

SAAL-Rev

6 NOV 30 1959
Cont. by

THIMAYYA EPISODE

4060-4

NEW AGE COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. VII. NO. 36 SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1959 25 n.p.

Roy Govt's Savagery

As we go to press, our Correspondent J. B. Moitra in a telephone message from Calcutta says that the general strike on September 3 is a complete success—buses and trams are off the road, all shops are closed. Policemen with rifles at the ready and troops are patrolling the streets—Calcutta presents the picture of a besieged city. Till 11 in the morning, a number of lathi-charges and firings have taken place—injuring six persons, including an eighteen-year-old girl. B. C. Roy's Congress Government is writing a new chapter in the history of the suppression of peaceful movements of the people for legitimate demands. An earlier despatch from our Correspondent says of this savagery:

The savageries perpetuated by the B. C. Roy Government on an absolutely peaceful demonstration of over a lakh of people on the evening of August 31 put even the worst brutalities of the British rulers to shame. Without any warning, without any provocation whatsoever, Bidhan Roy's police suddenly pounced upon this peaceful and disciplined crowd like mad dogs. Brutal lathi-charges were repeatedly made and tear-gas shells were repeatedly fired.

As thousands upon thousands of people ran helter-skelter for shelter, the police chased them with a vengeance. They showed their "heroism" by lathi-charging even women and children who had fallen on the ground.

The whole Esplanade area was covered with a thick pall of tear-gas smoke. The whole area presented a ghastly sight—people covered with blood, unable to move and groaning, scores of wounded lying unconscious on the ground, posters, festoons, umbrellas and fried rice (brought by peasants) strewn all over the place.

According to incomplete figures till late in the night of August 31, over a thousand men and women were injured, 133 of them seriously. Communist MLA, Dr. Golam Yazdani, was removed to the hospital with broken ribs.

The Government had geared its entire repressive machinery to prevent the mass rally and demonstration announced by the PIFRC. Over

5,000 policemen were concentrated in Calcutta. A police cordon was thrown round the entire city to prevent the entry of peasants from the adjoining districts, and several thousands of them were actually stopped on their way to the city. At several places they were lathi-charged and arrested.

Yet, over 30,000 peasants managed to elude the vigilance of the police and reach the Calcutta Maidan, the venue of the mass rally.

This, together with the magnificent response of the citizens of Calcutta, mad-

dened the Roy Government, and it decided in an emergency Cabinet meeting to "teach a lesson" to the people.

A massive cordon was thrown round the entire Esplanade area with several thousand police armed with rifles, lathis and tear-gas equipment. Scores of mounted police were also there. Police were posted even in the lanes and by-lanes in the area.

The modus operandi of the police reminded one of the Jallianwallah-Bagh massacre. It was known to all that the

* SEE BACK PAGE

Lesson For Us : VIGILANCE !

Editorial

THIS week in the Lok Sabha the Prime Minister had to criticise the Commander-in-Chief for his threat of resignation and added that such a thing was not done under parliamentary democracy. Though the criticism was frank and open, yet the people could not be said to have realised the portentous significance of the issues raised by the resignation threat.

The threat in effect went against the supremacy of civil power over the armed forces as it sought to challenge the right of the Cabinet and the Defence Ministry regarding appointments in the army. The Prime Minister made it clear beyond doubt that there was no reason for the charge that appointments were made on political considerations. Besides the issue was an old issue and finally done in consultation with the Commander-in-Chief.

General Thimayya had, therefore, no excuse, no reason to submit his resignation except his impatience with civil authority. This is a very dangerous trend which if not checked can imperil our democracy. As the Prime Minister stated civil authority is and must remain supreme.

The news about the resignation leaked out to the Press. The Prime Minister has made it clear that the leakage was not from his side, that he had not mentioned it to anyone. No satisfactory explanation has been coming from the General. The whole matter of this leakage needs a searching, impartial enquiry.

The democratic and patriotic traditions of our army are well-known. The recent developments are, therefore, bound to cause concern to all patriots. This concern will not be lessened by the knowledge that in a number of neighbouring countries, where democratic forces are weak, certain Generals have entered politics and supplanted civil authority.

Recent developments cannot be taken lightly. To dismiss them merely as an act arising out of foolishness is not proper. They arise out of a wrong conception of the relationship between the General Staff and the Parliamentary authority.

It is extremely unfortunate that a number of Congress and PSP M.Ps. failed to see the issues at stake and seemed to justify the Thimayya resignation. By this blind attitude they did a big disservice to the cause of democracy and supremacy of Parliament.

All patriots and democrats must grasp the seriousness of the situation. These developments unless checked have an ominous significance for us in the background of what is happening elsewhere. Let the people remain vigilant to assert the supremacy of civil power and keep their own sovereignty unimpaired.

September 2, 1959



THE UPSURGE IN KERALA Picture of a reception to dismissed Minister K. P. Gopalan in Cannanore. It is over a month since Central intervention and every day the upsurge in Kerala has been gathering momentum. (See page 6)

HOW SERIOUS IS THE

Much, much more than Rs. 179 crores have been invested in the towering edifices that make up Bhakra-Nangal. It was the nation's hope. Despite all the bungling, corruption, oppressive burdens and the like, the dam at Bhakra had rightly come to occupy a special place in India's heart. It had become a symbol of the potential power and majesty of our people.

THIS is it that the gush of waters at 2 p.m. on August 21 has struck against. For anybody who has been to the dam site after the accident, even more than for those who have just read the news, a chill fear and gnawing anxiety are the dominant sentiments.

The trouble started, it is said, with water seeping through a crack in the hoist chamber. This is a reinforced concrete building situated on the right bank, high above the right diversion tunnel. It is primarily intended to control the flow of water through the diversion tunnel by con-

Tell The Nation All The Facts

trol of the two tunnel gates. The only entrance and exit through the hoist chamber is through the approach tunnel which links on to the inspection and cable galleries of the main Bhakra structure. And these galleries in turn lead on to the power house on the left bank.

It is now well-known how the pressure of the water very rapidly enlarged the crack in the hoist chamber. Emergency measures were

taken, the tunnel gates were closed—but to no effect. When it was realised that the flow of water was not lessening, valiant efforts were made to try to barricade the hoist chamber off from the inspection gallery by dropping massive rocks and stones. But before this could be done, the chamber itself collapsed and with a speed of some 80 miles per hour, water rushed into the inspection gallery.

Through this vent the waters went on to engulf the power house. The powerful generators, only some of which had been fully installed, were soon submerged under 12 feet of water. And this equipment is meant to be kept completely free from any moisture and had not been completely insulated! Before proceeding further, it is absolutely necessary to pay solemn tribute to the great heart and spirit of the

DEVALUATION OF THE RUPEE —An Imperialist Demand

THE economic stability of a country is often judged by the stability of its currency, both in relation to the world outside as well as to the state of the economy within. Sometimes, however, both these aspects are painted unduly black by interested parties to hustle the country into taking certain "corrective" steps in panic, which might contribute to their own benefit. Some such sinister reasoning seems to be also working behind the current whispermings in relation to the rupee's "over-valuation".

Significantly, initiative in this connection has come from an influential columnist in the United Kingdom, which stands to gain substantially if the rupee was devalued. He (Lombard of the Financial Times) was, no doubt, emboldened to suggest what he termed a "realignment of the rupee" by the continued deficit in India's balance of payments, as well as by the failure of exports to respond to various promotional measures. He also made bold to ask if prevalence of these trends, as well as of inflationary pressures, leave the country with "anything to be gained" by putting off the evil day, merely because some foreign circles have been good enough to generously dole out funds to support its currency abroad?

Moreover, the quantum of exports, being governed by various factors, besides export prices, like the state of the economy in the buyer countries, their capacity and willingness to buy, etc., it is unscientific to hold the export prices alone responsible for fall in exports. In other words, terms of trade, as determined by the totality of factors, and not the rates of exchanges, are more relevant for deciding about the factors which really obstruct a freer outflow of a country's export goods.

Nowhere is this fact borne out more clearly than in India, whose terms of trade with the USA, U.K. and other western capitalist countries have all along been on the decline since 1955, while the trend has been just the reverse in all these countries. Does Lombard mean to suggest that the rupee was over-valued all these years? Similarly, in respect of inflation and spiralling prices, which are undeniably a feature of our economy today, the quotations here, high as they were, could not have materially affected the propensity of the U.S. buyer to purchase our goods, if he had not been afflicted by a creeping recession at home. It is, therefore, to this feature of the U.S. and other similar economies, and not to a hypothetical over-valuation of the rupee, that Lombard should have looked for an explanation of the continuance of India's payments difficulties.

India will perforce be importing from them, because of "historical reasons," simultaneously rising they would be gaining at both the ends. Hence, in throwing innocent hints about the need for rupee's "realignment," ostensibly to help India's interests, it is really the interests of his own masters that Lombard is serving.

Rejection of Lombard's suggestion does not, however, mean that all is well with our economy. All it means is that the acceptance of his solution will not cure but aggravate the ills from which it suffers. Otherwise, there is no denying the fact that the failure of production to keep pace with the increase in money supply has given rise to a really disturbing situation. Already, as Reserve Bank Governor H. V. R. Iengar has said, the rupee has suffered a decline of nearly 29 per cent in its internal value since independence—and yet, judging from the ever-increasing price level, the bottom does not seem to have been reached.

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

at the end of controlling the prices cannot but be limited. And yet, it has not been doing even what it could, with the result that even a record harvest has not been able to curb the prices from going up. Similarly, in respect of its fiscal policy, it has all along been a pre-designed wild goose chase, characterised in taking the sting out of all of its budget proposals after their pro-

pagandist purpose has been served. To reverse these trends, and the policies behind them is, therefore, of the essence of the situation. But the way to do it is to boldly go ahead with measures to increase production, and control the rapacity of the money-grabbers, and not the devaluation of the rupee which will go to help only Lombard and his masters.

THE OIL LOBBY

LAST week we sounded the tocsin of a possible reversal of the Government's Oil Policy as a result of the pressure both of the indigenous and foreign interests. Now the Hindustan Times has added two more names to the galaxy of persons who have been throwing about their weight to deflect the country from its nationally-accepted course.

One of them is our old "friend, Lord Louis Mountbatten of Burma," who is credited with the suggestion contained in a letter reportedly written to the Prime Minister, that the country's oil policy "should be such as to attract maximum technical and financial resources of all leading oil interests in the world on a competitive basis". What such a policy should concretely mean has also been made explicit by the noble Lord in the cryptic phrase that it should not betray any "exclusive tendencies". Obviously, the opposite of exclusive being "inclusive", what Mountbatten means to suggest is to keep the country's doors open for any and every oil monopolist to enter and exploit its resources to his fill. If in the process he clashes with his brother exploiters and reduces the country to a pawn in international stakes, well that is all in the game. The other new "friend", credited with similar

views on the subject is John D. Rockefeller, currently rated rather high for tenancy of the White House in 1960. He is also reported to have assured Nehru that "oil companies could be expected to contribute liberally to India's oil programme" if the rigid policy was relaxed.

That these suggestions have not been wholly in vain is also hinted at by the Hindustan Times, since the Concession Rules, to be out shortly, may well be liberalised as their direct consequence. The incompetence of a private venture like Stanvac in West Bengal was also revealed last week in the open confession by its General Manager, J. W. Sinclair, that all the wells drilled during the last six years, turned out to be "dry holes." Contrast it with the speedy successes attained in the public sector at Jawalamukhi and Cambay, and one can see the difference. The Oil Lobby is being strengthened with new recruits, with a pull even with the highest echelons. To beat it, it is necessary to redouble efforts to strengthen the people's voice, lest the foreign exploiters, so far on the defensive, really succeed in penetrating a sector which should be entirely national.

ESSEN

August 31.

DAMAGE TO BHAKRA ?

workers on the site, eleven of whom gave up their lives in a vain attempt to prevent the waters doing damage. Even the most hard-boiled of Pressmen who had gone to the spot stood in awed silence as they heard reports of the speed with which the workers moved, the complete absence of fear and panic and the single-minded struggle where life itself was readily risked and, alas! lost. In a flash your correspondent saw that this was the India that mattered, the India scorned and injured but rising visibly to full stature.

The immediate task is to prevent the continuing flow of the water from the breach at the hoist chamber into the power house via the inspection and cable galleries. This has to be combined with draining off the water that has already accumulated in the power house.

These are problems which would well baffle the most ingenious of engineers and need careful working out. Yet time is of the essence and decisions have quickly to be made and immediately executed.

A huge hole has been blasted in the cable gallery to drain the water from the power house. Some of the engineers and other executives seemed quite pleased at the success of this operation. They said that the draining was actually taking place in greater quantities than they had hoped for.

Main Problem Remains

Unfortunately, the success of this particular operation does not solve the main problem—stopping the hoist chamber breach. A number of proposals have been made. One idea is to stop altogether the flow of water into the right diversion tunnel (the tunnel on the left bank was permanently closed last year). The snags are that this might take quite some time, prove very costly if done quickly, and, above all, might dangerously increase the pressure on the main dam.

Another method was taken up—to plug the mouth of the inspection gallery where it connects with the hoist chamber, or, rather what was the hoist chamber. This too will cost a few crores of rupees. Apart from expenses, however, the steel gates, etc., that were lowered to implement this suggestions have been washed away. It still remains to be seen how this plugging operation will eventually be carried out.

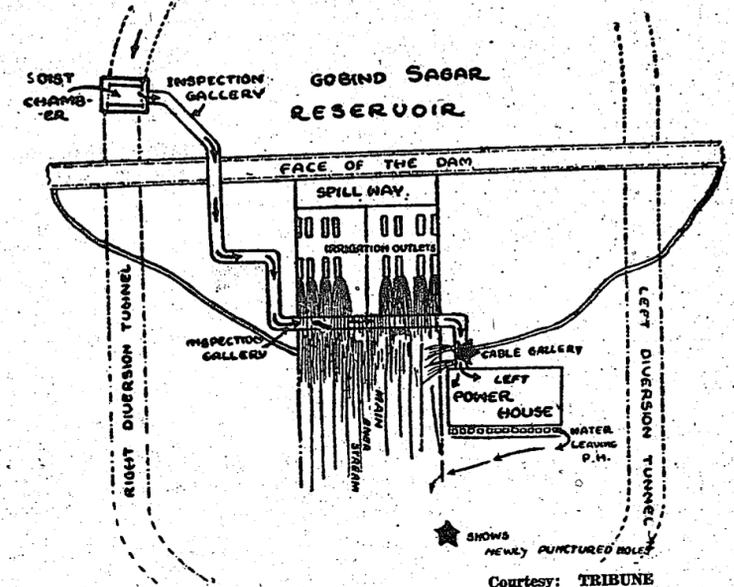
In face of this grim tragedy, one would have preferred simply to state the facts and leave it to the experts and officials. Unfortunately, to do this would only heighten the tragedy and bring further painful surprises.

First, one must warn against the complacency that the Government is trying to spread. Panic does not help anybody it is true, but one must be fully alive to the dangers that do exist and which cannot be conjured away.

It must, therefore, be said that the Government is being too categorical when it insists that the main structure of the dam is not in danger. One can certainly state that the main dam is not doomed and can still be saved. But it is in danger. Unless the galleries are fairly quickly cleared of the water that still rushes in, the danger is quite serious. One of those who should know indicates yet another point of danger. He says that the hoist chamber is located high above the tunnel, which is practically at the same level as the river-bed. The approach gallery leading to the hoist chamber is also well above the tunnel.

The question naturally arises—how is it that the water rushed into the hoist

* SEE PAGE 14



UNMENDABLE

SORROWING lies our land under Congress rule. When at last it goes, as so it must, history will perhaps find that among the heaviest blows it has dealt to our country is its cynical disregard of elementary morals and honesty.

What tears were shed and anger displayed at so-called "irregularities" concerning appointments by the E.M.S. Ministry! Nehru philosophised and Pant quavered with emotion and, of course, E.M.S. was dismissed.

But what about Rajasthan? And I do not mean the nefarious doings at holy Nathdwara—what lovely stories will emerge when the case is over! This is something far more humdrum—the report of the Public Service Commission for the year ending March 31, 1957.

During the report year, 1,486 cases were there in which the Commission had to approve the extension of the services of temporary personnel employed by the Government and other appointing authorities without prior consultation. The year previous 959 such cases had been reported. No doubt the year following will lead to more production—we can rely on the Congress for this at least!

For several years, it seems, the Commission had noted that appointments were being made to posts of Deputy Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries, officers on special duty, private secretaries to Ministers and Deputy Ministers for periods exceeding six months without any sort of consultation.

SCRAP-BOOK

In one particular case, the Personal Assistant to the Revenue Secretary was appointed Assistant Settlement Officer by the Government. The poor Public Service Commission had to learn about this from the Gazette! It had the temerity to enquire but it had also to have the patience to wait for nine long months. And even then this was only because the Government wanted its approval for his continuance in this technical post, for which he did not have the requisite qualifications.

Did not Gandhiji say that what could not be mended had to be ended?

DAMAGING FACT

SOMETIMES it becomes difficult to judge why the Congress leaders do the things they do. Especially when it comes to Nehru, one can be sure that only the highest and most rarefied of considerations motivate him. What can he do if his lieutenants make some rather more gross considerations obvious?

We are sure that Nehru was upset by the Chinese "grabbing" our territory.

But the Times of India of September 1 points out that the Longu outpost in the Subansiri Frontier Division over which fighting is going on, "was set by India after the escape of Dalai Lama into India."

It goes on to add that India opened more such posts along the MacMohan Line. The Chinese wanted India to withdraw to a depth of five miles from these recently established posts, after which a joint survey could be undertaken and the boundary demarcated. "India refused to do so. Then fighting broke out." (Ibid)

ATULYA GHOSH'S DISCOVERY

All this is too mundane for Nehru to mention, especially when he is talking of higher principles—though he did not hesitate to name a friendly neighbour a "clear" aggressor and talk of protecting Bhutan, though its Prime Minister denies Chinese aggression!

However, let us leave him alone. Atulya Ghosh is a blunt man and not averse to use more than blunt weapons. He sees the West Bengal people fighting for food and sees red when the Communists are heading it. So what does he do? He grabs Nehru's statements about Chinese grabbing our territory and sets his machinemen in motion.

What is the food agitation for? "To create chaos"

so that the Chinese, perhaps, can grab Calcutta? Thundering in public demonstrations, the goonda elite of Atulya Babu want the Communists removed as they are "Chinese agents." How convenient this would be just at this moment! Perhaps, Nehru would find this another case of Communist lack of adjustment to democracy, since we refuse to tear up Fanch Shila.

WHISPER CAMPAIGN

And, of course, Kerala has to be brought in somehow. Hindustan Times reverses Atulya Ghosh: The Chinese are taking over our territory since the Congress snatched back Kerala from the Communists! Promptly, PSP leader A. Sreedharan has asked E. M. S. to denounce the Chinese or....

Wandering about the Delhi lobbies one hears repeated whispers that Chinese gold is being shipped for Kerala. One hears this too often not to realise that some quite well-placed person—one wicked man says Pant himself—is behind it.

How rotten all this! Our territory, our friendship with China, everything is to be dragged in the mud so long as Congress interests are served. Ends and means? That was an old story.

GUEST DIARIST
September 1

PAGE THREE

ALL OVER THE LAND —DANGER SIGNALS

BULLETS, tear-gas shells and lathis are being hurled against the hungry but brave Bengalis, in the streets of Calcutta, and all over the State. The student youth is being shot dead in Pandit Nehru's home town — Allahabad. In the capital a whole crisis was created by the threatened resignation of the Army Chief. The Dalai Lama is not satisfied with our generous hospitality. He wants to press our Government to change its foreign policy. Dictator Ayub comes to fish in troubled waters at the behest of his overlords in Washington.

The very first speech of the new Food Minister discloses that State trading will become a thing of the past.

All these events packed in a week pin-point how rapidly the situation is worsening and how desperately and all along the line reaction is on the offensive.

DALAI LAMA AND MORE

Pandit Nehru defended giving asylum to the Dalai Lama on humanitarian grounds. He and his entourage were, however, given all the privileges of State guests and still higher privilege of a visit by the Prime Minister himself. Thus emboldened he demanded the status of an exile Government on June 20. The External Affairs Ministry repudiated the claim but Dalai Lama, his "Ministers and advisers" are undaunted.

Encouraged by the weak compromising stand of the Prime Minister and the strength of the anti-Chinese elements within his own Government and party leadership, they have raised the demand again. Dalai Lama is coming to the Capital to press the Prime Minister to recognise his Government and take the Tibet issue to the U.N.

It is a shameful abuse of our hospitality and an insolent demand for change of our foreign policy and repudiation of our treaty obligations. Such guests, coming with such a demand, will be accommodated in the Hyderabad House and seen by the Prime Minister. Is this observing or playing with Panch Shila?

CHAMPIONS OF LAMAISM

It is worth recalling that Jai Prakash Narain visited the God-King at Mussorie and is championing his cause in the country. Again Acharya Kripalani not only takes up the lost cause of Lamaism against Socialism in Parliament but heads the Committee which is the agency for receiving and distributing U.S. aid to Tibetan refugees. Purshottam Tricundas is not only an old collaborator of Masani-Asoka Mehta & Co. but acts as Chairman of the U.S.-financed Organisation of International Jurists. He is the legal adviser of the Dalai Lama and his publicity man and key link in the Capital.

The Dalai Lama and his lost cause are being kept alive by the PSP leadership. The National Herald in its editorial of September 1 has stressed this.

The Jan Sangh is not lagging behind. Their parliamentary spokesman Vajpai raised the demand of India taking the Tibetan issue to the U.N. Jan Sangh President D.P. Ghosh has raised the demand that the Indian Government "withdraw her latest proposal to have

Communist China admitted to the U.N. and raise the issue of China's aggression in Tibet." Delhi Sangh President Balraj Madhok "attacked the foreign policy of the country..." and "urged that Mr. Nehru should resign... that Krishna Menon be removed from the Defence Ministry." (Times of India, August 31)

It deserves to be very widely known that no other Asian country wants to give asylum to the Dalai Lama, the uncommitted nations because they know better and stand by Panch Shila, and if he went to the SEATO or the Baghdad Pact countries, the game would stand exposed and his value become zero, his Government will stand revealed as another anti-Chinese U.S. agency. The Dalai Lama has a value for the imperialists only with India as base of operation.

The U.S. Government announced on August 31 that it is giving "immediate and sympathetic consideration" to the appeal of the Dalai Lama for U.N. consideration of "China's aggression in Tibet."

Prime Minister Nehru is reported to have told the Congress Parliamentary Party (Statesman, September 1) that the Dalai Lama's Kashag cannot be given the status of an emigre Government and that it will imply breaking relations with China. This, however, should not lead to any complacency.

SEATO SALESMEN

Ever since the Tibetan rebellion began the pro-Western Indian Right, whether within the Congress or outside it and their pro-Western "Left" adjunct like the PSP leadership have been doing all they can to change the course of Indian foreign policy and they are tirelessly at it. Typical of these circles is D. R. Manekkar's column in the Indian Express (August 26). "It does us no harm to make this admission" that an "agonising reappraisal of the fundamentals of our foreign policy is taking place... deflating our high minded creed of neutralism and non-alignment... Panch Shila is dead — buried five fathoms deep, buried by Peking much as New Delhi might try to keep it alive.

"This is the time for Uncle Sam to hawk SEATO around once again and this time he will find many takers for this time there is a genuine demand for the commodity!"

The SEATO Foreign Ministers are meeting at the end of the month, for the first time in Washington, to discuss, besides Laos "threats from Tibet towards Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim" (Indian Express Washington Correspondent, August 28). The Baghdad Pact Foreign Ministers are also meeting in Washington, also for the first time, in early October.

The grim picture is becoming clearer, that the championship of the Dalai Lama and hostility towards People's China inevitably leads towards SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, in any case the Foreign Ministers of SEATO and the Bagdad pact countries expect it—and are getting ready. Let us pull up in time and call upon the Dalai Lama to behave or get out. And above all learn the lesson that these loud defenders of Dalai Lama and his

NOTES OF THE WEEK

cause and the mud slingers against People's China are the champions of a Western orientation to our foreign policy away from PANCH SHILA, away from neutralism and away from friendship with China.

DICTIONARY'S VISIT—HIS MASTER'S PLAN

In May this year, when President Ayub was asked by the Press about his meeting Prime Minister Nehru his opinion was that there was no basis for such a meeting. Nehru at the time had also considered the proposal premature. What has happened meanwhile to the situation? Tibet, the failure of counter-revolution, assertion of Chinese sovereignty, and all that followed.

Some months earlier, after the armed counter-revolution was successfully crushed by the People's Liberation Army, dictator Ayub offered us a mutual defence pact and there was a big campaign about it. Nehru, however, rejected it.

During the last few weeks, as the anti-Chinese campaign again gathered steam, another variant of the old line has appeared in terms of defence "cooperation" or "coordination". And the Pak President has himself come to sell the idea in our country.

Tribune editor Prem Bhatia, no Leftist, has entitled his column "U.S. Hand Behind Meeting of Nehru and Ayub" and stated: "Behind the 'fuel half' in Delhi by the President of Pakistan lies the unseen but certain hand of the USA which, for obvious reasons, Washington is anxious not to reveal in public." (September 1)

DOUBLE-FACED APPROACH

Despite the communique language of "an accord" and "a very cordial atmosphere", and the agreement to settle all issues "in accordance with justice and

fair play in spirit of friendliness, cooperation and good-neighbourliness" he let the cat out of the bag when, talking to the Press, he reminded us of history of invasions of our sub-continent in the past and offered his hand of cooperation. Last time Nehru had repudiated this whole conception with the blunt question: "Defence against whom?" It is necessary to ask and get the same answer once again, for it is the very elements who are raising the bogey of a threat from China who are also popularising the possibility and need for a "rapprochement" and—a defence alliance with Pakistan.

It is imperative that our countrymen realise the double-faced character of Pakistan's new approach to us.

On August 29, General Cariappa, a favourite of the Anglo-Americans, released at a Press Conference General Ayub Khan's letter to him. "I would like to emphasise that it should not be inferred that simply because we have not agreed to sign a 'no-war' declaration, we are planning conquests or military adventures against India. Nothing is farther from our thoughts. I have on several occasions made public statements to that effect. We are determined to settle all our disputes peacefully and are going to persist in our peaceful efforts." (Hindustan Times, August 30)

About the same time he was writing the above to General Cariappa for consumption in India, he was telling the Correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, for consumption in the USA, the following, "We do not expect Mr. Nehru to change his stand on Kashmir and can foresee that this problem will go on for a long time, unless America throws its weight in its settlement. The answer lies in American hands. You might say to me that every time a problem comes up we are in the middle" but that is the case. Unless Kashmir is settled the possibility of war exists

CPI STATEMENT ON INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement to the Press on August 30, 1959.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India shares the concern of our people over the unfortunate incidents which have recently occurred in some places on the Himalayan borders. There cannot be two opinions that the territorial integrity of our country must be safeguarded.

Under the Panch Shila, India and China are under mutual obligations to respect each other's territorial integrity. Unfortunately, however, a great part of the northern border of our country has not been clearly demarcated. Moreover, the absence of any formal agreement between free India and People's Republic of China in this matter is liable to give rise to confusion and misunderstanding. The recent incidents involving the border patrols of India and China have taken place in this background.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India fervently hopes that immediate steps will be taken by both the Governments concerned to settle all controversies with regard to the border issue by mutual discussion. It further believes that there is no outstanding issue between our two countries which cannot be settled through friendly negotiations.

Enemies of freedom and peace are exploiting these unfortunate occurrences to embitter the friendly relations between our two great countries. This must not be allowed to happen for, Indo-Chinese friendship not only strengthens the independence of the Asian nations but also constitutes the bedrock of solidarity and peace among them.

and will exist. For us Kashmir is vital. We cannot exist without a suitable settlement. We will consider ourselves menaced and in danger. That is why India is there to imperil us." (There is a Pakistan Press release to back this text.)

Playing the imperialist game is no easy job nor can it be played the straight way in Asia today. The least it needs is double-faced brazenness but it will not work if we can see the U.S. hand coming to India via Pakistan.

INDIAN EXPONENT

The Indian version of the U.S. approach to Indo-Pak defence alliance has been advocated in a statement to the Press by C. C. Desai, ex-Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan, on the eve of the Ayub-Nehru meeting. He has pressed for a quick settlement of the major issues outstanding between India and Pakistan—mainly Canal Waters and Kashmir which should be "followed up with a defence pact between the two countries aimed at safeguarding and guaranteeing the integrity of the sub-continent." (Times of India, September 1)

According to Desai, "the canal waters dispute can be solved by a declaration by India and Pakistan undertaking to abide by World Bank decision on disputed points." (Hindustan Times, September 1). The World Bank is dominated by the USA. What C. C. Desai has suggested is just what the World Bank is itself demanding and which the Government of India has not yet accepted. The World Bank demands more — it wants to become the permanent guarantor of an international water treaty between India and Pakistan. Acceptance of the U.S. as the final arbitrator will inevitably lead to accepting the World Bank as a permanent patron — umpire of the biggest irrigation complex of our two countries. i.e. the arbiter of the national economies of us both.

What is Desai's solution of the Kashmir problem? "Acceptance by India and Pakistan of the division of Kashmir along the present cease-fire line". What have we been fighting for in the U.N. all these years? And suppose Pakistan does not accept the proposal, would not the next logical step be accepting the U.S. or one of its agencies as the arbitrator?

Lastly, but not the least, what is the implication of a defence pact with Pakistan which is already linked up in military pacts with SEATO and the Baghdad Pact? In plain words, it means entering into a system of U.S.-dominated military alliances by the backdoor. The healthy neighbourly sentiment for Indo-Pak amity and mutual safety is being exploited by agents and friends of the USA in both our countries for a new hardly-veiled military link-up with the USA.

Our independent neutral policy will become an old story and our sovereignty go with the wind. The very elements who are spoiling our relations with China today are creating the precondition and climate for this new and fatal alignment. Let India beware and in time!

—P. C. JOSHI

(September 2)

Stop D.T.U. From Risking People's Lives!

UNION DEMANDS ENQUIRY

VARIOUS sections of the working people have, one after another, gone ahead in defence of their trade union rights and to win their demands during the last two weeks. Non-gazetted employees of State Governments as in Madhya Pradesh, teachers in Delhi and now the workers of the Delhi Transport Undertaking have been forced to come out actively in protest against delays and denial of justice to them.

The DTU Worker's Union has demanded a public enquiry into the affairs and working of the Delhi Transport Undertaking. Representatives of the union for some time past have been drawing the attention of the authorities, Press, and the public to the growing mismanagement, wastage of public funds and the stranglehold of the bureaucracy in the Undertaking.

Addressing a Press Conference on August 28 Union General Secretary Jatinder Nath said that it was "high time that the public was provided with an efficient service, the area of operation extended, wastage checked and those guilty punished."

About 2,000 workers staged a powerful demonstration in front of the headquarters of the Undertaking on August 24, against suspension of two office-bearers of the union and removal of one driver from service under the arbitrary orders of the General Manager.

In a memo submitted to the Union Home Minister, they said, "this union has been urging upon the management from time to time the need of rendering its fleet complete as per the provisions of the law, and obtain up-to-date fitness certificates. But the management has always taken the advice of the union as a tresspass into the 'internal' affairs. On the contrary the management has been vindictive towards the workers and their union."

It continued: "On August 20, the General Manager placed under suspension two office-bearers of the union, alleging that they asked the workers at the Vinay Nagar depot to get the reports of the defects in the buses entered in the Defects Register. Surprisingly enough the General Manager has not served any charge-sheet or even a letter asking these workers to explain the allegations against them."

After this protest demonstration, the management has been threatening to take disciplinary action against the employees. Conscious of the inconvenience that may be caused to the public of the Capital, the Workers' Union has not taken recourse to an all-out effort to paralyse transport. They are still trying to negotiate a settlement.

The bus using people of the Capital are aware of the inefficiency and unsatisfactory state of the DTU bus-fleet. The workers point out

that not more than 195 of the DTU buses satisfied the requirements of the Delhi Motor Vehicles Rules. But the management is compelling the workers to drive even those

buses which are defective and dangerous for the workers as well as the public. This criminal neglect of standards and rules occasionally cause accidents involving deaths of pedestrians and lot of harassment for the drivers.

Representatives of Delhi trade unions have met and decided to back the DTU workers with a general strike if necessary.

After the one-day casual leave protest of the Class III employees of the Madhya Pradesh State Government,

comes the report of an united initiative taken by 88 unions belonging to various shades of opinion, the AITUC, HMS, BMS (Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh) and independent unions representing 60,000 workers. The representatives of these various union met in an "Anti-Labour Bills Conference" held at Bhopal on August 22 and 23.

A resolution on the proposed Labour Bills says, "These bills are incapable of solving industrial disputes by peaceful means. The proposed un-

limited powers to representative unions is against healthy trade unionism." During the discussion it was proposed that all the unions be given equal rights of representation and all registered unions must have the right to represent individual workers and the members.

The Conference decided to collect 50,000 signatures against the Labour Bills and present them to the Vidhan Sabha. September 20 is to be observed as "Black Bills Day."



PHOTO: HARBANS CHADHA

This all-important question is dramatically posed by CHAVLI, a naive untouchable girl (inimitably played by MEENA KUMARI) in the Naya Sansar film CHAR DIL CHAR RAHEN, directed by K. A. ABBAS from his own novel of the same name simultaneously published on August 15 in Hindi and Urdu. Others who play characters typical of contemporary India in this film are RAJ KAPOOR, NIMMI, AJIT, JAIRAJ, KUMKUM and SHAMMI KAPOOR. The film is being released all over India in early September.

Kerala

Receptions

To E. M. S.

NEVER BEFORE SUCH MIGHTY DEMONSTRATIONS

Kerala continues to witness the love and respect showered on the dismissed Ministers of the Communist Cabinet. Pictures below are of the demonstration in Calicut to receive E. M. S. Namboodiripad (top) and the demonstrations in Cannanore with E. M. S. Namboodiripad, V. R. Krishna Iyer and K. P. Gopalan.

—Photos: C. M. V. NAMBEESAN



CANNANORE, the evening of August 23. Torrential rains are pouring down as we have rarely experienced before and it has been raining like this for the last three days. But that has not prevented tens of thousands of people from pouring into the town from early morning. They have been coming by bus and by train and on foot from all parts of the District. Where else can such scenes be seen of people vying with each other to be present at reception to dismissed Ministers?

The reception is to E. M. S. Namboodiripad, V. R. Krishna Iyer and K. P. Gopalan.

By evening local processions began coming into the town from Azhikkal, Pappinisseri, Kambil, Kottali Ancharakandi, Mundaloor, Muzhapilangadi, Thayyil and other places.

When all these processions came together and the main demonstration began from the Police Maidan with the dismissed Chief Minister and his two colleagues in an open jeep there were twenty-five thousand people marching in it and responding to political slogans.

Disciplined, Militant

It was a sight to see—the large number of women and the men walking in the rain, disciplined and militant, refusing to be provoked, totally ignoring the few black flags, chappals and brooms which the "liberators" had hung out. That was all the Congress-PSP leaders and their goondas could do to vent their anger against this unprecedentedly mighty demonstration.

When the procession returned to the Police Maidan after going round the town, there were a lakh of people patiently waiting, drenched in the rain to see and hear the dismissed Ministers.

It took full one hour for various organisations and individuals to garland their leaders—only people's leaders can receive such love and respect from the people.

It was addressing this rally that E. M. S. Namboodiripad said: "Some people are concerned as to why we, a group of dismissed Ministers, are getting such receptions. They can't understand why we are going round and meeting the people. Haven't the dismissed Ministers and those who receive them any sense, of shame, they ask."

E. M. S. told such people: "We have done nothing in the 28 months we have been in office of which we or our Party need to be ashamed. Our predecessors who had to quit office due to internecine quarrels were naturally ashamed of their woeful record as Ministers and they had to keep away from the people

for days. We do not have to do any such thing."

He concluded his speech with the assurance that he and the Communist Party would continue to serve the people of Kerala.

Earlier, E. M. S. Namboodiripad's constituency, Neeleswaram had given him a rousing reception. Here, again, braving the rains a 5,000-strong demonstration with a large number of women in its ranks, had preceded the 15,000-strong rally.

Biggest In Calicut

The reception rally in Calicut was on August 20. According to the list with the Citizens' Reception Committee which organised the function, over a thousand organisations and individuals garlanded E.M.S. Namboodiripad and it took about 50 minutes. Among the garlands were those of currency notes and coins worth Rs 749.90, apart from gold chains and medals.

Advocate K. V. Krishnan, presiding over the huge gathering on the beach, said: "Calicut is a historical town. But never in its long history have the people of this town given such a big and warm reception to any leader. The hundreds of garlands that have fallen on Namboodiripad's neck are an indication of the people's love for him and his Party. It is at the same time an expression of the people's disapproval of Central intervention in Kerala in the narrow partisan interests of the Congress."

Addressing the rally, E.M.S. Namboodiripad said: "From the day about 27 years ago, when at the inauguration of my political life, I came to this beach to break the law, till today I have participated in many meetings and receptions. But the present receptions give me a different feeling. As days go, by more and more people are receiving us with more and more love and more and more enthusiasm. This is what moves me most. Some people are getting mad when they see these receptions. Some papers have criticised us for participating in them. But there is no point in getting mad or jealous about them. We have not done anything during the period we were in office of which we should be ashamed. On the other hand, we have done plenty over which we feel happy, of which we are proud. Some may be envious of our record. But it is that record which makes us hold our heads high and move amidst the people."

A ten-thousand strong demonstration and a thirty-thousand - strong rally—never before had Taliparamba witnessed such a mass mobilisation. Apart from the numbers, it would be more correct to call the demonstration with E.M.S. at its head as an outburst of

* SEE PAGE 16

KERALA GOVERNOR'S REPORT SUMMARY X-RAYED

by C. UNNIRAJA

The so-called summary of the report of the Kerala Governor, supposed to have been prepared by the Governor himself and placed on the table of Parliament by Home Minister Pant is an amazing document. The Home Minister in his speech in the Lok Sabha defending the Proclamation of the President taking over the administration and dismissing the elected Ministry in Kerala based himself mainly on this report as justification for Central intervention.

THE Governor's report as presented in the summary is an amazing document because it is falsification par excellence, especially when it is seen that it is written by the constitutional head of the State who has access to the Ministers, Secretaries and Heads of Departments and also to all Government files and hence there is no difficulty for him to ascertain the facts.

Though we do not know the date on which the Governor prepared his report, if it was on any day subsequent to July 27, the reply of the Kerala Government to the Congress charge-sheet was also in his hands for reference and checking up.

Still what the summary of the report contains is nothing but a repetition of all the allegations and slanders, serious as well as flimsy, that were strung together into the charge-sheet - turned - memorandum of the KPCC.

Financial Position

For example, hear what the summary says about the financial position of the State:

"The financial position of the State has deteriorated to a certain extent. It is true that the administrative expenditure has been steadily growing but it is not true to say that the State is on the verge of financial bankruptcy. Some unnecessary posts were created and the non-plan expenditure could have been curtailed by prudent measures. The expenditure on Education in 1951-52 was only Rs. 247.76 lakhs. During the last seven or eight years, it has grown to Rs. 1,310.90 lakhs, that is from Rs. 2.5 crores to Rs. 13 crores which is an increase of about six times."

Let us, for the time being, forget the fact that when the Governor was preparing his summary and telling the highest people's tribune of our country that the financial position of the Kerala had deteriorated to some extent, his Government was issuing a Press Communiqué in Trivandrum about the already sound financial position of the Government. What is quite unintelligible is certain other things.

In the above statement, he talks about the inordinate increase in the budget for Education during the past seven or eight years. But the Governor fails to mention the fact that the figures for 1951-52 related to the old Travancore-Cochin State and those for 1959-60 to the new Kerala State which is one-and-a-half times bigger in

one taluk in Trichur District?

What the Governor has said in the summary with regard to the toddy-tappers' cooperatives is totally false as proved by—

FIRST, there is no general rule that the right of tapping and vending toddy should be auctioned. The Government is empowered to grant the license to any person on such conditions and for such periods as it deems fit.

SECONDLY, the terms on which the societies were given license was not the average of five years' income of the Government, as mentioned in the summary, but the condition laid down was

area and population. He also did not mention the fact that in the old Travancore-Cochin State itself, the Education Budget had increased to Rs. 711.4 lakhs in 1956-57.

Why did he not also mention that the actual expenditure on Education in 1957-58, the first year of Kerala State, was Rs. 1,037 lakhs and the

increase during the subsequent years was for expanding university, secondary, primary and technical education and that there was no increase in the administrative expenditure of the department which in fact came down from Rs. 133 lakhs in 1957-58 to Rs. 101.7 lakhs in 1959-60?

Or take what the summary says with regard to the toddy-tappers' cooperative societies: "The allegation that these societies are mainly the party organ of the Communist Party is substantially correct. The general rule of auctioning these shops was abandoned in spite of the protest of the Revenue Board and the Finance Department. It appears that these societies have liberally con-

tributed to the Party fund... It is also alleged that new societies organised by non-Communists were not registered on some pretext or other..."

One is tempted to ask: From where did the Governor get these facts? Is not the Governor part of the Government that totally denied the allegation that new societies organised by non-Communists were not registered on one pretext or other?

Why did the Governor not care to verify from the Co-operative Department whether or not registration was refused to any society of toddy-tappers under any pretext? Did not the Governor know that there is cooperative society formed by leading Congressmen in the name of toddy-tappers that got registration as well as license for tapping and vending in

equally fantastic. In 1957-58, the Budget demand for rentals from manufacture and vending of toddy was Rs. 12,481,214 and collections Rs. 12,270,686. In 1958-59, the respective figures were Rs. 12,215,665 and Rs. 12,090,148 and the budget demand for 1959-60 is Rs. 12,864,589. Hence when nearly half of the toddy shops in the State were entrusted to the cooperatives this year there has been an increase of about Rs. 6.5 lakhs. We do not know how the responsible head of the State can talk about the possibility of a loss of about one crore of rupees when the total expectation from toddy rentals in the budget is only Rs. 128.68 lakhs?

FIFTHLY, the characterisation of the toddy-tappers' cooperatives as organs of the Communist Party can have

any basis in truth only if any society has refused legally or illegally membership to a tapper because of his political views. No such thing has taken place. And since the accounts of all cooperative societies are liable to be scrutinised and checked by the officers of the Co-operative Department, the Governor could have easily found out whether any of the toddy tappers' societies contributed any amount to the Communist Party or any other political party. He did not do it. For, he very well knew that the allegation was false, but he did not say that in his summary. The reason is clear.

Then the Governor, in his summary, has mentioned the allegation that the coir co-

die-men and merchants. Hence the Government worked out a scheme to give share capital loans to workers so as to enable them to become members. This raised the membership of the coir societies from 46,035 in 1956-57 to 92,658 in 1958-59.

Perhaps bringing the coir societies under the control of real coir workers, "infiltrating" the societies with workers, was wrong in the eyes of the Governor. Perhaps the Congress brand of democracy was to keep the workers away from their societies ostensibly formed to benefit them and allow the employers, merchants and middle-men to dominate the societies and carry on their exploitation of workers.

The Governor has further mentioned in the summary the figure of Rs. 7,442,600 as the amount issued to these societies by way of loan till the end of 1958. If he wanted to mention the total amount given as loan from the very inception of the scheme in 1952 then it would come to more than Rs. 90 lakhs. If he wanted to say how much was spent by the Communist Government, the entire loan expenditure on coir development scheme for 1957-59 would come to only 30.62 lakhs of rupees. These figures are there in the budget papers. Still he gives a different figure obviously to give a wrong impression.

Police Policy

The summary speaks about the new police policy of the Kerala Government which, according to the Governor now, was that "the police should not interfere in industrial and agrarian disputes and 'people's movement' un-

* SEE PAGE 8

PAGE SEVEN



CARBON COPY OF ALL OPPOSITION CHARGES

The Constitutional Head Of A State Did Not Bother To Ascertain The Facts—What Is Worse, He Did Not Even Honestly Represent His Govt.'s Policies

NEW AGE

SEPTEMBER 6, 1959

SEPTEMBER 6, 1959

NEW AGE

PAGE SIX

Governor Lacks Objectivity

* FROM OVERLEAF

der any circumstances." It is really a bad day for our democracy when the head of a State is not prepared even to honestly represent the policies of his Government. What did the Kerala Chief Minister actually say on July 23, 1957?

FIRST, the police will not be allowed to use provisions of laws and the duties of maintaining law and order in such a way as to suppress or restrict the democratic activities of any political party, whether big or small.

SECOND, labour and agrarian disputes are primarily matters for the Labour and other departments of Conciliation, Adjudication and Arbitration and not for the police to deal with. The latter comes into the picture only when these disputes lead to violation of the person and property of any section of the people.

Instead of distorting the new policy regarding the role of the police enunciated and attempted to be implemented by the Kerala Government, it would have been useful and proper if the Governor had taken care to study the actual working of this policy and pointed out the mistakes.

Falsification Of Facts

But you cannot find objectivity anywhere in his so-called summary report. For how can he say that the general strike in the plantation lasted for nearly three months whereas in fact it started on October 4, 1956, and was withdrawn on the 29th of the same month. How can he assert that the students' agitation last year arose because the nationalised water transport discontinued certain concessions in respect of beafrare to students by private operators when the Commission of Enquiry consisting of a retired High Court Judge had found that no such concession as claimed by the Opposition parties did exist.

The Governor has repeated even the black KPCC lie that during the students' agitation last year there was a call from the Secretary of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party to the effect that since the police could not be relied upon to meet the situation, the Party should organise public opinion against the agitation. Neither the KPCC Memorandum nor the Governor's summary report has produced any evidence to prove the charge.

It is on the basis of such false, unproved, exaggerated allegations blindly and bodily lifted from the KPCC Memorandum that the Kerala Governor came to the conclusion in his summary that the Kerala Government had lost the support of the majority of the people and that the allegations of maladministration and subversion of democracy were substantially true.

When the Governor in his summary refers to the recent

agitation as an unprecedented mass upsurge, he has no word of criticism or condemnation to say about the violent illegal and unconstitutional character of the agitation. He waxes eloquent on lathi-charges, cane-charges and widespread use of tear-gas shells, brutal and unprovoked firing and stoppage of road as well as water transport services.

Goes Back On What He Said

He has even swallowed what he said in an appeal to the people issued the day after the Ankamali firing incident on June 13. In that statement he referred to the agitations that had been launched by the Church authorities and other organisations. Now he has found out that to describe the movement as sponsored by communal organisations is not correct. He had warned that even peaceful picketing can lead to acts of violence and result in the destruction of public and private property and loss of life. Now he has only to say about the huge number of men and women who participated in the picketing.

He has not shown even the elementary justice to point out in connection with the overthrow agitation the fact that the Kerala Government was always ready and made repeated offers to hold discussions to negotiate and to find agreed solutions for all the issues in dispute and that it was the Congress and other sponsors of the struggle who refused to have any negotiation or peaceful settlement with the Communist Government, even after the advice tendered by Prime Minister Nehru.

On the other hand, the Governor turns round and accuses the Government of crushing the content of democracy which in his opinion is the spirit of give-and-take, negotiation and adjustment with Opposition parties.

After reading this summary, fair-minded and honest people are raising many relevant questions: If the Governor knew that the Government in Kerala was not being carried on in accordance with the democratic spirit of the Constitution, as was made out in the report, what was he doing all these two-years-and-a-half? Did he take note of these violations as and when they arose and advise his Council of Ministers to rectify them? Was he not keeping the Centre informed of these violations from time to time and what action did the Central Government take to see that the Constitution was upheld by the Kerala Ministry? These are inconvenient questions.

It is obvious that the summary of the Governor's report is an afterthought by which the Congress leaders of the Central Government thought they would be able to justify their unjustifiable intervention in Kerala.



The mother and child cling to each other as the Nazi beast takes aim to shoot them both down. How many such inhuman crimes had been committed!

NEVER AGAIN!

THIS CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

SEPTEMBER 1 this year marks the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the horror which swept through the world and left its mark in the shape of millions dead, more maimed and the whole human race sterner through a veritable ordeal of agony.

China and Spain had gone before. The full fury of the bestiality with the stigma of the Swastika then descended upon Poland. Never before in the history of barbarity was so much inflicted and in such a manner.

Poland's Losses

As a result of the hostilities during the Second World War and the Nazi terror, more than six million Polish citizens lost their lives. This means, that out of every 1,000 Poles, 220 were obliterated—the highest ratio for any of the war-devastated countries. Some 2.5 million Poles were deported for forced labour—the hateful slogan Arbeit Macht Frei (Work Makes Free) branded their lives in concentration camps.

Those who suffered the deepest were the Jews. Aktion Reinhardt and other savage operations resulted in the murder of over three million of the three-and-a-half million Jews in Poland.

Destroyed in Warsaw and the rest of the country were:

10,000 industrial establishments; 2,677 hospitals; 6,000 schools; 3,337 museums theatres and cinemas. The material losses came to

some 258,000 million zlotys. It has been estimated that the national wealth of Poland was reduced by 38 per cent as compared with 1939, the corresponding figures for France and Great Britain being 1.5 and 0.8 per cent respectively.

India's Sympathy

In her hour of trial Indian sympathies reached out to Poland. On September 15, 1939 the Working Committee of the Congress adopted a resolution, expressing strong disapproval of Nazism, which stated:

"The Working Committee must, therefore unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi Government against Poland and sympathise with those who resist it."

Gandhiji on September 16 sent to the Poles his "heartfelt prayer" and stated, "Of course my whole heart is with the Poles in the unequal struggle.... Their cause is just and their victory certain."

Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore became the President of the Indo-Polish Association on September 9 and sent a message in which he stated that "with warm sympathy and respect India responds to the gesture of friendship made by the Polish nation."

On This Anniversary

In his message on the 20th anniversary to the Indian people, Dr. Julius Katz Suchy, Poland's Am-

bassador in New Delhi, declared:

"Today, after twenty years, the Polish people remember with gratitude this stand taken by the Indian public opinion in those days of September 1939. Today both India and Poland have regained their independence, both our countries are free from foreign rule and oppression. Today Poland and India are closely cooperating to prevent any repetition of the tragedy started twenty years ago. This mutual sympathy and understanding, born out of a common experience in the struggle for freedom and against oppression, is a most valuable asset for the development of peaceful relations in the world."

Preventive Measures

To prevent a repetition of the holocaust, Katz Suchy in a statement to the Press pleaded eloquently for an effective all-European system of security and called for a solution of the German problem on the basis of "the Soviet proposal for the conclusion of a peace treaty between the State members of anti-Nazi coalition of the Second World War and the two German States."

Stressing that only a general relaxation of tension could create appropriate conditions for such a settlement, the Polish Ambassador warned against the revival of West German militarism and called for advance "from cold war to constructive coexistence."

BULGARIA

Communist Party Leads Victorious March To Socialism

THE victory of Communism, the building of the new social system, has always been the aim pursued by the Communist Party in Bulgaria. Up to the Great October Socialist Revolution this aim was looked upon as one of a distant future.

Winning of political power by the proletariat through an armed uprising and introducing the Socialist mode of production were first set as an immediate and urgent task in the programme declaration adopted by the Bulgarian Communist Party as long ago as May 1919.

The October Revolution and the experience of the Soviet Union in Socialist construction showed the path for the working people in Bulgaria and throughout the world for the victory over reaction and the building of a new free and happy life.

The first attempt of the masses in Bulgaria, led by the Communist Party, to carry out a people's democratic revolution in September 1923 suffered defeat. This, however, was only the dress rehearsal, so to say, from which the Party drew useful conclusions and found a correct solution to all problems of the revolution in Bulgaria, thus ensuring its victory.

In the years of the Second World War, it promptly took the correct course for an armed struggle against the Bulgarian fascists and the Nazi occupiers. Its members were the most daring fighters against the cruel enemy. At the right moment the Party advanced the slogan for the organisation of the Fatherland Front and worked out its programme.

Founded in 1942, it rallied all patriotic and democratic forces in the country and saved the Bulgarian people from disaster. Through the Fatherland Front the Party succeeded in winning over the masses on to the side of the revolution. An alliance was effected between the working class and the poor and middle peasants. Individual representatives of that section of the bourgeoisie which was democratically-minded were also drawn into the popular struggle.

Triumph Of September 9, 1944

This powerful front of Bulgarian patriots, successfully led by the Bulgarian Communist Party, won the victory of September 9, 1944, with the decisive aid of the Soviet Army. With the establishment of People's Democratic rule the Communist Party assumed the leading role. Its valiant struggle waged with great sacrifices, its correct political stand won

the Party the prestige of a real leader of the masses.

The basic aim and main concern of the People's Democratic Government and the Communist Party in Bulgaria is to raise the living standards of the working people. This can be achieved only through the rapid economic development of the country and its productive forces. To this end, at its Fifth Congress, held in December 1948, the Bulgarian Communist Party worked out a detailed programme for the country's industrialisation and electrification, for the cooperativisation and mechanisation of agriculture.

Gigantic Task

After 60 years of bourgeois domination and free access to foreign capital, Bulgaria continued to be a backward agricultural country with no industry of her own and a primitive agriculture. Bulgaria had no machine-building, metallurgy or any other industries which provide the basis for an independent economic development. Her chemical industry and power production were in quite a rudimentary state.



TODOR ZHIVKOV
Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.



ANTON YUGOV
Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

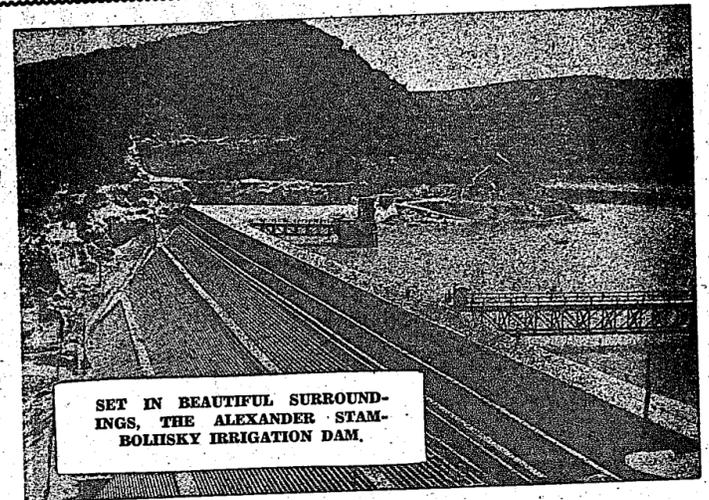
The Communist Party, therefore, set the Bulgarian people the task of achieving in ten or fifteen years what the economically advanced countries had attained in centuries, under different conditions. The Party drafted a concrete programme for the country's industrialisation and the Socialist reorganisation of agriculture. It further organised the creative initiative of the masses in a drive for the realisation of this programme. Under its leadership, mass Socialist emula-

power rose from 266 million kwh in 1939 to 3,024 million kwh in 1958, of lead-zinc and copper ores, 12 times; the volume of machine-building and metal-working output expanded over nine times.

Cooperativisation Of Agriculture

In her economic development Bulgaria outstripped by far her neighbouring countries of Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia.

"New Age" Greet's 15th Anniversary Of The Bulgarian People's Republic



SET IN BEAUTIFUL SURROUNDINGS, THE ALEXANDER STAMBOLISKI IRRIGATION DAM.

tion was developed between workers' teams. The Soviet Union aided the Bulgarian people by granting loans, training cadres, rendering technical and other assistance.

As a result of the correct policy and leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, at the end of 1957 basic capital investments in industry were almost entirely renewed. Out of a total of 21.6 thousand million leva of investments, 17.2 thousand million have been appropriated during the years of people's rule. The gross industrial product rose nearly nine times in 1958 as compared with 1939. Today in less than two months Bulgaria's industry turns out an output equal to the total industrial output of 1939. The annual output of electric

The Bulgarian Communist Party traced out the path and organised the fulfilment of such a complex and difficult task as the cooperativisation and mechanisation of agriculture. Taking into consideration the fact that it was the working peasants who possessed most of the land, the poor and middle peasants owning over 80 per cent of all farms, it refrained from raising the slogan for the nationalisation of the land. Preserving private ownership of the land it promoted the cooperative farm as the most suitable form for the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

The cooperative farm member receives rent for the land which he has pooled in the cooperative but the bulk of the output is distributed according to the work each member has put in. The Communist Party did not leave this process to develop spontaneously but directed it from the very beginning. Carrying out extensive explanatory and organisational work and fully observing the voluntary principle the Party convinced the peasant masses the advantages of large-scale cooperative and mechanised agriculture.

At the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, held in the spring of 1958, it was reported that the cooperativisation of agriculture had been finally completed. A merger of cooperative farms was effected in the autumn of the same year and at present each farm possesses about 4,500 hectares of land. There are 30,000 tractors in 15 hp units working on the cooperative fields. They make possible the introduction of extensive ameliorative and other measures which will greatly increase the productivity of agricultural labour.

On this basis the national income will more than double in 1962 and will increase nearly three times in 1965. This will be a new unprecedented leap in Bulgaria's economic development, made possible by the final victory of the Socialist relations in production and by the tapping and utilisation by the Communist Party of all reserves in the nation's economy.

Led by their Communist Party, the Bulgarian working people are successfully fulfilling these impressive tasks preparing to celebrate the 15th Anniversary of the establishment of People's Democratic rule in their country with great new labour successes. This is a new triumph of the Socialist system and its boundless opportunities over the capitalist order; a new triumph of the correct policy and leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

This development of the productive forces and incre-

ase in the country's output led to a rise of the national income which in 1958 was about 2.5 times higher than that of 1939. Its basic part—about 80 per cent—goes for consumption, and the remaining part for reproduction. A number of social gains, such as free medical aid, free education, free holidays were added to the income of the working people.

Not only the cities, but the countryside changed its aspect, too. Today most of our villages have been wired for electricity and a large number of them supplied with radio broadcasting systems and cinema facilities. The Bulgarian working people owe all this to the correct policy and leadership of their Communist Party.

The Road Ahead

At its Seventh Congress and in its consecutive resolutions the Bulgarian Communist Party set imposing tasks. The country's industrial output is to double in 1962 and by 1965 its volume is to expand about three to four times. Agricultural output is to increase from about 15 thousand million leva in 1957 to 40 to 45 thousand million in 1962 reaching about 60 thousand million leva in 1965.

On this basis the national income will more than double in 1962 and will increase nearly three times in 1965. This will be a new unprecedented leap in Bulgaria's economic development, made possible by the final victory of the Socialist relations in production and by the tapping and utilisation by the Communist Party of all reserves in the nation's economy.

Led by their Communist Party, the Bulgarian working people are successfully fulfilling these impressive tasks preparing to celebrate the 15th Anniversary of the establishment of People's Democratic rule in their country with great new labour successes. This is a new triumph of the Socialist system and its boundless opportunities over the capitalist order; a new triumph of the correct policy and leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

BULGARIA'S LEAP FORWARD IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

★ ★ ★

The Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, held in June 1958, has been marked into the annals of Bulgarian history as the Congress of Victorious Socialism. This Congress traced further the bright road for the building of the Socialist order in Bulgaria and for creating the necessary conditions for the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

THE decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Party have given a new impetus to the surge of the productive forces of the country and have contributed to its speeded-up pace of development.

The very essence of the Socialist economic system contains inherent boundless possibilities for speeding up economic progress. The creative application of Marxism-Leninism requires of the Party to make full use of these opportunities for a successful realisation of the problems of Socialist construction.

Seven-Year Programme

Appraising correctly the enthusiasm and initiative of the working people and the great mass of concrete proposals made by them, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has brought to light the full scope of potential realities—so that the economic tasks set by the Congress might be accomplished within considerably shorter terms.

On the basis of these premises, the Plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party at their sessions in the months of October and November 1958, and January 1959 took decisions of historical importance for the economic development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria during the next seven years.

These decisions will be a grand-scale programme for speeding up the development

of national economy and improving the material well-being and cultural level of the Bulgarian people.

In brief, the decisions essentially envisage increasing industrial production by 1962 to twice its volume in 1957, while by 1965 the volume of industrial production is expected to rise three to four times. During this same period agricultural output shall also be raised four times.

The above decisions of the Party were warmly welcomed by the Bulgarian working people and gave rise to a nationwide movement for their realisation.

The paramount factor that will determine the great leap forward in the economic development of Bulgaria is the final victory of Socialism.

Under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party and with the fraternal assistance of the other Socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, in the course of the past 15 years, the Bulgarian people have achieved outstanding successes in the development of industry, agriculture, in the advancement of education, science and culture, and in the improvement of the nation's well-being.

The paramount factor that will determine the great leap forward in the economic development of Bulgaria is the final victory of Socialism.

Under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party and with the fraternal assistance of the other Socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, in the course of the past 15 years, the Bulgarian people have achieved outstanding successes in the development of industry, agriculture, in the advancement of education, science and culture, and in the improvement of the nation's well-being.

Rapid Advance

While in 1939 the general volume of industrial production was a bare 3,943 million leva, at present it has increased nearly nine times and topped the 30 billion mark. In only two months during 1958 the industrial enter-

prises turned out more goods than were produced in the whole course of 1939.

A historical turning point has been effected in Bulgarian agriculture. Through a creative application of the Leninist cooperative plan, the Party has ensured the victory of Socialism in the countryside. From scattered, backward small holdings, Bulgarian agriculture has taken shape as a powerful Socialist agricultural system. Until 15 years ago the arable land of the country was shred into about 12 million different plots, worked primitively. At present the peasantry is united in big agricultural cooperatives, possessing modern machinery and technique, which gave them every opportunity of steadily increasing the yield of the land.

School and university doors are now wide open to the sons of the working people.

Out of the 7.5 million citizens of Bulgaria, nearly 1,300,000 young men and women attend one or another of the numerous educational institutions. At present there are 20 higher institutions of learning with an enrolment of more than 40,000.

The country's achievements in the last 15 years have raised considerably the cultural level of the people's masses.

The powerful upsurge of national economy has necessitated new paces and new scale-rules in the development of industry. Great inner reserves are being brought into play in every branch of production. Increasing use is being made of the huge subsoil wealth of the land.

Special concern has been given to the branches of industry related to machine engineering, mainly metallurgy, machine-tools, coal mining and electric power.

Branch of production	1957	1962	1965
	(In 1000 tons)		
STEEL	159.2	400	900
ROLLED FERROUS METALS	116.7	320	700-800
PIG IRON	55.7	230	700
LEAD	19.0	33	90
ZINC	7.5	—	50
ELECTROLYTIC COPPER	—	17	25
COAL	11	24	48
ELECTRIC POWER (Billion kw/hr)	2.7	6.7	10.0

By 1962, the output of the machine engineering and metal-processing industry will be three to four times greater and by 1965—six times greater, compared to 1957.

Branches producing machines for the chemical, textile, food, mining industries and agriculture will be particularly developed.

The same is true of the development of precision instruments and the production of electronic and quasi-conductor apparatuses and equipment, the use of isotopes, etc.

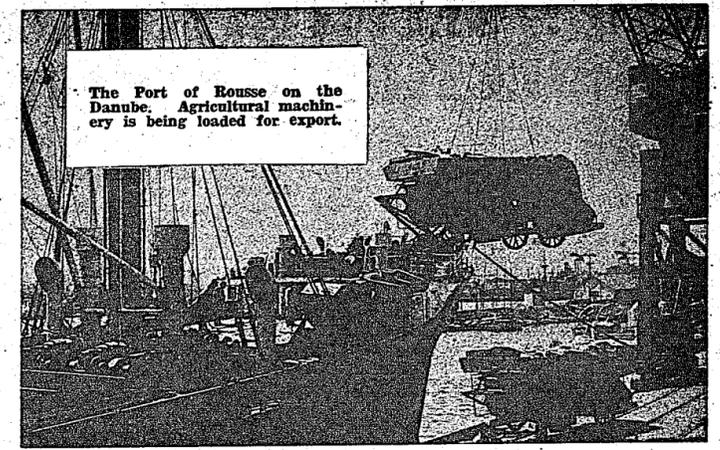
To ensure the high pace of development of metallurgy, machine engineering, coal-mining and production of electric power, plans envisage the building of numerous new plants and factories, electric power stations, tapping new ore and coal deposits, with a view to a full use of all available resources.

The rapid expansion of a home basis of raw materials and the continuously

growing requirements of the population of every kind of consumer goods, furnish real possibilities for speeding up the pace of the light and food industries.

Cooperative farming in the countryside has opened the broadest prospects for the further development of rural economy. The cooperative farms existing until last year proved too small to develop in full a rational and total mechanisation of the basic field-work and for the realisation of amelioration schemes, extending irrigation networks, the full implementation of modern agrotechnics, so as to ensure highest agricultural yields.

For this reason towards the end of last year and the beginning of the present, Bulgarian agriculture undertook a rapid process of fusion. Realising the advantages of large-scale farming, the peasants pooled their resources. The fusion of 3,450 cooperative



★ ★ ★

farms in 1958 created 984 big cooperative farm holdings.

The new big farms have grown into solid agricultural enterprises of considerable economic strength. They have brought possibilities for expanding their material and productive bases, for a broader application of modern technology and the achievements of modern science. They will be able to contribute decisively for raising the cultural approach to agriculture and livestock-raising and ensure a steady increase of the returns of the land.

By 1965 (as compared to 1957), the total production of animal fodder will increase about three times, sunflower seed—2.5 times, cotton—over five, sugar beet—over double, grapes—nearly four times, milk—over 3.5 times, eggs—nearly eight and meat and poultry—over three times.

In order to ensure such returns by 1962 about 12.5 million acres of land shall have been brought under cultivation. Land under irrigation will reach 2.5 million acres to be doubled once again by 1965.

The number of cows is to reach one million, sheep—nearly 15 million, poultry—70 to 80 million.

The higher speed of development of national economy have necessitated modifications in the present structure of State machinery and in the organisation of rural economy.

A Law on advancing the development of national economy, passed by the National Assembly last March, closed down the former Ministries charged with different sectors of national economy. The whole country was divided into 30 new administrative economic districts and thus the management of economic life became more direct, and more productive.

The realisation of the planned new pace and scale of economic development of Bulgaria during the 1959-1962-1965 period will lead to a rapid expansion of the productive forces and to the consolidation of the productive resources of the Socialist order, as well as to such an advancement of the economic power of the country as will help the gradual transition of the Republic from Socialism to Communism.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES TAKE GREAT INTEREST IN BULGARIA'S MECHANICAL ENGINEERING PRODUCTS

The foundations of Bulgarian mechanical engineering in the true sense of the word were only laid in 1948. The few small factories and workshops existing in the past were brought together, regrouped, reorganised, expanded and fully reconditioned. In addition, numerous entirely new modern plants with high productive capacity were constructed.

DIFFERENT enterprises specialised in specific sectors of engineering and gave opportunities for a better organisation of work and their rapid consolidation. Bulgarian mechanical engineering marked rapid progress, and its output in 1958 was 15 times bigger than its 1948 volume.

Since 1948 Bulgarian engineering works have acquired the skill and knack of making many new types of machinery and equipment.

The production of agricultural machinery was greatly pushed forward. The same is true of machine-tools, wood-processing machines, machines for the food industry, for the mining and building sectors and for the production and generation of power. Ship-building and the construction of railway trucks and carriages were also expanded. Cinema projectors form one of our newest branches of industry.

New Types Of Machinery

Every year the People's Republic of Bulgaria turns out some 150-200 new types of machinery and equipment, so that at present industry produces over 2,000 different machines and equipment for the needs of every branch of national economy.

The volume of agricultural machinery heads the list of industrial production. At present home industry delivers for the needs of farming a whole range of modern agricultural machines.

Initial production of the Dimitrovs-6 combine started in

1953, and by 1958 production of this particular type of combine harvester reached the figure of 1,600.

Agricultural machinery takes a growing part in exports. Many countries in the world have found the tractor ploughs, vineyard cultivators, scarifiers, shelling machines and others to their full satisfaction. The machine engineering works ship regularly to many countries abroad various types of sowing machines, manure spreaders, harvesters, hay-mowers, combines, seed-cleaners, ensilage cutters for animal feeders, machinery and equipment for fighting plant pests, and so on.

Machine-tools are also high up on the export list. Bulgarian plants have been steadily expanding their production and exports. At present 16 main types of machine-tools are exported. The response following Bulgarian sales made at International Trade Fairs and deliveries to West Germany, Turkey, Syria, Egypt and other countries speak highly for the quality and productive capacity of Bulgarian made machine tools.

There is a steady demand for over 12 types of petrol and diesel motors with a power range running up to 85 HP, which find broad application in agriculture, industry, water transport, etc., as main and auxiliary engines. In addition to the increased production of agricultural machinery and internal combustion engines, in the last eight years the People's Republic of Bulgaria has been producing all spares for trac-

tors and motor cars, which at present satisfy in full the requirements of over 20 types of tractors and 30 types of motor cars in general use in this country.

In 1958 a new big engineering works joined the line of production. Its modern equipment produces a huge range of automobile spare parts. At present this works is also working for the export market.

The Bulgarian ship-building industry now has a half-a-century old history and experience. At Varna Port the former repair shop, with Soviet assistance, about ten years ago grew into the modern ship-building and repair yards bearing the name of Georgi Dimitrov. Later, the yards have been building 250-passenger ships, 3200-ton freighters, 3000-ton river and lake barges, 4000-ton tankers, and other types of sea-going and river craft. At present work is in full swing on a 5000-ton freighter, while in the nearest future the yards are preparing to build sea-going ships of 10,000 tons.

Until 1950 the shipyards used bolted plates for ship-building, but after 1952 they have adopted welded constructions. The Georgi Dimitrov Shipyards have facilities for reinforced concrete ship-building, concrete hulls for guardships, floating workshops and fish-canaries and other stationery vessels for different purposes. The yards also have a modern dry-dock

Modern Shipyards

and powerful technical installations and equipment for the all-round testing of engines, shafts, etc. The dry-dock undertakes the general overhaul and repair of all types of vessels up to a length of 200 m. and a width of 25 m. The Georgi Dimitrov Shipyards is working on numerous foreign orders.

In 1950 the Red Banner Railway Wagon Works was built at the port of Bourgas. The works have since acquired expert knowledge on the construction of different types of freight cars, such as box cars, J.F. flat cars, J.F. dump cars, J.F. four-axle universals, gondolas, and others.

The engineering works now turns out bulldozers of 30 to 50 cubic metres capacity per hour, scrapers with a 25 to 60 cubic metres capacity per hour, graders with a traction power of 9 tons, stump pullers, diesel rollers, and others.

The machinery produced for the mining industry includes various types of jaw breakers with a 30-ton capacity per hour, conical breakers—with a 43-ton capacity per hour, ball mills with a 35-ton capacity per hour, flotation machinery, graders, feeders, geological and mining drills working to a depth of 1,200 metres, a shovel crawler for loading coal with a 50-ton lift per hour, and many others.

The Bulgarian mechanical engineering industry makes complete installations for ore flotation factories, wood processing and ceramic works, pectin, starch, glucose and alcohol-producing enterprises, as

well as installations and equipment used in vegetable, meat and fruit-preserving plants.

In the last few years the export of Bulgarian made machines has rapidly increased. Taking 1952=100, exports in the following years rose as follows: 1953—124, 1954—128, 1955—169, 1956—348, 1957—810. Over 350 types of machines figure on Bulgaria's export list, amongst which 16 types of machine tools, 42 types of machines for the mining industry, 60 types of pumps, 50 types of machines for the food industry, and so on.

According to the Directives of the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the output of machine engineering shall be at least doubled during the Third Five-Year Plan (1958-1962) as compared with the Second Five-Year Plan. At least 60 per cent of this increase shall result from a more appropriate installation of productive capacities.

The rapid development of Bulgarian mechanical engineering offers great possibilities for increasing exports several fold. The high grade and perfect operation of Bulgarian made machines and equipment have been steadily stimulating an increasing interest among business firms in many different countries.

In result, during the current year agriculture will receive 7,000 tractor ploughs (instead

of the originally planned 4,000), 2,400 tractor drills (instead of 500, as originally planned). For amelioration work Bulgaria will produce 520 bulldozers, 240 scrapers, over 8,000 pumps (2500 in 1958), 2,000 field sprinklers, and other equipment.

In the course of the Third Five-Year Plan the engineering works will turn out a 25-30 HP tractor chassis, a self-propelled combine, an ensilage combine, tobacco-stringing and cutting machines, as well as several new types of ploughs and drills.

Fifty new types of machines will be made for the wine, canning and meat-processing industries, such as grape presses, centrifuges, bottle-fillers and washers, installations for making tomato puree, pea-batchers, bean-batchers, jam fillers, peach and apple peelers, and many others.

Bulgaria will also build 2,500 weaving looms, as well as carding machines, wool and cotton twistors, flayers, special looms for worsteds and silks, etc. In 1958 the country produced 30,000 bicycles and 3,000 motorcycles. By 1962 the target will be 130,000 bicycles and 25,000 motorcycles.

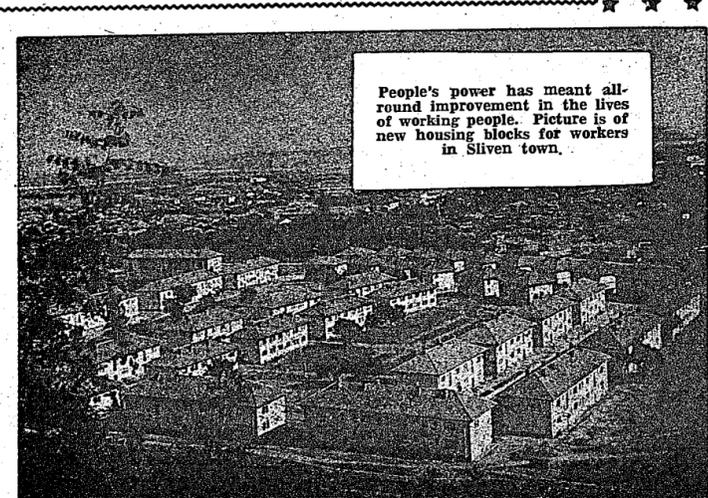
The rapid development of Bulgarian mechanical engineering offers great possibilities for increasing exports several fold. The high grade and perfect operation of Bulgarian made machines and equipment have been steadily stimulating an increasing interest among business firms in many different countries.

Confidence In Success

The Bulgarian people have joyfully welcomed the decisions of their Party and are now devoting their efforts to their realisation. In September of this year they will celebrate the 15th Anniversary of the September 9 People's Anti-Fascist Uprising.

In the Appeal to the Bulgarian people, made on this solemn occasion, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has called upon all working people to celebrate it by a telling victory in the fight for the realisation of the Third Five-Year Plan in shorter terms.

The Appeal has mobilised the masses, and has revealed unsuspected creative initiatives at plants, factories, enterprises and cooperative farms. This is the best gauge that the grand new tasks traced for the next few years will be successfully achieved.



People's power has meant all-round improvement in the lives of working people. Picture is of new housing blocks for workers in Sliven town.

IRAQ: SELF-CRITICISM AND CORRECTION OF MISTAKES

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party held an enlarged session in mid-July at which recent developments in the political situation were assessed and the policy of the Party since the last enlarged session held in early September 1958 was also reviewed. The Session also discussed the organisational position inside the Party and shortcomings in Party work.

THE Iraq policy during the said period was dealt with in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism; the decisions reached reflected unanimous determination to adopt the policy most conducive to solidarity with the national regime, the unity of the patriotic forces and the protection of the Republic and the gains of the Revolution. A special committee was instructed to formulate the ideas and decisions of the meeting and embody them in a detailed report dealing with the entire policy of the Party.

The political part of the report will proceed to define the nature of the Revolution, considering it a bourgeois-democratic or people's revolution.

Following the definition of the true nature of the Iraqi Revolution and its basic forces, the report will deal with the consistent policy of the Party in the field of national cooperation, notably its firm support of the Government and the efforts exerted by the Party to unite the patriotic forces and mobilise the masses of the people under the slogan, "For safeguarding the Republic."

The report will also stress the importance of struggling to preserve the Republic inasmuch as it was the target of numerous plots and intrigues. Finally, the report will underline the validity of the analysis embodied in the decisions of the enlarged session held last September.

other, led to negative results. The slogan pervaded the May Day celebrations and many other official gatherings; it also penetrated into the army and consequently impaired the relations with the Government.

The Party, therefore, ended the campaign which it tried to confine to its educational framework in order to preserve intact the unity of the ranks. The consequences of the demand were further complicated by being exploited unscrupulously by the imperialists and their agents in order to distort the policy of the Party and undermine the unity of the patriotic forces.

The report will then proceed to deal with the repercussions

restoring and consolidating relations with the Government and with those patriotic forces which chose to suspend their political activity.

The report will point out how all these positions resulted from the erroneous assessments based on belittling the role of the regime and other patriotic forces and led to jeopardising another basic question, i.e., maintaining solidarity with the Government and other patriotic forces.

In the light of its discussion of these circumstances and the tense political situation, the report will dwell upon the excesses of the masses which arose from their deep concern that they might lose what they have

The report also refers to the shortcomings of the Party in this respect, which resulted from mistaken embarrassment and hesitation to rebuke the masses, considering that this rebuke would be a poor reward for the enthusiasm of the masses and the sincerity of their struggle to combat the dangers facing the Republic. While it rectifies its interpretation of this issue, the Party announces its determination to exert greater efforts to stand against the erroneous spontaneous actions of the masses and to direct their enthusiasm in the right channels within the framework of organised political activity and respect for the laws of the Republic.

After refuting some of the distortions of the Party's policy, the enlarged session strongly emphasised the necessity of renouncing secondary disputes and of restoring solidarity among the various national forces.

Large contingents from the sons of the people started, from the first days of the revolution, joining the Party and applying for membership.

The Party organisations were occupied with fighting the plotting activities hostile to the Republic with the result that they did not have enough chance for education and this led to the lagging of the qualitative development of our organisations behind their numerical development.

"Leftist" Mistakes

The statement says that the Iraqi Party has honourably shouldered its wide and varied tasks and surmounted numerous difficulties which it encountered. Yet other serious obstacles which could not be surmounted impeded its coping with the revolutionary tide as required. The most important of the impediments was the problem of the continuance of secrecy in organisation in spite of the openness of its political activity as well as the development of

This rendered it difficult for the leadership to ensure close supervision over the rank and file and led to the wrong application of the Party's policy by some of the less experienced Party organisations. This also led the non-Party elements committing mistakes and excesses in the name of the Party by claiming to be Communists.

The brilliant achievement and the great services which the Party offered to the people, the Republic and the revolutionary Government, are well known. But the Party made wrong political assessments by over-estimating its forces and under-rating the role of the other national forces in protecting the Republic, all of which led the Party into "Leftist" political mistakes that were also reflected in its organisational plan.

The great Leninist principle of collective leadership was violated in the Party and the rights of the Central Committee were trespassed upon. Some of the proposals and criticisms submitted by the Party cadres and members did not receive the attention and care they deserve.

An Indian Delegate Reports...

Eighteen thousand young men and women coming from every nook and corner of the world stood in their national costumes outside their camps in 112 columns, awaiting to march in a parade to the Vienna Stadium—the venue fixed for the inaugural function of the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship on July 26. They were flying flags of their nations, singing songs of joy and peace in more than a hundred languages.

SUDDENLY there came a voice from a corner and all of them joined in the chorus: "Everywhere the youth is singing Freedom's songs..." And thus the parade started.

Packed Stadium

After the inaugural speech on behalf of the International Preparatory Committee, the Chairman of the Austrian Youth Committee welcomed the delegates. The Stadium was packed to its capacity nearly 100,000—and sounds of loud cheers and applause could be heard from afar when messages of greetings from the Austrian Chancellor, Julius Raab, and other eminent personalities from all over the world were being read.

Dr. Chaloupka brought the greetings of the Austrian Government, and Deputy Lord Mayor Slavik spoke as representative of the City of Vienna to the guests from the whole world.

Next came five representatives from the five continents, one by one, to greet Vienna—that beautiful city of Music, situated on both sides of the Danube.

More than decade ago, Hitler's forces had marched into this city and besieged it. They tried their level best to destroy and spoil all that was beautiful in Vienna—its art, its culture, its music... "Have no mercy, take no pity, be more ruthless. That is the most humanitarian way of warfare for it frightens people..." such were the instructions Hitler sent to his army-men.

But he was defeated at the hands of those who interpreted humanitarianism in a different way. Once more the people of Austria like those of their neighbouring countries, breathed the air of freedom. Heaps of dirt accumulated by the Nazi Generals were washed away by the Danube from all the countries it flows through in Europe and Vienna was again a clean city, shining in all its beauty and splendour.

Yes! They were free now but the cruelty of the heinous crimes heaped upon them were not yet effaced from their memory and that made the urge for world peace grow stronger in their minds as they watched the youth of the world whose representatives had assembled on the Stadium.

Dance Of The People

The gymnasts from Czechoslovakia seemed to be creating miracles in the Stadium with their gymnastic display —1,000 of them rising and acting like one man. After about half an hour of display, in conclusion they formed themselves into a huge multi-coloured flower, exactly like the Festival Flower. Its petals moving smoothly in the sky

symbolised life, youth and beauty at the same time. Then began the "Dance of the People" and simultaneously thousands of peace doves flew over the Festival along with several hundred balloons carrying the illuminated Festival Emblem, dazzling the sky.

With fireworks ended the ceremony and the youth gathered there spread all over the city of Vienna, singing and dancing with the Austrian youth. Next day the Festival participants woke up to see anti-Festival planes flying over their camps like hungry birds searching for prey. They were carrying slogans: "Festival without us," "Do not forget Hungary," "Do not forget Tibet" etc., and would not go away from the camp site. Our in-

SEVENTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN VIENNA

terpreter, an Austrian young man told me, "Hitler's planes also flew like this when they had captured Vienna." I could understand the meaning of his spontaneous remark for he was the son of a man who had been tortured and killed by the Germans.

Disruptors Isolated

Many an effort had been made by quite powerful international organisations to disrupt the Festival, to isolate the Festival participants from the local populace. But all these attempts failed and failed miserably. On all street corners, marketing centres, places of public importance, railway stations, tram stops, you would come across individuals from so-called "Festival Information" centre. You would try naturally to get information about the Festival. But you would find yourself misled, instead. While the whole of the city of Vienna was resounding with the sweet words of "Peace and Friendship", these individuals operating the stalls went on harping the tunes of cold war—anti-Soviet, anti-Communist slander so dear to their hearts.

People who went would be given a heap of books free of cost but nobody would bring them outside the stall: "Why carry this rubbish home?" The Festival started with hundreds of items on its agenda. Cultural performances, excursions, hobby-meetings, meeting of the students of the same faculty, seminars on different subjects, lectures by eminent scientists followed by discussions, sports. There used to be so many programmes at the same time that it

was difficult to make a choice. Where to go and where not to go? That was a question every participant kept asking himself.

The Indian delegation consisted of 150 members belonging to student and youth organisations and from different walks of life. A strong contingent of nearly 100 Indian students and workers had come from England and other parts of Europe.

Refusal Of Passports

The Youth Congress, the youth wing of the Congress Party, faithful to its membership of the World Assembly of Youth decided not to participate in the Festival. The Bharat Yuwak Samaj, that "non-political" organisation headed by Nehru, withdrew from the Indian Coordinating Committee. But still there were Congress-minded individuals participating in the Festival.

The Government of India, working according to information given by some dubious sources, allowed the World Assembly of Youth, a body supporting in



Colonial Day." The function was inaugurated by an Indian M. P. Arvind Ghosal.

Solidarity With Colonies

For about two hours it had been raining heavily and it was just half an hour after it stopped that the performances were held in an open air stage erected on the river bank. Under one's feet there was mud and water and the wind that was blowing was icy cold. But a huge mass of people kept standing for three hours continuously watching the folk dances and other performances by youth of different colonial and newly independent countries.

Many were the instances, during the Festival days, that spoke eloquently of the feelings of friendship and solidarity of the youth of all countries, with their brethren in the newly independent countries, fighting to preserve and consolidate their independence.

Iraqi youth and the Cuban Youth became the central figures in the Festival. Algerian youth were warmly received by delegates from all corners of the world. Indeed, an outstanding expression of the feelings of solidarity of the youth of the whole world for the Algerian youth was found in the spontaneous decision of all the delegates to march in the inaugural parade of the Festival with their national flags wrapped

delegation to unfurl its flag, up because the Austrian Government had refused permission to the Algerian The Leningrad Ballet, Peking Opera and the cultural items given by the Korean and Vietnamese youth were all superb. The UNESCO made available to the Festival an exhibition on its activities. Besides this, there were a number of other exhibitions held.

On August 1, a second parade was held along the Ring. Paul Robeson was to sing his songs that day. As the delegates holding festoons in their hands passed through the streets of Vienna raising slogans of peace and friendship in more than a hundred languages, the people of Vienna, old men and women with children in their arms, boys and girls kept waving their hands and responding to the slogans.

There were at least a million people standing on both sides of the road. And when they reached the Ring where Paul Robeson was to sing, the open square was filled to its capacity and thousands of them had to stand on the five adjoining roads. The people of Vienna were anxious to see the great Negro singer. Paul Robeson gave five songs that day.

The programmes of the festival could not have been counted. Wherever the delegates gathered, in the dining hall or their camps, they would start singing and dancing and it would not stop till it was early morning. This went on throughout the Festival and on the last day when the Festival's end was announced, nobody would believe that ten days had really passed. One felt as if the Festival had started the previous day.

News from brother parties

Party in the Government. The report will indicate how the essence of the slogan was in itself correct for it would have achieved a stronger alliance with the Government and other patriotic forces on an official level, consolidated the National Government together with its democratic course. It was based on the positive stand of the leader, Abdul Karim Qasim, and other patriotic forces on the question of participation along with others of Party representatives in the Government.

However, the lack of adequate study of the results consequent on this demand, on the one hand, and the mistaken way in which the demand was imparted to the masses, on the

cropping up in the course of the development of the political situation and the complication of the relations among the patriotic forces resulting from the attitude to party life which came to a head with the declaration of suspension of activities by the National Democratic Party with its negative effects on democratic life, on relations among the national forces and especially on relations with the leadership of the regime which compelled the Party to carry out activities for the defence of the democratic development of the country.

The enlarged session of the Central Committee criticised the approach of the Party in this respect—which did not facilitate the task of

gained, and which led to excesses and atrocious acts.

It will also discuss the factors leading to these acts and the lack of democratic freedoms in the past which did not enable the Party and the other political forces to educate the masses and give them adequate political training. The report denounces, on behalf of the Party, atrocious acts such as "dragging bodies" and torture, looting of property and violating the laws of the Republic and considers such acts as completely incompatible with the principles of the Party and which necessitate disciplinary measures against any Party member proved to have violated the Party's principles by participation in such acts.

AIDIT REPORTS ON

Party's Tasks In Indonesia

AT the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, D. N. Aidit delivering the political report, said that the attitude towards the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet taken by the Indonesian Communist Party was fundamentally the same as that towards the Djuanda Cabinet.

As long as the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet did not obstruct the development of the independence movement and democratic movement, the Party would extend its sincere and critical support to it in accordance with the following principle: support its progressive policies without reservation, criticise its irresolute policies to make them progressive ones and oppose those Ministers whose execution of policies was not favourable to the people.

Aidit pointed out that the difference between the present and past Cabinets lay in the following points: first, the present Cabinet was led by Sukarno, chief leader of

the revolutionary Nationalists; secondly, the Cabinet Ministers were only assistants of the President and the President could relieve them from their posts at any time if necessary; thirdly the political programme of the Cabinet was simple and included the most pressing interests of the masses of the people; and fourthly, there were many army-men in the present Cabinet.

The first three points, Aidit pointed out, were positive factors of the present Cabinet and the last point could either be a positive one or negative one which would depend on the actions of those army-men who assumed the posts of Ministers.

Aidit said in taking the attitude towards the present Cabinet, "We would continue to strive for the realisation of a cooperation Cabinet which would include persons of the Indonesian Communist Party, for at present no other Cabinet would be better than a Cooperation Cabinet."

Aidit said that after the

restoration of the 1945 Constitution, obstacles occurred in forming a Cooperation Cabinet. He added that those who agreed to set up a national Cabinet, namely, a Cooperation Cabinet were: the working people, the Left wing of the Nationalists and progressive leaders in religious circles. Those opposing were the Right wing of the Nationalists, reactionary persons in religious circles and diehards and imperialists in the first place.

Aidit noted that the Provisional Supreme Advisory Council and the National Planning Council were close to the spirit of cooperation as advocated by the President's concept. It was completed in conformity with the thoughts and feelings of the people that no representatives of the Masjumi and the Indonesian Socialist Party took part in the Supreme Advisory Council.

Aidit also said that efforts should be made to strive for a composition of the to-be-established People's Consultative Congress which would

protect the 1945 Constitution and efforts should be also made to strive for the setting up of such a national front, namely its leadership could reflect cooperation among political groups and functional groups which included military and civil circles.

Aidit said, "Our present task is to unite with the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet to realise the three-point political programme of the Cabinet to thoroughly frustrate counter-revolutionary rebel cliques and the Islamic army and to further isolate diehard forces. The Indonesian Communist Party must unite with all democratic and patriotic political parties, groups and individuals to resolutely defend the people's fundamental human rights."

Aidit said: "Under the present domestic situation, diehard forces have been considerably weakened. Progressive forces have grown stronger and stronger and middle-of-the-road forces have remained in main unchanged."

By
V. S. NAUHIYAL
President,
ALL-INDIA STUDENTS' FEDERATION

Punjab Communists' Platform For Forthcoming Elections

The Punjab State Government has announced the elections to village panchayats in the State at the end of September. Elections to these bodies were last held six years ago in 1953. In the erstwhile PEPSU areas, where a different Panchayat Act prevails, though elections were announced to be held later, the Government has now announced that they will be held simultaneously.

In all there are at present 10,901 panchayats and 378 adalti panchayats (the latter exist only in the erstwhile PEPSU areas) covering 22,041 villages of the State. The number of pan- ches is 65,593 of whom those coming from the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes are 3,192, sarpanches among them being 311.

The panchayats have come to occupy an important place in rural life. They are vested with judicial powers which, if wisely used can settle petty disputes amicably and bring harmony into rural life. They are also vested with civic powers which, funds permitting, can be utilised to improve sanitation, communications and streets, make lighting arrangements, start libraries and reading rooms, provide educational and medical amenities. Even under the existing Act, they may also take measures to improve agriculture and cottage industry. With prospective integration of panchayats with community projects, the forthcoming elections have acquired added importance.

The Communist Party in its panchayat election campaign will mobilise the widest sections of rural people to ensure the fullest democratisation of panchayats as well as of the block samitis, zilla parishads that are going to be set up.

This is possible only if in the first place, the majority of the new pan- ches represent the interests of the labouring masses. Firm unity of the agricultural workers, poor artisans and labouring peasants alone can ensure this. Flexible tactics have to be adopted to build a Popular Front, according to local conditions of each village, to isolate notorious anti-people elements like the big landlords, usurers and police touts.

Bureaucratic Stranglehold

In the second place, it is essential for panchayat democracy that these organs are liberated from bureaucratic stranglehold. At present, the bureaucrats treat them as mere cogs in the administrative machine. The members are taught to believe that they are government servants who must toe the line of the ruling party. The panchayat law itself is very defective in this respect, giving the panchayat officers arbitrary power to suspend and suppress panchayats and suspend or remove their members at their sweet will.

The Panchayat Act not only provides for the suspension of a member but also his

empowered to verify Girdawari and Jamabandi records.

The Kerala Panchayat Bill prepared by the Communist-led Ministry had provided for delegation of function of collection of land revenue, maintenance of land records, execution of community development programme, collection of village statistics and supervision and control over educational and public health institutions of the Government.

Augment Resources

Already, under Section 24 of the Panchayat Act, the panchayats are empowered to enquire into and report about misconduct of petty officials to the superior authorities.

Under sub-section (2) of the said section, a panchayat can supervise performance of its duty by a patwari. It may fix a reasonable period for the performance of that duty and in case of failure, it may report to the Superior Revenue Officer. These powers already given to panchayats have remained moribund. Many panchayats are not aware of these powers. Nor do the

Democratisation Of Panchayats WITH MORE POWERS AND MORE FINANCES

hand, really undesirable sarpanches who fawn upon officials, act as police touts and commit crimes against the people are shielded and considered ideal pan- ches!

Hence in order to defend panchayat democracy, anti-democratic provisions in the Panchayat Act should be deleted and the panchayat officers must be given a new mental orientation vis-a-vis the panchayats. The Congress rulers claim that the panchayats are little village republics. According to the Directive Principles of the Constitution, a panchayat is to be the real basic unit of

panchayat officers who are expected to educate the panchayats encourage them to utilise these powers in the interest of the people.

Above the village panchayats, popular block samitis and zilla parishads would be set up. Their members should be elected by direct vote of electors. Elections at the three levels—panchayat, samiti and parishad—can be held simultaneously—without involving any extra expenditure. The Kerala Bill prepared by the E. M. S. Ministry had provided for direct election of parishad members from rural areas

***** by *****
MASTER HARI SINGH

self-government in the country, i.e., it will be the basis of political democracy. The existing panchayats are a far cry from this ideal picture.

Panchayat democracy needs to be defended and further extended. The Panchayat Act which prevails in erstwhile PEPSU provides for election of sarpanches by direct vote of adult electors. This should be extended to the entire State. The calling of general body meetings of voters twice a year should be made mandatory. The panchayats should be given greater control over the work of village patwaris, chowkidars, etc. They should be

the five-year period in the Second Plan are also inadequate.

Moreover, this money is not well utilised. Half of it is spent on the salaries of the staff and to give concessions to the upper sections of the village population. Not only should this allocation be increased considerably but also utilised more effectively for the welfare of all.

Now what are the sources of the income of panchayats as laid down in the Gram Panchayat Act?

These sources are:

1. Grants from Government or local bodies and all sums except judicial fees and fines received by the panchayats.
2. Balance and proceeds of all funds which, in the opinion of the Collector were or are being collected for the common secular purpose of the village.
3. Ten per cent of the land revenue accruing to the State Government in the panchayat area.
4. Proceeds of kothi fund in the Kulu Sub-Division and firmi tax in Kangra.
5. The panchayat may impose health tax or any other tax as the Government may specify. If the panchayat fails to impose it, Government may on its own impose it.
6. Panchayats may, with the special sanction of the

fair proposal. The Balwant Rai Mehta Committee recommended that 40 per cent of land revenue be assigned to panchayats and panchayat samiti. In erstwhile Saurashtra, 33-1/3 per cent of it is being earmarked for panchayats. The Communist-led Kerala Ministry had decided to assign 50 per cent of the land revenue to them. They will further receive a share of the remaining 50 per cent which is being pooled for rural development through zilla parishads and block samitis.

Share In Land Revenue

Time was when land revenue formed a major part of the revenue receipts of State Governments. This situation has changed considerably as a result of a plethora of direct and indirect taxes. For instance, for the year 1959-60, the total revenue receipts of the Punjab State Government have been estimated at Rs. 528,707,000. Of this land revenue receipts constitute only 8.7 per cent at Rs. 46,228,000. It is now possible, therefore to assign land revenue receipts from an area for local rural development. Local cesses are realised at the rate of nine annas per rupee of land revenue. They should be divided between panchayats, samitis and parishads in a due proportion.

The resources of the panchayats can further be increased through proper deve-

lopment of village common lands and the lands that are being reserved for common purposes of the village at the time of consolidation. The village Common Lands Act has vested 14 lakh acres of shamilat land in the panchayats. Most of this area is under cultivation or cultivable waste which can be reclaimed. At the time of consolidation, the entire common land of a village should be consolidated into a single block as far as possible. Pro-

Government levy any other tax which the State legislature is competent to levy under the Constitution. They may also impose a special tax on adult male members of the panchayat area for construction of any public work of general utility. In such cases, it may allow any person to render manual labour in lieu of the tax.

The above list of resources might look very imposing on the face of it but the scope of raising income from taxation is very limited at present. For the taxable capacity of the common people has been exhausted as a result of ever-increasing Central and State taxes. That is why any new levy meets with hostility of the common people and panchayats are very reluctant to impose a new tax. Even house-tax has not been fully realised everywhere. Actions were taken or threatened against panchayats to overcome their hesitation over this tax.

For the immediate future, therefore, panchayat resources should be augmented by handing over to them a substantial part of the proceeds of direct taxes realised from the rural areas. At present only a meagre ten per cent of land revenue is credited to panchayats. When the Punjab Act was passed in 1952, the Communist legislators had demanded 25 per cent share of it for them. But the Congress majority rejected this

People On The March Against Hunger And Mounting Tax Burdens

The Bihar Anti-High Prices and Taxation-Increase Committee has decided to launch Statewide satyagraha from September 14. On that date the Committee has also called for public rallies everywhere and a demonstration before the Bihar Legislative Assembly in support of the satyagraha.

THE satyagraha will be in the form of peaceful picketing of the Collectorates in every District and will continue till the Government concedes the popular demands. This was announced by Jankinandan Singh, MLC, a Secretary of the Committee at a Press Conference at Patna on August 17.

People's Demands

The demands for which the satyagraha is proposed to be launched have been reiterated in the Committee's resolution. They are the following:

● Against High Prices and For Relief to the People

(a) Opening of fair-price shops throughout the State, sale of rice at Rs. 16 and wheat at Rs. 14 per maund, regular supply of adequate and edible stocks to every shop at least half of which should be rice, sale of sugar, as well, at controlled prices, distribution on the basis of ration cards and formation of all-parties committees at all levels.

(b) Provision of emergency aids for irrigation like Rahats, pumps, etc; and protection of threatened embankments and distribution of taccavi loans among peasants, execution of test relief among the destitute and free rations among the unemployed and extension of concession for repayment of loans without interest till June 30, 1960.

● Against Corruption

Appointment of a high-powered commission to enquire into the cases of corruption in the State Government and the private property of Ministers; and formation of all-parties anti-corruption committees with necessary powers to eradicate corruption in the administration.

● Against Tax Increase

Immediate postponement of the Professional Tax, the multi-point Sales Tax, the Education Cess, the enhanced Irrigation Rates and the proposed Betterment Levy, and convening of an all-parties conference to discuss alternative sources of revenue by eliminating wasteful and unnecessary expenditure and devising other sources.

● Against Repression

Removal of all restriction on meetings and processions and withdrawal of all cases arising out of the anti-high prices and tax-increase movement. These are popular demands, the justice of which cannot be denied even by the Government. Existing prices of food-

Bihar : Statewide Struggle From September 14

★ From ALI ASHRAF

Minister Krishna Ballabh Sahay, which came as a rejoinder to Sri Krishna Sinha's letter, lays the scandal of the 'Sathi' lands at the door of the latter who, it is openly alleged, was himself interested. These documents and the numerous memoranda addressed to the High Command but which have not yet seen the light of the day, each constitutes an indictment of the Sri Krishna Sinha Government.

This Government is not only thoroughly corrupt. Its corruption is a matter of public knowledge and it has no prestige left in the eyes of the people of Bihar. The demand for a high-power commission to investigate the corruption of the Ministers and look into their ill-gotten wealth is a universal demand in the State.

The isolation of the Government on these issues was evident from the broad-based unity of the people and all parties in the District Anti-High Prices and Tax-Increase Conference in the Chief Minister's own District, Monghyr. Incidentally, this Conference held on August 10 in Monghyr town, registered the first massive defeat of the disruptive line of the State PSP leadership of keeping aloof or even opposing the united movement.

More than two hundred delegates belonging to all parties including the PSP and

the Jan Sangh and from all over the District, participated in the Conference which was presided over by Jankinandan Singh, a Secretary of the State Anti-High Prices and Tax-Increase Committee. The District Preparatory Committee of the Conference was headed by one of the most prominent lawyers of the town, Akhileswar Prasad. The Secretary of the Preparatory Committee was Uma Shankar Sarafgi, Secretary of the Vyapar Sangh of Monghyr.

In preparation of the District Conference, three local conferences, were held in Lakhisarai, Begusarai and Barauni in the last week of July. Scores of public meetings were held in towns and aneahls. Three hundred villages were covered by thirty padyatra jathas which held more than two hundred baithak meetings.

The hartal in Monghyr and Jamalpur (the railway workshop town) on July 24 at the call of the Vyavast Sangh and the Anti-High Prices and Tax-Increase Committee was a complete success. On August 7 there was mass tokan hunger-strike before every anchal office throughout the District.

In face of this broad mobilisation and widespread support from all sections of people for the united protest movement no party, not even

the PSP, could keep itself aloof. Originally the District PSP, following in the footsteps of the State PSP, had declined to join the Preparatory Conference.

But one day prior to the Conference, the PSP held its district workers rally on August 9 at Monghyr. And the rally, after prolonged discussion decided by majority of eight votes to participate in the conference. On August 10, the PSP delegates, on behalf of the Monghyr District PSP attended the delegates' session of the Conference. Following the PSP, the District Jan Sangh also participated in the Conference.

What happened in Monghyr represents the feeling of the people in every other District of Bihar. The people want united action to defeat the anti-people policies of the Sri Krishna Sinha Government leading to high prices, additional taxation, wastage and corruption.

People everywhere are responding with great enthusiasm to the satyagraha call given by the United Committee. Already 6,000 satyagrahis have enrolled their names and it is expected that by the first week of September more than 15,000 volunteers will have enrolled their names among the satyagrahis.

Popular Unity To Make Panchayats Real Tribunes Of People

FROM FACING PAGE

per cultivation of these lands can expand the monetary resources of the panchayats to a large extent.

The State Congress leadership has declared that the Congress as a party is not participating in the panchayat elections. The unprecedented repression against the anti-betterment levy movement had totally isolated the Congress over large parts of the rural areas. The resort to forcible recovery of advance payment of levy through police force has dealt a further blow to Congress prestige in the villages. Congress leaders, therefore, think discretion to be the better part of valour and have declared abstention from direct participation in these elections.

But people, cannot be deceived by their pious expressions that they do not want to divide the rural population over this issue. They will certainly intervene directly and indirectly, to retain the stranglehold of their henchmen wherever it is possible. The Communist Party is making no pious declarations. It has declared in forthright language that it is going to intervene in an effective manner. But it has no sectarian aims of only winning as many seats as possible

somehow for itself.

Of course, the masses will elect a very large number of Communists to the panchayats for their devotion to popular welfare and selfless sacrifice in the cause of the people. But the Communist Party has set before itself the laudable objective of building the widest possible popular unity in these elections to isolate the rabid anti-people elements—so that the new panchayats become the tribune of the people.

The Communist Party will make the panchayat elections a real mass movement—mobilising them in support of democratisation of panchayats and other

organs of rural self-government and development, in support of the demand for augmentation of their resources through assignment of a major part of direct taxes realised by the State Government from the rural population to the panchayats.

Thus, the election campaign of the Communist Party will become a movement of mass education, popular unity and mobilisation on a broad democratic programme of rural welfare and development. It is only on the crest of such a mass movement that popular panchayats can emerge out of the September elections.

A SLOGAN IS BORN
'OOCHITAYS ROOSKUMOO IUZKOO
EE SLOOZHITAY INDIYOO'
THAT MEANS
'LEARN RUSSIAN AND SERVE INDIA'
THE WORKING CLASS CITY OF KANPUR — THE
CITY OF LAKSHMI BAI NANA TANTIA
AZIMULLAH BHAGAT SINGH CHANDRA SEKHAR
AZAD SAIGRAM GANESH SHANKAR RUDRA
BHARADWAJ MAFA SARATKUMARI SINHA GIVES
BIRTH TO A SLOGAN

ad inserted by
BARANNIKOV ROOSI SHIKSHAN MANDIR—KANPUR
DIRECTOR—RAJ KUMAR SINHA



Editor : P. C. Joshi
Printed by D. P. Sinha at the
NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS,
5, Handewallah Estate, M. M.
Road New Delhi, and published
by him from 74, Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi
Phone : 25794
Telegraphic Address :
MARXBADI
SUBSCRIPTION RATES
INLAND : Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.
FOREIGN : Yearly Rs. 16-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 8-0-0.
All cheques and drafts to be
made payable to T. MADHAVAN
and not to NEW AGE.

THE REAL UPSURGE IN KERALA

mass enthusiasm than a procession. The equally inspiring reception at Payyanoor was perhaps bigger than any accorded to E.M.S. Nambudiripad by the town even when he was Chief Minister.

In Palghat, again, on August 26, it was the same—the biggest-ever mobilisation with 17,000 in the demonstration and 40,000 in the rally.

It took over one hour to present the 1,600 garlands to E. M. S. Nambudiripad and the Independent member of the dismissed Cabinet, Dr. A. R. Menon. One of the gifts was a solid gold egg—to make up for the rotten egg that was thrown at Dr. A. R. Menon by a "liberator" goonda when he came here as a Minister during the struggle. Motor workers presented the Ministers with a chain of two-and-a-half sovereigns, tile workers a gold chain, and there were many garlands of currency notes and coins.

Earlier at a citizen's reception and tea, attended by over 180 prominent citizens, Dr. A. R. Menon said: "Nehru is no superman. It will be better for them if they realise that the people are powerful enough even to change the Central Government."

Our Correspondent P. K. Kunhanandan, who accompanied E. M. S. in the first lap of his tour, writes below his impressions of the triumphal march of the dismissed Chief Minister:

The first meeting of the tour was at Changanacherry, the home place of the C-in-C of the "liberation struggle" Mannath Padmanabhan. Here functioned the headquarters of the Vimochana Samara Samiti. Only the previous day a big meeting had been held there to hear the leaders of the liberation struggle. Part of Changanacherry is a predominantly Catholic centre while the other part is a stronghold of the Nairs.

E.M.S. arrived in Changanacherry in the evening and straightaway went to the Taluk Communist Party office

offensive began within a few hours of the President's proclamation. Poor agricultural labourers naturally asked, "Will they dismiss the Land Bill along with the Ministry" and they formed the main part of the big crowd that had gathered to hear E. M. S. About one fourth of them were women.

E. M. S. told the gathering here: "Even when a person is sent to the gallows, he can defend himself and the court hears what he has to say. But in Kerala ours was an elected Government of the people, but the Congress Central Government dismissed us without any cause, just because some of their leaders in Kerala and the vested interests did not like us."

From Changanacherry we proceeded to Mundakkayam, the little town on the slope of the ghats. A milling crowd of some 15 thousand workers, drenched in the rain, had gathered there late in the night to receive their beloved leader. There was a regular stampede and the crowd virtually carried E.M.S. to the platform.

The dismissal of the Ministry has caused great unrest among the peasants and agricultural workers. They fear for the future of the Land Bill under President's rule. The eviction

they might vote for anybody or any party they liked, but it was the task of every democrat to safeguard parliamentary democracy in our country. Even if Mannath Padmanabhan forms a Government in Kerala, said E.M.S., we Communists will oppose. Central intervention and dismissal just because we are defenders of parliamentary democracy. Loud cheers greeted this declaration.

When a nearby factory siren whistled aloud E. M. S. was about to conclude his speech. A large number of workers got up reluctantly, their tiffin carriers in their hands; as they had to go to report to work in the factory.

In A Catholic Centre

After a 50-minute speech in Kottayam, E. M. S. drove to Vaikom to reach there by 9.30 at night. But a big crowd stopped the car in a Catholic centre midway with garlands, feostons and a mike. Women in large numbers had also been awaiting the arrival of the leader. E. M. S. stopped there, accepted their garlands, spoke for a while and proceeded to Vaikom.

Vaikom was a repetition of all that had gone before—mass enthusiasm milling crowds, hundreds of garlands women and children in the forefront of the crowd, slogans such as "we will give our answer through the ballot box."

The meeting began at ten at night and the Boatjetty Maidan had no capacity to hold even a few more people.

The next day, E.M.S. crossed into Ernakulam district. The main public reception was at Parur. From Alwaye to Parur E.M.S. attended more than thirty receptions. Catholics and Muslims, Nairs and Ezhavas flocked in their thousands at these wayside receptions.

By the time he reached Parur, he was tired but cheerful and smiling as he addressed a twenty-thousand-strong meeting.

A whole town came out on the streets to accord a hero's reception to the deposed Chief Minister at Ernakulam on August 14.

The programme began with an at-home given by the leading citizens of Ernakulam in the well-decorated reception hall of a restaurant. Christian priests, lawyers, doctors and journalists attended the party.

Flanked by two Fathers of the Church in their religious apparel, E. M. S. sat at the head of the table. He was profusely garlanded and warmly welcomed. E.M.S. expressing his gratitude said that he was glad that even those who had disagreements with the Government headed by the Communist Party had come forward to welcome him.

It was a colourful procession that wended its way along the 70ft. Road to the Rajendra Maidan. All along the route it was a regular stampede to have just a glimpse of the dismissed Chief Minister.

Many merchants of main bazar came out of their shops and garlanded E.M.S. An old Muslim with a flowing white beard garlanded E.M.S. and shook hands with him. In pouring rains thousands marched behind the leaders, while from terraces and balconies flowers and garlands were showered on him in an endless stream.

ASSIGNMENT KERALA

WHEN Lal Bahadur Shastri arrives in Kerala next Sunday, I will certainly not be one who would like to be in his shoes. It is a great task that has been assigned to him, but, I am afraid, an impossible one.

Kerala has to be won back for the Congress. It is no longer only a question of keeping a non-Congress party out of office. The prestige of both the Nehru Government which advised Central intervention and the Rashtrapati who acted on the advice has to be saved—and saved at any cost.

Despite all Nehru's talk of the Communists not fitting into a democratic set-up, etc., the fact can no longer be denied that the Congress by itself cannot defeat the Communists in Kerala.

So a grand alliance of all the "democratic" forces—in Kerala they include the Muslim League and perhaps the Jan Sangh, too—has to be forged to isolate the Communists and defeat them. It is, of course, inconvenient to remember that the Communists fought the last elections alone and that did not bring any dividends to either the Congress or the PSP.

Anyway, the task assigned to Lal Bahadur Shastri is the forging of this grand alliance.

PROBLEMS GALORE

And it bristles with problems which may well defy solution.

The first is a very complicated arithmetical problem—and that is the division of seats among the parties of the grand alliance.

In the peculiar situation in Kerala the question is tackled from the end and not from the beginning.

Normally, one would say, it should be decided as to how many seats each party should contest. But such normal methods do not suit Kerala conditions at all.

The parties of the alliance are willing to come together on the basis of anti-Communism but what they are more afraid of is double-cross by each other. So no party wants to leave the other with a majority of its own in the Assembly.

If the Congress wins 65 seats, the PSP ten and the League five, the Congress will ditch both the PSP and the League and form the Ministry by itself. This is the fear of the PSP and the League.

LEADERS' INTRIGUES

Then there is a peculiar problem. Usually it is a question of too many people wanting to get into the Assembly. But in Kerala, Lal Bahadur will face the problem of too many leaders wanting to keep too many other leaders out. Already, while in Trivandrum Pattom is holding high-level talks to keep Panampilly out, Panampilly in Ernakulam is throwing his all into a gamble to keep Pattom out.

Pattom cannot forgive Panampilly, and is afraid of him, because he was the one who took three members away from his party which led to the fall of his PSP Cabinet. And Panampilly does not want Pattom in as the PSP fuhrer will have to be made Chief Minister. P. T. Chacko watches this fight with great interest, being an aspirant himself to Chief Ministership.

And the final problem which Lal Bahadur will have to settle is that there are at least half a dozen applicants from inside the Congress itself for every seat. Those who won the last elections, those who were defeated, those who kept away last time but want to stage a come-back because they hope the Congress will return to office, those who organised the "liberation" struggle, those who went to jail in a hurry during the struggle and so on—everybody wants a ticket.

NAIR-XIAN CONFLICT

Just as each party in the grand alliance wants to get into a commanding position inside the combination, inside the Congress the Christian and Nair sections have already begun the fight to get into dominant positions in the party for which each section wants to get more of its own community's candidates into the list.

With such complicated problems facing him in Kerala, it will be cruel to wish Lal Bahadur good luck and a pleasant journey.

—OBSERVER

TWICE DAILY after meals..

The Season's greatest restorative

Two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadrakharista (6 years old) start this course now and see the amazing difference it makes to your health. Matured for 6 years to increase its potency, this Mahadrakharista directly acts to fortify your lungs and puts an end to cough, cold and bronchial troubles. Mritasanjibani improves your digestion and helps development of the body. Together they increase your weight and strength and make you fit for work and enjoyment.



SADHANA AUSADHALAYA

The world's Largest **DACCA** Ayurvedic Institution

Adhyaksha- Dr. Joges Chandra Ghose, M.A., Ayurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London), M.C.S. (America), formerly Professor of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.

CALCUTTA CENTRE - Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose, M.B.B.S., Ayurved-Acharya, 24, Goolson Road, Calcutta-37

KERALA NOTE-BOOK

ASSIGNMENT KERALA

WHEN Lal Bahadur Shastri arrives in Kerala next Sunday, I will certainly not be one who would like to be in his shoes. It is a great task that has been assigned to him, but, I am afraid, an impossible one.

Kerala has to be won back for the Congress. It is no longer only a question of keeping a non-Congress party out of office. The prestige of both the Nehru Government which advised Central intervention and the Rashtrapati who acted on the advice has to be saved—and saved at any cost.

Despite all Nehru's talk of the Communists not fitting into a democratic set-up, etc., the fact can no longer be denied that the Congress by itself cannot defeat the Communists in Kerala.

So a grand alliance of all the "democratic" forces—in Kerala they include the Muslim League and perhaps the Jan Sangh, too—has to be forged to isolate the Communists and defeat them. It is, of course, inconvenient to remember that the Communists fought the last elections alone and that did not bring any dividends to either the Congress or the PSP.

Anyway, the task assigned to Lal Bahadur Shastri is the forging of this grand alliance.

PROBLEMS GALORE

And it bristles with problems which may well defy solution.

The first is a very complicated arithmetical problem—and that is the division of seats among the parties of the grand alliance.

In the peculiar situation in Kerala the question is tackled from the end and not from the beginning.

Normally, one would say, it should be decided as to how many seats each party should contest. But such normal methods do not suit Kerala conditions at all.

The parties of the alliance are willing to come together on the basis of anti-Communism but what they are more afraid of is double-cross by each other. So no party wants to leave the other with a majority of its own in the Assembly.

If the Congress wins 65 seats, the PSP ten and the League five, the Congress will ditch both the PSP and the League and form the Ministry by itself. This is the fear of the PSP and the League.

LEADERS' INTRIGUES

Then there is a peculiar problem. Usually it is a question of too many people wanting to get into the Assembly. But in Kerala, Lal Bahadur will face the problem of too many leaders wanting to keep too many other leaders out. Already, while in Trivandrum Pattom is holding high-level talks to keep Panampilly out, Panampilly in Ernakulam is throwing his all into a gamble to keep Pattom out.

Pattom cannot forgive Panampilly, and is afraid of him, because he was the one who took three members away from his party which led to the fall of his PSP Cabinet. And Panampilly does not want Pattom in as the PSP fuhrer will have to be made Chief Minister. P. T. Chacko watches this fight with great interest, being an aspirant himself to Chief Ministership.

And the final problem which Lal Bahadur will have to settle is that there are at least half a dozen applicants from inside the Congress itself for every seat. Those who won the last elections, those who were defeated, those who kept away last time but want to stage a come-back because they hope the Congress will return to office, those who organised the "liberation" struggle, those who went to jail in a hurry during the struggle and so on—everybody wants a ticket.

NAIR-XIAN CONFLICT

Just as each party in the grand alliance wants to get into a commanding position inside the combination, inside the Congress the Christian and Nair sections have already begun the fight to get into dominant positions in the party for which each section wants to get more of its own community's candidates into the list.

With such complicated problems facing him in Kerala, it will be cruel to wish Lal Bahadur good luck and a pleasant journey.

—OBSERVER

COMMUNIST MEETING ATTACKED

MUD FLUNG AT E. M. S.

Governor Requested To Convene All-Party Conference

The day after the Minister of State for Home Affairs, B. N. Datar, told the Lok Sabha that conditions in Kerala were fast returning to normal and that instructions had been issued to the police that they should act firmly and impartially, mud was thrown at E. M. S. Nambudiripad and a procession and a meeting were attacked in Neyyattinkara in Trivandrum District right under the eyes of a police officer who had been transferred there after President's rule was imposed.

OVER twenty Communists and sympathisers were injured by the stabbing and stone-throwing in this incident, some of them seriously, and they have been admitted to the hospital.

Every indication is there that this attack on August 30 was pre-planned and had the backing of the police force.

The mammoth rallies and demonstrations held from Cannanore to Trivandrum in honour of E. M. S. Nambudiripad and other dismissed Communist Ministers have roused the unwholy wrath of the leaders of Kerala liberation. Editorials have been written in their papers and speeches made from their platform venting their anger against this mass upsurge which they had never been able to mobilise despite the certificate Jawaharlal Nehru had very kindly issued them.

And in some places, this type of incitement has resulted in goonda attacks against meetings and demonstrations. The Neyyattinkara incident is the latest in this series.

As it has happened everywhere else, in Neyyattinkara, too, it was the biggest turnout of the people when the dismissed Chief Minister arrived there.

The organisers of the day's demonstration had already heard of the plans to disrupt the meeting and had approached the police authorities. Not only did the police not take any action to prevent the attack, it is said that the attack was carried out with the full knowledge and even support of the local Police Sub-Inspector.

At the head of the huge procession was an open car in which were E. M. S. Nambudiripad, V. P. Nair, M.P., and other Communist leaders.

The first attempt of the Congress-PSP goondas was to provoke the demonstrators by waving black flags and shouting "E.M.S. Go Back!"

But the huge mass of people refused to get provoked and marched forward. The goondas, felled in their attempt at provocation, began pelting stones and throwing mud, some of which fell on E. M. S. Nambudiripad. An attempt was also made to tear the shirt of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Krishnan Nair, who was in the car. And all the time the police were looking on without taking any steps against the goondas, though they were only a handful and could have easily been controlled.

Another procession which was coming to join the main demonstration was attacked with knives and daggers. Later, the meeting on the Swadeshabhimani Maidan was attacked with stones

fundamental right of all parties to hold their meetings peacefully. At a time when this State is moving towards an election, the denial of this right of each party to hold meetings and speak to the people is not conducive to creating the atmosphere necessary for holding free elections.

"At the same time, we also request all people to realise that if attempts are made to attack and insult a person like E.M.S., esteemed and accepted as their leader by lakhs and lakhs of people in this country, the consequences of such attacks will be serious. We request our people to ponder over this carefully.

"We hope that leaders of parties and the Government will take immediate steps to prevent these incidents from being repeated. We appeal to all democrats to protest against such undemocratic and contemptible methods."

This question was raised by E. M. S. Nambudiripad when he met Governor Ramakrishna Rao in the Raj Bhavan in Trivandrum on August 31.

He submitted to the Governor the proposal of the Communist Party for the holding of an all-parties conference, to discuss the question of relieving tension in the State. The Governor has promised to consider the proposal and it is reported that such a conference is likely to be convened next week.

Listing the attacks that have been so far made against meetings of the Communist Party, the Secretary of the Kerala Committee says: "It looks as if other parties have adopted it as their programme to put up brooms, old shoes, rags, etc., at our meeting places. The liberators and their Press not only do not discourage such provocative actions but go on encouraging them.

"In short, it is clear from all this that other parties are trying to deny us even the

Now Available

Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill

As adopted by the Kerala Assembly

PRICE: Rs. 1.50

Book your copies with: PRABHAT BOOK HOUSE KERNAKULAM

RECENT PUBLICATIONS FROM CHINA

- CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF TIBET Rs. 2.30
- MODERN CHINESE READER PART I Rs. 6.00
- MODERN CHINESE READER PART II Rs. 6.00
- A NEW HOME AND OTHER STORIES Rs. 2.00
- KAO YUN-LAN: ANNALS OF A PROVINCIAL TOWN (NOVEL) Rs. 4.00
- PA CHIN: THE FAMILY (NOVEL) Rs. 2.50
- YEH SHENG-TAO: SCHOOLMASTER NI HUAN-CHIH (NOVEL) Rs. 4.50

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE LTD. Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi.

MUCH there was, that was sinister in the manner in which Bonn received Eisenhower. Greeted by the strains of "Deutschland Ueber Alles," on his landing in West Germany, the U.S. President passed along the roads across which were hung the banderoles of revenge. Little flags bearing the inscriptions: "Silesia," "Pomerania" and "Sudeten" fluttered in the air, as the Presidential procession sped towards the U.S. Embassy.

This reception organised by the German revanchist militarists, only reflected the mood of Bonn's ruling circles. Had not, on the eve of the U.S. President's arrival, Frankfurter Rundschau shrieked that "Bonn insists on Atomic Arms," while the Social Democratic bulletin *Parlamentarisch-Politischer Pressedienst* informed its readers that "Federal Chancellor Adenauer intends in the forthcoming discussion with the U.S. President Eisenhower, not only to resist any refusal to arm the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons but also to ask that the Germans be granted a decisive voice together with others on the question of applying strategic nuclear weapons."

In such an atmosphere talks were held between the U.S. President and Herr Adenauer in the Chancellor's study, with a photograph of John Foster Dulles on the wall. Practically nothing so far has appeared in the Press concerning the outcome of these talks.

Between sessions of the talks, Eisenhower had told 400 Correspondents, "I am not going to be classed as a bomb-rattler. I do not believe anyone is stupid enough to want a general war." But, could he convert the aging Chancellor also to his view, or at least could he detach his coat-tails from the latter's clutches so that he can really have "conversations" — the U.S. President appears to be most scrupulous in differentiating "conversation" from "negotiation" in this context — with the head of the Soviet Government, starting from the above-announced premises?

Attitude To Summit

In the same Press Conference, Eisenhower had also said that he believed that any summit meeting would be a mistake unless there was confidence that progress could be achieved. Was he, then, looking over his shoulder at his hosts who are known to be bitterly opposed to any East-West contacts, or was he—as Khrushchov has said that he would like to believe—merely paying "a tribute to former prejudices"?

In evaluating the outcome of Eisenhower's visit to West European countries, much depends on the answers to these questions. The main purpose of his European tour is, obviously, to restore some sort of unity within the NATO bloc. But history will surely judge it by other standards—by the extent to which the U.S. is prepared to modify its aggressive policy, embodied in NATO, in favour of relaxation of international tension.

The U.S. has assigned the Federal Republic of Germany a pivotal role in NATO. The Fe-

deral Republic's foreign and even internal policy is based on East-West tension. Hence the urgency of the Soviet Premier's following pincer. In his message to Adenauer, stressing that the USSR and West Germany are now at a turning point in their relations, Khrushchov has posed the issue as: "Are we capable of establishing business-like cooperation and restoring trust despite the differences, mainly ideological, that exist between us?" So far, there is no indication of a change in Bonn's policy. And Bonn's satisfaction

with Eisenhower's visit is an ominous indication.

From Bonn, the U.S. President flew to London, where "in an atmosphere of rural seclusion" he is reported to have had talks with Macmillan. But again, the question is, to what extent will this, according to the *Hindu's* London Correspondent, "historic intimacy" of Britain's relationship "with the other Anglo-Saxon Power" succeed in standing up "to the pressure from Bonn and from Paris

against any relaxation of tension? Reports are rife that Eisenhower is keen on bringing the British Premier round to a position closer to that of Adenauer and de Gaulle, and away from the advocacy of a quick climb to the Summit.

As the date of the Khrushchov-Eisenhower meeting is approaching the following words of the Soviet Premier take on greater immediate significance. "It may be that we are on the eve of a histo-

ric turn in the policy of the two blocs — from further isolation to gradual rapprochement and adjustment of the outstanding issues to ensure the peaceful coexistence of all States."

Peoples of all countries will judge the success or the failure of Eisenhower's European tour, only by the extent to which it will bring about such a change in U.S. policy and in the policies of its allies, as will ensure such a historic turn being made.

LATIN AMERICA BEGINS TO ASSERT

VERY little is reported, generally, in the Indian Press as to the happenings in the backwaters of Uncle Sam's empire. Yet, in today's rapidly changing world, the idea that what goes on in the southern regions on the other side of the globe is of very remote interest to us, is as obsolete as, for instance, the notion that you cannot have access to any point on the globe in a matter of minutes.

Recently, between August 12 and 18, was held at Santiago, Chile, the Fifth Consultative Conference of the Organisation of American States. The U.S.-propelled Conference, which was attended by 21 American Foreign Ministers, was called ostensibly to discuss: a) the "situation of tension in the Caribbean area, and b) effective exercise of "representative de-

mocracy" and respect of "human rights."

The deliberations of the Conference, however, showed that its purpose was to prepare the ground for further intervention against Cuba, to disrupt and sabotage the anti-dictatorial struggles of the Nicaraguan and Dominican people, and to suppress the national democratic movement in the Latin American countries.

Uncle Sam was, hence, behaving true to traditions. To strangle the democratic freedom and national independence of the Latin American countries, the U.S. has been following a three-pronged policy of: forcing new regimes backed by progressive forces to turn to the Right to ensure effective U.S. control; substituting those Governments which show signs of resistance to U.S. domination,

by the most reactionary dictatorial, pro-U.S. Governments; and carrying out of direct armed intervention.

History records that during the past 50 years, the United States has organised over a hundred coups and armed interventions in Latin America. And in the course of the last decade alone (1948-1959), the U.S. has engineered 14 large-scale subversions in that continent.

Within the framework of this policy, the role assigned by the U.S. to the Organisation of American States (OAS) was that of its "colonial office." For, ever since its establishment in 1890, far from protecting the victims of U.S. colonial aggression in Latin America, the OAS has served as an important instrument in the hands of Uncle Sam, for the political control of the Latin American States, for their economic plunder by U.S. magnates, for U.S. military intervention against them.

Past Experiences

The Cuban Press had, therefore, reason to sharply recall, at the time of the present Conference, 1948 when the Ninth Pan-American Conference was followed by U.S.-engineered coups in Peru, Venezuela and Salvador, and 1954 when the Tenth Pan-American Conference was followed by U.S. armed intervention against Guatemala.

The lessons of Guatemala loomed heavily over the deliberations of the Santiago Conference. U.S. Secretary of State Christian Herter found himself in far too unfavourable a position to plot in 1959, this time against Cuba, what his predecessor, John Foster Dulles, had plotted against Guatemala. in 1954.

The opposition to U.S. domination in the Latin American countries today is far stronger than in 1954, and it is gathering ever greater momentum. Hence, at present, Herter's search at the Santiago Conference to find suave ways and "legal" means — such as "non-interference," "collective security," "representative democracy," etc. — for maintaining the U.S. hold over Latin American countries, instead of using his predecessors' iron rod.

But even this camouflage proved to be too thin to hide the ugly face of U.S. aggressive designs from the peoples of Latin America. U.S. "concern" for the so-called "effective implementation of parliamentary de-

mocracy and respect for human rights" was seen as the U.S. excuse to intervene in the Cuban elections, to defend the counter-revolutionaries in Cuba, and to crush the anti-dictatorial struggles of the Nicaraguan and Dominican peoples.

For, had not the *New York Times* and other mouthpieces of the U.S. ruling circles, in their convulsive efforts to subvert the Cuban Government, been incessantly accusing Cuba of not having held elections and of not having a representative government?

At the Santiago Conference, the U.S. did not succeed in piloting resolutions to "condemn" Cuba. On the main item of the Conference's agenda — tension in the Caribbean area — the U.S. Secretary of State, who had originally called for the formation of a special supervisory commission to interfere arbitrarily in the internal affairs of the countries concerned, found himself facing strong opposition from Cuba and Venezuela. Herter had to yield, and the Conference ultimately adopted a resolution empowering the Pan-American "Peace Committee" to conduct investigation in the area of tension which, however, can be effected only at the consent of the countries concerned. The last condition was adopted at the insistence of Cuba and Venezuela.

The problem of economic under-development in the Latin American countries, was another problem raised by Cuba at the Conference, despite U.S. opposition to its discussion and much to its embarrassment.

However, the final resolution, adopted at the Conference, as well as the "Santiago Declaration" — repeating the worn-out clamour against "international Communism and totalitarianism" — shows that the U.S. is determined to keep its hold over the Latin American countries at any price.

On the other hand, the differences that marked the proceedings of this Conference reflect the fact that the struggles of the Latin American peoples against U.S. domination, has become an irresistible trend in the historical development of this region of the world.

Once, a Mexican diplomat, Narciso Basols, had described the relationship between the U.S. and other American countries in the OAS as that between "twenty mice and a cat." Significant portents were visible today that such a relationship is doomed to failure.

—RAZA ALI

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party met in Lushan Kiangsi Province, from August 2 to 16. The decisions of the Committee have been interpreted to mean that China's Plan is facing a crisis. But is there any such crisis really? Facts answer: No.

It has been a case of sheer brazen-facedness — the way sections of the Indian Press have behaved over the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee's latest communique revising the Plan targets for 1959.

It is true that the targets have been slashed — and drastically in the case of grain and cotton. It is also true, and it has been admitted by China herself, that mistakes had been made in assessing the 1958 output of agriculture. But to gloat over this without comparing the actual performance with the target figures of the entire Second Plan (1958-62) and without seeing the advance from year to year, will be to begin laughing too quickly and leaving the Chinese to laugh last.

It cannot be ignorance on the part of some of our editorial writers of all the facts and figures of China's economy, that has made them wax eloquent on the Great Leap Backward or getting cartoons made on the Leap Flop. More correct will it be to think that it is part of the same anti-Chinese venom that is being spat from many sides today.

It is not enough to raise a hue and cry about Chinese "violation of our borders," it is necessary to discredit China on more fronts to isolate her from our people who have the greatest regard for our Asian neighbour. What better than pouring ridicule on China's mighty economic advance which has most impressed our crisis-ridden country and its people.

THE LESSON!

What is worse is that the occasion has not been seized on only to pooh-pooh China's economic development, it has become the god-sent opportunity for some people to provide an alibi for the fiasco of our own Plan and economic policies. Witness the conclusion of the *Free Press Journal* editorial:

"The moral for our country is obvious enough. Those who think that our planning is far too 'democratic' to really go galloping after big targets can now be convinced what regimented planning and blind, inhuman mobilisation yields..." (August 29)

And, of course, the lesson is also drawn: India has nothing to learn from China's economic progress. If at all, India has everything to teach others.

"The Indian Government which rushes a delegation to Peking on the least pretext, particularly must learn to base our planning on our own experience. It can have little to learn from the experience of China where political conditions are so utterly different from those in this country and where it takes long even for the Chinese people to know the truth about the national economy." (Times of India, August 19)

It is not necessary to ask

this editorial-writer of the *Times of India* whether in our country, leave aside the people, the Planning Commission itself knows the state of our Plan. He has already answered it — four days later in another editorial which begins: "The Planning Commission's latest report on the progress of the Plan is a somewhat curious document that speaks in two contradictory voices." (September 1)

It will be too prosaic to ask him to see the mote in our eyes before inventing the beam in China's.

It is not some Indian papers alone that have sought to compliment India on China's "failure". The *British Guardian*, for instance, wrote on August 27: "A great consolation is that the Indians for all the 'inefficiency' of democratic institutions they want to maintain, need no longer fear they are slipping behind China industrially and agriculturally. There is no evidence that they are; there is no reliable evidence at all."

Not the only encomium of the type that we have been receiving from the imperialists these days. The more brickbats we throw at China, the more these imperialists present us with bouquets.

Amidst this undignified gloating, it was pleasant to see the sober estimate made by the *Hindu*. An editorial in the paper on August 30 affirmed: "Even these revised figures are very large when compared to India's modest targets," and later, "But the Chinese Communists have achieved enough success to maintain stability and indeed a substantial rise in total output."

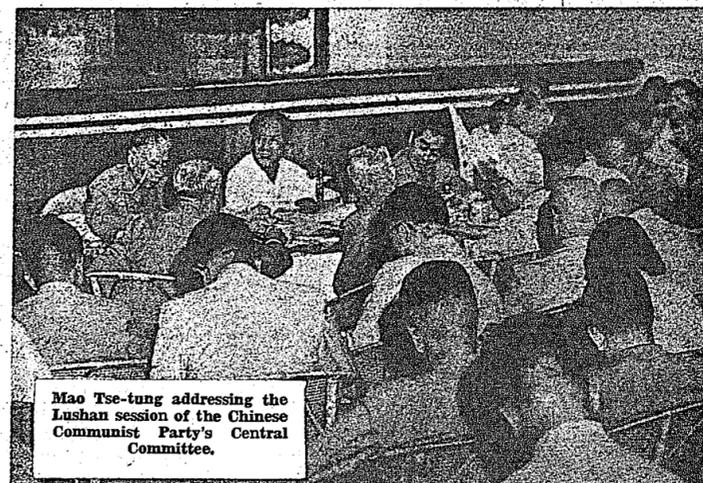
This is a conclusion which is inescapable for anyone who looks at the facts of Chinese economy without anti-Communist blinkers.

What are these facts?

GRAIN

First about grain, which has become the target of *Times of India's* ridicule. Without any attempt at self-justification, with sincerity and candour, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee's communique gives the reason for the over-assessment of the 1958 output.

"Repeated check-ups made in the first half of this year show that the figures previously published on the 1958 agricultural output are a bit high. The bumper harvest in 1958 had no parallel in the history of our country. Owing to lack of experience in assessing and calculating the



Mao Tse-tung addressing the Lushan session of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee.

THE FACTS THEY FORGET CHINA CONTINUES TO LEAP FORWARD

output of such an unprecedented bumper harvest, the agricultural statistical organs in most cases made an over-assessment.

"Apart from that, the labour power allocated for the bumper autumn harvest was inadequate, with the result that reaping, threshing and storing were all done in a somewhat hurried manner."

On verification, the 1958 grain output was found to be 250 million tons, an increase of 35 per cent over 1957 output. Perhaps to the *Free Press Journal* editorial-writer living in a country which imports more food-grains as more Plan years go by, a 35 per cent increase in one year is a "great leap backward."

But because the 1958 output was less than originally estimated, the targets planned for 1959 needed adjustment. In addition, China experienced one of the worst floods and drought.

So the target for grain in 1959 has been reduced from 525 million tons to 275 million tons. This is a very big cut, but even then the revised target is ten per cent more than the 1958 output which itself was 35 per cent more than the output in the previous year.

But the extent of the advance can be seen only if it is remembered that the target for the entire Second Plan to be completed in 1961 is only 250 million tons. The target set for 1962 was fulfilled in 1958, four years ahead, and in 1959 it would be ten per cent more. Does that constitute a leap forward or does it not?

COTTON

Take cotton, another item on which the cut has been quite big, again for the same reasons as for grain. The target has in this case been reduced from five million tons to between 2.31 and 2.4 million tons, which itself is a ten per cent increase over the 1958 output of 2.1 million tons which was 28 per cent more than the 1957 output.

The Second Plan target for cotton is about 2.4 million

tons — that means that the target set for 1962 will be fulfilled in 1959, three years ahead of schedule. Does that constitute a leap forward or does it not?

STEEL

Take steel. The 1958 production was 11,080,000 tons of which eight million tons was produced by modern equipment and 3,080,000 tons by local, simple methods.

The three million and odd tons of steel produced by local simple methods met the requirements of rural areas. The output of steel which met the requirements of industry was eight million tons — an increase of 49.5 per cent over the 5,350,000 tons produced in 1957.

The revised targets for 1959 is 12 million tons of steel (original target: 18 million tons) but that will exclude the locally produced steel. It has been excluded not because, as the *Times of India* believes, these small blast furnaces "are now, after a year of frantic propaganda, admitted to have been a failure," but because, as the Communist Party's communique states, "in view of a certain degree of shortage of labour for agricultural production this year (how different from the picture of Plans producing more unemployment!) simple methods be determined in the future by the local authorities in accordance with local conditions and for local use."

So the position about steel is this: the target for the Second Plan is between 10.5 and 12 million tons, 1957 production was 5,350,000 tons, in 1958 this increased by 49.5 per cent to eight million tons for the use of industry alone, and in 1959 it will go up by another 50 per cent to 12 million tons. Thus, excluding the production by local, simple methods, the 1962 target will be fulfilled in 1959. Is that a leap forward or is it not?

The 1959 target for coal has been reduced from 380 million tons to 335 million tons

(an increase of 24 per cent over 1958 production). The Second Plan target of between 190 and 210 million tons of coal was already fulfilled in 1958 — four years in advance. A leap forward or backward? Since the *Times of India* seems to think that estimate figures emanating from Chinese sources can no longer be believed, here are the figures of the performance in the first half of 1959:

INCREASE

The total output value of industry in the first six months of 1959 was 65 per cent more than that in the corresponding period of 1958. The output of pig iron reached 9.5 million tons, that of coal 174 million tons and that of metal-cutting machine-tools 45,000 units, in each case more than doubling that in the first half of 1957. The output of steel (excluding steel made by local simple methods) amounted to 5.3 million tons, an increase of 66 per cent over the first six months of 1957. The output of cotton yarn amounted to 4,147 million bales, that of sugar 0.78 million tons, both representing an over 40 per cent increase over that of the corresponding period last year. The volume of railway freight reached 247 million tons, exceeding that of the corresponding period of 1957 by 49 per cent.

"In agriculture, although the acreage planted to this year's summer crops was somewhat reduced, and there were floods and drought, yet the average per hectare yields of wheat, early rice and rapeseed have considerably surpassed those of last year and their total output also exceeded that of last year."

These are facts which cannot be wished away — facts of the leap forward which China took last year and continues to take this year. Against these stubborn facts, all talk of leap backward and leap flop sounds like so much trash.

—RAMDASS

dh

Twelve Killed, Thousands Injured

★ CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Government had made "battle" preparations. Yet, streams of people—workers, peasants, students, middle class employees, and other sections of people—poured into the Maidan.

By the time the meeting started, the crowd had swelled to over three lakhs of people. It was an indescribable sight—the whole Maidan right up to the Esplanade was a vast sea of human heads. There had been several spells of heavy downpours from the morning, the ground was covered all over with slush and pools of water and while the meeting was going on, there was again a heavy shower. But not one person stirred—only more and more people poured into the Maidan.

That was the mood of the people—that was their reply to the impudence and arrogance of the Roy Government.

After the rally, a demonstration of over one lakh people marched in a disciplined manner towards the Secretariat of the State Government. But it was held up near the Raj Bhavan by a huge police cordon.

The demonstrators, who were led by Amar Basu, Mohit Moitra, Chitta Basu, Makhan Pal and other Leftist leaders, then squatted on the road and started raising thunderous slogans.

Exactly at 7.25 p.m., a small batch of about 50 people, headed by the leaders, broke the cordon and courted arrest. One minute later, when another batch tried to cross the police barricade in a peaceful manner, the barbarous attack on the people began—without any warning, without any provocation.

The whole area was jammed with over a lakh of people. So the brutalities of the police in repeatedly lathi-charging and tear-gassing the retreating crowd in that confined space can better be imagined than described.

The Government has come out with a Press Note, trying to prove, as usual, that its policy was "peaceful" and "non-violent" and that they lathi-charged only after the demonstrators had given provocation.

But the reports published this morning in the local dailies, including even those that have consistently supported the Government in the present food movement, leave absolutely no room for doubt that the demonstration was perfectly peaceful from beginning to end. These reports make it abundantly clear that the attack by the police was completely wanton, sudden and savage.

Police Attack Was Wanton

Following August 31, the police resorted to firing 12-13 times in different parts of the city on night of September 1. According to incomplete figures, twelve persons have been killed and about 80 injured, many of them very gravely. Most injuries are above the waist-line. It is clear that the police shot to kill. Section 144 has been promulgated throughout Calcutta and if the situation is not "brought under control," the Government has threatened that military will be called out.

The Government provoked the trouble in a premeditated manner by making a savage

attack on a 10,000-strong demonstration of students in front of the Chief Minister's house. The demonstration was organised in protest against the attacks on the peaceful people and students on August 31.

Earlier the students of Calcutta and of other parts of the State went on a magnificent protest strike and then took out a militant procession. I was in the demonstration throughout and can state that it was peaceful and had no intention of violating the law. At the huge students' meeting held earlier in the University Lawn this point had been made absolutely clear. Yet, just as it came in front of the Chief Minister's house, the police suddenly pounced upon it and opened a fierce lathi-charge.

As thousands of students started running for shelter, the police chased them into lanes and bye-lanes and brutally beat them up. Within a minute tear-gassing also started. The brutality of the attack is underlined by the fact that there were scores of school children and girl students in the demonstration.

This incident was the beginning of the police rampage yesterday. The attack continued till late night in different parts of the city, becoming increasingly ferocious. Lathi-charging and tear-gassing were repeatedly resorted to in different parts. Along the one mile stretch of road between the Chief Minister's house and Harrison Road the police indiscriminately used lathis and tear-gas innumerable times—at least 200 rounds of tear-gas shells were fired in this area.

Over 1,000 men and women were injured in lathi-charges and tear-gassing in different parts of the city yesterday.

The police savagery infu-

JYOTI BASU ANSWERS B. C. ROY

In reply to B. C. Roy's ravings on August 28 about "peasant hoarders" and "rebellion," Jyoti Basu issued a statement in which he declared, among other things, that:

"Our aim is to change the pro-hoarder and profiteer food policy of the Government. Now, after the resignation of the Central Food Minister, is it not logical that we should demand the removal, all the more vehemently, of the West Bengal Food Minister whose crimes and failures have been far greater? Our movement has surely contributed to highlight the food problem as never before.

"I am sure our aim will not be considered by some people as rebellious or any thing akin to the aims and methods adopted in Kerala by the Opposition...

"The methods we have been advocating are peaceful even if they include strikes, defiance of law on

a mass scale or demonstrations before courts, Government offices and rice godowns.

"In the long statement the Chief Minister's only hope is centred on the auspicious crop. No policy for the future is announced and no concessions are proposed. He does not state why even his earlier proposal that he would attempt to cover A & B categories in the villages by persuading the Centre to give more supplies has been abandoned.

"Even now the Government can take the initiative to announce a change of the Food portfolio, stop its violent measures, release the prisoners, meet the urgent demands of the PIFRC and discuss new overall policies for the future with all, including the opposition and summon an emergent meeting of the Legislature, so that our views are communicated to the Centre."

riated the people and by evening the disturbances spread to different parts of the city. Trams and buses were withdrawn. At several places, the City was plunged in complete darkness. Life was completely paralysed in the city.

Convoys of armed police then arrived from Barrackpore and the indiscriminate firing started. The Government has again come out with a Press-Note laying, as usual, the entire blame for yesterday's incidents on the shoulders of the people. But this is a case of murdering the truth—perhaps, murder of people

is not enough.

Moving through the city one is struck not so much even by this brazen brutality. Everywhere, in the very atmosphere itself, one senses the anger, the holy anger of a people denied food, insulted and yet defiant, yet fighting. The heart bursts with pride that one belongs to them.

Irresistibly Pablo Neruda's lines come to mind, as he sang of the heroes of another time and of a different clime, "Now there is no death, You keep on fighting where you fall!" The people shall win! Bengal shall live!



B. C. Roy's police prepare for another round of brutality at Dalhousie Square on August 31.



Bloodstained victims of unprecedented police savagery against the peaceful demonstration of August 31.

PHOTOS: Sambhu Banerjee