drain through corruption. The pitcher of Congress sins, to use a Hindi phrase, burst this week when the power house was flooded, causing untold damage to machinery and putting this national project in danger. On the other hand, ten workers lost their lives, a heroic demonstration of the devotion to duty of Indian workmen.

Again, the Congress raj had produced the paradox, without a precedent, of highest-ever prices in a year of record harvest. The blazing discontent and the rising protest of our suffering people was reflected in the Parliamentary debate.

All party barriers broke down, the Congress Food Minister was badly mauled by Congress M.P.s themselves. He was made to quit. But his parting kick deserves note. He attacked the policy of State trading itself and revealed that all that happened on the food front was done with the consent of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister has owned up collective responsibility. In such circumstances who can prevent the Indian people concluding from their own living experience, while the hoarders make hay we starve, under the Congress Raj?

Again, a Congress M.P. moved a private motion in the Lok Sabha demanding nationalisation of banking. It evoked a firm refusal from the Government as being "unnecessary." Deputy Finance Minister B. R. Bhagat went on to state that the Government believed in Socialism but not "doctrinaire" Socialism and that "nationalisation was no longer an article of faith with Socialist countries."

B. Rama Rao is one of the leading ideologues of the Swatantra Party. In his latest pamphlet "Enlist Cooperation of Private Enterprise" published by the Forum of Free Enterprise he says exactly the same thing. He happily notes that with "the weakening of the Socialist Party on nationalisation" in the U. K. there is "very little difference" between the two parties, Tory and Labour. He concludes, "Frankly I would not hesitate to support the establishment of a Socialist pattern of society if it is to be of the type which is associated with the (Socialist) Labour Party in the U. K."

The question inevitably arises, is not the Congress

leadership out to bridge the gulf with the Swatantra Party?

CRISIS WITHIN CONGRESS

The U. P. burst-up within Congress was no accident but a symptom.

The organisational crisis of the Congress is the inevitable product of the policies its leadership is following. The policies of the Congress Government do not serve the interests of the people but fatten the vested interests. Corruption, nepotism, factional racketeering logically follow. The sins of the ruling group are exploited by the opposing faction for a share in power and pelf and the sordid game goes on and on becoming ever more muddy and dirty.

The Congress leadership faces an uneasy dilemma in Kerala. The Kerala Congress now admits its own weakness and isolation by pleading for a total alliance of all anti-Communist elements including the Muslim League as the only way to face the elections with any prospects of success. The Congress High Command knows that the Congress-League alliance will be frowned upon and worse outside Kerala. It therefore, suggested the tactics of quiet adjustment and no open alliance with the League. This does not suit the League game and it is pressing for an open alliance as the price of its support, for public recognition by the Congress will help it to revive the Muslim League as a political organisation in other States. The bargain is on.

Alliance with communalism to fight Communism. This is the Congress electoral tactic for Kerala. Its result for the rest of India will be the revival of the Muslim League in the other States. Anti-Communism in Kerala will produce the poisoned fruit of communalism for the country as a whole, a new dangerous portent for the future of Indian democracy, unless Indian public opinion asserts itself in time and prevents this unholy alliance.

It is very useful to look sometimes at our own problems in terms of what the foreigners think of them. The oft-repeated claim of the Congress is that it won freedom and ensured stability. Capital (August 20), the organ of British Finance-capital in our country, in its editorial note on the Twelfth Year of Indian Independence comes to the conclusion: "It is the political stability which can no longer be taken for granted... They (the Indians) had no doubt expected too much for which they had aid and abetment from the leaders of the Congress... It is a matter of observation that disillusionment is widespread."

It poses the question that is on many lips. "What sort of a Congress will it be that may succeed Mr. Nehru?" Its own answer and further poser is, "Uttar Pradesh shows that dissensions within the party can be serious. Kerala shows that the Congress itself is a negligible quantity without the alliances it abhors; and the case of Orissa is not far different. How long will it be

NOTES OF THE WEEK

before it is the same picture all over India?"

This is the question of the day.

CONGRESS-PSP ALLIANCE

The disintegration of the Congress is producing many-sided changes in the Indian political firmament. One of the most visible is the emergence of a new political constellation—Congress-PSP alliance.

In Kerala things went so far that the Congress allied not only with the PSP but also with the Muslim League. Every effort is being made to keep the unity of the trio to face the coming elections and form a Coalition Ministry.

In West Bengal the PSP split from the Left alliance some months ago. In the present food crisis, PSP leader Prafulla Ghosh openly lined up with B. C. Roy, issued a joint statement against the movement and in support of the Congress Government. The PSP "trooping back" into the Congress fold, and Prafulla Ghosh joining the Government is the talk of the town in Calcutta.

Amazing disclosures come from U. P. When the no-confidence motion was being planned by the Opposition parties, PSP leader Triloki Singh is reported to have hesitated. After the dissidents made their bold charges and the question came whether the PSP would support them for an alternative Government, the PSP leadership is reported to have refused to give a prompt and unqualified answer. When Sampurnanand played with the idea of expelling the dissidents, he is reported to have secured some assurances of PSP support for his Ministry. It is not only Chief Minister Sampurnanand whose stock is down but also PSP leader Triloki Singh's as a result of the current crisis.

The Congress High Command is positively considering the question of splitting bilingual Bombay on the understanding that Chief Minister Chavan will be able to successfully split the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and win over the PSP for an electoral alliance and a Coalition Ministry under the new Maharashtra State set-up.

PSP General Secretary Goray has in clear-cut terms laid down the ideological basis for the line of Congress-PSP alliance in his article "Praja Socialist Party Today and for Tomorrow" in the party organ Janata. (August 15)

"The PSP must forget the idea of establishing one party rule in India."

The "main conflict in our country" according to this PSP spokesman will be "based on the problem Democracy plus Socialism or totalitarianism plus Socialism" and so there will broadly develop the two camps of those who have faith in democracy and those who are against it."

In other words, the Kerala line-up is to be made the all-India set-up.

Inside the top PSP leader-

ship Asoka Mehta and Acharya Kripalani are reported to see no other way out to save the PSP from political liquidation in the next general elections except the alliance with the Congress. Inside the Congress leadership Dhebarbhai and Sadiq Ali, i.e. the caucus led by Morarji, are reported to favour such an alliance.

PSP AND THE PLAN

Let no old memories cloud the current issue. Congress-PSP alliance will not strengthen the progressive forces in the country but the pro-Western reactionaries. It is not only the PSP foreign policy that points to this way but also their attitude to the Plan and the question of foreign aid.

Asoka Mehta, speaking on his tour impressions of the USA, reported his new discovery that "one of the most hopeful signs of the times was the change in the attitude of U.S. Government." He eloquently expressed his conviction that the 'change' in U.S. 'mood' was 'basic.' He glorified multi-billionaire Nelson, Rockefeller, Governor of New York, who had assured him of the 'desire in the highest circles to help India along the path of economic development." (Times of India, August 18).

Imperialist monopolist rulers of the U.S. are out to selfishly aid (and not exploit) the economy of India, such is the new lie of Asoka Mehta. Historical laws have not ceased to operate and the Indian people cannot forget their own and the world's experience at the hands of U.S. imperialism. They will not easily fall into the trap.

So far it was only M. R. Masani who dared so loudly champion the cause of the dollar empire. He is, however, busy raving "democracy within" through the Swatantra Party and is quiet on foreign affairs. The job of selling U.S. aid to Indian patriotic opinion has been taken over by his old friend.

Morarji Desai could desire no better political page to spread the red carpet before him on his coming visit to and return from the USA.

Madhya Pradesh Praja Socialist leader H. V. Kamath was the first to float the big lie about Chinese aggression and the mythical Himalayan Federation. He has now contributed an article on the crisis of the Indian Plan entitled "The Promised Land Recedes" in the American lobby mouthpiece Current (August 19)

Exploiting all the weakness of Indian economy under the Congress dispensation, he attacks the very idea of planned economy and glorifies examples of countries under monopoly-capital. He writes:

"A striking contrast is provided by two democratic countries, one Asian and the other European which have done very well indeed without any rigid or regimented planning."

H. V. Kamath will not get his comrades of the Socialist parties of West Germany and Japan to agree with him. But he is not bothered about Socialism versus capitalism, he has crossed that stage!

He unblushingly writes about our Third Plan that "the decision to have even a bigger Third Plan can only be described as reckless and hair-brained."

He approvingly quotes the imperialist demand which West Germany's Vice-Premier Erhard made at the time of the last Bank-Fund Conference in New Delhi. "Instead of giant plants, there should be improved farming and simple machines for small-scale craftsmen... Indian private enterprise should have more freedom and India should beware of too much planning."

This reactionary line which will perpetuate India's economic backwardness and dependence, according to Kamath "is the voice of a friend."

Where is the difference between such Socialist leaders and the Swatantra Party and after their party gets lined up with the Congress which elements in the country will they strengthen and which they weaken?

THE PEOPLE SCORE

While top manoeuvres are taking place to give a reactionary direction to our national life the common people below are enacting a different scene.

Right in our capital city when the Delhi teachers' hunger-strike evoked no response, they thought of a general strike and now their demands have been promised sympathetic and prompt consideration.

Delhi's State Transport workers are also astr.

Four-lakh strong metal and engineering workers throughout the country celebrated their demands day on August 21.

In Kashmir the Democratic National Conference, against all odds, has been campaigning for full integration with India to forge guarantees for democratic rights for the people under the Bakshi regime and greater safety for Kashmir and security of India. The National Conference, which had so far opposed the demand, is now becoming a convert to it!

The big news of the week is the Congress Working Committee yielding to the popular demand to split Bilingual Bombay. The threatened mass action by the Samiti due to start in November has undone the injustice of a Congress-packed Parliamentary majority. The Congress High Command, however, plans to turn the people's victory into defeat by splitting the Samiti. It is, however, the fighting people of Maharashtra who will have the last say and not the Jantar Mantar plotters.

Another heart-warming development of the week is the mass avalanche of the hungry that is surging forward despite B. C. Roy's, old British style, repressive measures, peacefully and determinedly demanding food for the people and change in Government food policy here and now.

Every week the evidence accumulates that the Indian people cannot be kept down and that they are out to fight their way forward, despite all odds.

— P. C. JOSHI
(August 26)

B. C. ROY LOSES FIRST ROUND

The political scene in West Bengal has been changing with lightning speed since the early hours of August 17, when B. C. Roy's Government launched its offensive against the peaceful food movement that was yet to begin. Despite vicious repression, it is now abundantly clear that the Government has decisively lost the first round of its offensive against the people.

THE Government had hoped to deliver a "stunning blow" to the food movement by its blitzkrieg. It had calculated that the wholesale arrests of leaders and workers even before the movement had been launched, would completely paralyse the leadership and terrorise the people into submission. But the people of West Bengal have given a mighty rebuff to the arrogance and impudence of the Government.

No sooner had the attack begun than the whole of the State shook with protests through numerous meetings and demonstrations. The protest movement is assuming a mass character with the participation of thousands of workers. The food struggle that had already started over a month ago in Midnapore, 24-Parganas and Hooghly Districts, was carried on with redoubled vigour.

And then on August 20, the scheduled date, the peaceful mass movement began in every part of the State. The sweep and organised character of the movement on the very first day left no room for doubt that repression had only served to rouse the hatred and indignation of the people.

On the second day, 76 persons, including eight women, were arrested in Sealdah court in Calcutta. Arrests in other parts of the State totalled about 150.

The students all over West Bengal raised their voice of protest through meetings, demonstrations and spontaneous strikes on August 21.

Govt. Protects Hoarders

On August 22, the third day of the movement, over 5,000 people demonstrated before big rice godowns in North Calcutta in protest against the Government's policy. There were heavy

police guards at the godowns. B. C. Roy had earlier met the big traders, hoarders and profiteers and promised them this police protection.

Arrests all over the State in the first three days of the movement totalled 2,564.

Apart from those taken into custody for demonstrations in the law courts and Block Development offices, more than 307 persons have been arrested since the early morning of August 17. A special feature of these arrests is that some have been detained under the Preventive Detention Act, some others put behind the bars under the West Bengal Security Act and still others under Section 107 and 151 of the Cr. P.C.

The vindictive attitude of the Government was quite evident from the statement of the Police Minister that many of those arrested since August 17 had been taken into custody on "specific charges of criminal activities."

The "precautionary" measures taken by the Government against the peaceful movement look like preparations for a full-dress battle.

Arrests all over the State in the first three days of the movement totalled 2,564.

It is reliably learnt that Atulya Ghose, the real boss of the Pradesh Congress Committee, recently convened a meeting of his flock and then issued a directive to Congress workers to "give a fitting reply" to this challenge of the Leftists. They have been specifically told that in case the call for a general strike and hartal is given, they must render all help to the police to break it!

Atulya Ghose's mouthpiece, the daily Janasevak in its issue of August 21, put out a blatant lie that inside the PIFRC serious differences of opinion had arisen between the Communist Party and the other Left parties regarding the tactics of the present food movement. On the same day, Ghose came out with a ten-

page "charge-sheet" against the Communist Party, repeating all the moth-eaten slanders and "charges" against the Party.

The sole aim of these nefarious moves was to isolate the Communist Party. After having bagged P. C. Ghose, the PSP leader, the Congress bosses are now making desperate efforts to create divisions in the Leftist leadership of the food movement.

Armed Police Camp

It is reliably understood that large stocks of rifles, sten-guns, Bren-guns and tear-gas shells have been kept at hand in Calcutta. Besides 3,000 men and officers of the Calcutta police, an additional force of 2,000 has been concentrated in the city. The armed police battalion stationed in Barrackpore, a suburb of Calcutta, has been alerted and armed police have been posted at all important points on the outskirts of the city. Over 1,000 members of the National Volunteer Force have also been pressed into service.

Crisis In P. S. P.

But, they are sadly mistaken if they think that such tactics would yield any results. The representatives of Left parties on the PIFRC have already issued a joint statement pointing out that the report in the Janasevak "is so utterly false and misleading that it should only be treated with the contempt it deserves."

ment was not an isolated phenomenon, but part of the intensified offensive launched by the Congress Government in India against democratic rights and liberties.

It called upon the people to carry forward the struggle in an even more determined manner.

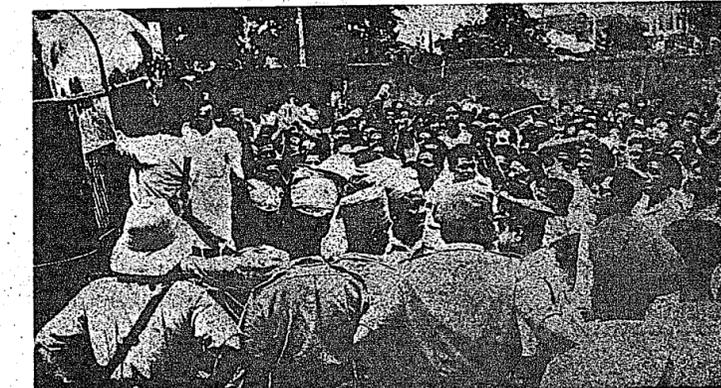
The Committee further said that the PSP leadership "has moved in a manner that has helped the Government to launch its attack on the people." We appeal to the PSP ranks to take their stand with the democratic masses. We are glad to note that there are indications that PSP members are not prepared to tolerate the anti-people stand of a section of their leaders."

A delegation of Opposition members of the Lok Sabha, consisting of A. K. Gopalan, Renu Chakravarty, K. T. K. Thangamani, Prabhat Kar, Easwara Iyer, Md. Elias and Tridib Choudhury, arrived here on August 23 to study at first hand the food situation.

Shortly after their arrival they issued a statement to the Press, which stated, among other things:

"We do not desire to enter into a controversy at this stage with anybody. But we must make it clear that we are not at all satisfied with the way the vital matter of food is being handled either by the Central or by the different State Governments, including the Government of West Bengal.

"We propose to report back to our colleagues in Parliament about the situation as we find it here, so that a suitable measure might be devised. We can only assure the public in West Bengal and our comrades who are fighting bravely that the people of the whole country are watching the food situation in West Bengal with considerable anxiety."



Satyagraha by volunteers of the Price-Increase and Famine-Resistance Committee in the Sealdah Court in Calcutta on August 21.

THE TRAGIC TALE OF PUNJAB'S PARTITION

JHOOTHA-SACH by Yashpal. Published by Viplava Karyalaya, Lucknow. Pages 537. Price Rs. 11.

IN this latest novel Yashpal adopts a bigger canvas than in any earlier work. The social background of the novel is the days of freedom and partition in tempest-torn Punjab.

The scene is laid in a Lahore lane with a predominantly lower middle-class population. The author shows intimate knowledge of this section of life and writes with genuine sensitivity and feeling about it.

Vivid Characters

He casts a comprehensive glance at other sections of the people too—the rich press owners, bosses, lawyers, doctors and leaders of various political parties, Hindu, Sikh and Muslim. The result is a rich, pulsating, bustling canvas with dozens and dozens of live, vivid characters inscribed on it.

The novel opens quietly in a typical Punjabi middle-class home in a Lahore lane. This is a social milieu of which

Yashpal seems to have deep and abundant knowledge, but which, surprisingly enough, he had not touched hitherto. He writes about the aspirations of young people, Puri and Kanak, Tara and Azad, to build a new life of joy and happiness for all people. Young girls and boys studying at college dream of a life of love and freedom, but old, time-worn customs and conventions thwart them constantly and frustrate their hopes.

The regional novel is a form which has recently grown immensely popular in Hindi. It has been enriched by the works of Nagarjuna, 'Renu' and Amrit Lal Nagar. By taking up a section of Punjabi life Yashpal has adopted a theme to which his creative genius has responded spontaneously. This novel of five hundred and odd pages is to have a second part in which the author will describe the struggles of his main characters in post-partition India.

In this novel the language of Yashpal is simpler, more life-like than in earlier works with a fine sprinkling of Punjabi idiom and vocabulary to enrich it. He introduces po-

pular folk-songs into the narrative which give it a rich local colour.

It has, however, to be pointed out that there are mistakes of language in the text. We expect that the work of a seasoned and mature writer like Yashpal should be completely free of minor mistakes in construction and usage.

The tempo of the story quickens gradually, as we approach nearer to the zero hour of partition. A great sorrow grips the land of Punjab in its fatal embrace and the grim havoc of a great cataclysm overtakes the whole world of Lahore with its intimate human struggles, hopes and disappointments.

This tragic nightmare has been described by Yashpal with great force and power, bringing out all the tempestuous wreck of hopes and dreams which the partition meant for the people of the Punjab. The author describes both, the horrible acts of cruelty and barbarism as well as the many little acts of humanism for which the two sides were responsible in this holocaust.

As an undercurrent throughout the novel runs the idea that apart from freedom, the basic problem of the exploitation of the poor by the rich has to be tackled ultimately. Yashpal has dedicated this

novel to the mass of the people "who, though often beguiled by falsehood, never lose their faith in truth or their courage to advance towards it." The tragic tale of the partition of the Punjab is finally summed up in the concluding sentence of a Sikh driver who has brought out unhappy Hindu women from West Punjab: "Those whom God had created as one, have been torn into two by the creatures of God!" Many novels have been written on the sorrows of the Punjab after partition. This novel of Yashpal is undoubtedly one of the most successful ventures in this direction. It also serves as an illustration of the vigour and vitality of the Hindi novel today.

P. C. GUPTA

COLLECTION OF STORIES

THUMRI by Phanishwar Nath 'Renu'. Published by Rajkamal Prakashan (Private) Ltd., Daryaganj, Delhi. Pages 206. Price Rs. 3.75.

"RENU" has achieved quite a name as the author of the two well-known novels—*Maila Anchal* and *Parati Parikatha*. Very few books have attracted greater attention in the Hindi literary world than these two.

To create *rasa* (beauty) by the depiction of a particular region's life is his speciality. In portrayal, particularly the portrayal of atmosphere, he is an expert and the art of lyricism in prose is a quality which is very difficult to get elsewhere.

There is some difference of opinion over whether he is a novelist or a sketch-writer. Many regard him as successful only in reportage. From

this angle a critical assessment of the nine stories collected in his latest book assume special importance. The reader is virtually swayed by the get-up, the prefatory observations, the lyrical compositions and the sketches in the book.

The reader is told, "the forms of a melody are expressed by a variegated composition of tunes; *Thumri*, represents a similar attempt by its story-singer." The publisher also claims that "each of the nine stories will envelop the readers with the same ecstatic delight which they felt on reading the author's novels. There is no doubt that this... author has a unique grasp of life; an intense yet simple love for it. The same love, the same depth of feeling for life rushes like a torrent through all the nine stories."

It must, however, be stated that over-assertion of claims to high qualities is at times indicative of weakness. And truly, when one reads the nine stories in the light of the claims made on their behalf, the first impressions are not very hopeful.

Of course, the seventh story—"*Tisri Kasam ya Mare Gaye Gulam*"—in this collection rises even higher than these claims. It is indeed an excellent story. It is excellent not because of the profuse use of certain regional words and slang, but because it unravels in the simplest manner, the innermost depths of the human heart.

The reader finds himself in complete harmony with the characters and the atmosphere. One gets a clear, deep and soulful glimpse of village life in the story. "Renu" is art seems to be ideally attuned to such creations. When Heeraman takes his third vow, a sense of pathos overwhelms the reader. There is no artificiality, no affection in the story. That is why it is so vibrant with life in spite of its length.

"Renu" has tried to put a sympathetic heart in all the stories. But I am afraid, it appears more as imposition in all the other stories except, perhaps, in *Kasapriya*. One has to strain all one's mental faculties in order to understand the last story *Teen Bindiyan* (Three Dots), with the result that the story irritates

* SEE PAGE 11

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FACTIONS IN U. P. CONGRESS ARE NOTHING NEW

Uttar Pradesh has been hitherto treated by the Congress rulers as the brightest jewel in their crown. But what has happened to that jewel? It has not only lost its lustre but the crown itself now looks musty and moth-eaten.

AN erroneous notion has prevailed outside U.P. for a long time that the Congress in that State is a strong, well-knit organisation whose affairs have been, for decades, managed and controlled by such outstanding personalities as Nehru, Govind Ballabh Pant or Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. The present crisis in the U.P. Congress has, therefore, come as a surprise to many.

The fact of the matter, however, is that since the middle 'thirties the Congress in U.P. has been as much riddled with factions and groupings and as much corroded internally by intrigues and counter-intrigues as in any other part of the country.

It is true that until 1947 Nehru's personal domination over Congress affairs in U.P. often prevented matters from taking an ugly turn. But, despite appearances, he was never really able to root out the factional canker. His intervention invariably took the form of compromises and patch-work solutions which were temporary and short lived.

Thus, what we are witnessing today in U.P. is nothing more than an intensified expression of all those disruptive forces and tendencies which are inherent in a bourgeois organisation like the Congress and which become explosive at a time when "snatch and grab" with the help of state power becomes the guiding principle of the whole organisation.

No Political Basis

One is often asked: What is the political basis of this conflict inside the U.P. Congress? The only answer to this question is that political differences are not of the essence. The whole conflict is essentially a factional conflict led by old, hardened men who have long histories and quite "credible" records of leading successful factional battles.

In fact, what stands out in this conflict is not the emergence of certain progressive forces, however meagre, but a striking all-round degeneration of bourgeois politics in our country.

Indeed, the Congress leaders who give long sermons to the Communists on truth and tolerance should look at their own faces in the U.P. mirror. Let them see how much use for truth and tolerance they have in dealing with each other.

This article traces in brief outline the course of factional conflicts in the U.P. Congress during the last two and a half decades. The value of such information lies in indicating the historical roots of some of the present factional conflicts, but more than that in showing how ruthless and unprincipled is the struggle for power among the ruling sections of our country today.

Factionalism or groupism is

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a section of Congressmen for their factional fight against the Kidwai group. Nehru patronised both these groups by appreciating the Socialist phrase-mongering of Narendradev and lending support to Kidwai in organisational matters.

Pant did not occupy an important place in U.P. Congress at that time. As the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature he was not very active in U.P. politics.

After the success of the Congress at the polls in 1937, these two groups came to a headlong clash with each other on the question of electing the Leader of the Assembly Party, who was

and cowardice during the movement.

The subsequent legalisation of the Congress lent a new normalcy to this conflict, and as the prospect of a settlement the British Government came nearer the struggle of controlling the PCC became sharper. Both the factions girded up their loins for dominating the Government which was in the offing.

With the formation of the post-independence Government in the Province, a new chapter opened. In the new set-up the group led by Narendradev became to disintegrate rapidly and soon lost its importance. Narendradev, himself an invalid, be-

the Congress and of being pro-Muslim. There is no doubt that the agitation started by the Hindu Sabha in 1947 for taking away the Home Portfolio from Kidwai had the secret support of certain influential sections inside the Congress.

Within a year of the formation of the new Ministry, the Pant-Kidwai conflict became so acute that the Congress High Command, much against Kidwai's own wish, transferred him to the Central Cabinet in 1948. With the departure of Kidwai from U. P. his following became leaderless. In due course of time many of his leading supporters like Keshavdeo Malaviya, Ajit Prasad Jain and Mahabir Tyagi were also shunted off to Delhi.

Those who remained behind were harassed and victimised. Paliwal, Finance Minister and an old supporter of Kidwai, was removed from the Cabinet. Triloki Singh, another important leader of the Kidwai group who had earlier brought a charge-sheet against C. B. Gupta, was falsely implicated in an embezzlement case. Thus, finding it impossible to function in leading positions inside the Congress, both Paliwal and Triloki Singh along with a section of the Kidwai group left the Congress and formed another organisation called the People's Congress.

Formation of KMPP

It is obvious that this was done at the instance of Kidwai who himself resigned from the Congress at that time. Though he went back to the Congress fold soon after, Paliwal and Triloki Singh remained out and eventually joined the KMPP which was formed on the eve of the 1952 general elections. This brought to an end the phase of Kidwai's domination over the U.P. Congress and his group, which had controlled its affairs for a decade-and-a-half was reduced to an insignificant position.

Kidwai's disappearance from the scene, however, did not create a vacuum which could give Pant an unquestioned sway. The very man whom he had built up as a counterweight to Kidwai, C. B. Gupta, jumped into the centre of the stage and within less than a year after the first General Elections became the most powerful person both in the Ministry and in the PCC. This set the stage for a series of new factional conflicts in which the clash between C. B. Gupta and Pant became the focal point.

Subsequent to Kidwai's transfer to the Centre, Pant had started concentrating all governmental powers in his own hands. After the formation of the 1952 Ministry, C. B. Gupta, who considered himself the unquestioned leader of the Congress in the State, began to question Pant's right to wield such extensive powers.

At the same time, he himself started interfering in the

* SEE PAGE 14

Ministry Formation

Let us look back and start with the mid-'thirties. With the revival of the Congress organisation after the 1930-32 movement there developed inside the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee two distinct groups, one led by Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and the other by Narendradev. The latter included a good section of the younger cadre thrown up by the movement, prominent among whom were men like Mohanlal Gautam, C. B. Gupta, Kamalapati Tripathi, etc. The former commanded the allegiance mainly of the older set of Congressmen, though it also included some of the outstanding younger men as Keshavdeo Malaviya, Ajit Prasad Jain, Feroze Gandhi, Mahabir Tyagi and others.

The conflict between these two groups began essentially on a factional basis, taking the form of fight for offices and other positions inside the Congress organisation. But it as-

sumed an ideological garb when Narendradev with a considerable part of his following joined the Congress Socialist Party in 1934.

It would, however, be wrong to call one as the Right wing and the other as the Left wing of the Congress. Because, in practice the Narendradev group was no more radical than the Rafi group, despite the Socialist phraseology used by Narendradev and some of his colleagues.

In fact, at that time both these groups functioned within the framework of a radical outlook which had been generated in the U.P. Congress by Nehru and partly by the mass peasant struggles and the no-rent campaign of 1930-32.

It would be no exaggeration to say that in U.P. the Congress Socialist Party was mainly used as a platform by

ganiser with a large personal following had by that time become the most powerful person in the U.P. Congress. He dominated the Ministry as well as the PCC. Pant who had, in the meantime, stabilised, his position as Chief Minister could not easily accept Kidwai's over-all leadership and a clash between the two became inevitable.

In this conflict, Pant started organising a group around himself and consciously built up Sampuranand and C. B. Gupta as counterweight to Kidwai. C. B. Gupta, an energetic and dogged factionalist, was best fitted to function as a storm-trooper against Kidwai and he did his job well.

Not only inside the Congress but also outside a campaign of vilification was started against Kidwai. He was accused of being disloyal to

to head the first Congress Government in the Province. The rival candidates were Purushottam Das Tandon and Narendradev. The conflicting forces were, however, so equally balanced that Govind Ballabh Pant made his entry into U.P. politics by getting elected as the Leader by a majority of one vote, and that, too, the casting vote of the President, Nehru.

The formation of the 1937 Ministry tilted the balance in favour of Kidwai who became a power in the Ministry and used this position effectively in order to control and dominate the Provincial Congress Committee. Sampuranand walked out of the Congress Socialist Party and joined the Ministry but all other leading followers

came inactive. Some of his old followers like C. B. Gupta and Sampuranand were taken into the Government and became a part and parcel of the ministerial set-up.

Many others, hoping for posts and positions from Kidwai and Pant dissociated themselves from the Congress Socialist Party, which itself fell into a state of crisis, torn between the confused Leftism of its ranks and careerism of the majority of its leaders.

Soon new factional conflict and contradictions began to come to the fore, the most significant of which was the clash between two topmost men in the U.P. Cabinet, namely, Kidwai and Pant.

Kidwai, a very talented or-

Situation Has Now Become Explosive

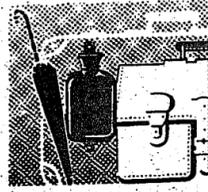
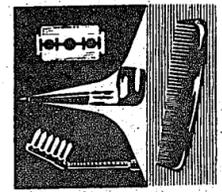
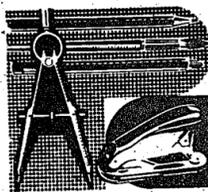
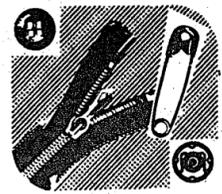
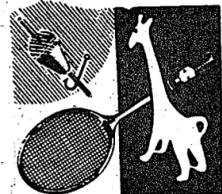
Because Snatch-and-Grab Has Become

Guiding Principle Of Organisation

The 1942 movement hushed up the factional controversies for the time being, but no sooner were Congressmen released in large numbers in 1943-44 than the old groupings reproduced themselves with a remarkable exactitude. Even repression and common suffering failed to act as a cementing factor. The very first meeting of the so-called "Assembly of Congressmen" which met at Kanpur was marked by bitter recriminations and the flinging of charges and counter-charges against each other of betrayal

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN



BHUPESH GUPTA PUTS CONGRESS IN THE DOCK

Speaking just after Prime Minister Nehru, Bhupesh Gupta in a powerful speech in the Rajya Sabha on August 25, put the Congress Central Government in the dock for its intervention in Kerala. Below we give extracts from the speech.

I WAS a bit shocked when the Prime Minister said with gusto: "I have acted under the Constitution, under Article 356." I have no doubt in my mind that the Proclamation has been issued under that particular Article. The question is whether it has been proper, constitutional, in keeping with democratic traditions and in the best interests of our country.

Sir, in 1922 when Mussolini marched into Rome, King Emanuel came and received him and made him the leader of the Government. When he was asked about this, the King said, "I have acted under the Constitution."

Likewise, under the Weimar Constitution, Von Papen made over power to Hitler and when the Communists and the Social Democrats challenged that, Von Papen said, "I have acted under the Weimar Constitution."

We have known how, under the Constitution, by abusing this power of authority, one can destroy the Constitution. Sir, my contention here is this. The part they have played in Kerala by this Proclamation and the way they have acted would lead to the destruction of this Constitution when none of us would be here and someone else will be ruling this country. This is the path of perdition and I would ask the Government to ponder over this matter.

Mass Support To Govt.

If the Kerala Government was popular when it came to office, it was even more supported when it was fighting the Central Government and the plan of Central intervention, and when it was struck down, human sympathies overflowed in all directions and I must pay a tribute to all sections of our democratic people who at the hour of trial stood by the Constitution, stood by democratic tradition and parliamentary institutions and projected themselves not only into the present, but into the future also. Now, I do not know whether this will make any sense to Mr. Datar, because I believe he does not know anything about mass meetings and I do not know if he has seen such an upsurge.

Now, Sir, here again, outside reactions were there. Here is the Times of Indonesia. It is an anti-Communist paper. It says:

"The main blame, of course, will go to the Congress Party, both for first having lost Kerala to the Communists at the polls and then for getting rid of its opponents in a manner so patently unconstitutional. While Premier Jawaharlal Nehru has overnight become acceptable to nearly all the United States and the lunatic fringe in Europe, South America and Australia for unseating a Communist Government...."

This is not a creditable thing. This is how even anti-Communist papers in friendly countries like Indonesia view this matter. I think, Sir, that democratic judgement and conscience is clearly on our side.

Then, Sir, I would come to the President's Proclamation which has been issued. It has been based, as the Proclamation says, on the Governor's Report and other matters.

I would like to say one thing here. The Home Minister earlier said that he also received reports from the officers and that he would not like to place them before us because they are confidential. I ask him, who are those officers? Are they the officers of the Kerala Government? If so, Kerala Government officers should not have normally sent reports over the heads of the Ministry. If they did, they were clearly acting unconstitutionally and in a manner highly subversive. I

do not think Kerala officials did it.

But who are those officers? Do you maintain a set of officers in Kerala to spy upon the Government of a State—a Government elected by the people—to send you secret reports? I would like to know who these officers are. It is no good that espionage should be conducted only against the Communist Party when it comes to office in a particular State.

I know the Central Intelligence Bureau had been strengthened in Kerala the moment we came into existence. This is not a good thing. Attempts were made to plant their agents in the offices of the Communist Party. Let it be known. This is a matter of interference, this has been the technique of this Government. Therefore, I would like to know about it.

Governor's Report

Then, Sir, comes the summary of the report. Here it is interesting. Now Mr. Datar said that day that the report was received on the 27th or 28th of July. He did not say exactly what date it was. Assuming that it was on the 27th, on the 27th of July a news item appeared in the morning papers that an informal decision favouring Central intervention in Kerala was understood to have been taken in the course after the latest round of discussions

and so on. This report appeared in the papers of the 27th morning. On the 26th, therefore, the decision had been taken, on the 26th at the latest, for Central intervention whereas the Governor's report is dated 27th.

It does follow, therefore, that the Governor's report came after the decision to intervene had taken place. It follows also that the Governor's report was a sort of excuse, a sort of afterthought which had been presented to the country, to beguile the people.

Fraud On The Constitution

Sir, it is a very, very important thing. The President says that he acted on the Governor's report and we see that the Governor's report came on the 27th or 28th—we do not know whether it is the 27th or 28th, or when they received it. It is dated the 27th; it may have reached here on the 29th. But the newspapers said that on the 26th the decision had been taken. On the 28th, the Prime Minister told the General Secretary of the Communist Party that he had come to the conclusion that

Act, 1935, when Provincial Governors used to send reports to the Viceroy behind the back of the Ministry, over the head of the elected popular Government, when, for example, the U.P. Governor in 1937, 1938 and 1939 was sending reports against Chief Minister Govind Ballabh Pant to the Viceroy here?

Are we reverting to those days? Is this the way of serving a democratic Constitution? Is this the way of setting good parliamentary conventions? Is this the way of defending the Constitution which the Governor by oath to the Constitution and the country is bound to do? I say it is not.

I think that the Governor's functioning has revealed another aspect of the conspiracy. The Governor has functioned in a manner incompatible with the Constitution, contrary to its provisions and basically opposed to its spirit.

I do not like that institution to be degraded, to be corrupted, to be used for party ends, to the advantage of the party in power at the Centre. I want this institution to remain as a constitutional head functioning with responsibility in a constitutional set-up, more or less in

the same way as the British Crown functions in relation to Parliament and the President is expected to function in relation to the Parliament here.

Then, Sir, let me come to the other aspect. I would not like Governors to sprout from the parlour of the Home Minister. Let them be elected, if you want to have that institution at all.

Where Is The Violation?

Now the allegation is that the Kerala Ministry violated Fundamental Rights. Much has been said. But then we have a written Constitution. Fundamental Rights are not what Smt. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Dhebar, Mr. Padmanabhan, Mr. Panampilly Govinda Menon, Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai or others may say. They are set forth in the Constitution and the Constitution in Article 32 also provides the remedy to move the Supreme Court whenever any Fundamental Right is violated.

Do I understand that the Supreme Court has given judgements on the basis of cases, on the basis of a large number of writs to the effect that the Constitution has been violated, that the Fundamental Rights have been affected by the Kerala Government?

Even if some writs were issued—they were issued in other States—it would not mean that Fundamental Rights have been violated actually. However, the provision to move the Supreme

Court is there.

How many writs have been issued and has the Supreme Court said anything? Still the blatant lie is put across that some Fundamental Rights have been violated by the Kerala Government when everybody knows that Fundamental Rights are written things, tangible things and against the violation of such there lies the remedy in the Supreme Court.

Mr. (K. P. Madhavan) Nair, the former Congress General Secretary, said that he did not go to the Supreme Court. How could he? He would have toppled down at the steps of the Supreme Court if he ever dared to go there because he knows that the Kerala Government never violated an iota of Fundamental Rights.

Doctrine Of Direct Action

Sir, a slogan was given by the President of the Kerala Congress—not merely by the Vimochana Samara Samiti—that they would start a movement, direct action, to paralyse the functions of the administration, to oust the Ministry. It is against the Constitution and the Prime Minister should have said that it was against the process of the Constitution.

You have accepted the doctrine of direct action in preference to the processes of the Constitution for changing a Government. This is a very serious development especially when it comes from the party in power in India. Sir, direct action has been glorified against a popular, constitutionally elected Government.

Sir, I think hon. members should ponder over this matter because the Constitution provides clearly for the means to change the Government.

Sir, then came the measure of the movement. What was that movement? Much has been said about it. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says, "I asked the Kerala Chief Minister, 'how did you manage that everybody is united against you?'" He knows the answer.

But may I ask him: "How you, Mr. Prime Minister, managed to unite the Congress Party with the Muslim League, Catholic Church, the Nair Service Society and others?" and that too in the life-time of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who is supposed to be anti-communal and secularistic?

Tell us the magic behind that wonderful alliance, and then we shall give you the answer. I know they will not accept the answer. Here is the gentleman. If I put that question to him, I know he will not like to answer. But I can give the answer.

The answer is: Political and moral degradation of the Kerala Congress, religious and communal prejudices, frustration—of which Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai is the living embodiment—anti-Communist prejudices and, above all, the power and pull of the vested interests brought about this unholy alliance in a violent reactionary crusade against a popular elected Ministry. Have I given the answer?

[K.P. Madhavan Nair (Congress-Kerala): You have not.]

Bhupesh Gupta: I have not? I can give the answer, but not the brains to understand it.

The Education Act was singled out for the opening of the battle. Why? They knew that they would be able to rouse the Catholics and the Catholics would come into the picture. The Catholics roused the passions of their followers. I can only give you one example here of how they roused their passions. Sometimes it is necessary to know this thing, Sir, I give you an example, not from any Communist paper because if I give anything from a Communist paper, you will not believe it. Here it is the Hindustan Standard, which is good enough for them.

[R.B. Gour: It is a jagirdar's paper, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.]

Bhupesh Gupta: They are not more reliable than the Kerala Vimochana Samara Samiti. The paper says: "Every parish and church of the State has now been converted into a sort of Catholic fortress. The bogey of 'religion in danger' has been raised all over the State to rouse the religious feelings of the god-fearing and peace-loving Catholics. The Bishops are going about in villages calling upon their followers to be ready to sacrifice everything in the struggle to save 'our religion and culture'."

"In many Catholic strongholds in the State which I have visited, I found the priests inciting people to violence saying that the Communists might give up their 'mischiefs' if they found 'us ready to face them.'"

This is how the Catholic Christians were preparing for the battle of liberation which resulted in this kind of Central intervention here. Speeches were made. Preparations were made and passions were roused. The Congress limped behind the Catholics. They went there to get support of the Catholics because they wanted to rouse passions somehow and then to capitalise on them. That was their technique. The Nair Service Society was also similarly utilised by them cleverly.

You cannot say the Congress is an organisation of fools. Never. That is an organisation of very clever, cunning and calculating people. They started this campaign with communal incitement, with religious appeals, to set passions aflame.

Dangerous Combination

Now the Vimochana Samara Samiti leader, Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan, has said that he spent Rs. 50 lakhs. He is very proud that he could destroy one crore worth of Government property. The destruction of public transport, he says, was of the order of Rs 30 lakhs. Nobody opposite condemns them for these acts. This is an everlasting shame.

Now, Sir, I ask the Congress leaders here one question. How much did you spend on the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921? The Tilak Swaraj Fund was one crore of rupees and with that money you started that movement and shook the British Empire all over India. Then I ask you: How much did

you spend in the 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement? Will the AICC kindly tell us how much they spent on account of these movements or, if you like, on the Quit India Movement of 1942?

We will not get this figure. I tell you that the Vimochana movement has been financed by the vested interests, and we are told that certain foreign cheques were cashed. There is a report in the Parliamentary papers that in the first four months about Rs. four crores came from abroad of which went to Kerala. This is the position.

You are not ashamed of it. Sir, the combination of power, communalism, vested interests and finance are dangerous for everybody who believes in democratic institutions.

This situation which they talk about was manufactured by the leaders of the Central Government, abusing their authority from Delhi, and by these Vimochana Samiti leaders and others in Kerala in order to bring about this thing. It was a manufactured situation in order to provide some pretext for Central intervention. It is a shame. It is a shameful thing for them to have done that. I say that they were conspiratorial. Read

the Indian Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian Penal Codes.

They were all working for that common end of ousting the Kerala Ministry somehow or other. And they knew that the Ministry could not be dismissed that way. Therefore, they wanted to do it by issuing some proclamation. They created that situation in order to find some pretext for that proclamation. That is how the whole drama was enacted.

Centre's Complicity

As far as the complicity of the Central Government is concerned, it is serious. The Prime Minister has failed miserably. Not only did he fail, by his acts of omission and commission, he became a party to that conspiracy. I do maintain it, because it was his constitutional duty to give protection to the Kerala Government in defending the Constitution. I am not going into Article 355 or 356 at this stage. Article 355 says that they must protect a State Government against internal disturbances. They should have protected us.

Mid-term elections, the Prime Minister said. Why should he accept mid-term elections? You make it a principle in every State; then we can consider that. Why this discrimination against the Communist Government?

I tell you, we were not functioning in the Kerala Government as the tenants-at-will of the Congress High Command that we must resign whenever they like us to do that. We do not do so. We Communists have known how to die on our feet, we have never known to live on our knees.

We stood by our constitutional rights, we stood by the constitutional principles, we held that we had the right to continue for a full term of five years and they conspired and the Prime Minister himself made many utterances, said so many things and gave his blessings, gave his support to the conspirators.

I do not count others. These little Thomases and other Ministers count for nothing but the Prime Minister is a man who could have made a difference to the situation but he became a party to one of the grossest, one of the shocking, one of the historically outrageous

conspiracies that our country has known in order to oust a Government, just because it did not toe the line of the vested interests and dance attendance on them.

Shame On The Congress!

I would ask the Congressmen and yourself, Sir, to ponder over the issue calmly and quietly in your cooler moments and come to your conclusions as to whether the path they have taken is the path that will strengthen our independence or help it to blossom, or strengthen our democracy, or defend our parliamentary institutions. I say, if you take a few more steps along this ruinous, disastrous path which the Government has chosen, it will lead to the ruination of the fondest dreams that sustain us, the hopes of the future and the strivings of the present generation. I would ask Congressmen to reject this Proclamation as a Proclamation of dictatorship as unconstitutional, as a Proclamation which is most undemocratic and against parliamentary institutions. Shame on the Congress Party!

"M. N." EXPRESSES KERALA'S ANGER

Organised heckling and interruptions by the Congress in the Rajya Sabha was a marked feature of the proceedings when M. N. Govindan Nair rose to open the Communist Party's indictment of Central intervention in Kerala in the Rajya Sabha on August 24.

But this undignified procedure failed to halt Govindan Nair's expression of the anger of Kerala.

Taking up the so-called summary of the Governor's report he stated: "The summary of the Governor's report is also the summary of the KPCC memorandum that was submitted to the President. The paraphrasing that was given by the Minister shows that the Central Government had acted mainly on the basis of the charge-sheet."

"If that is so... they should have had the ordinary courtesy of asking for an explanation from the Government before its dismissal. You know, Sir, that the KPCC did not submit the memorandum to the Government in Kerala nor did the Central Government send a copy of it to the Government in Kerala nor even did the Centre attempt to hear what the Communist Ministry in Kerala had to say... Instead of that, they accused, they judged and they punished."

Contradicting the absurd allegation that the Communist Party had used the State machinery to strengthen itself, he proudly declared: "Our understanding of strengthening the Party is to serve the people, get their backing and thus strengthen the Party. We agree that we have done our best to strengthen the Party by serving the people."

"...in a State where there was no stability of administration

the Communist Party did the crime of continuing in office for 28 months till we were dismissed. We have proved to the people that we are the only party that can give a stable Government to Kerala and this fact will remain true during the next elections."

With scathing scorn he next pointed out how the various Opposition parties had no confidence in their ability by themselves to take up the challenge. Hence, the getting together of a motley crowd whose only point of unity was the undemocratic demand of overthrowing an elected Ministry.

First Victim Was Congress

And in the vanguard was the epitome of reaction—the Catholic hierarchy. "It was the Catholic Church that started this agitation against the Communist Government. The Catholic missions of India met at Bangalore on December 4, 1958. They discussed for 50 hours the strategy to be followed in Kerala to oust the Communist Ministry. It was reported in The Hindu and The Indian Express. And mind you the first victim of that strategy was not the Communists but the Congress...."

"You know for three months the struggle for the election of the KPCC President continued. Why? They wanted somebody who would be completely under the control of the church to be KPCC President. It is all in the Press. These are not my inventions. It was all openly published. They wanted such a man and they had him...."

"After they were able to con-

rol the Congress organisation they decided to consolidate the other forces. At Kanyakumari they met and said that other sections of Christians should be consolidated. Again at Ernakulam they met and there their decision was that other communities should be brought in. They were looking for a person other than a Christian to come and take the lead of this movement.

"They found in Mannath Padmanabhan the proper man. You should excuse me for referring to him. By the abolition of monarchy in Kerala you left Mannath without a master. Even from my childhood I know that having been always against popular agitations, having been always on the side of the Government, he was trying to exploit the situation and benefit himself. You know what his attitude was during the time of the State Congress struggle. He was the person who stood behind the then Government and opposed the State Congress movement...."

"Then they got him and they started a movement against the Kerala Government.

"So, the mobilisation that was organised by the Catholic church and the communal Nair leader was capitalised by the political parties.

"But now the whole struggle is over. Where do they stand? They did not gain, Sir. They have lost. They have completely lost.

V. K. Dhage: Who? Govindan Nair: The Congress has lost its integrity.

He then sharply attacked the Congress High Command which blessed "the capture of the Congress flag" by the communalists and their encouragement of blatantly violent tactics.

"All this they are doing with a purpose, that is, to vitiate the election; they want to create the impression in the mind of the officers that if they do not yield to the wishes of the congress party, they will be punished...."

"The Home Minister has been saying that the very people are against us. Within a few months you will see who is against whom. You are going to reap the consequences."

RUMANIA, CONFIDENT IN FUTURE, MARCHES

This year the Rumanian people welcome joyfully the Fifteenth Anniversary of their country's liberation from the fascist yoke. August 23 is the greatest National Holiday of our people as it marks a radical turning point in the life of the working people.

ON that day in 1944 began a period of deep revolutionary changes during the course of which, under the leadership of the Party of the working class, the Rumanian people won for the first time their national independence, took their destiny into their hands and started building a new Socialist life.

The armed insurrection of August 23, 1944, represents the continuation of the heroic struggle waged by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party against the bourgeois-landlord regime for the defence of the vital interests of the people, for a better life, for democracy and socialism.

After having promoted for years on end a policy of enslavement of the country to the British, American and French monopolies, during the period of the expansion of the German fascist imperialism the Rumanian bourgeoisie and landowners parties brought their country under Nazi enslavement. They set up the fascist military dictatorship which, against the people's will, dragged Rumania into the criminal war against the Soviet Union.

Communist Party Led Insurrection

The Communist Party was the sole political force that held aloft the banner of national independence and perseveringly acted in favour of the union of all patriotic forces in their war against the fascist dictatorship and the Nazi occupiers.

Animated by ardent patriotism, despite the savage anti-popular persecution, the Communists unmasked the treacherous character of this war, organised acts of sabotage which struck at the Nazi war machine. The fact that the people's liberation movement developed in the objective framework created by the heroic struggle of the Soviet people is decisive.

The historic victories of the Soviet army and particularly the Stalingrad victory were a turning-point in the history of the progress of the war. They deeply influenced the evolution of the political situation in our country, shattering the positions of the fascist dictatorship and inspiring the patriotic forces.

Under these conditions, the Communist Party adopted in 1943 a political line directed towards the armed overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, Rumania's withdrawal from the anti-Soviet war and her going over to the anti-Nazi coalition. The Party prepared the armed insurrection in its smallest details. It organised in the chief towns armed patriotic guards and carried

on a vast political work among the ranks of the army in order to draw them into the insurrection.

The carrying out of the armed insurrection took place on August 23, 1944, under favourable conditions created by the impetuous advance on the territory of our country of the Soviet liberation troops. The patriotic guards' formations arrested the fascist Government, occupied the main public institutions, attacked and surrounded Nazi troops and after fighting fiercely against them, succeeded by August 29, 1944, in liberating Bucharest and its neighbourhood.

Proclamation Of Republic

According to the plan drawn up by the Party, simultaneously with the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the Rumanian troops turned their arms against Nazi Germany, joining the brave Soviet troops. Inspired by the knowledge that they were participating in a just liberation war, the Rumanian army supported by the whole people, bravely fought alongside the glorious Soviet army, for the liberation of the whole territory of the country and then beyond its frontiers till the final victory over Nazi Germany.

The victory of this insurrection is due to its thoroughly popular character, to the fact that the broad masses of the people were headed by the working class, and by the Communist Party.

August 23, 1944, represented the beginning of the people's revolution in our country. The masses, unwilling to let the bourgeois-landlord system return, started a gigantic revolutionary movement, and stepped on to the road of the struggle for the setting up of

a new social system. The Party ensured the continual strengthening of the unity of action of the working class, the strengthening of its leading role, the creation, in the heat of our struggle for land reform, of the alliance between the working class and peasantry, uniting in a broad front, around the working class, all the people's forces—the peasantry, the intellectuals linked with the people, the national minorities—in fact, the overwhelming majority of the people.

Thus, an enormously powerful social force was set up, which on March 6, 1945, made possible the setting up of the first Government in the history of our country in which the working class played the leading role.

The continual consolidation of the people's power, the ever-more marked change of the balance of forces in our country in favour of the working class and its allies made possible at the end of 1947, the passing of the whole power into the hands of the working people and the proclamation of the Rumanian People's Republic.

Parliamentary Form

In the carrying out of the people's revolution in our country, certain peculiarities manifested themselves in the way in which political power was conquered by the people in a comparatively peaceful way without civil war. The parliamentary form was also used in the carrying out of the revolution by transforming the parliament into an expression of the people's will. The old State apparatus was not shattered all at once but acquired gradually a new content.

In spite of all these peculiarities, however, the experience of our country fully confirmed the soundness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis according to which the Socialist transformation of society can be carried out only on condition that State power is won by the

working class. It was the establishing of the power of the working class, a new form of political organisation of society, which rendered possible the passing of the chief means of production into the hands of the whole people, the setting up and the continual expansion of the socialist relations, the rapid development of the productive forces in industry and agriculture, the securing of decisive successes in building the economic basis of Socialism.

Socialist Industrialisation

Under the bourgeois-landlord regime Rumania was maintained by the imperialist Powers as a country possessing an economic structure of the agrarian type. The specific weight of industry in the national income came to barely about 30 per cent. In spite of the heavy legacy of the past, in just 15 years, Rumania was transformed into a country with a powerful industry and agriculture, into full Socialist development.

The implementation of the Leninist policy of Socialist industrialisation met the vital interests of the people and the objective requirements of social development. The necessity of setting up the technical and material basis of the new social system played a decisive part.

In this respect, the Rumanian people were able to check by their own experience that the only road to ensure the rapid wiping out of economic backwardness, ensuring the development of the whole national economy and the setting up of a lasting basis for the continual raising of the living standards of the whole people, is that of Socialist industrialisation and the priority development of heavy industry.

Scores of mills and factories have been built all over the country. Among them are the great capacity blast furnaces, the blooming mill at

Hunedoara, new refineries, the great rolling-mill at Roman, the Birlad Ball-Bearing Plant, those turning out tractors and lorries at Stalin Town, the Dolcesti, Paroseni, etc., thermal power stations, etc. Large industrial units are under construction such as the Bloc V. I. Lenin Hydro-Power Plant, the Chemical Factory Complex at Onesti-Borzesti, etc. There is absolutely no region in the whole country, no matter how backward in the past, which does not feel the life-giving influence of industrialisation.

This year the output achieved in only three months is greater than the whole of the 1938 output. The average annual rate of growth in the last ten years has been over 16 per cent.

Our country, which during the bourgeois-landlord regime was compelled to import 95 per cent of its industrial equipment, meets the greater part of its requirements of machines and equipment out of its own production and in certain branches it even possesses sizeable quantities for export. In 1959, the output of the machine-building industry is 8.6 times greater than in 1938 and nearly ten times bigger than in 1948—a fact which reflects the particular concern shown by the Party and the Government for the development of this key industrial branch.

Reorganisation Of Agriculture

The efforts of the working people are, at the same time, directed towards those branches for which there already exist in our country favourable conditions for development and important reserves of raw materials, such as, for example, the chemical, oil, and metallurgical industries. The gross volume of the output of the chemical industry has grown more than ten times as it manufactures, now for the first time, in our country chemical fertilisers, synthetic fibres and threads, plastics, synthetic drugs, etc.

The tasks concerning the country's electrification are being successfully fulfilled. The electric power output has risen this year to nearly seven milliard kw, a figure representing an increase of more than six times compared to 1938.

The development of heavy industry has set up a lasting basis for the uninterrupted rise of the light industry whose output this year is four times greater than in 1938.

As is well-known, one of the most complex tasks of the proletarian dictatorship is the reorganisation of agriculture on a Socialist basis. In this respect, the Party had a good guide, confirmed by the Socialist construction of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, in Lenin's plan of genius—the Co-operative Plan. It was supported by the full development of So-

FORWARD ON ROAD TO SOCIALISM AND PEACE

cialist industry, thanks to the political work carried out by the Party and by the fact that the working peasants were fully aware of the superiority of Socialist agriculture.

The Socialist cooperative sector comprises nearly 70 per cent of the whole of the agricultural area of the country and over 2,500,000 families of working peasants out of the whole number of 3,600,000. Thus, the task set by the Second Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party that by 1960 the Socialist sector in agriculture should become preponderant has been successfully fulfilled.

Our State makes important capital investments for creating a powerful material and technical basis for Socialist agriculture. In 1958-59 alone, these investments amounted to 2.7 milliard lei. At present the agriculture of our country possesses over 50,000 tractors (calculated in 15 hp units) as against only 4,890 tractors in 1938. All this has led to the forming of a new peasantry, which utilises the most up-to-date technique and continually enriches its knowledge in production. If in 1953 there was only one agronomical engineer for three communes, today there are five, and a zootechnician for every three communes.

Exploitation Wiped Out

The development of Socialist construction, the increase at an ever faster rate of the Socialist sector in agriculture, the raising of the level of consciousness of the working peasantry, the ever-growing importance of the Socialist sector in agriculture, in the production of marketable goods, the impulse of our whole economy towards Socialism, have all helped to completely wipe out the exploitation of man by man in the countryside.

The continuous development of Socialist economy, the increase of the national income on the sure basis of the uninterrupted rise of the material living standards of the working masses, is the chief aim of the activity carried on by the Party and the State. Between 1948 and 1959, the national income grew by over three times. The real wages of the working people increased by over 60 per cent in 1959-59. Likewise a substantial increase of the incomes of the working peasantry was also recorded. As a consequence of the abolition of the compulsory quotas and the development of the system of State contracts and purchases, the incomes of the working peasantry increased four times in 1958 as against 1950.

Ever more important means are allocated by our People's Democratic State for the protection of health, for education, housing construction, for sending the working people to rest in health and bath resorts, etc. The social and cultural expenditure is 3.5 times greater in 1959 as

against 1949 and represents over 3,000 lei for every worker's family.

Thanks to the heroic labour of the working class and toiling masses, we have reached a stage when we are able to set up an economic potential permitting the people to benefit to an ever larger extent from the fruits of their own efforts. This strengthens the working people's conviction, on the basis of facts that the development of Socialist construction forms the very foundation of the improvement of their standard of living.

The raising of Socialist consciousness combined with implementation of the principles of material interest proved to be a powerful force of advance on the road of progress.

On the basis of the results achieved in raising labour productivity and lowering the cost price as far as industrial production is concerned, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party adopted, in a recent plenary session, a number of measures designed to raise again the standard of living of the working people by increasing the regular wages of the workers and other categories of wage-earners, by continually wiping out, or lowering the taxes on wages, the increase of prices of 2,600 assortments of consumer goods, food, etc.,—bringing to the working people an increase of income of 4.7 milliard lei annually.

The characteristic feature of the whole political life in our country is the continual development of Socialist democracy. Due to this the broad masses of the working people participated directly as real masters of their country, in the conducting of public affairs.

The solving of the national problem in our country, the achieving of full equal rights for the national minorities in the political, economic, social and cultural life, represents the success of the Rumanian people, of the power of the People's Democratic State.

Basis Of Success

All the successes achieved during the last 15 years are the result of the fact that the leading force in the State and of the people, is the revolutionary Party of the working class. The Party is powerful thanks to the unity and discipline of its ranks, its unshakable bonds with the masses, a policy reflecting the implementation of the principles of dialectical materialism, of the Marxist-Leninist teaching in accordance with the concrete economic and social requirements of our country.

The study of the enormously rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the International Communist movement, help our movement to better and faster solve the complex problems of the new social

system and played a role of paramount importance in the struggle waged by our Party.

The important successes reviewed on the occasion of our great national holiday are directly connected with the fact that the Rumanian People's Republic is developing in the framework of the victories of the invincible Socialist camp, headed by the great Soviet Union, in all fields of construction of the social system.

The internationalist many-

settlement through negotiations of the acute problems of international life.

It was precisely this common position on such fundamental problems of internationalism that constituted the powerful basis of the ties of friendship and cooperation among our countries to continually develop and strengthen the bonds of friendship, to strengthen the world forces working for the maintenance and consolidation of peace, which meets the interests of all peoples.

Khrushchov and Eisenhower, expressing their conviction that these visits would lead to a new step towards an international detente, towards the consolidation of world peace.

Along with the other Socialist countries, the Rumanian People's Republic supports the proposals of the Soviet Union which offer a practical programme for achieving disarmament, for the banning of the nuclear weapons. At the same time our people support warmly the proposal to create demilitarised zones in Central Europe, in the Far East and the whole of the Pacific. We are firmly convinced that, thanks to the joint efforts of the peoples belonging to the countries of the Socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples in the world, the cause of peace will finally triumph in the whole world for the good of all mankind.

On the occasion of the Fifteenth Anniversary of their liberation from the fascist yoke, our people look with justified joy on the results of their struggle and efforts for the building up of a new social system in their free country. Confident in the future, the Rumanian people march forward, guided by the Rumanian Workers' Party, along the road illumined by the Marxist-Leninist teachings, the road of Socialism and peace.

by ALEXANDRU DRAGHICI
Member, Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY.

sided cooperation and support of the Soviet Union, the relations of fraternal cooperation and mutual aid among the countries belonging to the Socialist camp, considerably increased the results of the creative effort of the Rumanian people.

Solidarity With Asia-Africa

Deeply concerned with their creative labour directed towards the continual development of the country, the Rumanian people are greatly interested in the ensuring of a lasting peace in Europe and in the whole world. Thousands of miles of vast stretches of land, mountains and waters separate the Asian and African countries from Rumania but friendship conquers all obstacles.

The Rumanian people who won their freedom and independence by bravely fighting against imperialism, feel a sincere sympathy and solidarity for the struggle waged by the African and Asian countries against the colonialist yoke, for the acquiring, defence and consolidation of their political and economic independence, for peace and social progress.

Alongside the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other Socialist countries, the Rumanian People's Republic raised its voice against colonialist aggressions by jointly participating in the actions designed to defend the rights and interests of the African and Asian countries, former colonies which have won their independence and promote a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence.

By establishing economic relations based on equality, respect and mutual advantage, our country endeavours to contribute to the progress of these countries, to the turning to good account of their national resources, and to their economic development. The Rumanian People's Republic highly prizes the contribution of the African and Asian countries to the struggle for an international detente, for the promotion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations among States, for the

The events of international life show very clearly that the forces of peace, far more powerful than those of war, increase and progress continually in the whole world. The idea of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, of the peaceful solving of problems and issues have gained the adherence not only of the masses but also an ever growing number of statesmen of most diverse political opinions.

The Rumanian people, as well as the other peoples of the world, welcomed the agreement covering an exchange of visits between

BOOK REVIEWS

* FROM PAGE 6

you instead of rousing any tenderness.

Lal Pan Ki Begum, Sirpanchami ka Sagun, Thes and Teerthodak are stories which may please if read separately in different places but there is no simplicity or sharpness in them and they are weighed down by the heavy burden of style. The rest of the stories hardly deserve mention. It passes one's understanding why Nityalia was chosen for this collection at all.

There is hardly any originality in the content of these stories. You do not get a single glimpse of the problems of the life in the village of today, or of the new turn that the village is taking. The reader is nowhere confronted with those problems which agitate the ordinary peasants in their day-to-day life. "Renu" it seems is exclusively concerned with solving the riddles of the human heart—even in isolation from the surrounding realities.

He has achieved popularity through his style and his musical use of words, but I would humbly suggest that these can be suitable for some stories only. A blanket use of these makes the stories only unnecessarily ponderous. The writer's power lies in variety and brevity, length makes for a fault.

With all this it must be said that "Renu's" sketches, his music of words—along with a certain necessary restraint—constitute a powerful force in Hindi fiction. How touching is the picture: "Birju saw both the daughters-in-law swaying inside their veils and he was reminded of the ears of wheat in his field swinging in the sweet air."

VISHNU PRABHAKAR



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PAGE ELEVEN



A worker in a Rumanian factory. Socialist industrialisation has rapidly wiped out Rumania's economic backwardness and continually raised living standards.

PIPE-DREAMERS CAN THINK AGAIN

China Welcomes Ike-Khrushchov Meet

A lot has been written in the Press in India and the West seeking to make out that China has very big differences with the Soviet Union on the impending Khrushchov-Eisenhower meeting. Belying all these reports has come the statement from China's Vice-Premier Chen Yi who said in Peking on August 17 that the recent agreement on mutual visits between the heads of Governments of the Soviet Union and the U.S. is "a major victory for the Soviet Union's diplomacy of peace."

Victory For Peace Efforts

He said that the Government and the people of China warmly welcomed this exchange.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi was speaking at a reception given by the Korean Ambassador Li Young in celebration of the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Liberation of Korea.

Chen Yi pointed out that the closer unity, the vigorous development and the growth of the strength of the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union this year "have exerted a great influence on current international life."

"At the same time," the Vice-Premier went on, "thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries for peace and the relaxation of international tension, and to the growing sentiments of the peace-loving countries and people of the world in favour of peaceful coexistence and against the cold war, agreement has been reached of late on mutual visits between the heads of Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The whole world acknowledges this as a major victory for the Soviet Union's diplomacy of peace."

"The Chinese Government and people warmly welcome this measure which is helpful toward easing international tension."

"We cannot but note, however," he added, "that the United States, while compelled to accept the mutual visits between the heads of Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States and to make certain gestures in favour of relaxation, is still clinging stubbornly to its policy of aggression and expansion and its cold war policy."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi went on: "Far from having any intention of abolishing its military bases on foreign soil, the U.S. is continuing to expand and strengthen them."

"It persists in a diabolic attitude on the question of conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, termination of the occupation regime in West Berlin and prohibition of the testing of nuclear weapons. It has obstructed the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers from reaching agreements on international questions that are ripe for solution."

"In the Far East, the U.S. still continues to hold on to our territory of Taiwan; it continues to hang on in South Korea and obstruct the peaceful unification of Korea; it is further increasing its collusion with the Japanese Kishi Government and stepping up the revival of Japanese militarism."

"In Indo-China, the U.S. is brazenly directing the Sanankone Government of Laos to extend the civil war of its own making, thus aggravating the tension in this area."

"At the same time, the U.S. is still continuing its wanton calumny and slanders against the Socialist countries. At the very time of the recent visit by the Vice-President of the United States to the Soviet Union, the U.S. ruling circles at home staged the farce of a so-called 'Captive Nations Week.'"

"In view of all these facts," Vice-Premier Chen Yi stated, "one has reason to be wary about American gestures in favour of relaxation. How much sincerity the U.S. has in this respect remains to be proved by its actual deeds in the future."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "Whatever the intention of the U.S., however, actions based on a policy of war and positions of strength are certainly doomed more and more to failure in the present age in which the east wind prevails over the west wind."

"As long as the Socialist forces, the forces of national independence and the forces of peace all over the world heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and carry on unremitting struggle, they will certainly be able to defeat the policy of war and aggression of imperialism."

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

WESTERN WRANGLES AS BIG TWO SUMMIT APPROACHES

VERY often, the most obvious occurs in the garb of the most unexpected. A couple of weeks ago, a big break came with the news of the Khrushchov-Ike exchange of visits. Almost the entire world received it as the most obvious, necessary and effective first step which could lead towards the relaxation of international tension.

India's Prime Minister welcomed the news. And Pakistan's President, while pleading for his country's "right to prove that it was a trustworthy friend" (of the U.S.), characterised this news as "very good." From Japan to Cuba, from Indonesia to Iraq, from Peking to Bonn—the predominant note struck was that of welcome.

Equally unanimous were the comments in the Press about the shock it produced among the "Free World Allies." "Western Alliance in Disarray," "Stampede by European Leaders to Meet President," "Disarray in Western Camp," "Headlined the Indian dailies." The London Economist (August 22) was visibly worried: "President Eisenhower may think he is coming to Europe to talk about Mr. Khrushchov; he is more likely to find himself talking about General De Gaulle," "striving to find, 'is there a point at which Dr. Adenauer... cannot afford to follow France into a prickly declaration of independence from American policy?'"

Why, on the one hand, the universal welcome by world public opinion to the forthcoming Khrushchov - Eisenhower meeting, and on the other, this mesentente cordiale between the Governments of the leading Western countries—the pillars of the NATO?

Today, the relaxation of international tension has become the common wish and the urgent demand of mankind. The peoples of the world see in the forthcoming meeting of the heads of the Governments of USSR and USA, a great step for peace and a great opening for its ultimate victory. Hence their welcome.

On the other hand, it is a major defeat for the exponents of the cold war policy, for those aggressive ruling circles who thrive only in the atmosphere of international tension. And when their leader—the U.S.—is compelled to respond, even partially, to the relentless peace overtures of the USSR they are dismayed. Hence their discomfiture and confusion.

Ike's acceptance of a top-level meeting with Khrushchov is the culmination of a series of defeats for American foreign policy. U.S. attempts to subvert the Socialist camp have failed; the Socialist countries are steadily marching forward, growing ever stronger. Its so-called "deterrent policy" has gone bankrupt; its military sci-

ence and technique have been left far behind by those of the Soviet Union. Its policy of subjugating vast intermediate zones has proved ineffective in the face of the rising tide of the national liberation movements. Iraq and Cuba were only two of its many nightmares. And, to cap it all, its allies are becoming more and more reluctant to accept its coercion and orders. Britain, for example, was pressing for some measure of *detente*.

Hence, the U.S. dilemma: fear of relaxation, but forced to accept some relaxation. Hence the U.S. President's refusal to accept a Summit meeting (identified with negotiation) but his later acceptance of a meeting with Khrushchov, which he has desperately tried to differentiate as "exploratory rather than any attempt at negotiation" (August 3).

Nevertheless, the world knows that the U.S. is now being forced to make certain changes in its foreign policy, to make some tentative efforts on other lines, though it is too early yet to nail this down as a definite trend.

Walter Lippman, one of the early exponents of the so-called "Atlantic unity," is now forced to admit that what one witnesses today in the U.S. foreign policy... "is a big departure from our previous position." While, the *New Statesman* While, the *New Statesman* (August 15) has pronounced the sentence: "His (Eisenhower's) decision to meet Mr. Khrushchov was the first overt sign that Dulles was truly in his grave."

Hence, the question, what does this "overt sign" forebode for "Atlantic unity"? The indications are provided by the wrangles raised to a new pitch, which President Eisenhower will have to tackle, during his visit to Europe.

Deep-Rooted Processes

Not that these wrangles are absolutely new. They are, in fact, symptoms of deep-rooted processes that are corroding the foundations of the imperialist bloc.

What is new at present is that the results of these processes are making themselves visible in the alignments in Western Europe. What is new at present is that, the repeated, timely initiatives of the Soviet Union—combined with the increasing might of the Socialist world—compelled each Western Power to do something to define its position. This has highlighted the divergences between the Western States.

Just when the deep freeze had seemed to settle on Europe, with admirable skill the Soviet statesmen forcefully brought on

the agenda—Berlin and German peace treaty. The ice cracked.

With this most crucial issue up for international discussion the wrangles in the Western ruling circles became louder. And today, when President Eisenhower is to visit Europe, they are at their loudest so far. Witness the statement of French Premier Debre against the U.S. and U.K. and the sustained "hate Britain" campaign in the West German Press.

Bonn's greatest worry is, in the dispersal of war clouds—in an atmosphere showing signs of relaxation how can its military machine breathe and gather strength to devour its own "allies," eventually? The Soviet warnings that rearming West Germany would boomerang now take tangible shape in Adenauer's obstructionist tactics.

De Gaulle finds the time opportune to woo Bonn and bargain with his Anglo-Saxon allies for a greater share—if not quite equal—in ruling over the destinies of Europe and of the "free world," even.

Britain aspires for a special position in the Western alliance, by forging closer links with the U.S.

So, the U.S. and British ruling circles express open annoyance with Paris and Bonn. "Unabashed by any difference in material power between France, and the U.S., he (de Gaulle) asserts France's Great Power status as serenely as did Louis XIV, Napoleon I or Clemenceau" hits out the *New York Times*. "Dr. Adenauer, General de Gaulle... have allowed themselves to appear as the joint master of an Anglo-phobe club" complains Britain's *Financial Times*. As the *Times of India's* London Correspondent has reported (August 23): "The Americans seem quite bewildered by this big disarray in the Western camp."

Where The Danger Lies

These contradictions in the Nato alliance reveal, above all, its utterly negative and bellicose basis. The first signs of negotiations have got them snarling at each other. And here precisely is the danger. Some desperate act might yet be indulged in, some sabotage of the discussions that now seem in sight, to paper up the cracks. The people must remain vigilant.

—RAZA ALI

VIETNAM

14 YEARS OF DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

THE visitors to the Tien-Bo (Progress) Printing Factory in Hanoi will be interested in a block of cosy flats from which come the laughter and talks of many children: this is the factory's creche and kindergarten where workers' children live and are looked after by a group of nurses in clean white uniforms.

This is not the only creche in North Vietnam today where the workers have become the masters of their enterprises. At nearby factories and offices, there are baby-sitters' groups, canteens, clubs and other amenities for the workers and their families.

Although the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRVN) is still facing many difficulties in reconstruction it has made commendable efforts to improve the workers' living con-

ditions. New living quarters for workers have been built, provided with electricity and running water and, in the evening, men and women are seen gathering at well-lit clubs reading newspapers or listening to radio programmes.

Let us visit the Nam-Dinh Textile Plant for a while; when it was taken over from the French colonialists some five years ago, more than 10,000 workers spent back-breaking hours in gloomy workshops. Today everything

has changed. A new arrangement of the looms and other machines and the enlargement of the buildings have given more space for the workers to man them. A wooden ceiling has been installed under the corrugated-iron roof. Electric fans and ventilators provide cool air during working hours as well as during meal time.

Working conditions at newly built factories are even better. This is the case at the Hanoi Engineering Plant, the

Thong-Nhat (Unity) Match Factory and the Hai Phong Fish Canning Factory, to name only a few. Attention has been paid in the building of these factories to provide workers with plenty of space, lockers, wash-stands and other conveniences. Air cleaners remove dust.

In the Hong-Quang mining area, if one recalls the hardships endured by miners in old days, the improvements made there since its management by the DRVN Govern-

ment are even more striking. In open-cut mines, many sheds have been set up to provide shelter from rain and the tropical sunshine and a spot for relaxation at recess-time. Those working underground are given special garments, leather and rubber shoes, plastic caps. After work they can have a cool shower in the shower-blocks at the mines themselves. Miners are given free-of-charge transport, by bus and lorry, from their dwelling villages to the coal pits. They work in three 8-hour-a-day shifts with half an hour rest (a 48-hour week) with no overtime allowed for reasons of health, enjoy full medical attention and have free-of-charge accident insurance (in fact, protection devices and the systematic education in this connection have reduced the incidence of accidents to negligible proportions). Moreover beside their wages, they are given a monthly 300-kilogramme of coal allowance plus a fortnight's holiday each year.

North Vietnam workers' wages also have increased by 14 per cent in the past year. Along with wage increase, great efforts were exerted to prevent fluctuations in and to reduce market prices. By the end of 1958, the prices of 96 main necessities on 11 major markets were down by 4.82 per cent compared with the end of 1957. Besides, in 1958, the Ministry of Industry allocated nearly 2,000,000 dong (about 200,000 pounds) in bonuses to workers for increased production and allowances for labour safety and improvement of the workers' living conditions.

Worth noticing are also the improvements in the cultural life of the Vietnamese workers. The elimination of illiteracy is among the main achievements of the DRVN in the past 14 years and has contributed an important part in taking the working people on to the road of knowledge and progress. Workers can now read and write, enjoy film shows and take part in sports, things unknown in the past for hundreds of thousands of them.

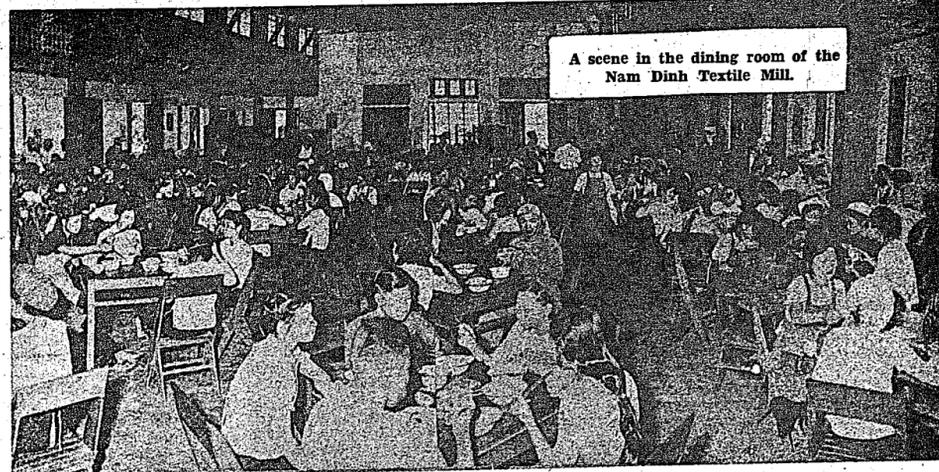
If we compare their lives now to the hard ones they had in the past, we will better realise the solicitude and the efforts of the Government of the DRVN and what democracy means in practice for workers who have become masters of their factories and destiny.

—K. P. S. MENON

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A scene in the dining room of the Nam Dinh Textile Mill.

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Food Debate Cuts Across Party Barriers

responsibility on the right shoulders: "It is your policy, your pro-hoarder policy, your anti-State trading policy, your policy of really helping those people who are actually controlling the market and squeezing out the poor people and holding the community to ransom, it is that which is responsible. Unless this policy is changed now, when the new 'aman' crop comes in, however big the crop may be, our people in West Bengal will continue to suffer."

Giving a history of the slipshod way in which the Centre and State Governments conspired to sabotage the decisions of the National Development Council to start State trading in foodgrains, she pointed out: "In this record production year with a harvest of 73.3 million tons what happened? On the eve of the harvest, we have been told by our Deputy Minister, Krishnappa: we are going to get very good rice crop. The NDC meets in November and says: now, more and more we are going to slowly take over the wholesale trade progressively... What happened in December, 1958? There was no floor price of paddy given with the result that when the poor peasants had to sell, he had to sell at any price... Government gave a price at which it was not possible to procure—Rs. ten.... On January 1, the price control order was issued after the big bulk of the aman crop had come into the market. The trader starts the trade and rice begins to disappear."

Referring to the food movement started in West Bengal, she said, "It is being suppressed. The Preventive Detention Act is used.... But the point is, some people have asked: 'Will the movement bring you food?' I would like to answer that question. One of the objectives of this agitation is dehoarding, because neither the police nor the policies of the Central or State Government have helped in this. They have always helped the hoarders. As a result of this programme, all big wholesalers rushed to Writers Building and met the Chief Minister. They told him that dehoarding is going to take place and asked for police protection. The Chief Minister has promised them police protection. Then a little rice started coming in...."

During the debate, Mahanti gave a telling instance of open and unashamed hoarding resorted to by big merchants in Calcutta. "We find a peculiar scene of hoarders like Fashupati Das and Sons publishing advertisements, flashed in 'Statesman' and other Calcutta dailies saying 'We can supply any quality of rice to anyone that comes forward.' I have sent that advertisement to the hon. Food Minister. I have sent that advertisement to the hon. Prime Minister and I have never been offered an answer."

The debate made one fact clear. That this Government is incapable of solving the food problem, because it is afraid of harming the classes who vitiate the problem, who thwart every attempt at straightening matters.

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affairs of other Ministries and in the district administration directly over the head of the Cabinet. He did not have any scruples even in using his support inside the PCC to attack those Ministers who resented his interference, one of his main targets being Sampurnanand, the Police Minister.

It will be recalled that in 1953-54, the police administration came in for very severe criticism again and again by Congress Legislators belonging to the Gupta faction, both in party meetings and inside the Assembly.

C. B. Gupta also developed in this period close links with K. M. Munshi, the Governor and, through him, with Morarji Desai at the top. At the same time, it is reported widely, he utilised quite freely his contacts with Big Business, particularly with the sugar and textile magnates, in order to buttress his own position in the Congress organisation.

Faced with this situation, Pant fell back on his old strategy of balancing and building counterweights and this time he selected three Cabinet Ministers to play this role, Sampurnanand, Kamalapati Tripathi and Charan Singh. In combination to state that with this combination against him C. B. Gupta had very heavy odds to lose. For the time being, he lost his weight considerably in the Government but he continued to enjoy the confidence of the majority in the PCC.

Under the impact of this factional set-up, caste and communal groupings which had hitherto been quite weak in the U.P. Congress began to develop rapidly. Both sides fostered these groupings and soon a Rajput-Jat group led by Charan Singh, a Brahmin group led by Kamalapati Tripathi, a Bania group led by C. B. Gupta, a Muslim group led by Muzaffar Hussain and a Harijan group came into existence in the Legislature. Even regional hostilities, particularly between East and West U.P., were roused and matters reached a stage where the majority of Congress MLAs from Western Districts signed a memorandum to the Government demanding the formation of a separate State of Western U.P.

Pant's Transfer And After

After Pant's transfer to the Centre in 1955, C. B. Gupta again rehabilitated himself as the most powerful man in the State Government. It is noteworthy that the proposal to relieve Pant for the Central Cabinet was readily accepted by all sections of the U.P. Congress leadership.

The Gupta group obviously welcomed his departure. The remnants of the old Kidwai group wanted to see him out of the State in order to create elbow room for themselves. Sampurnanand and Kamalapati Tripathi who were closely affiliated to Pant had their own ambitions. The only important person who vehemently opposed Pant's transfer to the Centre was Charan Singh ostensibly because he saw C. B. Gupta's ghost looming large on the horizon. It was rumoured that Pant did not feel happy at the prospect with which the proposal of his transfer to the Centre was accepted by the U.P. Congress leadership.

The reconstitution of the Ministry after Pant's departure

was virtually dictated by C. B. Gupta. He accepted Sampurnanand as the Chief Minister because any conflict on that issue at that stage might have prompted the Congress High Command not to withdraw Pant from the U.P. He also agreed to the retention in the Cabinet of Charan Singh and Kamalapati Tripathi, the two main lieutenants of Pant, because both of them commanded the allegiance of small but well organised groups in the legislature and the PCC. But he put his foot down against the inclusion of Mohanlal Gautam in the Ministry, whom Sampurnanand much against his own will had to drop.

On General Election Eve

Thus, on the eve of the Second General Elections, C. B. Gupta's control over U.P. Congress affairs was so complete that he not only established his majority in the State Parliamentary Board but also managed to get his own list of Congress candidates accepted by the Centre. Sampurnanand was too cautious to antagonise Gupta and despite past bitterness adopted a very accommodating attitude towards him.

The General Elections of 1957 marked a sudden turn in the political fortunes

of C. B. Gupta. They demanded permission for Congress Committees to organise demonstrations and even satyagraha against maladministration, police excesses, etc. Several District Congress Committees passed resolutions to this effect.

Major Controversy

This touched off a major controversy in U.P. Congress circles about the right of Congressmen to criticise the administration publicly which in due course raised questions concerning the relationship between the PCC and the Government. In a stormy PCC meeting held in September 1957 a resolution was passed disapproving of the State Government's decision to raise the age of supernannuation of Government servants from 55 to 58.

Sampurnanand and Kamalapati made this an issue of confidence and though no meeting of the PCC was called again to reconsider this question, both sides started preparing in a big way for the elections to the new PCC due to be held a few months later. The new PCC again gave Gupta a majority but in the Parliamentary Board and the Executive Council, which were by common agreement nominated by Pant and Sampurnanand, the Gupta

sters enjoy freedom of vote. When the Congress High Command virtually endorsed Sampurnanand's viewpoint, one Cabinet Minister, Jugal Kishore, and eight Ministers and Deputy Ministers belonging to the Gupta group resigned from the Government. This act finalised Gupta's breach with Sampurnanand and his Cabinet colleagues.

For the last one year, Kamalapati Tripathi, Gautam and others have been trying to break up Gupta's group by resorting to all sorts of questionable methods, but without much success. Gupta has, on the other hand, succeeded in tightening his support by launching a big offensive against the Ministry. All prospects of a compromise vanished in May last when Sampurnanand filled five out of the eight vacancies of Deputy Ministers with his own supporters, four out of whom whose loyalties had been recently weaned away from Gupta.

While this major conflict inside the U.P. Congress was brewing, Charan Singh, who under Pant's Chief Ministership, had lined up with the rest against C. B. Gupta began to come into conflict with the rest of his Cabinet colleagues soon after Pant's departure. He started attacking the bureaucratic methods of Sampurnanand and the unprincipled and

The leading Ministerial group retaliated by launching a big offensive against him at the organisational level and tried to uproot him from his following in the Western Districts. This heightened the conflict and Charan Singh began gradually drifting towards C. B. Gupta.

By the middle of 1958, the two had moved quite close to each other and in the subsequent months they arrived at an understanding to form a joint front for having a final showdown with the Sampurnanand-Gautam combine. Thereafter Charan Singh resigned from the Government which, incidentally, was the eighth resignation he had submitted during the past year and half. Sampurnanand readily accepted this time.

Latest Phase

It was thus that the last phase of the conflict was ushered in when 98 MLAs of the Congress Party declared their lack of confidence in the Sampurnanand Ministry from the floor of the Assembly on. The line of action of the Gupta-Charan Singh bloc is to mount the offensive still further after the new PCC elections due to be finished within the next two months. In case no settlement acceptable to them is arrived at by that time, they would try to raise the struggle to the level of direct clash between the new PCC in which they expect to

Democratic Forces Must Unite To Fight Unprincipled Power-Politics In U. P.

of C. B. Gupta. Not only was he himself defeated but of the defeated Congress candidates the overwhelming majority belonged to his group. Gupta immediately attributed this to an organised administrative intervention against him during the elections at the instance of his political opponents. It is true that the district bureaucracy did throw its weight against some of Gupta's picked men who had developed the habit of interfering too much with the local administration with Gupta's patronage at the top.

However, his defeat in the General Elections did not in any marked measure affect his strength in the PCC and he therefore, had a considerable say in the formation of the Ministry. In fact, it was due to his pressure that Mohanlal Gautam was again excluded from the Cabinet and the number of Charan Singh's portfolios were reduced.

C. B. Gupta Retaliates

Being out of office, however, he started losing initiative in governmental matters and within less than a year, a strong Ministerial bloc was consolidated against him, with Kamalapati Tripathi, the Home Minister, as its leader. Mohanlal Gautam was brought back into the Cabinet and this gave the anti-Gupta faction a considerable accession of strength in governmental circles.

C. B. Gupta and his followers started retaliating by openly criticising the administration and levelling charges of corruption against some of the Mini-

group was reduced to a minority. Immediately, after this came C. B. Gupta's second defeat in the Maudaha by-election to the Assembly.

Full of hatred and bitterness, he now started openly demanding the expulsion from the Government of Kamalapati Tripathi and Mohanlal Gautam whom he held directly responsible for his second defeat. In the PCC meeting which was held soon after his defeat, his group moved a non-official resolution proposing the dissolution of the Executive Council and the Parliamentary Board.

At this Sampurnanand threatened to resign from Chief Ministership if the resolution was not withdrawn. Faced with this threat and having no alternative name for Chief Ministership in view, C. B. Gupta withdrew the resolution. But while doing so he raised another issue, which became the basis for the next stage of the crisis, i.e., the right of Ministers to vote freely, regardless of the views and opinions of the Chief Minister, on all organisational matters inside the party.

Resignation Of Ministers

Sampurnanand doggedly refused to concede this right and held that neither on issues of governmental policies or on organisational matters which were likely to affect the unity of the Cabinet could the Mini-

corrupt ways of Kamalapati Tripathi and Mohanlal Gautam. A talented egoist, inordinately ambitious though personally clean, Charan Singh began to create crisis after crisis in the Cabinet on a number of issues. He directed his attack against the corruption and wastefulness in governmental circles, not sparing even the Ministers. As Irrigation Minister, he got an enquiry instituted into certain cases of corruption of the Irrigation Department with which Kamalapati Tripathi was supposed to have been indirectly connected. He also got some enquiries made into certain cases of the Cooperative Department with which Mohanlal Gautam was associated.

They are not thinking at present in terms of quitting the Congress party because such a course of action would split their own unity and partly because there is no possibility of their forming an alternative Government with the help of the existing Opposition in the Assembly which is much too diverse politically to function as a united bloc along with them.

It is possible, however, that in case they lose in the PCC elections and are subsequently victimised on a big scale, a good number of them may even leave the Congress and form a separate Opposition bloc of their own. Such a contingency is, however, remote.

Charan Singh's Charge-Sheet

He exposed and demanded action in the notorious Lucknow Housing Scandal in which certain senior officers, said to be close to the Chief Minister, had acquired government land on nominal prices and secured cement and other building material through their private houses. Towards the end of 1957, he brought fourteen charges against Kamalapati Tripathi and submitted the charge-sheet to the Governor demanding an enquiry. He simultaneously submitted his resignation, which was, however, not accepted by the Governor.

secure a majority, and the State Cabinet. They are confident that in this manner they would succeed in compelling the Congress High Command, in due course of time, to accept their demands.

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How far and with what effect the Congress High Command can intervene, and bring about a settlement is still a matter of speculation. At the Congress top there are powerful pulls, both in favour of and against C. B. Gupta. It is said that Dhebar and Morarji Desai are pro-Gupta, while Nehru and Pant are pro-Sampurnanand.

One thing is, however, clear. This crisis in U.P. Congress cannot be resolved easily. In fact the magnitude of the conflict and its whole background of intense perso-

* SEE FACING PAGE

VERIFICATION OF T. U. MEMBERSHIP

THE results of the first tentative official verification of trade union memberships for the year 1957-58 are now available.

According to the procedure agreed to at the 16th Indian Labour Conference the Central organisations have to submit claims. Then they have to file objections to the claims of the other central organisations. The Labour Department then makes its verification from the records of the Registrars of Trade Unions or by on-the-spot inspection of the books of the unions.

The membership of the various Central organisations after this preliminary official verification is as follows: The AITUC with 788 unions has a membership of 517,306, the INTUC with 698 unions 898,527, the HMS with 145 unions 124,084 and the UTUC with 176 unions 80,845, making a total of 1,787 unions and a membership of 1,820,762.

At the very outset, the Labour Department scored out 73 of the AITUC unions with a total membership of 72,355 just because the unions were either not registered or their register numbers were not made readily available.

The other Central organisations also lost some unions in this manner. But the AITUC was handicapped more particularly in States like Bihar where the AITUC unions are not registered even though their applications are pending for well over an year now.

The AITUC claimed that the Central organisation could not be victimised for lack of registration by the Registrar.

The AITUC claimed that just because register numbers were not supplied, a union could not be struck out. The records of the Registrar of Trade Unions should be consulted for the proof. But the Government refused to sustain these claims.

After this initial scoring out, objections were invited. It should be noted that objections were raised against 178 of the AITUC unions, 314 INTUC unions and 56 and 47 unions of the HMS and UTUC respectively.

The AITUC had not issued affiliation certificates to those unions which were allowed time to pay off their application dues or to the unions who had made part payments. The AITUC insisted that when the AITUC claims the affiliation and the union concerned admits it, the claim should be recognised. But the Government refused this contention and the AITUC thus lost 117 unions with 50,000 membership. The corresponding loss to the INTUC was 22 unions with 25,000 members.

The AITUC had lost 254 unions with 1.22 lakh membership for non-submission of returns. But enquiries show that the verifying authorities had accepted the returns submitted by the INTUC unions even later than AITUC unions, specially in U.P. The corresponding loss to the INTUC on this count is 191 unions with 1.88 lakh membership.

Then there is a loss of 61 unions with 1.73 lakh membership for the AITUC on grounds of non-production of records. In this respect our

LABOUR NOTES

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

enquiries reveal that a union in Delhi was visited by the verifying officer. He inspected every page he has inspected. Yet the remarks are 'records not produced' and the membership is denied. There are cases when the unions demanded some time and that was also denied. The loss to the INTUC on this score is 44 unions with 50,000 membership.

Then there is a loss of membership of 1.11 lakh in the case of AITUC and 1.10 in the case of INTUC on grounds of stipulated principles (i.e. three months paid membership continuously before the verification). Here our enquiries show that much of the loss was due to confusion.

Such has been the verification and such the losses.

The recent meeting of the AITUC Working Committee, therefore, discussed the question. The AITUC would pursue all those cases where injustice has been done and secure redressal of the grievances.

Nevertheless it was the definite conclusion of the Working Committee that in many cases the unions did not take verification seriously. Verification, in the background of recognition of unions and their social status, has assumed a political significance in the struggle of the work-

AITUC'S STRENGTH

DESPITE this verification massacre of membership, the AITUC has emerged the biggest central organisation in Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad, Mysore, Kerala, West Bengal, Punjab and Delhi. It has a second place in Assam, Bombay, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, and U.P. In Manipur no other Central organisation has claimed any membership except the AITUC.

The AITUC is the strongest organisation in Engineering, Building and Construction, Local Bodies, Tobacco, Petroleum, Tanneries, Printing, Glass and Pottery and Food and Drinks and Personal Services.

It has a fair strength in such important industries like Textile, Iron and Steel, Transport, Post and Dock, Mining, Plantations, Cement, and Chemicals. In the Plantations the AITUC is handicapped only because of the block membership of the INTUC in the Assam plantations.

ing class against capital. This has to be recognised and the organisation geared up accordingly. However, this only confirms the AITUC's conviction that

verification is but a poor measure of the strength of a union and only a ballot could and should be the criterion for recognition of a union in the face of rival claims.

HMS-UTUC UNITY —FOR WHAT?

IT is reported that the HMS and the UTUC (Hind Mazdoor Sabha and the United Trade Union Congress) have entered into an agreement to eliminate rivalries between the two organisations.

Any step, however limited it be, that eliminates rivalries and brings trade unions together is to be welcomed. This only takes the workers and their united action forward.

However, this move is accompanied by statements by the leadership of these organisations that indicate that the decision is directed more ag-

inst the AITUC rather than the employers.

It is significant that Birla's Hindustan Times published the report with an element of unconcealed joy that it was directed against the AITUC.

It is evident that the growing urge in the ranks of the working class for united action to secure urgent demands cannot be distorted and misdirected in this manner.

The AITUC has always stood for united action by the working class and shall continue to strive to achieve that objective.

STOP VICTIMISATION IN HINDUSTAN MACHINE-TOOLS!

The situation in the Hindustan Machine Tools (Bangalore) is deteriorating fast and is such as to cause serious concern to all those who are interested in this state sector industry and its employees.

During the past two to three months, after the "Demand Week" was organised, the management has been taking an extremely recalcitrant, unjust and discriminatory attitude against the workers in general and the active workers of Hindustan Machine Tools Employees' Association in particular.

First, the restrictions against the workers have been so much tightened that workers are questioned even for casually speaking inside the factory.

Secondly, in the matter of promotions, discrimination against the office-bearers and active workers of the Association is taking place as in the case of its Treasurer, Sri S. K. Banerjee, Vice-President, Sri George Jacob, and Executive Committee members such as Sri C. S. Reddy.

It is reported that the Management has been calling the police and the police are parading inside the factory as well as in the colony in order to terrorise the workers.

No, satisfied with all this, management has now taken recourse to unjust victimisation of union activists. The services of Sri C. S. Reddy, Member of the Executive Committee of the Association, was terminated on August 7, on all sorts of flimsy grounds. Similarly it is learnt the management is preparing to dismiss many more office-bearers of the Association.

These actions of victimisation are highly unjust and the President of the Association, Sri M. S. Krishnan, has strongly protested against them. In the name of the industry which has attained a proud place in our country, he has urged upon the management to stop harassment, victimisation, etc., forthwith and to take back Sri C. S. Reddy. He has also appealed to the Government to intervene and see that justice is done to the workers.

CONGRESS INTERFERENCE IN KERALA ADMINISTRATION

One of the biggest charges levelled by the Opposition against the Communist Ministry of Kerala was that it was using the administration for the ends of the Party and that the Party had been interfering in day-to-day administration. The fact that they could cite only the solitary instance of the transfer of a Revenue Divisional officer did not deter them from repeating this Big Lie.

BUT now interference in administration has really begun to take place in Kerala and this is not a charge that is being flung by the Communist Party in the same way as the Opposition used to do. Innumerable instances are there of flagrant interference in administration by Congressmen and other Vimochana leaders during the three weeks of President's rule.

● Mannath Padmanabhan and Pattom Thanu Pillai, in their very first speech after Central intervention, openly demanded that all those officers who had loyally carried out the policies of the Communist Government should be punished. Among those against whom such punishment was demanded were the Chief Secretary, the Home Secretary and the Inspector-General of Police (Special) who was acting as the I.G. of Police.

Within two weeks, the Home Secretary was transferred as Secretary of the Public Works Department and the Special I.G. Police who was acting as I.G. was posted back as I.G. (Special) with most of his powers taken away.

● Mannam and Pattom demanded that all District Superintendents of Police in

Kerala should be transferred to other States and officers from outside brought in their place. Among the first things done after imposition of President's rule was the reversion of half-a-dozen DSPs and Circle Inspectors and innumerable transfers at all levels of the Police Department.

● Following the attack on the President of the Trichur District Congress Committee, Kurur Nilakantan Nambodripad, ex-Chief Minister Panampilly Govinda Menon demanded action against the Trichur DSP. Within 48 hours, DSP Subrahmaniam was transferred from the District.

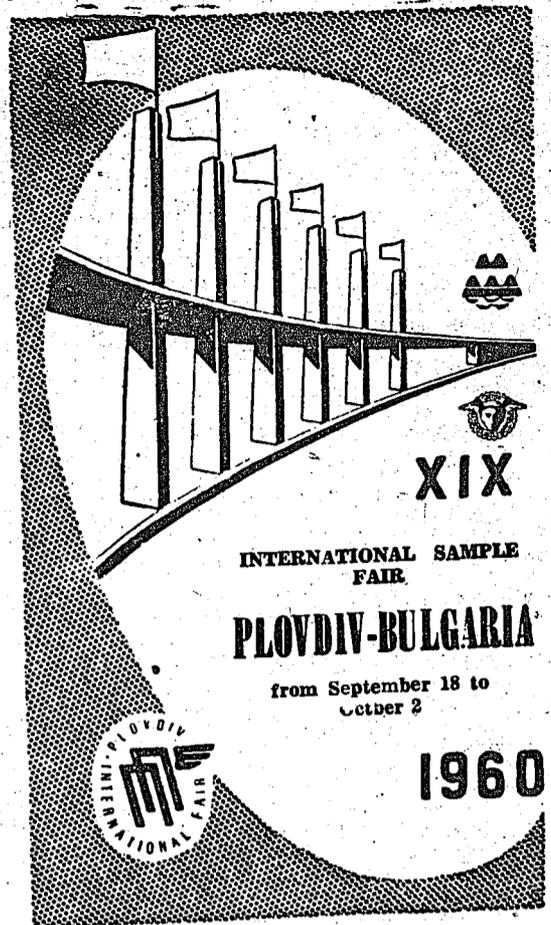
● Just after Central intervention was announced, some volunteers in a Congress jeep were arrested in Trichur and daggers, sticks and other lethal weapons were seized from the jeep. Local Congress leaders met police officers and pressed them to drop the case.

When the police refused to do any such thing, a story was put out that the arrested persons had been beaten up in the lock-up and telegrams were sent to the Governor and deputations waited on him. The new I.G. of Police rushed to Trichur District and suspended the police head constable who had arrested the volunteers.

Not even a preliminary enquiry was conducted by responsible officers before the suspension was ordered. This hasty intervention was in striking contrast to what happened in Kottarakara and Punalur where leading functionaries of the Communist Party had been tortured in the lock-up, the Magistrate had noted down their injuries and had sent them to hospital but still the I.G. had not thought it necessary to visit the places or take any action against the officials concerned.

The Secretariat of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party, pointing out these instances, says in a statement that it "is constrained to state that the above measures of administrative changes dictated by the interests of certain political parties are not calculated to ensure an impartial administration in the State, particularly when the administration has to be a caretaker one charged with the sole task of ensuring free and fair elections.

"The Communist Party expects that the Governor who is acting on behalf of the President will refuse to yield further to the threats and intimidations of certain political parties who are out to demoralise the ranks and blackmail them to become pawns in their hands in the coming period of elections. The Governor, as the custodian of the Constitution, has to rise above party interests and ensure fair and impartial administration."



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KERALA NOTE-BOOK

WHAT A FALL!

READING through all that Nehru has said in recent days about Kerala, one begins to wonder whether it is the same Nehru who wrote books like *Glimpses of World History* which inspired a whole generation.

The man who had made such withering attacks on the Catholic church now says the Communist Government had to face the consequences—Central intervention?—because it had antagonised the Catholic church which is a big force in Kerala which cannot be ignored, etc.

The person who damned the Muslim League as a dead horse has now become apologetic and begun to say that it is not so bad after all.

Nehru now seems to have realised that his daughter with her limited capacity to imbibe any progressive ideas did not benefit from all the letters he wrote to her and the loving father that he is, he has perhaps decided to change his own views rather than blame the daughter.

But the tragedy is not just that Nehru is giving up whatever old progressive ideas he used to hold for the expediency of putting the Kerala Congress back in office, some of his statements no longer even tally with facts.

Falling into this category is his pronouncement that Mannath Padmanabhan had dissolved the Nair Seva Samiti, retired from political life and devoted himself to education.

One doesn't have to go to Kerala to seek the truth about this, the newspapers still give plenty of space to Mannam's political speeches and activities and I suppose the Prime Minister of the country must be seeing them. He must also be aware that there are enough Congress leaders in Kerala who hail Mannam as the one man who can successfully lead the battle against Communism.

I don't know what Nehru means by the Nair Seva Samiti—no such organisation exists. But if he means the Nair Service Society, its dissolution is news to the Kerala people. If Nehru means the Vimochana Samara Samiti, far from being dissolved, it has now become the "Save India" movement.

No longer the holy wrath of old against the reactionary communalists. Even facts are twisted to pat them on their backs. What a fall!

Another of Panditji's astounding remarks has been about the mass upsurge in Kerala—that he had not seen such a mass upsurge during the last forty years of his life.

An old veteran of the national movement was bitter when he asked me: "Has Nehru forgotten our history? Was the Kerala upsurge bigger than our Civil Disobedience movements? Bigger than the Quit India movement? And how much did these movements cost? Did the Congress High Command spend a lakh a day and more to organise them? Nehru insults our entire national movement, our people, when he says that the mercenary 'upsurge' in Kerala was the biggest he had seen." That is where narrow par-

tisanship and anti-Communism lead a person—even though he be of Nehru's stature.

GENERAL DISEASE

BUT this is not a disease which Nehru alone has caught, Congress leaders at various levels suffer from it.

In the Lok Sabha, during the Kerala debate, when a Communist spokesman said that the breakdown of law and order was a discovery of the then Congress General Secretary Shriman Narayan within three days of the Communist Party assuming office, Deputy Food Minister A. M. Thomas, without even the hint of a blush on his face, said that Shriman Narayan visited Kerala three months later.

This when every newspaper in the country had splashed the Congress General Secretary's statement from Ernakulam in their columns on April 8, 1957. I can't say A. M. Thomas was lying because the word is unparliamentary.

Another Congress leader made a similar performance in the Rajya Sabha and that was K. P. Madhavan Nair during whose tenure of Congress General Secretaryship Kerala was lost to the Congress.

With a lot of flourish this gentleman said, "I may inform my hon. friend that long before his Government came into power, the teachers were paid directly by the Government, from the Government treasury."

If Mr. Nair had only said that the Government was meeting the entire salary bill of the teachers there would

be no quarrel with him. Because that was precisely what the Government of his party was doing in Kerala. The entire salary of the teachers was being met by the Government, but the money was being paid to the managers, who used to pocket a sizeable portion of it and get the teachers to sign for their entire salaries giving them only a part of it.

And this is precisely what the Communist Government remedied. It ordered the payment of salaries directly to the teachers and not through the managers. There is a lot of difference between the two, a difference which teachers all over the country easily understand. Which the private managements in Kerala also fully understood—three of them went to the High Court with writ petitions against the Government order.

When Nehru leads in ignoring facts, why can't the Thomases and Madhavan Nairs carry forward his worthy example?

"FORWARD COMRADES"

AUGUST 19 was the eleventh death anniversary of Comrade Krishna Pillai—a name that brings memories crowding into the mind of those days when the Communist Party in Kerala was still a small Party and was fighting to become a national force.

I remember one day in 1946. The elections were just over. The Communist Party had contested a number of seats and lost them all. E. M. S. was one of the defeated candidates.

A Congress victory meet-

ing was being held in Calicut. K. A. Damodara Menon was speaking. There goes the coffin of the Communist Party with E. M. S. and Krishna Pillai as pallbearers.

In just six years, in the mid-term elections in T.C., the Communist Party emerged as the first party of the State and in the General Elections of 1957, E. M. S. became the Chief Minister of a Communist Government in Kerala State. And Damodara Menon was being thrown on the scrapheap by faction fights in the Congress.

A year after Independence, under the dispensation of the Congress, Comrade Krishna Pillai's head carried a price just as in the old British days. And in the dark corner of a worker's hut in Muhamma came the end when a snake glided up to him where he was sitting finalising a Party report and bit him on his elbow.

As the poison was working into his system, his eyes half-closed, with unsteady fingers he wrote two words which have been the pledge of every Communist in Kerala: FORWARD COMRADES!

And this year when the pledge was taken again, the Kerala Communists and the people were on the eye of their biggest battle. While Nehru goes on talking about our glorious adult franchise and general elections but refuses to accept their verdict, Kerala people are going into battle again to establish their simple right to vote and elect a Government of their choice. Let there be no doubt as to who will win.

OBSERVER