WHO ARE THESE FRIENDS

They Pit India Against China

OFTBETP

* by P. C. JOSHI

The same reactionary set that seizes every opportunity to change India's independent foreign policy, that appears the same reactionary is the same reaction and the same reaction are the same reaction and the same reaction and the same reaction are the same reaction and the same reaction are the same reaction and the same reaction are the same reactio policy, that opposes the expansion of the public sector in our economy, that campaigns against the Nagpur resolutions on agrarian reforms is behind the Tibet agitation and is very cleverly seeking wider support.

HE self-styled friends of Tibet are playing the big imperialist game of exploiting imperialist game of exploiting the Tibetan tragedy to bring about a change in India's policy towards China and thereby in the world align-ment of forces.

Some Busic Facts

Tibet is a part of China and Tibet is a part of China and we have recognised it as such but the aim of the imperialists has always been to tear Tibet away from China. Hence they denounced the peaceful liberation of Tibet as Communist aggression. They have never reconciled themselves to the new situation and main-

munist aggression. They have never reconciled themselves to the new situation and maintained their contacts with Tibetan reactionaries.

The patience and tolerance of the People's Government of China went to the extent that it made no change in the old Tibetan political system, the status and authority of the Dalai Lama or in the revenues of the monastries. The old officials at all levels retained their former positions. The Chinese were so particular about peaceful voluntary methods that even the socio-economic reforms that were implemented in the rest of thods that even the socioeconomic reforms that were
implemented in the rest of
China were not carried out in
Tibet with its society based on
medieval serfdom. In 1956,
the Central People's Government assured the local Tibetan Government that for a
period of six years i.e. up to
1962 democratic reforms need
not be carried out in Tibet.
Thus Chinese leaders respected Tibetan autonomy to
the extent that they left the
old political and economic

old political and economic system intact and gave more than ample time for wisdom to dawn on the Tibetan upper

trata.

They, however, misused regional autonomy and their own authority; they maintained their old links with the Kuomintang and imperialist circles, encouraged local rebellions, let them spread and ultimately staged and all-out armed rebellion. spread and ultimately staged an all-out armed rebellion, denounced the agreement they had themselves signed with the People's Govern-ment at the time of peace-ful liberation, declared "in-dependence" and when they failed, they abducted the Dalai Lama and now seek the intervention of foreign Powers.

Powers.
What would any Government in the world have done

in such circumstances? What did ye do in the Naga area when Phizo and his National Council declared the 'indepen-dence' of the Nagaland and dence of the Nagarand and took up arms against our Central Government? What did we do in Kashmir when Sheikh Abdula was barely planning to declare Kashmir's 'independence' Indian Union? from

Referring to the Tibetan rebels, Jugantar, March 31, wrote editorially, "Towards those who had torn up the

agreement and launched on an armed rebellion, no Gov-ernment can show mercy. For, this is treachery and without the smashing of treachery, the duty of the State would not have been fulfilled."

This, however, is not the view of the Asoka Mehtas, Acharya Kripalanis and their like inside the ruling party. They openly express their sympathy with the reactionary medieval Tibetan traitors and slander the People's Government of China.

anti-Communism Their knows no limit because they are out to seize the opportunity to weaken India-China friendship and strengthen India's bonds with the imperialist West. Their anti-Communism is not in-nocent ignorance or mis-placed sympathy but the active weapon for bringing about an important reac-

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tionary shift in India's foreign policy. The danger must not be minimised.

Their Slogans

The policy of friendship with China is not only a con-tinuation of our best historic traditions but commands the warmest popular support.
Through the Chou-Nehru Through the Chou-Neitz agreement we accepted Tibet as Chinese territory and the Prime Minister of India has announced on the floor of our Parliament that the Tibetan rebellion is an internal affair of the Chinese people.

Sri Jaya Prakash Narain, however, wants India to put on record that "aggression has been committed against Tibet" and the freedom of a weak nation had been "snuffed out by a powerful neighbour." The Prime Minister's statement

did not "allay" his anxiety. Flouting our solemn treaty with China, he says, "Tibet has never been a part of China" China.

Sri Asoka Mehta in his Tibet
Day speech in Bombay has
also repudiated that the Tibetan revolt was an "internal
affair" of China. "That way,
he argued, Algeria was part
and parcel of Metropolitan
France and Goa of Metropolitan Portugal." (Indian Exness March 30)

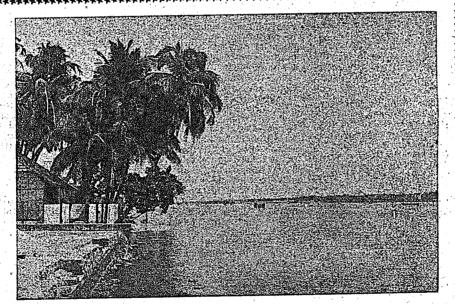
ress, March 30)

It is only the imperialists who insist that we are threatened with aggression from China. The Indian Prime Minister has over and over again stated that there is no danger of aggression from the Chinese side. Asoka Mehta, however, says: "To-day it is Tibet, tomorrow it may be Nepal and India." may be Nepal and India."
PSP General Secretary, N.G.
Goray, hailed in a Delhi
meeting the Tibetan rebellion as a national struggle
against "Chinese colonial-

They are not only holding Tibet Day meetings but they have also formed a Committee of Solidarity with Tibet. It is the same Asoka Mehta-Masa-ni-Frank Moraes combine and their one big demand is that India must throw open its doors to Tibetan refugees so that they may use our country as their base after their ignominious defeat in their They are not only holding ignominious defeat in their own homeland.

Influential Urdu dally of Delhi, Milap, has hit the nail on the head in its editorial of March 27: "If Praja Socialist brothers feel so much worried about freedom and democracy then where were worried about freedom and democracy then where were they when democracy was being trampled upon in Pakistan and a military dictatorship was installed? At that time, they did not start any agitation. tion. Then why are they so worried today? Is it because the Western Powers so de-

In its editorial of March 25, Bengali daily Jugantar has rightly exposed their game: "The aim behind this propaganda is to agitate the propaganda is to agitate the people in Tibet and India against China and make India's Prime Minister resile from the historic Panch Shila declaration and take his stand against China. Needless to say we are emphatically against this plot, because India's freedom and peace will be gravely threapeace will be gravely threa-tened by this and Pakistan will get more chauce of ag-gression against our bor-ders."



SALUTE KERALA

The Communist-led Government of Kerala completes two years on April 5. On this happy occasion, we greet the Kerala Government, the Communist Party in Kerala which has led it, and the people of Kerala who have sustained and nourished it.

During the two years in office, the Kerala Government has gone ahead to implement a programme of relief to the people, a programme which had been commonly accepted by the national movement during the struggle for independence but which the people waited in vain for Congress in power to implement.

It has been no smooth road for the Kerala Government. The Opposition parties in Kerala were not only unhelpful in putting through these policies of giving relief to the people, theirs was an attitude of active, blind obstruction at every stage. The Central Government, too, created difficulties in the way of the Communist-led Government.

ment.

If despite all this, the Kerala Government has been able to achieve what it has achieved, it is thanks to its policies that rallied more and more people in the State to its support, thanks to the sympathy and admiration it won from the rest of the country with the clean and honest administration it tried to ensure.

People in other States who have seen the failures of the Congress Governments, who have seen that the Congress Ministries cannot even root out corruption and nepotism, leave alone curbing the vested interests, have in larger and larger numbers begun looking to Kerala.

gun looking to Kerala.

The Anniversary of the Kerala Government is thus an occasion for celebration not only to the people of Kerala, but to the democratic-minded people all over the country who look forward to an alternative to Congress misrule.

Imperialism And India

The U. S. imperialists tried. to intervene against China from Quemoy and Matsu but the Chinese guns proved too powerful. They tried it again

≯ SEE PAGE 17

U.S. FLEET FOR INDIAN OCEAN

America within our concerned.

It is a pity this dangerous country are making as much noise as they can over Tibet, the American militarists are busy discussing the despatch of a U.S. fleet to the Indian Ocean, as powerful as the Sixth Fleet in the U.S. Fleet in the Indian Mediterranean or the Sev-Ocean!

enth Fleet in the Pacific. Rear Admiral E. M. Eller, Director of Naval History Division in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, has recommended this in the course of an article in the Navy whose articles are stated to have no official sanction but their "official links are unmistakahle " (Washington despatch in Times of India,

The analysis is brutally frank and so is the aim. "Gone with the wind are the former protective flotillas of Britain, Holland and France.

"The unpatrolled reaches of the semi-landlocked Indian Ocean, bordering the vast continents of Africa and India and a host of new fledgeling independent nations is a wide open invitation to anyone to

"The Indian Ocean is momentarily a naval vacuum...
"Unless we build the strength to support our friends

of reckoning will come as it did in Korea."

This increased and hardly concealed U.S. interest in the Indian Ocean is the logical corollary of the U.S. policy of bilateral and military Pacts, arms deals and dollar bribes. The Navy, in its editorial, urges that "the question of the hour was whether the U.S. Navy must take over the watch in the Indian Ocean."

The U.S. rulers themselves realise that their military Pacts, arms and dollars are not enough to sustain their puppets, a powerful U.S. Ficet is also necessary to keep under cover the resurgent Afro-Asian region around the Indian Ocean. The very recol-Indian Ocean. The very reconstruction of the role of the U.S. Mediterranean Fleet in the aggression against Lebanon is and-file of the PSP should call upon Asoka Mehta and call upon Asoka Mehta and call upon their silence nations what role the proposed U.S. Fleet in the Indian very region whose Govern- rebellion within its Socialis

WHILE the friends of sovereignty of the nations

U.S. move has not received due attention from the Indian Press and Parliament. After the U.S.-Pak Pact came the Tibetan provocation, closely followed by the proposal for a

MORE FROM MALDIVES

LAST week we wrote of Maldives, where the British are forcibly building an RAF base without the consent of the Maldive Government. The British imperialist answer to the demand for recognition of Maldivian sovereignty was the creation of a "rebel" Gov-ernment in the Southern atolls of the sprawling Archipelago. The Maldivian Government

had declared Major Philips persona non-grata and demanded his recall. The British Commonwealth Secretary told the House of Lords that the Major had gone only to enquire about the food situation. The Maldivian communique states that this visit had been arranged without consulting the Maldivian Government and was another instance of British interference in the internal affairs of Maldives. and block aggression the day. Its motive was "to find some more traitors among the Maldives to help the British to overthrow the present Government."

> Maldives Legal Adviser Nadarajah in London has accused British Government for trying to stir up trouble in Maldives to get better terms for the air base there. He also accused the British of creating an "artificial food shortage by getting their agents to buy up food on the

The Maldive representative in Colombo has stated that the appeal of the 'rebel' Government to foreign Governments for recognition had been drafted by "British agitators" and communicated through the RAF postal

Goray to explain their silence over the British crimes in Ocean is designed to play It. Maldives. They are loud only will be a gross violation of the against People's China folling Bandung Principles in the a reactionary pro-imperialist ments made that solemn de- motherland. Both ways, they claration, a permanent threat play a pro-imperialist role. It to Afro-Asian peace and the should be obvious where their



NOTES OF THE

WESTERN AID

THE second "Aid India" Conference of the World Bank and the Western capitalist countries has belied all the fond hopes of Indian ruling circles. Last autumn during the earlier New Delhi Conference, the Western aiders had assured us that they would give us 700 million dol-lars as loan for the next two years of the Plan and ensure its foreign exchange needs.

After their latest Washington Conference, they have offered us less than half of what Morarji rehalf of what Morarji re-ported to Parliament a few weeks back as having been definitely promised to us. All we are now offered is that the bare "essential maintenance needs" of our economy will be met and no

The exact amount will have to depend upon bilateral nego-tiations with each country which will have to be separately concluded, i.e. foreign aid will not depend upon our decision of our own needs but on their estimate of what projects they think are good

U.S., the richest of them, promises nothing defifinite up to August, for it claims to have funds duly sanctioned by

the U.S. Congress.

The World Bank communique further adds that it was understood that "the Government of India would continue to pursue the economic and financial policies which had been discussed at the August meeting." The GOI has not taken the country into confidence about these conditions. It will be recalled that there were serious protests against the demands made by the World Bank Chief and the foreign bankers and advisers at the time of the last New Delhi Bank-Fund Conference They are obviously undesirable conditions which the foreigners are ins and which even the GOI is unable to accept completely and hence the present unwil-lingness of the World Bank and Western capitalist Governments to fulfil their earlier promises to help us meet our

foreign exchange needs. An argument made in de-fence of not giving India further aid is that we have so far utilised "hardly 45 per cent of the external assistance al-ready offered." The truth is that this aid was mostly earmarked for buying from the U.S. market where the prices are the highest. Besides, the procedural difficulties are a serious nindrance. The funds allotted are linked to specific projects. We cannot draw mon them according to our own ideas of our priority but only if we agree to build spe-cific projects with which the foreign aiders also agree. They are funds with conditions attached and can be drawn

only through a long and com-plicated process.

Another argument made for cutting the earlier promise is that our foreign exchange re-serves are looking up and we can very well do with 150 million instead of £200 millions as our sterling reserves. In other words. we have been called

weaken ourselves qualify for more foreign The logic of this demand is easy to understand—the weak-er we become, the easier they think we can be dictated to

Reuter discloses clearly enough what we are expected sacrifice before we qualify to get their assistance: forthcoming assistance have no room for any 'frills in the economic development programme of the country which had already been severely trimmed."

Jan Sangh leaders know better than most of us what the American rulers want us to do. The Organiser, March 30, writes: "Friendly circles are of the view that the Planning Commission would perhaps be well advised to appropriately revise and prune the Second Plan working programme."

The pruning and re-prun considered drastic enough by ing a hig Third Plan, they want us to cut to a still smaller size the small Se-cond Plan before they will help us to see it through. This is dictating a cut and not helping the development of our economy.

The contrast between U.S. and Soviet aid has been described by no less a person than Mr. Aziz Ahmed, the new Pakistan Ambassador to the USA, immediately after his arrival in New York. "At the gramme is very involved and very elaborate. Perhaps some-thing could be done to simpli-fy them." He also pointed out that the USSR had followed through in its programme of aid to India and Afghanistan "with efficiency and record speed." And this loyal puppet threateningly added, "But we hope that we won't have to accept any offers of help from

SOVIET AID

T HE Communist analysis that the GOI's neutrality is another name for a policy of balancing between the capitalist and Socialist Powers stands once again vindicated. Pressed hard and squeezed roughly at the two "operation or "Aid India" Con-es of the capitalist ferences Powers, the first at New Delhi and the Second at Washington, the Indian Government tapping the countries of the Socialist camp with greater eagerness. Capitalising shchov's message sent through the Soviet Goodwill Mission that "at present there are considerable possibilities for further development of allround cooperation between India and the Soviet Union, the Indian Government sending to the USSR a highlevel industrial delegation headed by Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel.

Knowledgeable circles re-port that there are two fields in which Soviet assistance is being mainly sought.

The first is the development of machine-building capacity for such medium industries as paper, fertilisers, food proces micals, etc., as are not

chine-building group of ing schedule of heavy maplants proposed to be set up in the Ranchi and Durgapur area with Soviet assistance itself. The second is the development of small industries which have hitherto been handicapped by the difficulties of plant and raw

It is being stressed that this visit is only for "exploratory discussions" for the scope has yet to be determined.

If negotiations with the USSR are meant to serve a mere pressure on the USA and other capitalist countries, they will serve a practical and useful purpose and really help our industrialisation and the independent growth of our economy.

There are a few, however belated, positive signs.

The Special Correspondent of the Hindustan Times, March 31, reports that India and the Soviet Union have agreed in principle to the utilisation of the Russian cre-dit for the five-unit Rs. 28.7 crores drug project in the pub-lic sector. India will receive Rs. 9.6 crores credit from the USSR on the same 21 per cent interest as for Bhilai and re-payable in seven years.

The Indian Government is also studying a Rs. 30-crore project to make oil machinery with Soviet assistance, as an auxiliary to the heavy machine-building plant proposed to be set up at Ranchi, also with Soviet aid.

The India Press Agency reports that the negotiations for the big oil refinery at Barauni have reached an advanced stage and the agreement is expected to be signed in a month's time.

In fact, the only effective way to break through Western capitalist dictation on economic develor ment plans is to go in fer bolder and comprehensive economic cooperation with the rapidly developing coun-tries of the Socialist camp headed by the USSR.

J. J. Singh, after spending a life-time in the USA has come to settle in India and campaign for greater friendship and cooperation with USA. Writing in D. F. Karaka's Current, March 25, in the Democratic Way of Life Special Number he says. know that today not a single cent would be voted by the U. S. Congress for the uplift of any under-developed area in Asia or Africa, if the threat of economic penetration by world Communism was not ever present and dangling before their eyes."

Economic competition between the two world systems of capitalism and Socialism is on. Real neutrality and our own national, interests and dignity demand that we cooperate more with the countries of Socialism and not remain at the mercy of the process aid the growth of genuine international econo-mic cooperation and help preserve world peace.

P. C. JOSHI

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD ON KERALA GOVERNMENT'S ACHIEVEMENTS

"Congress alone can provide a stable Govern-ment in Kerala. So vote for the Congress," was one of the slogans heard at Congress election meetings in early 1957. No less a person than the Prime Minister had advanced this argument during his electioneering tour in Kerala.

core, and then the State of Travancore-Cochin had a sucof Ministries one following the other (seven Ministries in nine years, excluding the caretaker Gov-ernment in 1953-54 and Pre-sident's rule in 1956-57). People had become fed up with this state of affairs. Congress-men thought that they could had become fed up with trace it all to the insufficient majority for the Congress in the Legislature and called for a comfortable majority in the new State of Kerala as the only way to avoid the repitition of this story.

The people, however, knew the baselessness of the Con-gress claim. They knew that ministerial instability started in the Travancore and Tratime when the Congress had virtually cent per cent major-ity in the legislature: barring one independent who was elected to the Travancore Legislature in 1948, a few non-Congress members elected in the former Cochin State and or two independents who got in during by-elections after the Travancore-Cochin was constituted—this was all the non-Congress re-presentation in the Travan-core-Cochin Legislature till 1952. And yet the first Ministry of the newly formed Tra-vancore-Cochin State could function only for a year-anda-half; as for the former Travancore State, its first Ministry, consisting of what was considered to be the "big

Unacceptable Claim

People, therefore, were not prepared to accept the claim of the Congress that it was the insufficient majority of the Congress in the Legislature that made the Ministries unstable. They, on the other hand, thought that, for the very purpose of providing a stable Gov-ernment in the State of Kerala, the Congress should be reduced to a minority. It was this feeling of the people of Kerala that brought the present Communistled Government into office

Many were sceptical, at that time, as to what would hap-pen to the new Communist-led Government. For, after all, this Government was voted into office on a minority of votes and had only a bare two-vote majority in the Legislature. Anything may happen to upset the slender majority of two; once again, the State may be brought back to the instability that has been its lot ever since the days nsible Government when responsible Government was established in the former States of Travancore and Cochin. Many political prophets made the forecast that the Ministry would not last for more than a few months; it was this hope of somehow upsetting the Ministry

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FIRST the State of Travan-sustained the successive campaigns of the opposition, such as against the Education Bill. or the Law and Order question, etc., etc.

But, to the dismay of all such prophets, the Ministry is now completing its second year. It has beaten the record of every single Ministry that of every single Ministry that has functioned so far, except the Ministry headed T. K. Narayana Pillai. That Ministry, however, stands on a different footing, because Sri Pillai was the head of the last Ministry in the State of Travancore and the first Ministry in Travancore-Cochin. Hence, though he continued as Chief Minister for nearly 28 months, his Chief Ministership itself should be divided into two Ministries (one of about nine months and the other of a vear-and-a-half). It should be further noted that the life of the present Ministry is now approaching that of the comhined life of the two Ministries headed by Sri Pillai.

This record of our Governnent stands in contrast to the records of Congress Govern-ments, not only in the former Travancore and Travancoreother States as well. Ministerial instability which, according to Congressmen, is the result of the emergence of Opposition parties, none of which s strong enough to replace the Congress Government, has actually become the characteristic feature of State Governments under the leadership of the Congress. The Congress therefore, cannot claim ability to provide stable Governits. The Communist Party, on the other hand, has been able, even under the most difficult conditions to provide stable Government in a State which has been particularly notorious for Governmental

Relief To People

This, in itself, may be considered a big achievement of the two-year rule of our ent. But far more important than this is the important than this is the fact that our Government has been able, during the short period of two years in which it has functioned in this State to undertake such programmes of giving relief to the common people as have never been undertaken by Congress Govern-ments in this and other States. Several measures of economic and political transformations, which the of India had expected the Congress to under-take but which were not really undertaken by the Congress during the first decade of Independence, have been undertaken by us and are now in various stages of implementation. As a matter of fact, it is these measures of economic and poitical changes desired by the nation and under-taken by us that enabled us en by us that enabled us



E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

to continue in office for two years with a slender two-vote majority in the Legislature.

Our party has always at-tached great importance to the agrarian problem. Without radical solution to this problem, it is impossible in our opinion, for our country advance in any direction: industrialisation, improvement of agriculture, dissemination of modern scientific knowledge, etc.—all this requires the tion in the countryside as its prerequisite. It was to this end that the Party had ad-vanced the slogan of "aboli-" tion of landlordism without

other heavy industries, the great construction projects connected with industries and even by the Congress organisation though it has failed to implement it. Our Govern-ment, therefore, took upon itself the task of implementother economic activities— none of this has come to Ke-rala. We know that this is not ing this programme. the particular mistortune of

The Agrarian Relations Bill which we have prepared has already been examined by a Select Committee of the Legislature and is now to be considered by the Legislature clause by clause: Eight monthe for the preparation of the Bill, four months for its circulation among the people for eliciting their opinion, and less than one year for the Select Committee to complete its work of issuing a questionnaire going from district to district to resond evidence, come to conclusions on the various questions posed by the public and then to amend the Bill clause by clause—this may appear a rather anduly long time for the progress of the Bill. But, considering the strong feelings and pas roused by the Bill and the differences of approach and porters of the Bill; one can take legitimate, neigh take legitimate, pride in the fact that all this was done at least in this time.

I cannot, in this connection, help referring to a Article By The Chief Minister On Two Years Of The Communist-Led Ministry

pulled up by the All-India Congress itself (in its Nag-pur Session) for their failure

forms. Let the President of the KPCC remember that,

while Congress Governments in many States are with prepare their Land Reform Bills; the Select Committee on the Kerala Bill had almost completed in Indiana.

statement recently made by the President of the Kerala Congress Committee who accused the Government of others. We, therefore, have placed before the people of Kerala, and of other States of Kerala of unduly delaying passage of the Bill. He is India too, a programme of in-tegrated, all-round develop-ment of the whole country reported to have assured the people that the Congress would never allow the Comwhich would require a consmunist Government to continue in its delaying tactics. Brave words indeed! One areas forward. It was this that would, however, wish that the KPCC had shown this was underlined by our Finance Minister, Sri Achutha Menon, awareness of the urgency for Agrarian Legislation be-fore 1957 when its repre-sentatives were ruling this State. Even today, it would be more useful if the KPCC in his budget speech this year in the following words: "Kerala does not have even President were to use his good offices with his own comrades in the other Sta-tes who, after all, had to be

a single scheme under heavy industries in the public sector in which the Union Government have directly invested The people of Kerala hope that a different approach will be perceptible at least in the Third Plan. In my view, the people of Kerala would consider the issue of the second to bring about agrarian respin building gard as the tou-forms. Let the President of chstone of the Centre's earnestness in this line. avail myself of this opportu-nity to delare that every day of delay to announce that it of delay to announce would be located in Cochin, serves only to strengthen the

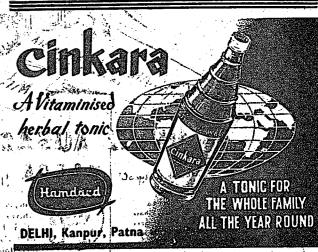
end that the Party had advanced the slogan of "abolition of landlordism without compensation" and "land to the tiller".

Weakening

Landlordism

Government is partying but the Party's programme in this direction is, of course, impossible within the framework of a Constitution which enjoins the payment of compensation of the payment of compensation is possible within the framework of a Constitution which enjoins the payment of compensation is possible to take seven by the Congress organisation though it has failed to within the programme for doing this has been accepted even by the Congress organisation though it has failed to show the construction projects of development of the payment of compensation is substantially weaken land-lordism. A programme for doing this has been accepted even by the Congress organisation though it has failed to show the construction projects. are governed by the wishes of ed. These things have surely to be-considered. Nobody disputes them, especially the one mentioned first, viz., the con-Kerala. This has been the lot of, say, States like Assam also. Even among those States which have been more fortu-

* SEE OVERLEAF



PAGE THREE

iences: but invariable compliance with the whims of the dispensable criterion. Government must be prepared to suggest the location for the industry at the time of granting the licence. A deliberate and conscious attempt to bring up the industrially backward

areas to the level of other areas is possible only this way. "For instance, the finest clay in India is obtained in erala But the Government of India, when granting the licence to start a factory for making high tension electrical goods do not stipulate where that factory should be located. Nor have they accepted the principle of such a stipulation. Consequently what the industrialist, who gets the licence, does is to start the factory anywhere he likes and to take from Kerala the raw material he wants. This is a practice he wants. This is a practice which pains the people of Kerala very much. What ame-nity is it that Kerala lacks for starting any such factory? Nothing So there is no un-fairness in suggesting at the time of the granting of licence that such a factory should be

cern is referred to in this statement. I am raising a general principle. I believe this principle will be accepted by the under-developed States the Union. The reaction of the Union. The reaction which the people of Assam had when the Government of India decided against the setting up of an oil refinery in Assam, an area which produced oil in abundance, will be felt by the people of other States too under similar circumstances. Special care has to be taken in connection with the Third Five-Year Plan to eliminate to the maximum extent re-gional imbalances and to proregions for the utmost development according to their

Due Share Of Development

what is urged is, that so far as Kerala is concerned the Union Government and the Planning Commission should adopt an enabling policy under which such industries as related to rubber, bamboo, forests, mineral sands, etc., "I was only mentioning an example. No particular con-\++++++++++++

worth mention is the manufacture of drugs. It was in-formed that three projects for drugs manufacture in the public sector were contemplated by the Centre to be started with Russian aid. It is the considered view of this Government that Kerala is most suited for locating the phyto-chemical plant amongst these. This fact has already been intimated to the Central Gov-ernment." (Emphasis added) While thus emphasising the

importance of Kerala and other States getting their due share of India's development, our Government also emphasises the need for a reorien-tation in the outlook of our tation in the outlook of our own people in the matter of

Our State being highly deficit in food, it is of the utmost importance that increased food production is given the place of pride in our developmental activities.
An important place should be assigned also to the organisation of such small and medium industries as would increase employment oppor-tunities. These two needs of development should make us reorientate ourselves on productive activities rather than on social service activities. For, however import-

ant social service would not add to our material wealth or help in the solution of such acute problems as food deficit and unemployment. We have unfortunately inherited a tradition of more or

less equating with education, public health, communications and other social services, to the exclusion of agricultural and industrial development. This is an inheritance that should be given up if we are to implement a programme of real development. Another important direction

in which we should reorientate ourselves in development is greater and greater reliance in the utilisation of our own internal resources, which are vast but remain to be tapped. While it is undoubtedly correct for us to demand of the Central Government that our legitimate share of India's development should come to development should come to us, we should realise that there is a lot of work which we ourselves can do without any help from the Centre, or best with resources that

at best with resources that exist in our State. Similarly, while it is the bounden duty of the State Government to help all districts with the necessary technical and financial assistance required for their development, the people in the districts and lower units should remember that they themselves do a lot if only they pool their own material and human resources The prevalent tendency to look upon the Central and Governments agencies to spoon-feed all the State should be put an end to and the people made to depend on themselves to the utmost possible extent. districts and villages of our

This idea is sought to be worked out in actual practice when our Government calls for shramdan in furtherance of its developmen tal activities. This was re-cently carried out in an organised way during the Minor Irrigation Campaign organised in January when dozens of local projects, which have been investigated and approved, but have not yet been taken up for execution were brought under the scheme of shramdan. Hundreds of people be-longing to various walks of life offered themselves to do this work and thus to make

possible what has so far been considered impossible. This is as yet only a small beginning. It, however, is a beginning. If this is carried improved upon on the basis of experience and applied to every
of developmental department activity, it will be possible for us to work out a programme of develop-ment which is vaster in scope and easier of fulfilment than many of us imagine today.

Administrative

Such an approach to deve-lopmental activities requires radical reorientation in the administrative structure. For the vast unutilised material and human resources of the people cannot be fully ex-ploited for the benefit of de-velopment if the labouring people are not given a place of honour in the economic and administrative set-up of the country. This is impossible resent system of

The administrator and the March 30, 1959

expert have, course, to play a very import organising and the people. But their efficiency and usefulness as administrators and experts consists in the degree to which they are to inspire confidence among the labouring people. Such a feeling of people's confidence in the administrator and the expert can be gene-rated only if the administrative set-up is democratised and decentralised. To this end, the Administrative Reforms Committee set up by our Government has recon and the Government has accepted these recommendations
—to the effect that elected should be set up at the pan-should be set up at panchayat

and district levels.

No more will the Collector of the district be the all powerful administrator and agent of the Government in the district. Parallel with him will be the elected head cil which will be responsible for the activities of the Govcept the departments Revenue and Law and Or-State capital will be deprived of several of its functions which will be transferred to the District Council and to the District Collector, Many of the functions which are performed today by the District Collector will, in their turn, be transferred to the panchayats as well. The is today conducted by per-manent officials, directly responsible to the taluk and district authorities, will become part and parcel of the elected village panchayat.

This is the broad outline of reorganisation of the administration envisaged by our Government; it is to this end that a Panchayat Bill and a District Councils Bill have mer has already been introduced in the Legisature and referred to the Select Committee, while the latter is shortly to be introduced.)

These are some of the measures of economic and political transformations that we have undertaken during the last two years. There are, of course, several others which have been left out here. But even this brief discussion is sed to the previous Governments in this State and most Congress Governments in other States, we are trying our Governments in level best to carry out the programme of democratic transformations to which all the democratic elements in the country are pledged.

We would have been able to do far more if the Opposition in this State (which happens to be the ruling party in the rest of the country) were a little more cooperative in implementing a programme which is jointly accepted by them and us. It is, however, unfortunate that they do not take such a constructive attitude, but try to create diffi-culties for us. We, on our part, are confident that with the increasing support that we are receiving from the people of Kerala and of the rest of the country, we will be able to face this opposition and carry out the programme to which we are pledged.

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE -Calcutta's Unprecedented Response

CALCUTTA, March 30 The All-India Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity, which will be in session when these lines are published has evoked unprecedented response from all sections of people here. In the background of the recent U.S.-Pak Pact and repeated Pakistani firings across the borders of West Bengal and Assam, the Conference has assumed added significance for the people of this State.

J. B. MOITRA

colleges, representatives of youth and students, women's

organisations and trade unions

have associated themselves with the local meetings and

To ensure broad participation

three conventions of the delega-tes of workers and trade unions,

youth and students, and women

N. Sidhanta (BPTUC), Ne-

will be held.

GOLD CRUSH

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A N impotrant indication of Fram the universal support gained by the Conference is provided by the act that the Calcutta Corporation, which is controlled the Congress, has unani sidy of Rs. 5,000 towards the ses of the Conference.

In Calcutta alone, 32 local and Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunmeetings have been already der, General Secretary of the Reception Committee and a held. Thousands of people from all walks of life have participawell-known Congressman, told a Press Conference in ted in them. By the time the Conference begins on April 2, many more of such meetings and conventions would have Calcutta on March 27 that "for the first time in the history of our State we find imbeen held, especially in the distportant personalities from different walks of life representing different political Almost all the important personalities of the areas con-cerned, Chairmen and memviews, sometimes differing on all other matters, lending bers of Municipalities, Presitheir active support and working wholeheartedly for the real success of the Condents and members of Bar Associations, leading physicians, readers of school and

He further said that the subject peoples of Asia and Africa looked to India for support in their struggle for national liberation, and expressed the hope that the Conference would go long way in fulfilling the aspirations of these peoples.

Dr. Anup Singh, M.P., one of

the Secretaries of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, expressed gratification at the mass response, and added "it is not a surprise for Cal-cutta." He called upon the peo-ple to transform the Afro-Asian solidarity movement into a broad-based powerful move-

Meetings and local conven-

pal Bhattacharya and Jatin Chakravarty, MLA (UTUC), Tushar Chakravarty, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association, Amiya Chatterjee, Joint Secretary of the Federation of Mer-Another joint appeal has been

addressed to the youth and students of the State by, among others, the General Secretary, West Bengal Youth Congress; Organiser, Bharat Juba Samaj; General Secretary, West Bengal Students' Rederation: President University Students' Union: President, Kalikata Yuba Sangha; General Secretary, Democratic Students' Organisation, and representatives of the All-Students' League and West Bengal Chatra Parishad.

An important meeting of the leading figures in the women's movement was held on March 25 with a view to ensure effeclive participation of women in the Conference and to make arrangements for the Sectional Convention for women

Among those who attended the meeting were Smt. Maya Banerjee, Deputy Minister; Anjali Khan, MLA and Santi Das. MLC (Congress); Smt. Renu Chakravarty, M.P., Smt. Manikuntala Sen, MLA, and Smt. Gita Mukherjee

(Communist); Smt. Pushpa-mayee Basu and many others. Prominent medical practi-tioners of Calcutta met on March 23 under the chairman-ship of Dr. B. P. Trivedi, Presiof different sections of people during the Conference itself, dent of the Bengal Branch of Indian Medical Association to discuss the question of their

A special appeal to the worparticipation in the Conference.
It is understood that a proposal to send Medical Missions to kers and employees of West Bengal to participate actively in the Conference has been issued jointly by Dr. (Mrs.) Maitreyee Algeria and to the Cameroons is se MLA (INTUC), Sibnath Banerjee and Rajani Mukherjee (HMS), Indrajit Gupta and T.

1.500 DELEGATES **EXPECTED**

Over 1,500 delegates are expected to participate in the Conference, which is due to be held in Calcutta from April delegates will be from West Bengal, delegates are coming from the Punjab, Delhi, U.P., Bihar, Orissa, Andhra, My-sore, Kerala, Madras, Bombay

Among the prominent persons from other States who have al-ready informed the Reception Committee of their participation are Smt. Rameshwari Nehru President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, Dr. Anup Singh, M.P., and Go-vinda Reddy, M.P., Secretaries of the Association, Pandit Sunderlal, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, A. K. Gopalan, M.P., Diwakar Kakodkar, leader of the Goan peoples' struggle, Darbara Singh, MLA, President of the Punish Pradesh Congress Committee and others.

Among the foreign delegates

who are arriving in the next two days are: Messrs Chin Chung Hua,

Vice-President of the All-China Journalists' Association, Yang Shuo, Secretary of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council, and Liao Cheng Chiao, Secretary of the Chinese Asso-ciation for Afro-Asian Solida-

Messrs D. N. Nepesov, Mini-er of Public Health of the

NEW AGE

Turkmen Republic, USSR, A. A. Khorava, People's Artist of the USSR: E. P. Chelyshev, Philologist; and Mrs. G. G. Krivopa-

Messrs Cheriff Guellal and Teufik, representatives of the Algerian Front of National Li-

Mr. George Pirinsky of Bulgaria, representing the Interna-tional Institute for Peace;

tary-General of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council and its Permanent Secretariat at Mr. Luzzatto, Socialist mem-

ber of the Italian Parliament, representing the World Peace Council; and a delegation of three from Ceylon.

Answering a question from a Press reporter, Dr. Anup Singh aid that they would have been very happy if a delegation had come from Pakistan, but so far as he knew, no one was coming from that country. The Deputy High Commissioner for Pakisan Calcutta, however, had promised to make some iter available for the Exhibition.

The Conference will be inaugurated in the evening of April 2 with a message from Vice-President Radhakrishnan.

Commission meetings have been fixed for April 3 and 4, and the Plenary Session will take place on April 5.

Seminars on the political situation, economic and cultural relations, and public health in countries will be held on April 3 and 4.

The Exhibition, which will be opened by the noted Bengali welist Sri Tarashankar Ba nerjee, will depict the life of the Afro-Asian peoples, the impact of Afro-Asian culture on world civilisation in art, sculp-ture and painting, natural resources and imperialist exploitation in these countries, etc.

Film shows on these aspects have also been arranged.

The sectional conventions of the youth and students, workers and trade unions, and women will be held on April 4.

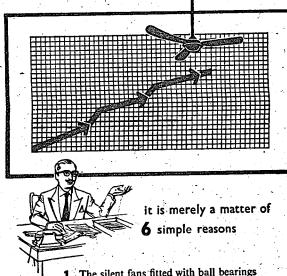
In the afternoon of April 5, an open rally will be held at the Maidan. This will be preceded by a colourful process the delegates and foreign guests. express cts of Afro-Asian life and the solidarity of the peoples of these two continents through posters, symbols and tableaux.

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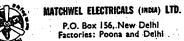
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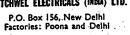
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PAGE FOUR

KALIMPONG

With the flare-up in Tibet, Kalimpong has suddenly been pitchforked into the world's headlines. The picturesque hill-station commanding a magnificent view of the mighty Himalayas with their eternal snows is literally placed at the crossroads of history. For, it is from Kalimpong that the journey starts which leads one beyond Gangtok and the high Nathu-la to the land of the Lamas. Traders cross the border every year and a brisk trade has been going on for decades, if not centuries, says a special despatch of the India

ND as it has always happened, politics follow ie. If you go round this quiet town, you see people from distant corners of the globe living the most extra-ordinary life. Some have come as research scholars in Bud-dhism. Some others are an-thropologists or botanists, still others say they have just come to enjoy the beauties of the Himalayas. All of them, it seems, have liked the place immensely and many

Among them one meets those who retain a nostalgic attachment for the old days when these sensitive areas happened to be the special preserve of the Western Powers. There are those, too, who have not reconciled themselves to the advent of the new regime in China, and whose bitter animosity to Commun-ism heightens their interest and sympathy for the Lama-serie. All these have made Kalimpong their base of operations. It was not, therefore. an exaggeration on the part of the Prime Minister to say some years ago that Kalim-

long its unenvied reputation of an espionage centre, di-rected mainly against Tibet. For example, Mr. Hugh Ricardson, the last English-man in free India's Foreign Service, who retired in Augnst 1950 and then moved over to Malaya—he was also the last British Political Officer in Tibet—built up an espionage network with its

at Kalimpong, known as Triyana Vardhana Vihara. This serves as an interesting rendezvous for most of the is reported, could pull powerful strings, and very soon Peter could buy a lovely mansion.

Very soon the Indian po-Prince's movements, and discovered that he had been making mysterious trips to various places and had gathered a large number of contacts in these countries.
Diplomatic reasons perhaps
came in the way of actually
apprehending the Prince, and it was no easy task to push him out of the country. Final-

A frequent visitor to the
Bhikshu's Vihara is a
Scotch lady named Kazini
Elisa Maria, During the war,
I understand, she travelled
extensively in the Chin and
Kachin Hills in Burma, in Kachin Hills in Burma, in Manipur, Malaya, Thailand, Egypt, Turkey and even some places in Africa. She has settled down at Kalim-pong, marrying a rich Sik-kimese Kazi or nobleman. ly, Prince Peter was forced to quit Kalimpong. But his house still serves as a hospitable

mto Kalimpong.

Centre Of Shady Activities Needs A Probe

pong had become an intelli-gence centre. When you ask a local man,

after getting his confidence, about the galaxy of foreigners at Kalimpong, he would 21-most invariably look around with caution and whisper to you with bulging eyes that all the strangers are spies. Surely that is an exaggeration, and yet it is not all a figment of Himalayan imagination. For, here at Kalimpong, the Government has posted besides the Frontier Police, a unit of the Central Intelligence Branch, whose office is situated in one of the most beautiful sites. Obviously such a step wouldn't have been taken but for the shady activities going

four years after our Indendence: in fact, as soon as People's China extended her authority to Lhasa.

widely-known settler in Kalimpong was Prince
Peter of Greece, a cousin of the Duchess of Kent and also very friendly with the Mount-battens. After India became free, this royal scion seemed to have developed such a pas-sion for the anthropological peculiarities of the people of this region that he took the of practically settling down here to do his original research. The Government of India, presumably not impressed with his anthropolo-

left India. I am told, three or guest house for his visiting four years after our Inde- foreign friends.

A foreigner who has embraced Buddhism is Bhikshu Sangha Rakshita. His original name was Captain White, formerly of the RAF. Along with another ex-R.A.F. Wing Commander, now known by his Buddhist name Angarik Smasanaratna, he runs the Young Men's Buddhist Association. Many suspect that this organisation takes a lively interest in Tibetan politics, having links with Tibet.

Bhikshu Sangha Rakshita has been living at Kalimpong since the war. He is reported to be trying to evolve a synthesis between the two schools pressed with his anthropological activities, objected to his buying a house at Kalimpong. But the resourceful Prince, it The Kazini is a social figure at Kalimpong. Her house is a favourite meeting place for foreigners, particularly of the emigre Tibetans. She is also a friend of some of the foreign journalists com-ing to this part of the world.

The visitors from the West usually put up at Kalimpong's best hotel, the Himalayan Hotel. This place is owned by Mr. David Macdonald, who served as the British Trade Agent at Gyantse in Tibet. He was very close to the Thir-teenth Dalai Lama, the ones before the present Dalai Lama.

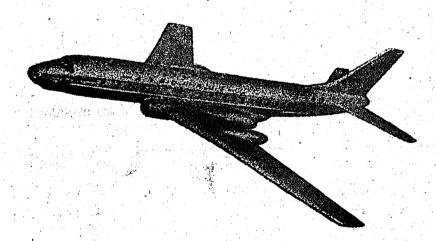
Gyalo Thondup, the Dalai ama's elder brother who resides in Darjeeling, is a frequent visitor to Kalimpong.

*SEE PAGE 18

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TIBET-WHAT REALLY Measures To Safeguard HAPPENED

National Unity

The following order is herewith proclaimed.

Most of the Kaloons of the Tibet Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique colluded with imperialism, assembled re-bellious bandits, carried out rebellion, ravaged the out rebellion, ravaged the people, put the Dalai Lama under duress, tore up the 17 article agreement on mea-sures for the peaceful libe-ration of Tibet and, on the night of March 19, directed the Tibetan local army and rebellious elements to launch a general offensive against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa.

Such acts which betray the motherland and disrupt unification are not allowed by law. In order to safeguard the unification of the country and national unity, in addition to enjoin Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese Peo-ple's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion tho-roughly, the decision is that from this day the Tibet from this day the Tibet Local Government is discolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region shall exercise the functions and vers of the Tibet Local

During the time when the Dalai Lama Dantzen-Jaltso, Chairman of the Prepara-tory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is under duress by the rebels, Panchen Erdeni Ghuji-Geltseng. Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee will act as the Chairman Committee.

ebala Choliehnamje, mber of the Standing Pehala Committee of the Prepara-Committee for the is appointed Vice-Chairman the Preparatory Com-Ngapo Ngawang member of the Jigme, member of the Standing Committee and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee, is appointed Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee

Eghteen traitorous ele ments, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten Tarpa, Hsinka Jigmedorje (Shasu), Yuto Chahsi-dongchu, Tsrijong Lozong-Viehsi Kachang Lozong ontgen Dala Lozongsung din, Kheme Sonamwongdu Rongnamse Thubtan-Nor zong, Pala Thubtenwenten Nongshi Thubtan-Zongchu Thubtan-Zongchu Panchunjigme Menjelin Jalyanddeltseng Dariihpen Tsewong-Dorje Pengchu, Weisegeltseng (Kundelinchasa). Gungala ma, and Tsupugamapa Ri-heidorje, are relieved o their posts as members the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and of all their other posts and are to be dindividually



PANCHEN ERDENI

Sixteen persons, Teng Shao-tung, Chan Hua-yu, Hui Yi-jan, Liang hsuan-hsin, Tsuiko Dongchutser-Ghaden Tsripa Thubten Kunga, Chienpaitzuli, Ngapo Tsirtenchoga, Dorjetsir-ten, Chirous Dungchu, Geltsengpintso, Lozong Tzuch eng, Chunnjue, Pintsowong are appointed members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous

It is to be hoped that the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region will lead all the peopl of Tibet, ecclesiastical an secular, to unite as one and assist the People's Liber tion Army to put down the rebellion quickly, consoli-date national defence, pro-tect the interests of the people of all nationalities, secure social order and strive for the building of a new democratic and Social

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI.

A news communique, released in Peking on March 28 by the Hsinhua News Agency on the rebellion in TOLATING the will of the Tibetan people and be-traying the motherland, the Tibetan Local Government

Tibetan Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique colluded with imperialism, assembled rebellious bandits and launched armed attacks against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa during the night of

Acting on orders to put the rebellion down, the valiant units of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet completely smashed the rebel-lious bandits in the city of Lhasa on the 22nd. Now the Lhasa on the 22nd. Now the units of the People's Liberation Army assisted by patriotic people of all sections, both ecclesiastic and temporal, are mopping up the rebellious bandits in some other places

in Tibet. In order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and national unity, Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council issued an order on March 28 which, apart from calcining the Tibetan Military. enjoining the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army to stamp out the rebellion thoroughly, proclaimed the decision that from that day the Tibetan Local Government which instigated the rebellion be dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region exercise the functions and powers of the Tibetan Local

Armed Rebellion

The armed rebellion of the The armed repetition of the Tibetan Local Government and the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Lhasa began on March 10. The Dalai Lama was originally Balai Lama was originally scheduled to attend a theatrical performance in the auditorium of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army on March 10. The proposal was put forth by the Dalai Lama personally more than one month earlier and the date of March 10 was fixed by the Dalai Lama himself.

Who Are The Rebels?

On that day, however, the ebellious Tibetan clique rebellious Tibetan clique spread wild rumours alleging that the army units of the Tibetan Military Area Command would detain the Dalai Lama and by using this rumour as a pretext, staged armed rebelion, put the Dalai Lama under duress, raised such reactionary slogans as "Drive away the Han people" and "Independence for Tibet" and, at the same time, killed Kanchung Soanamchiatso, a Tibetan official of the Preparatory Committee bet Autonomous Region who opposed the rebellion, and wounded Sampo Tsewongwounded Sampo Tsewong-rentzen, the Tibetan Vice-Commander of the Tibetan Military Area, and others.

The armed rebels at the same time surrounded the Headquarters of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army and the offices of the Central Government agencies in Lhasa.

The rebellious activities of the Tibetan traitors have been of fairly long duration. These rebels represent imperialism and the most re-actionary big serf-owners. Since the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered Tibet and the Central Peo-ple's Government and the Tibetan Local Government concluded the Agreement on Measures for the Peace-ful Liberation of Tibet (namely the Seventeen-Article Agreement) in 1951, they have been plotting to tear up this agreement and preparing for armed rebel-

thriving and prospering day by day, the policy of the Cen-tral People's Government totral People's Government to-ward Tibet is correct and the garrison units of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet ob-serve strict discipline, all of which enjoy the warm support and love of the people of all sections in Tibet, the rebelli-ous conspiracy of this handful of reactionaries had no support from the Tibetan people. In accordance with the stipulations of the Constitution, the Central People's Government has always insisted on the solidarity of all the nationalities in the country and solidarity among the Tibetan people, and has carried out regional national autonomy

Obstruction To Progress

the Tibetan people. The Pre-paratory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was established as early as April 1956. Yet, owing to obstruction by the reactionaries in the Local Government of Tibet, the preparatory work for the Autonomous Region has made little progress.
The 17 article agreement

stipulates that the Tibetan army must be reorganised, and is serfdom, must be reformed in accordance with the wishes of the people. These two important tasks could not be carried out as the result of obstruction by the reaction-aries. In order to wait for the reactionaries to wake up, the Central Authorities at the end of 1956 told them that within six years, that is for the period of the Second Five-Year Flan, reform would not be carried would not be reorganised.

The Local Government of Tibet is called Kasha in Tibetan and its six members are called Kaloons. Of the six Kaloons, two are patriots: Ngapo Ngawang Jigme and Sampo Tsewongarentzen who was wounded by the rebels on March 10. One of the other four, Yuto Chahsidongchu, had already turned traitor in 1957 and fied to Kalimpong— the centre of the rebellious elements' activities abroad. The three others, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa and Hsika Jigmedorje (Shasu) came out into the open as traitors in the present rebellion.

Before this, these traitors had used their legal status in the Kasha to muster the reactionary forces of the upper strata collaborate with the external enemy and actually directed some of the most reactionary big serf-owners in Sikang and Tibet in organising armed rebel forces in certain regions east, north and south of the Tsangpo River to oppose the Central People's Government and betray the

Their rebellion was engineered by the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek bands

* SEE PAGE NINE PAGE SEVEN



TIBETAN REACTIONARIES CHOOSE THE ROAD TO THEIR OWN EXTINCTION

FROM PAGE 7

and foreign reactionaries; the commanding centre of the rebellion was in Kalimpong; and their leader is the dismissed Silum Lokonva Tsewongrouten. Many their arms were brought in from abroad. The base of the rebellion to the south of Tsangpo River received airdropped supplies from the Chiang Kai-shek bands a number of occasion and radio stations were set up there by agents sent by the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique to further their intrigues.

Between May and June of last year, on the instructions of the Tibetan Local Government and the upper, strata reactionary clique, the rebel bandits intruded into Chamdo, Dinching, Nagchuka and Loka, destroyed communica-tions, ravaged the people by plunder, rape, arson and mur-der; and attacked agencies der; and attacked agencies and army units of the Central People's Government there.

What Thev Expected

Guided by the spirit of national unity, the Central People's Government repeatedly enjoined the Local Government of Tibet to punish the rebel elements and maintain social order; but the Local Government of Tibet and the upper strata reactionary clique took the Central People's Government's attitude of maximum magnanimity for a of weakness. Their talk was of this sort: The Han people can be frightened off; in the past nine years, the Han peole have not had the courage to lay even a finger on our most wonderful and sacred system of serfdom; if we attack them, they can only de-fend and not hit back; they dare not suppress our rebelbut only enjoin us to suppress the rebellion; if we bring a large group of rebel forces to Lhasa from other places to hit them with, they will surely run away; if not, we abduct the Dalai Buddhe to Loke and gather forces for a counterattack to take Lhasa back; if we fail, we run to India: India has sympathy for us and may help us; there is the powerful United States which may also help us; President Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan has already given us active help; the Dalai is god, who dare not obey him? the Americans say that the Peo-China has caused discontent among the people who are it is time to drive the Han people away and proclaim independence,

and so on.

The spirit of these reactionaries soared to the clouds and they were ready to take over fused to do their duty to stop the rebel bandits' ravages and instead stepped up their trea-cherous intrigues. After concentrating considerable counter-revolutionary forces in Lhasa, they started their armed rebellion on March 10, openly scrapping the Seven-

PAGE EIGHT

sa, the Dalai Lama wrote to the representative of the Central People's Government in the rebellion in Lhasa showed Tibet on three occasions saying that he had been seized by the reactionaries and was making all possible efforts to deal with the illegal actions of the reactionary clique. In reply, the representative of the Central Government welcomed the attitude of the Dalai Lama and expressed the hope that the Local Government of Tibet would change its wrong attitude and do its duty to supress the rebellion.

Dalai Lama **Abducted**

These reactionary elements, however, not only did not in the least repent but decided to extend the rebellion. They blatantly abducted the Dalai Lama from Lhasa and launched an allout attack on the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Lhasa on the night of March 19. The hope of a peaceful settlement was ex-tinguished. THE REAC-TIONARY FORCES OF TI-BET FINALLY CHOSE THE ROAD TO THEIR OWN EX-TINCTION.

At 10 a.m. on March 20, the roops of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were ordered to take punitive action against the clique of trair tors who had committed monstrous crimes. With the aid of the patriotic Tibetan monks and laymen, the Peo-ple's Liberation Army completely crushed the rebellion in city of Lhasa after more than two days of fighting. A rough count shows that by the more than four thousand rebel troops were taken prisoners, and eight thousand small arms of different kinds, eighty-one light and heavy machine guns, twenty-seven eighty-one-millimetre calibre mortars six mountain guns and ten million bullets were

After the outbreak of the captured. Encircled by our March tenth rebellion in Lha- troops, many of the rebel troops, many of the rebel troops surrendered in groups.

The rapid putting down of that the Tibetan traitorous clique is certainly doomed and that the future of the Tibetan people is bright. Primarily this is because the Tibetan people are patriotic, support the Central People's Government, ardently love the Peo-ple's Liberation Army and oppose the imperialists and traitors. Tibet (including the three areas of Chamdo, Chientsang (Yu), and Houtsang. (Tsang)) has a total population of one million two hundred thousand, while the rehellious handits number only about twenty thousand peo-ple, mostly people who were deceived and intimidated to join. Included are some rebellious elements who fled to Tibet from areas east of the Kingsha River in what was formerly Sikang Province, and are known as the Kamba peo-

People Are Not With Rebels

The overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people are peasants and herdsmen who live in extreme poverty, and they eagerly hope to free themselves from the darkest feudal serfdom in world. There are also many patriotic progressive people in the upper and middle strata in Tibet. They support the Central People's Government, oppose the rebellion and advocate democratic reform of the uniust cial system so as to turn Tibet step by step into a civilised, progressive area.

Tibet now already has a lab-

ouring class firmly aspiring for emancipation, and fairly large sections of patriotic progressive people who want reform in the upper and middle strata and also middle elements. The task at present is first to put down the rebel-lion and establish peaceful

order. In the course of this, the policy of the Central Govern-ment in dealing with the rebel nents is to punish without fail those guilty of major crimes, not punish the intimifollowers and award those who have performed meritorious services. The Central Government has instructed the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet

A Tibetan girl

reporting news from the Lhasa Broad-

casting centre

to unite broadly with all Tibe-tans who have not taken part in the rebellion, accept ressibility for protecting the lives and property of the peasants, herdsmen, and peopl of the industrial, business, political and religious circles in Tibet, respect the habits and customs of the local people and their religious beliefs, protect the Lamaseries and cultural institutions and relics and safeguard the interests of the mass of the people and social order. As for those captured and enemies who have laid down their arms, it will not be permitted to retaliate against, injure or humiliate them.

The Chinese Government, for its part, considers that in relations between China tries to the Southwest, prima rily between China and the great friendly country of the

ples of peaceful are to be persistently applied. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were for the first time put forward in the signed between China and India on April 29, 1954, on Trade and Inter-course between the Tibet Region of China and India. In the fundamental interests of the two countries, both parties have no reason at all not these principles fully both at present and in

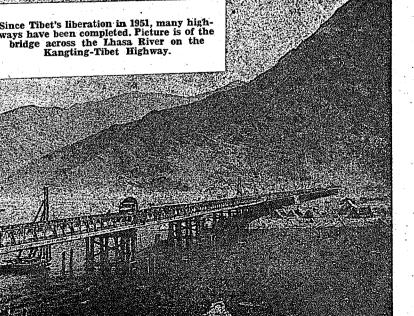
the future Chinese Government quarters welcome the statement of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, on March 23 on non-intervention in Chi-na's internal affairs and consider this statement to be friendly. On the part of China, there has never been interference in the internal offgire of India, or discussion of the internal affairs of India at the sessions of the National People's Congress or its Standing Com-mittee. It considers such discussion of the internal affairs of a friendly country to be impolite and improp

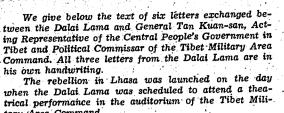
Autonomy Will Be Restored

In order to wipe out the rebel bandits thoroughly, the State Council has ordered the units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet to assume military control in various places in Tibet. The tasks of the military control committees are: to suppress rebellion; to protect the people and the foreign nationals who observe the laws of China: with the authorisation from the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, to set up administrative bodies at various levels of the Autonomous Re-gion of Tibet, and organise self-defence armed forces of patriotic Tibetans to replace the old Tibetan army of only a little more than three thousand men who are rotten to the core, utterly useless in fighting and have turned

The Military Control Committee in Lhasa was formally set up on March 23. Military Committees will be * SEE FACING PAGE

APRIL 5, 1959





Having made their arrangements in advance, the clique of traitors in Tibet spread rumours that the troops of the Tibet Military Area Command would detain Dalai Lama. On this pretext, they assembled a crowd in Lhasa city on that day and besieged Dalai Lama in the Norbu , and staged an open armed rebellion

Following the outbreak of these events, General Tan Kuan-san wrote a letter to Dalai Lama on the very same day, requesting him not to attend the theatrical perfor

The Dalai Lama wrote to General Tan Kuan-san on the eleventh, saying "reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of protecting my safety. I am taking measures to calm

On March 11, General Tan Kuan-san wrote a letter to Dalai Lama pointing out that there were open military propocations by reactionaries and he called on the Tibet Local Government to take responsibility to stop them

On March 12, Dalai Lama wrote a reply to General Tan Kuan-san in which he once again explained that "the incidents which have seriously estranged relations between the Central Government and the Local Government' had been created by reactionaries under the pre-text of protecting him, and said that he was "making fort possible to deal with them."

on March 15, General Tan Kuan-san wrote a letter to Dalai Lama explaining the attitude of the Central People's Government toward the rebellion and welcoming Dalai Lama's desire to make every effort to deal with

On March 16, Dalai Lama said in his letter to General Tan Kuan-san that he had instructed the officials of the Tibet Local Government and that he might go to the the Tibet Local Government and that he might go to the Military Area Command in a few days. But on the night of March 17, the traitorous clique abducted him from Lhasa to the Loka area southeast of Lhasa. Then on the night of March 19, the clique of traitors launched an all-

FOR DEMOCRATISATION IN TIBET

* FROM FACING PAGE

set up in succession in other places except for Shigatse, the capital of Houtsang (saTng) area which is under the lea-dership of Panchen Erdeni, where it is not necessary to set one up. All the military control committees in Lhasa and the other places consist of the representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and representatives of local patriotic people.

Now important cities and areas including Ari, west of Lhasa, Gyantse, Phari, Yatung, southwest of Lhasa Damune and Nagchuka, north of Lhasa, Chetang, south of Lhasa, and Taichao, Licgtze, Tsamu, Dinching, Chamdo and Dza-i, east of Lhasa, are all under the firm control of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The overwhelming Army. The overwhelming majority of the local people are cooperating closely with the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The rebel bandits are still carrying on only in some very remote places.

Since the Dalai Lama, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is still held under duress by the rebels, the State Council has decided that Panchen Erdeni, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, assume the post of Acting Chairman dur-ing the period of the Dalai Lama's abduction. The State Council has also appointed as Vice-Chairmen the Living Buddha Pebala Choliehnamje

and Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Standing Committee members of Tibetan nationality of the Preparatory Committe Autonomous Region. Ngapo is concurrently Secretary-Gene-

As soon as order has been restored, local administra-tive bodies of the Autono-mous Region of Tibet at all levels will be set up one another throughout Tibet and exercise the func-tions and powers of autonomy. At present, autonomy and military control by the People's Liberation Army are simultaneously in force itonomy will gradually d completely replace military control when the rebeln is put down and peace-

As the result of the rebellion

Tibet and the defeat of the rebellion a new page is unfold-ing in Tibet's history. The conclusion can now be drawn that the imperialists and Tibet's reactionary forces entirely miscalculated the situation in Tibet. Contrary to their wishes, the rebellion started by them in Tibet has not led to a split of the motherland and the retrogression of Tibet. but instead has strengthened the consolidation of national unification, accelerated the doom of the reactionary forces in Tibet, pushed forward democratisation in Tibet and promoted a new birth of the Tibetan people.

DALAI LAMA WRITES ...

The letter sent to Dalai Lama on March 10 by General Tan Kuan-san:

Respected Dalai Lama, it is very good indeed that you want-ed to come to the Military Area Command You are heartly welcome. Since you have be into very great difficulties due intrigues and provocamay be advisable that you do come for the time being. Salutations and best regards,

TAN KUAN-SAN,

TWO

The Dalai Lama's letter sent General Tan Kuan-san on

Dear Comrade Political Commiccar Tan

I intended to go to the Military Command to see the theatrical performance yesterday, but I was unable to do so, ow-ing to obstruction by people,

the facts. This has put me to

greatly upset and worried and

at a loss what to do. When your letter (this refers to the letter sent by General Tan Kuan-san

to the Dalai Lama on the 10th)

appeared before me, I immedia-

tely became overjoyed, you do

Reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endang-

protecting my safety. I am taking measures to calm things

down. In a few days when the

ituation becomes stable, I will

certainly meet you. If you have, any internal directives for me,

this messenger (this refers to. Ngapo Ngawang Jigme).

(Written by my own hand)

THREE

Letter to Dalai Lama from General Tan Kuan-san on

The reactionaries are now so

audacious as to have openly and

arrogantly carried out military provocations. They have erec-ted fortifications and posted large numbers of machine-guns

and armed reactionaries along the national defence highway

highway north of

Norbu Lingla) thereby serious-

ly disrupting the security of the

Many times in the past, we told Kasha that the People's Liberation Army is duty bound to defend the country and to pro-

tion lines, related to national defence, and therefore it cer-

tainly cannot remain indifferent

to this serious act of military provocations. Therefore, the

Tibet Military Area Command

has sent letters to Surkong, Neusha, Shasu and Pala asking

them to tell the reactionaries to remove all the fortifications they established and to with-

draw from the highway immediately. Otherwise, they will

tect the security of comm

national defence communic

se tell me frankly through

DALAI LAMA

me under the pretext of

not mind at all.

March 11:

Are Endangering Me Under

Pretext Of Protecting Me,

They Are Responsible For

The Incidents

ecclesiastical and secular, who text of protecting me. As to the

were instigated by a few bad elements and who did not know the facts. This has put me to under the pretext of protecting inc. As we the day before, which were created under the pretext of protecting inc. As we then the protecting inc. As we have a protection in the protecting inc. As we have a protection in the protection in

hear regnonsibility themselves I want to inform you of this. Please let me know what your views are at your earliest

Salutations and best regards, TAN KUAN-SAN

FOUR

The Dalai Lama's letter to General Tan Kuan-san on March 12: Dear Comrade Political Com-

missar Tan.

I suppose you have received my letter of yesterday (referring to March 11) forward you by Ngapo. I have had the letter you sent me this morning. The unlawful actions of the reactionary clique break my heart. Yesterday I told Kasha to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal People's Conference and the immediate with-drawal of the reactionaries who arrogantly moved into Norby Kingka under the pre-Reactionary Evil Elements

my safety and have seriously

estranged the relations between

the Central Government and the Local Government, I am

making every possible effort to deal with them. At 8.30 Peking time this morning a few Tibe-tan army men suddenly fired

several shots near the Chinghai-

Tibet highway. Fortunately no

serious disturbances occurred

As to the questions mentioned in your letter (referring to the letter of the 11th sent by Gene-ral Tan Kuan-san to the Dalai

Lama), I am planning to per-suade my few subordinates and

give them instructions. Please

tell me frankly any instruction you have for me.

FIVE

Letter sent to Dalai Lama on March 15 by General Tan

I have the honour to acknow

ledge receipt of your two letters

dated March 11 and March 12.

The traitorous activities of the

eactionary clique of the upper

strata in Tibet have grown into

intolerable proportions. These

actionary, traitorou

ally helping them

individuals, in collusion with

foreigners, have engaged in re-

for quite some time. The Cen-

tral People's Government has

long adopted an attitude of mag-

nanimity and enjoined the Local

Government of Tibet to deal

Local Government of Tibet has

all along adopted an attitude of

feigning compliance while actu-

activities, with the result that

things now have come to such a

grave pass. The Central Peo-

ple's Government still hopes

that the Local Government of

Tibet will change its erroneous

attitude and immediately as-

sume responsibility for putting down the rebellion and mete out

severe punishment to the trai-

Otherwise the Central

them seriously, but the

Respected Dalai Lama,

to act itself to safeguard solidarity and unification of the motherland.

In your letter, you said: "As to the incidents which were created under the pretext of protecting my safety and have seriously estranged relations between the Central Government and the Local Government, I am making every possible effort to deal with

We warmly welcome this cor-rect attitude on your part. We are very much concerned about your present position and safety. If you think it necessary and possible to extricate your-self from the present dangerous position of being abducted by the traitors, we cordially wel-come you and your entourage and stay for a brief period in the Military Area Command. We are willing to assume full responsibility for



DALAI LAMA

best course to follow, it is entirely up to you to decide.

In addition, I have much pleasure informing you that the Second National People's Congress has decided to open its first session on April 17.

Salutations and my best re-

gards, TAN KUAN-SAN

The Dalai Lama's letter to General Tan Kuan-san, on March 16:

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan.

Your letter dated the 15th has just been recevied at three o'clock. I am very glad that you are so concerned about my safety and hereby express my

The day before yesterday, the fifth day of the second month according to the Tibetan calendar (March 14, 1959), I made a speech to more than seventy representatives of the government officials, instructing them from various angles, calling on them seriously present calm down, or my life would be in danger. After these severe reproaches, conditions took a slight turn for the better. Though the conditions in here and outside are still very diffi-cult to deal with at present, I am trying skilfully to make a demarcation line between the progressive people and those the government officials. A few days from now when there are enough forces that I can trust I shall make my way to the Military Area Command secretly. When that time comes, I shall first send you a letter. I request you to adopt reliable measures. What are your views? Please write me often.

DALAI

PAGE NINE

** TWO YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST-LED GOVERNMENT IN KERALA

AN IMPRESSIVE RECORD

As a Communist I am naturally proud of the impressive record to the credit of the Communist-led Government of Kerala in its two years of officeproud because the Kerala Government has done all this from inside the same set-up from within which the Congress Government also could have done them, but did not, proud because the Kerala Government explored all the possibilities within the four corners of our Constitution to do the maximum good to the working people and did not allow the Constitution and the State machinery to be used to defend the vested interests in land and industry, proud because the Kerala Government took its pledges to the people seriously and did not forget them once they had been

Indian people who had thought that August 15. 1947. the past, that a new era had begun when the Congress in ment, even at the restricted power would implement the level of a State, making its programme which the entire best efforts to implement this

Land to the tiller has been

a basic slogan of our national movement which the Congress

eaders themselves had popu

anti-imperialist struggle. But,

leave alone comprehensive

land reforms, the Congress

Governments at the Centre and in the States did not even

guarantee security of tenure

days of the

larised in the

It is for these same reasons hat the Kerala Govern ment has drawn sympathy from large sections of the and only when the Communist Party broke the monopoly of power of the Congress and formed a Ministry in Kerala State did they find a Governnational movement had voiced commonly-accepted program-

LAND TO THE TILLER

It is not possible to make a complete list here of all the achievements of the Kerala Government but a rapid survey of its activities—in relation to land reforms, implementation of Plan programmes, industrial and agricultural development of the State, the new deal it has given to workers, peasants, white-col-lared employees and others, its new police policy and the lemocratic liberties that have been guaranteed to the people and, as a result of all this, the success it has achieved in realising people's cooperation
—a rapid survey of all this will show how the Communist-led Government has been differother parties in the State in the past and the Congress

The Kerala Bill stayed all suits for recovery and decrees for execution, it laid down provisions for repaying debts in instalments, certain cate-gories of debts were scaled down and, perhaps most im-portant of all, the debtor with usufructuary mortgage was entitled by the Bill to redeem -An Age-Old Dream the whole of the property mortgaged even if the period Comes True if any fixed in the mortgage deed for redeeming the mort-

me for the welfare of our there was no emergency war- a landlords' levy debts, saying there was no the stand that the measure should not offend the constitution or the sanctity of property rights.

Thanks to such limitations Land and the need to accept the "expert advice" of the Centre, was no radical measure that the Kerala Government could introduce. Still it did improve the position to a very great extent from the Madras Inment of Debts) Act, 1955, which had caused universal discontent among the Malabar agriculturists.

people and the prosperity of cour land.

Tanting such a procedure; ram) according to the deeds secondly, it objected to any content of the deeds entered into between them drastic scaling down of the landlords. The Bill sought to abolish this levy and, instead pay compensa making the tenants full pro-prietors of the lands held by them.

Bill

And on December 19, 1957. just eight months after it assumed office, the Communist led Government published its comprehensive Agrarian Relations Bill.

The main feature of the Bill was that it was intended to abolish landlordism and mote the emergence and growth of a peasant community with full ownership and proprietory rights over the lands held by them.

The Bill closely following the recommendations of the Land Panel of the Planning Commission from which the Commission itself has gone back, not to say that none of the Congress State Gov-ernments have bothered to even lift a finger to consider them, leave alone the ques-tion of their implementation—fixed ceiling at 15 acres on double-crop land or its equivalent and provided for Government taking over all the excess land. The permanent tenants were given the right to purchase the land by paying the price.
The Bill fixed the maximum

Though the demand of the kisan movement has been for abolition of landlordism without paying compensation, the Bill had to remain within the limits of our Constitution with its allergy to any encroachment on property Bill had fixed the rate of compensation at 16 times the fair rent in the case of the first five acres, 14 times in the case of the next five acres, 12 times acres, ten times for the next five, eight times in the case of the next thirty acres, six times in the case of the next fifty acres and altogether five times for above 100 acres.

Safeguards To Smallholders

The problem of small-holders, landlords with holdings of less than five acres, who form an appreciable bulk of Kerala's population, were taken specially into consideration and the Bill also contained the necessary safeguards to protect the tenants from the machinations of the land-lords who might try to evade the law and defeat the purposes of the legislation.

Some of these original provisions have been amended later after discussions in the Select Committee, etc., and the Select Committee report on the Bill has just been pre-sented to the Assembly.

One of the main reasons for period of the previous year the Congress defeat in Kerala was that the Congress leaders when expenditure was Rs. 63.4 million against the budget estimate of Rs. 179 million for were not able to respond to the aspirations of the Kerala that year.

out waiting for the finalisa-

tion of the land reform measure, the Government ordered the distribution to

the landless of about seven-

Builds

and-a-half lakh acres

RAMDASS

For Prosperity

the Kerala Government took all the major steps neces-

sary to meet the demands

of the kisan movement and

standing pledges of the na-

Kerala

people to build up a prospe-

During the First Five-Year

Plan, when Congress and PSP

Governments were in office in

the Travancore-Cochin State,

State under seven heads of de-

velopment which were toge-ther called agricultural and

rural development was Rs.

57.06 millions. What was spent.

out of this was Rs. 25.03 mil-lions—just about 43.8 per cent. This was the lowest per-

centage of fulfilment of the

Plan allocations in the entire

For industry, the allocation

was Rs. 11.18 millions while fulfilment was 5.85 millions— just above 50 per cent. Even

here a break-up shows that

in the sphere of cottage indus-tries, the fulfilment was Rs. 3.3 million out of an alloca-tion of Rs. 8.9 million, i.e.

This was the record of the

Congress when it was the ruling party a record which

did not inspire the people of Kerala to leave the fate of

the State's economic deve-lopment in their hands for

another term of five years.

The Congress

country.

to even spend all the money that was allotted. But the Communist Government not only showed a better performance here but fought for its legitimate allotments. And the Centre had not shown a very helpful attitude in this regard.

To take only one instance, the Central assistance to Madras State during the 1956-57 period was Rs. 452 million lay). Andhra Rs. 315 million (59.8 per cent) and Mysore But the assistance to Kerala was only Rs. 155 million (43.1 per cent). While Madras had

Previous Governments had

not been interested enough in the development of the State

to contribute only 51.5 per 1,613 registered factories with cent, Mysore 34.5 per cent and a total of 107,629 workers, in-Andhra 30.7 per cent, Kerala was asked to contribute 54.7 per cent of her Plan outlay.

It is against such odds that the Kerala Government has been able to show the steady progress in Plan im-plementation and the development of the State and what the Congress Govern-ments could never achieve because of their lackadaisical attitude to the State's development has been achi-eved by this Government and that is to carve a permanent place for itself in the hearts of the Malayali

Industrialisation

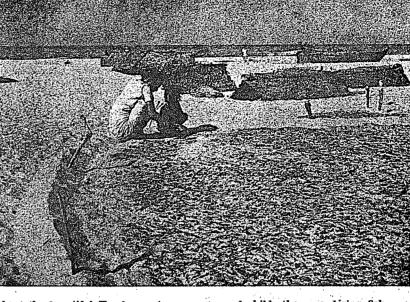
to the tune of about Rs. 500 million every year, none of the heavy industrial units under

have been located in the State.

lised for the development of industries with the following break-up: Major industries in public sector-Rs. 11.25 mil lion: major inustries in private sector—Rs. 2.375 million; small-scale industries—Rs. 17. 84 million coir development-Rs. 15 million: handloom development—Rs. 16 million; and khadi and village industries_Rs .98 million.

Apart from the agreement with the Birlas for the rayon pulp factory, the Kerala Gov-ernment has accepted the proposal of a Bombay firm of drug manufacturers to establish a plant in the State to manufacture caffeine from tea waste, and the Gharat Electric Company in Trivan-drum has been granted a licence by the Government of India to start an electric lamp and bulb manufacturing factory in the State.

with an authorised capital of Rs. 1.1 million has been re-



Along the beautiful Kerala coast-a woman and child-they are drying fish

cluding 41,621 women workers.

Bearing in mind the im-

portance of adding to the in-

dustries in the State, the Gov-

ernment has made a provision

of Rs 68.3 million—nearly

eight per cent of the total outlay of the Plan—to be uti-

gistered in which the Govern-ment holds 51 per cent of the total paid-up capital, to establish an industry for the manufacture of bricks and tiles from white-sand, lime shell and other material readily available in abundance in Sherthallay and the adjoining areas. The scheme for starting a cycle rim unit in the Trivandrum Rubber Factory is nearing completion.

rative industrial unit in Kerala-the Cooperative Spinning Mill expected to go into production in the course of this year. The Hydrogenation Factory in Kozhikode in the public sector has already started production and its products are in great demand in the market.

The story of this Hydroge nation Factory is a classic example of the unconcern-shown by the previous Gov-ernments to the industrial development of the State and in contrast, the present Gov-ernment's attitude. It was the Madras Government which had sanctioned the scheme for the establishment of a State-owned Hydrogenation Factory at Kozhikode for the production of vegetable ghee. The factory buildings were completed by August, 1953; The plant and machiner run was conducted in January, 1954. But even before the pant was erected, Government officials had begun to doubt whether the factory would be able to work to full capacity without loss to the Govern-

In January 1955, the Madras Government notified its intention to sell or lease out though the representatives from Malabar strongly pro-tested against this move. The response to the Madras Government's proposal was poor and the whole plant was lying idle till the Kerala Government decided to work it.

Not only was a new industrial unit brought into operation in the State, the Hydro-genation Factory provided scope for starting a number of subsidiary or feeder indus-

First Govt. To Atlempt

State, one can say, is one of the toughest problems that has faced the Communist-led Government because the State has been one of the most backward areas in the country as far as industries go. Though the State is a foreign-ex-change earner for the country-

The Communist Ministry assumed office in April 1957 and it is a different picture of Plan fulfilment that can be seen in the ensuing period.

For the first year of the Second Plan, 1956-57 (when the State was under President's rule) the allocation for agriculture and community development was Rs. 28.865 million and expenditure was Rs. 15.224 million, working Rs. 15.224 million, working out Plan fulfilment at 52.8 per cent. For the second year, 1957-58, the allocation under the same head was Rs. 27.714 million, expenditure Rs. 19.24 million, taking up the Plan fulfilment from 52.8 per cent in the previous year to 69.5

This steady progress been maintained in 1958-59. Taking Plan expenditure as a whole under all heads, up to whole under all heads, up to the end of December 1958, Rs. 102 million had been spent against the budget estimate of Rs. 185.2 million for the whole Thus in the first year of of 1958-59, comparing favourThe industrialisation of the the First or the Second Plans

But here again, the Gov-ernment has gone all out to get new industrial units established in the State and to infuse new life into the existing took over, there were 1,528 registered factories in Kerala. At the end of 1958, there were

Revenue Minister Gowri Thomas addressing a conference of Collectors. Chief Minister Namboodiripad, Law Minister Krishna Iyer and Food Minister K. C. George can be seen in the picture.

and fair rent to the peasantry in the years they were office. Wherever any legislations had been framed or Government orders issued, were riddled with loopholes, deliberately left in them so that the landed gentry could make use of them and evade the laws themselves. Evictions were going on on a mass scale in every State and the fight against evictions had become one of the main battle fronts

It was against this background that the Commun-ist-led Government of Kerala within a week of its suming office, totally and unconditionally stayed evictions in the State. The new Government of Kerala saw the urgency of the situation and decided on the most expeditious action-an Ordinance which would become immediately effective. The Kisan Sabha had demanded such Ordinances from all other State Governments other State Governments but in every case the debeen turned

The Ordinance later replaced by a Bill, was import-ant not only because it gave are finalised. security of tenure as no other Government had done. It had a very vital bearing on the question of land reforms. In a State like Kerala, with very complicated land with its very complicated land pro-blem, any comprehensive land reform bill dealing with all spects of the question would tion and even after drafting. it would have taken further

Committee and the Legislature before it could finally become the patronage of the B.C. Roy

It is well known and a phenomenon witnessed in every State in India that immediately the Government begins to talk of land reforms, the landlords begin evictions and resumption of land. The Congress Governments have alvays been kind enough to give the necessary time to the landlords to "clear" as much

In West Bengal when the Government introduced the Estates Abolition Act, the expectation was that about six lakh acres of surplus land would be available for distribution: but in actual fact, it was found that the Govern-ment could hardly get sixty thousand acres. The land had not disappeared all of a sudden, all that had happened relief to the peasantry saying the Government, also to pay

was that the landlords, with gage was not complete.

Government, had transferred that by the time the law came into force, there was no surplus land to be taken over. This has happened not only in West Bengal, the story has been repeated in all our Stathe Government took effective steps to prevent such mal-

Food Minister K. C. George granting ownership right on Government waste

land to a landless peasant

Debt relief to our heavily debt-ridden peasantry has been another national slogan. In some States, Agriculturists' Relief Acts had been passed, but they fell far short of the demands of the situation. In Kerala, too, the Government was not able to do all that it wanted and the way it wanted. The Congress Government at the Centre objected first, to the Kerala Government issuing an Ordinance to give

This was a Bill which helped the rural indebted to liberate themselves from the greed of the money-lender and his extortionate terms No wonder, during the re-cent Three-Lakh Party Fund drive, a peasant pointed to his small coconut grove and said, you can have all the coconuts from these trees for the Party Fund, I got this garden back into my hands because of your Govern-ment's Debt Relief Act.

The Kerala Government followed these two beneficial measures with the Jenmikaram (Abolition) Bill to meet the long-standing demand of a certain category of tenants in about 15 lakh acres of land in the Travancore area. These tenants, while enjoying fixity of tenure, had, apart from the basic tax and other dues to

KSEE PAGE 12

MISMANAGEMENT ENDED

Another important step which the Kerala Govern-ment took was to radically ange the state of affairs in the State-owned indus-tries. The position when it assumed office was that all these industries were being mismanaged and were mostrunning at losses. The nment took prompt steps to run them efficiently, and to a great extent these steps have brought returns. The Punalur Plywood Factory, the Kerala Soap and Oil Institute, the Sitaram Spinning and Weaving Mills have all now become profit-

able concerns. Along with this the Government also extended the State Transport Service to new areas and new routes and established the Kerala Water Transport Corporation to end ownership in passenger and cargo motor-boat services in the Travancore area of the State.

INDUSTRIES SAVED FROM STAGNATION

Equally important were the measures taken by the Government to give new life to existing industries like cashew and coir which were in a state of chronic stagnation. These industries used to provide employment to tens of thousands of families and due to the crisis that had hit them, entire areas had suffered chronic under-employment, very low wages and acute distress. The people who had been hit hard had all the while demanded measures from successive Gov-ernments to put these industries back on their feet. But these Governments ha fused to give any attenti their problems and only after the Communist Government assumed office did their problems begin to get tackled

instance, the Government decided to reorganise the entire industry on cooperative basis. Every worker who wanted to become a member of the society was required to pey ten rapees in a lump sum. When the Government found that 90 per ent of the workers were not in a position to pay this fee in one instalment, so depressed had their economic condition become, it introduced a new the Government o nine runees to the workers towards the ten rupees ernment right from the begin-

recovered from their wages in 18 instalments. Under this scheme, Rs. 477,134 were given as capital loans to 77 societies about 27,000 coir workers had newly joined the societies in 1958.

For the cashew industry, the Government called a conference of representatives of the cashew factory owners and of trade unions in the industry to discuss the cause of the crisis in the industry and to work out remedial steps.

At the end of this con-ference, the Secretary of the Cashew Workers' Council (AITUC) said, neither Dewan C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer in 1942 nor the Congress Government in 1953 had shown such keen interest and taken such prompt measures to consult all in-terested parties as the pre-sent Communist-led Government has done to reorganise the cashew industry, a national industry of the State employing tens of thousands of workers and earning large amounts of foreign exchange for the

Here in this field of industrialisation also, Kerala faces a big problem created by the Centre's attitude. Modern industries have come up in Kerala till now mainly with all the large scale industrial Government help. In almost all the large scale industrial units in the State, the Gov-ernment also is a shareholder and in some of them the major shareholder. If Kerala is to have rapid industrial progress, the policy of share capital participation by the State the State.

container manufacturing they had to pay and this would has to be continued and even intensified and provision was made for this outside the Plan in the State budget for 1957-58 and 1958-59. The Planning Commission did not raise any

objections then.
But when the State's Plan proposals for the next year were being discussed, the were being discussed, the Planning Commission insisted that all development expenditure should be included in the Plan. The State Government then proposed that Rs. 3.12 million be provided in the Plan for 1959-60 to give financial assistance to eigh industrial units in the private sector. The Planning Commission would not accept this proposal, saying it was against the general policy of the Gov-ernment of India. The Planning Commission was also against the State incurring any developmental expendi ture outside the Plan.

Only after vigorous protests from the State Government did the Planning Commission finally agree to the State Government investing in one industry, the manufacture cables, to be started in the private sector in Kerala in collaboration with a Japanese

To say the least, this policy of the Centre of not approving direct investment by the State direct investment by the State Government in private in-dustries comes in the way of the rapid industrialisation of the State. Despite such diffi-culties created by agencies beyond the control of the Kerala Government, the Communist-led Ministry has still been able to do quite a bit for the industrial development of

PLAN MASTER

_For Irrigation, Trebling Food Production And Chean Electricity

has heavy rainfall, copious mountainous catchments and 43 rivers, big and small, cascading into the Arabian Sea. The rapid flow of these river torrents has eroded the soil and flooded the lands before wasting themselves into the sea—no previous Government had ever thought of exploiting these water sources for increasing the food production of the State and generating cheap electricity for indus-

The Communist-led Gov-



Industries Minister K. P. Gopalan inspecting

When one mentions Kerala, ning began paying special one immediately thinks of attention to this problem—no vast expanses of water. Kerala responsible Government with responsible Government with a 50 per cent deficit in food could afford to sit quiet and depend on imports for the food requirements of the peo-

Three new major irrigation schemes were taken up for execution for 1957-58; a new scheme to take up lift irrigation work on a cooperative basis was formulated as a result of which 27 lift irrigation schemes could be implemented in 1957-58 and 29 in 1958-59.

Hundreds of minor irrigation schemes have been taken up for execution by pancha-yats, cooperatives and people's committees and people in their thousands are contributing free labour to implement

Talking of irrigation, the most important development has been the framing of a Master Plan for Kerala.
The irrigation programme
of the Master Plan consists of 68 major irrigation sche-mes of which five have been completed and seven are nder construction. When the second stage of this plan is completed in 1991, the area irrigated will be 1,185,800 acres and annual production of rice 2.7 million tons—a three-fold increase

from the present.
Another highlight of the Master Plan is the generation of hydro-electric power. This part of the Plan which will ers will get their own land. They are expected to enthusiastically come forward to join the agricultural coopera-

NEW AGE

cost Rs. 178 crores provides for 27 projects for hydro-electric production in major river basins which in-clude three projects already clude three projects already completed and four projects now under construction. the completion of the second stage of the Plan, generation of electricity will reach 2,091,-300 kilowatts and more important, the cost per kilowatt of power generated will vary from Rs. 970 to Rs. 1,410—the lowest in India. By thus deve-

loping Kerala's hydel poten-

tial, it will be possible not only

to supply cheap electricity for industrialising the entire State, but supply power at

The engineers who framed the Master Plan were there under the previous Governments, the water resources are not newly dis-covered. But it required a Communist-led Government to think of building for prosperity and to inspire the people and officials with this

FOOD: PROMPT MEASURES

Food is a problem which has dogged the Kerala Govern-ment all through its term of office. As it is, with 50 per cent deficit, the largest in India, Kerala has a chronic food problem which was intensified when the crisis set in on an all-India level. It goes to the credit of the Communist Government of Kerala that it was the only Governme which took effective measures to hold the price line and supply food to the people.

The first step the Government took was to increase the number of fair price shops. At the end of 1957. there were 5,937 fair-price shops in the State—one shop for every 2 310 persons. Compare this with the Congress-ruled States and the achievement of the Kerala Government becomes clear. In the same period of acute food crisis in the State of Bombay there were 5,900 fair-price shops, one for every 8,180 persons; 5,377 shops in Bihar, one for every 7,150 persons; 5,433 shops in West Bengal one for every 5,260 persons. And in the neighbouring State of Madras, there was one shop for every 30,000

Immediately the Kerala

himself admitted that barring Orissa, which is a sur-plus State, the lowest prices for rice were ruling in Kerals at the end of 1957. Thus, when prices were ris-ing all over the country, it was only in Kerala that the price-line was held—thanks to the prompt measures of the Kerala Government. When the situation changed.

as it did later, it was because of the Central Government. After the formation of the zonal system, the Centre first reduced and then cut all supplies to Kerala. At the same time the Centre began makthe Madras Government banned exports. These deliberate acts of discrimination created a very difficult situation for the Kerala Government. Despite that, the Government has been able to avert the miseries of a famine for the peo-

Simultaneously with the measures to meet the scarcity, the Kerala Government has gone ahead with the realisa-tion that the State's food problem cannot be solved except by increasing production in the State. Considerable attention is being given to irrigation facilities and the peasants Government increased the number of fair-price shops the prices came down and Sri A. M. Thomas, Union Deputy Minister of Food, are being helped to adopt

COOPERATIVES -Pioneering Work

The Congress leaders have suddenly woken up to the need for cooperatives and are talk-ing loud about it. But inside the Congress while the champions of service cooperatives and farming cooperatives are indulging in shadow-boxing, what is being shoved into the background is the real question of distribution of land.

But in Kerala, the Government has started tackling the problem differently—and long before wisdom dawned on the Congress leaders in Nagpur.

The aim of the Kerala Government is to organise agricultural cooperatives in every village into which all the peasants will be brought with the object of increasing pro-duction to the maximum by using better seeds, more manure and scientific cultivation

With the implementation of land reform measures, the tenant cultivators and a good section of agricultural workers will get their own land

tives and run them success fully.

The Government's programme for 1958-59 includes the important proposal to organise cooperative farming societies Twenty-five such societies have been organised so far societies The Government has decided that the societies will each be capital, Rs. 4.000 as loan and Rs. 1.000 as grants for purchase of implements. A pro-vision of Rs. 135,000 has been made for co-op farming.

Thus when Congress leaders are still discussing where to begin the implementation of their programme for cooperatives, in Kerala the first steps are already being taken to replace the old oppressive feudal big landlord system that fetter the mass of peasants and the agrarian economy with a system of cooper tion organised by actual tillers of the soil. The Communist-led Government of Kerala is laying the basis

* SEE PAGE 13

APRIL 5, 1959

of plenty for the peasant

It is not only in the agrarian field that cooperatives are being introduced in Ke-During 1957-58, more 97 cooperatives were than 97 cooperatives were revitalised and 81 industrial cooperatives and 20 other coops were also organised.

The labour contract socie-The labour contract socie-penters and masons get Rs. 3 test, organised last year, have penters and masons get Rs. 3 to three-and-a-half. In addiintroduced a new popular element in national reconstruction. According to the Government's programme, these societies are to consist of actual labourers as members and are to be entrusted with minor public works in each NES Block area costing not more than Rs. 25,000. No ten-

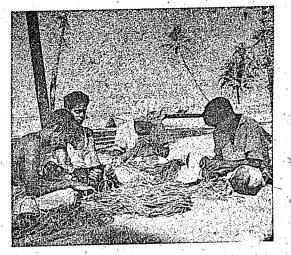
for heralding a new dawn der will be called for these

The workers are assured of work throughout the year, they get higher wages and condition. In the Puli kizh Labour Contract Society in Alleppey District, for ins tance, an unskilled worker gets a daily wage of two rupees as against Rs. 1.50 in other places; semi-skill and skilled workers like cartion to these wages, the societies also distribute part of their profits as bonus to the workers.

Because of all this, the workers put in their best efforts into whatever they do and the Government gets the value for the money

There are other gains also for the Government. It does not have to pay any advance as it had to do when work was being entrusted to private contractors.

The only people who have lost as a result of the for-mation of these societies are the contractors. They cannot any more influence Ministers and officials to get contracts, use bad material, ruthlessly exploit the workers and pocket half the money. In every State, wherever contractors are entrusted with public works. there have been later scan dals about the quality of the uais about the quality of the work. But it is only in Ke-rala that a beginning has been made to abolish this system.



FISHERMEN: They are also being organised into cooperatives.

ALL-ROUND BENEFITS FOR **WORKING PEOPLE**

Equally impressive as this record in nation-building is the Kerala Government's rethe Kerala Government's re-cord in its activities for the betterment of the lives of all sections of the working people.

When within a few days after it assumed office, the Kerala Government issued orders enhancing the salaries of village officials, it was no spec-tacular action meant to impress people; it was only the rst in a series of such actions.

The village headmen in Malabar used to get Rs. 17 as salary and an allowance of Rs. three, the karnam Rs. 18 plus Rs. 5, and the kolkaran Rs. 13 plus Rs. 7. Imagine these officials getting only Rs. 20 and Rs. 23 per month as their total emoluments even after ten years of independence! But that is not the worst part of it. Even as the election campaign was going on, these village officials who had till then thought it below their respectability to even hold meetings, were marching on the streets demonstrating for their demands.

LOW PAID EMPLOYEES GET MORE

One of the first things that engaged the attention of the new Government was their demands. The new salaries that were announced gave total emoluments of Rs. 52 to the village headmen and karnams and Rs. 47 for the This increase meant an additional expenditure of Rs. 710,000 to the State

Since then revision of payscales of various categories of employees has gone on. The unification of pay-scales of unification or pay-scales of non-gazetted officials (those who came from Madras State and those who were already in the Travancore-Cochin State) cost the Government Rs. 1.7 million annually; grant of special dearness allowance—11.2 million; increase in the emomilion; increase in the control of village establishments of Malabar—Rs. 1.2 million; revision of pay of primilion; revision of pay of primilion. mary teachers—Rs. 16.2 million; revision of pay of mechanical and operating staff of State Transport Department—Rs. one million; conversion of contingent staff into gular establishment—600,-10; revision of pay of graduate teachers—2.5 million; of nurses—Rs. 200,000 and so on.

The Government then appointed a Pay Revision Compointed a Pay Revision Committee to go into the whole question of Government pay-scales. The Committee submitted its report in the third week of April, 1958: The report was not shelved; it got the most expenditious attention and the Government passed

What was most striking in

What was also new in the order was the ceiling fixed on

and the Government passed its orders on June 23, 1958, laying down a new basis for fixing of Government pay-scales.

the order was the special regard that had been shown to the low-paid employees who constitute the bulk of Government employees. 98,-000 out of a lakh. The lowest-paid Government emmum of Rs. 67 a month (comparable figure is Rs. 51 in the neighbouring State of Madras) and the majority of this category with long years of service would draw Rs. 100. And in a few years' time, the minimum salary of Government employees in this State will be Rs. 100.

illegal. the fat salaries of top officers. Except for about five officers in the Kerala cadre of service, who have been considered as special cases because of technical qualifications, no one can claim a salary over Rs. 1,000 Thus it again fell to the lot of the Kerala Government to fulfil the long-standing de-mand for bringing down the wide disparity in incomes.

Another outstanding feature of the Government order was the increased dearness allowance of five rupees to all lowpaid employees, including tea-chers of private institutions.

It was about this Government order that the Secre-tary of the U.P. Congress Legislature Party, Sri Nawal Kishore, said, the Kerala bold and correct one, a step

NEW DEAL FOR LABOUR Democratic Rights Assured

When one thinks of the new were formerly able to bargain deal that labour has been given in Kerala what comes uppermost in the mind is the new police policy of the Government.

What the police used to do in the past is still fresh in the minds of people. Whenever a strike used to take place, the police not only used to man-handle the strikers and picketeers, but also go into the work-ers' lines, beat up the women and break up everything. Every ror and vandalism in the whole area. It is this intolerable situation that has been ended in Kerala.

Officers and men of the police force have been told that the settlement of industrial and agrarian disputes is not their job. Their job is to prevent actual breaches of peace and commission of violent acts. Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad explained: new policy with regard to the use of the police is of great help to the trade unions, kisan sabhas and other mass organisations in that it puts an end to the 'posi-tions of strength' from which the landlords and capitalists

with the workers and peasants. The representatives of the working people can now bargain with the capitalists and landlords on terms of relations of equality with no Damocles' sword hanging over their heads. It is interesting to note that such a change in the situation did not only not aggravate in-dustrial and agrarian unrest, but did actually help in considerably easing the situation.

Today no worker in the State can be prevented by the police from exercising his trade union rights, no employer can telephone and get the police to break a strike. What contrast with the situation that exists in the rest of the country!

In every other sphere, too, on the workers' rights touching on the workers' rights it is only the Government of Kerala that has striven to meet the demands of the trade union movement.

The Kerala Government has are: leave with wages for three accepted direct negotiations on the mode of settling labour disputes. The earlier practice of ness arising out of pregnancy compulsory adjudication meant

years before the industrial tribunals and even when the award came, it was valid only for a year. What still happens ternity benefit fo other States is that when there is a strike, the police intervene, the Government refers udication and the average daily wages for all is declared the seven days of the week. the dispute to adjudication and

But in Kerala, negotiations are conducted at every stage Labour Minister himself District and Deputy Labour Officers all participating in the triferences at all levels This to help settle disputes. policy has already had its suc-

When this Government took over, there were 804 disputes pending disposal, and 6,918 new disputes arose during one year. Out of this total, of 7,722 industrial disputes tackled by the Labour Department during the year, 5,374 were settled by conciliation, 1,277 were settled by voluntary neotiations between parties. 488 disputes were withdrawn by complainants, 153 disputes ere referred for adjudication and only four for arbi-

Industrial Relations Committees have been constituted for all the important industries like coir, oil-milling, engineering, tiles, textiles, chemicals, plantations and agriculture for the settlement of industry-wide

This is one aspect of the rnment's measures. The other has been to guarantee a better wage and living conditions for the workers in all in-

Regarding Minimum Wages, bonus, etc., the steps taken by the Government have been to fix State minimum of earnings for every worker; provide for payment of gratuity when wor kers retire by way of super-annuation or by voluntary re-linquishment of service; provide for paying a guaranteed mini-mum bonus of 614 per cent of the annual earnings of the wor kers in every industrial establishment in the State irrespective of profit or loss and also for a surplus bonus annually out of the profits of the establishment.

For women workers, the Government gave new benefits in addition to what the original Travancore-Cochin Act provided for in regard to maternity benefit. weeks during miscarriage; leave with wages for 30 days for illand confinement: payment of that disputes dragged on for ten rupees as medical bonus if

pre-natal. confinement and post-natal care is not provided for by the employer free of charge, besides payment of mathe rate of Rs. 5.25 a week or calculated at the rate of 7112 of

MATERNITY BENEFIT

The Kerala Maternity Benefit Act was in the first instance to made applicable to factories to extend it to any other estaolishment which employs 50 or

What these provisions have meant for the women workers can be illustrated by just one instance—that of the woman ing five rupees to the Com munist Party's Three-Lakh Fund, said: I can gvie it to you, because of the maternity henefit nour Government has

For agricultural workers, the Government has statutorily fixed minimum wages throughout the State—Rs. 1.50 for men and one rupee for women with additional one-tenth of the paddy harvested for harvesting is a wage increase of 25 to 50 ner cent-an annual increase of Rs. 100 on the average in the earnings of an agricultural worker.

Not only has the Govern issued these orders, it has itself behaved as a model employer.

Substantial wage increases have been given to all categories of employees in the State Transport Department. They have been guaranteed a minimum bonus of 8-1|3 per cent, a management hoard has been constituted giving representa-tion to workers, all labour laws have been made applicable to workers of the department.

In the Kozhikode Government Soap Factory wage rates of workers were increase up to 100 per cent.

In the Chavara Minerals Co., now handed over to a Gov-ernment of India Corporation, long-standing demands were settled and 5,000 workers got two lakhs.

All the central trade union organisations are represen-ted in the State Planning Advisory Board and trade union representatives have been nominated to the District Develop-

* SEE OVERLEAF

PAGE THIRTEEN

Teachers, Students **Better-Off**

The Kerala Education Bill constitutional history when the Rashtrapati referred it to the Supreme Court for opinion before giving his assent. But, after all the maulings at the Bill, it has survived as the charter of teachers' rights. No more can teachers' jobs be auctioned to the highest bidder nor can managers any more pocket part of the teachers' salaries granted by the Government and

That this is no ordinary achievement can be seen if one views it against the background of the failure of the previous Congress Govern-ments. A Congress Government had in fact introduced a similar Bill but it had to bend its knees before Catholic reaction, withdraw the Bill and sacrifice the interests of the

Kerala people reiterate confidence ir their present Government. So they

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teachers. Even Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, when he was the almighty Dewan of Tra-core, could not break the Ca-tholic opposition to such opposition to such ional reforms. It is only the Communist-led Govern ment that stood up to the challenge of Catholic reaction, fought it and forced it back.

The per capita expenditure on education in the whole of the country in 1954-55 was Rs. 4.32, in Kerala that year it was a little higher. In 1957-58. after the Communist Ministry had assumed office, it rose to Rs. 6.64 and in 1958 59 it mas eight rupees. The

higher salarles given to pri-mary and secondary school teachers alone involve an additional expenditure of Rs. 1.81 million. Free midday meals to school children cost the Government Rs. 0.53 million. In the course of the last three years the Government has opened 329 new primary schools, 446 middle schools and 154 high schools, against a target of 136 primary schools, 132 middle schools and 23 high schools under the Second Fine-Year Plan.

The adoption of the University Bill and the Education Bill, the enormous relief granted to teachers, the rising tide of education, the emphasis on techni-cal education to create the necessary personnel for an industrial Kerala—these are the achievements of the Kerala Government in the field of

Administrative Reforms

it distributed in the 700,000 villages in India."

It is not in any one of the Congress-ruled States that this dream of Gandhiji's is being realised, it is in Communistruled Kerala. Two bills are already on the anvil—the District Councils Bill and the Village Panchayats Bill—as part of the administrative reforms which the Kerala Government intends to introduce according to the recommendations of the Committee it has appointed.

idea underlying these reforms is to provide for a unified and decentralised system of administration of village affairs by organising panchayats as units of local self-government at village level throughout the State and to establish above the village level also democratic bodies with substantial po-

What these reforms seek to do away with is the present position where though local bodies like District Boards, Municipalities and Panchayats evist they have only restricted powers and where the effective participation of the people in neral administration does not extend below the Central and State levels. Achievement of Independence and all the developments since then have not meant any change in the overcentralised administrative system that we have had.

The Kerala Government has

decided to break out of this system, has decided to take democracy to the villages, to ensure people's participation, in administration and developmental activities.

To do all this, the Kerala Government needed money— money which had to be collected without imposing heavy additional burdens on the people. With its first budget itself, the Covernment showed how it was going to do it.

The first Budget of the Kerala Government which gave a lot of benefits to all sections of the working people imposed new taxes to the extent of Rs. 23.757 million — an Agricultural Wealth Tax on landlords to yield Rs. 1.6 million, a Super-Tax an companies with agricultural incomes over Rs. 25,000, i.e., Rs. 6.5 million from the planters, and

so on. Here was a Government which took money from where it was for developmental activities and for giving relief to those who deserved it. The econd and third budgets of the Kerala Government have followed the same pattern.

It is for the first time that the same Ministry has lasted long enough in the State to present a second and a third budget.

Gandhiji once said, "The centre of power is now in New Delhi or in Calcutta or in Bombay, in the big cities. I will have bay, in the big cities. I will have When it was reduced to a minority it tried to rule in a coalition with the Travancore Tamilnad Congress. When that also did not last, they got the PSP, a small minority party in the Assembly, to rule on its behalf. That arrangement also did not work and President's rule had to be imposed on the State.

The people of the State had become sick of this instabilitya creation of the ruling Con-gress Party and they entrusted the Communist Party with the task of ensuring stability in the State. And their hopes have been justified.

With a slender majority of just two in the Assembly, the nmunist Party has still been able to ensure this stability because its policies have been policies in favour of the people and the people have seen it and rallied to its support as they had not done for any other Government before.

Not only has this Government ensured stability, it has given the maximum democratic libernever enjoyed under any other regime. In any other State, all the Opposition leaders of Kerala would be safely behind the bars for the type of inflammatory speeches they make and the provocative actions they organise. But in Kerala the Government which they have pledged to overthrow by all means, even violent, allows them the

It is only such a Government that could inspire the people to come out with shovels and pickaxes to contribute their free abour to nation-building activities as was seen during the Minor Irrigation Week recently. There have been other verdicts, too, of the people.

In the only by-election to the Kerala Assembly from the Devicolam constituency, the Communist Party retained its seat though all the opposition narties combined together and made it a prestige fight.

In the panchayat by-elections held from April 1957 February 1959, the Communist Party secured 54 seats, the Congress 34, the PSP and RSP—three and two respectively.

And only a fortnight ago they gave their seal to the policies of the Communist Party and its Government when they gave a majority to the Communist Party in the Muvattupuzha Municipal Council, an area which has so far been held by

The Communist-led Govern ment has administered Kerala for two years and today it can stand proudly with its head erect and say: All our efforts Even when the Congress had most of the seats in the Travan-core-Cochin Assembly it could efforts have been to serve the people best. And no one can challenge this claim.

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standing there with downcast eyes, she realizes that there is no hope left.

All around her are happy faces, animat ed talk, laughter, joyous exclamations and Veronica suddenly feels that she is not a

stranger here, that these people are her own, that she is not alone. And through tears in her eyes she smiles as she hands out flowers to the veterans.

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NEW AGE

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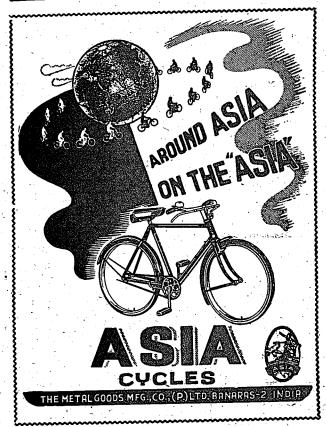
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APRIL 5, 1959

PAGE FOURTEEN

N. PRASADA RAO





The 14th Annual Session of the All-India Kisan organisation, their role is ne-Sabha (AIKS) will be held in Mayavaram in Tanjore gligible. District of Madras State from April 25 to May 3, 1959. This session will be a momentous one in the history of the kisan movement.

co-op movement also,

Sabha has to attach great im-

DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES:

The Community Development

schemes are gradually extend-

spent on them. Village sanitation, minor irrigation, health, animal husbandry, etc., are be-

ing taken up as part of these schemes. There is much of waste in these schemes and

neonle's cooperation is not mo-

bilised for the execution of the

schemes. The Kisan Sabha

has to intervene at every stage

to see that these schemes are properly implemented and are

undertaken on a larger scale.

the agrarian set-up are requir

ed for rapidly increasing pro-

duction, yet within the given framework, some technical

methods can be utilised for in-

creasing food production. The peasant wants to utilise these

opportunities. Fertilisers, ma-

kisan is interested. The Kisan

Sabhas should pay more attention to this desire of the kisans.

good record in this matter. But every unit has to take up

jects will be discussed at Maya-

varam and Provincial Kisan Sabhas should try to get Kisan Sabha functionaries experien-

Sabha functionaries experien-ced in these fields elected as

delegates. Besides the delegates,

Kisan Sabha workers having special knowledge of these sub-

jects will be welcome as visi-

tors and will be allowed to par-

Kisan Sabha workers

many States have already

nures, improved methods

cultivation, etc.—in all this

INCREASING AGRICULTU-

PRODUCTION : While

BETWEEN the last Bongaon Session and the present Mayavaram Session, many glocampaigns have conducted and struggles fought, the main among them being West Bengal food satvathe heroic Punjab anti-bet erment levy struggle, the Andhra campaign for land re-forms and the Statewide mass campaign in Kerala for rural sion after such campaigns will

be of great importance.

First, the session will review the campaigns and struggles, draw lessons from them and chalk out pro-grammes for the coming

Three Major Developments

During this period, three major developments have taken place which the session has to take note of.

The Second Five-Year Plan had come up against a crisis and it was drastically pruned.

Agricultural production had fallen far short of the targets and a serious food crisis developed which largely contributed the Second Five-Year Plan.

In its Nagpur Session, Congress decided to speed up land reforms and the pro-landord reactionaries, both within the Congress and outside it, have intensified their offensive

against any land reform.
This poses the problems before the session: how to increase agricultural production? What type of land reform is needed and how to impler it? How to mobilise all progressive forces for the fulfilment of these two tasks

The Mayavaram Session will discuss these questions.

Beside these important ques-

tions, certain other issues which face the movement in its day-to-day work have to e discussed. Some of these issues are posed here.

PANCHAYATS: Almost every village will be very soon covered by a panchayat. In the absence of any keen interest shown by the Kisan Sabha interest these panchayats have become handmaids of landlord eleof landlord elements. The popular forces have o rescue them from the hands of village reactionaries and run them properly. These vats have to be devetralised authority and as basic of all developmental Kisan Sabhas have to the work in panch their day-to-day work.

COOPERATIVES: Plans are afoot to develop the cooperamovement on a large Besides credit cooperatives, other types of service cooperatives like co-op stores, will be developed. So far, the

panchayats, is being dominated by landlord elements and the vested interests. The Kisan whether a rural women's section of the Kisan Sabha should portance to the work in cooperatives of all types. be formed will be a subject to discussed at Mayayaram.

> AGRICULTURAL LABOUR: question of their organisaseveral times but very little work has heen done. The All-India Trade cided to organise agricultural labour in cooperation with the to the TUC. As this is a tion of mutual interest, it should be thoroughly discussed. AITUC representatives are also being invited to the discussion on this

Conventions

Special conventions of rural women, rural youth and agri-cultural labour will be held in the afternoon of May 2 where all these questions will be dis-cussed. Hence the Provincial Kisan Sabhas should see that as many rural youth, rural women and agricultural labour functionaries as possible are sent to the Session as delegates or as special invitees.

being arranged.

Drafts will be placed on all these subjects before these conventions, and they will form the basis of discussions. Representatives of youth, wo-men, independent agricultural labour organisations are all beinvited to attend these

The Session, it need not be stressed, will be a success only if Kisan Sabha workers with

Organisational Problems

The Session will devote its main attention to organisational problems. Besides the question of activising the lower units, following organisationa

RURAL YOUTH: They form the active core of the func-tionaries. It is they who work as volunteers, run librarie reading rooms, cultural squads, etc. The question of organising them in rural youth leagues one of the most essential of part of the kisan movement and tion with the general youth movement would be discussed.

RURAL WOMEN: That a creditable role in the kisan movement is played by women stores, co-op part played by Punjab women ops, etc., in the anti-betterment levy struggle. But in running

Also, in rural schemes, several items relate to the welfare of women. It is the task of the Kisan Sabhas to see that rural women make ne best use of these schemes.

The organisational question

A folk artists' meet also is



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APRIL 5, 1959

INSPIRATION-WHOSE?

through their reactionary agents in Tibet. There also they failed. Now they seek to two birds with one stone and create such an atmosphere in our country as to in-fluence the Indian Government to champion the cause of the Tibetan rebels against

As early as March 23, the Hindu Correspondent from New York reported the American hope that "the Tibetan developments will lead to straining of India-China re-

On the same day, Reuter reported from London that the British Press gave banner headlines to India's position on the Tibet unrest. Manches-ter Guardian stated that "the Indian Government can do most to alleviate the situation because the Chinese Communists cannot afford to offend

Mr. Nehru."

Daily Telegraph commented, "An evidence that resistance to the Chinese aggressor has swelled to a national revolt may at least give Mr. Nehru the courage of his moral conviction—and of India's self-interest."

Washington Post stated in a leading article, "What is at stake in Tibet is the prestige of Communist China and to a lesser degree of India....So for the present, about all the West can do is to steady India's hand."

Chiang Kai-shek stated from Taiwan, "My heart has always been with you in your against Communism. The State Department spokesman welcomed Chiang's state-

Acting U.S. Secretary of State Herter has said in his official statement. "We stand by the suffering Tibetan people and yet we see in their resistance efforts one more heartening example of the in-domitable spirit of man."

This should be enough to disclose from where the In-dian "friends" of the Tibe-tan rebels get their propaganda slogans and whose aims they serve by their campaign in India.

KALIMPONG

The very reactionary elements who are moving heaven and earth to exert pressure on the Prime Minister to change for the worse his policy of friendship with Chine and who are publicly campaigning against the official attitude and policy towards China and Tibet have seized upon the statement of our Party about Kalimpong and themselves become overnight the defenders of the honour and integrity of Pandit Nehru! Much has been made of the coinci-dence of the Chinese article and our statement.

We have said nothing new about Kalimpong. Everybody knows that Kalimpong is an international centre of espiqnage. The matter has been raised in our Parnament before. Deputy Minister Mrs. Menon has made much of the investigations up to August last, which is beside the point. During the Tibetan rebellion and after its failure, Kalimpong is being misused by the Tibetan rebels and their supporters. All that our Party has demanded is that the Government investigate the matter

and prevent the misuse of In-dian national soil. Our very

their reactionary talk of a probe has made the friends of Tipetan reactionated. Now they seek to aries who want the restering The official spokesmen have claimed that they have duly warned the Tibetans resident in Kalimpong not to indulge in political activities and that sore to survive and spread, start raving. there is nothing to worry about it.
The Rindustan Times of

Tibet."

March 27 on its front

carries a photograph with the caption, "Tibetans in Kalim-pong Demonstrate Against the Chinese Regime in their Coun-

try".
The Statesman of March 23

reports, "Tibetans in Kalim-

pong yesterday sent several petitions to the Indian Prime Minister seeking India's good offices" and among other

things "for securing the with-

drawal of Chinese troops from

The Hindustan Times of

March 25 publishes the follow-

ing story from the PTI: "Hundreds of Tibetans held a meet-

ing at Kalimpong vesterday

to discuss the situation and

tions, one of which requested

the Government of India to

This week 150 prominent

rebel Tibetans have been in

Delhi. They include, according to the Statesman of Mar-

ch 30. "A former Prime Min-

ister of Tibet who still regards himself as the Minister with-out portfolio, a Cabinet Min-

ister, a Grand Secretary, a Grand Accountant, an official

now on leave on medical

GHV-3

There is enough in the daily Press itself for the Govern-ment to take our request seri-

Anvone can nick un the

file of any newspaper in India or abroad and know that all the reports of the Tibetan rebellion, campaign material for the rebel cause. falsehoods against People's China and its Tibetan policy have emanated from Kalimpong. Older people will recall that the reactionaries have been using Kalimpong as their propaganda hase against the Chinese revolution in exactly the same way as they used Riga against the Russian revolution in the twenties and early thirties. We Communists seek to defend India's honour and good name and do not want cur border town and communication system to be misused for imperialist reactionary purposes.

SELF-EXPOSED

Mrs Menon as well as most Indian journalists know that the foreign journalists living in and hovering around Kalimpong have not only mis-used Indian hospitality but act as contact men of the imperialist Powers and the Kuo-mintang. The well-known British journalist Elizabeth Partridge proudly featured in her published stories in the foreign and Indian Press an account of her meeting with members of the 'Tibetan Resistance Council' somewhere in India.

Then there is the case of Goerge Patterson who sent out such fantastic stories that the Government of India had list. He has made the categorical claim that he is being consulted by Indian officials and that no is "given to understand" that Tibet's case tish and American official circles" And this Mr. Patterson he is after, that he is interested in seeing Tibet taken out

London Daily Express, as late as March 19, published a despatch from Sydney Smith from the Tibetan frontier which was headlined "Chiang Joins Battle-His Planes Start Air Drops to Help Fight Against Red China's Garrison" He gave the story of three airdrops of light weapons, am-munition and a handful of technical advisers and radio

operators.
The imperialist reactionaries were so confident of the success of the Tibetan uprising that this journalist has even given out his sources: "These reports come to me from Tibetan couriers arriv-ing at this frontier from resistance areas. They have also come from officials of neutral but fearful Himalayan border States and from foerign observers in Calcutta.

The net is fairly wide-spread and covers not only Kalimpong, but Calcutta, Bhutan and Sikkim. Are we wrong when we demand this serious matter be properly investigated?

ones stayed in princely hotels and the lesser ones enjoyed the hospitality of the Birla Mandir

They came to see the Prime Minister and they sought, among other things, help to raise the Tibetan issue in the

General of Tibet and others U. N. and open the border for of lesser rank." The leading the Tibetan insurgents to cross the Tibetan insurgents to cross over into India.

They were also due to attend the PSP meeting on Tibet Day but better sense prevail-

The former Prime Minister of Tibet and his like can * SEE BACK PAGE

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PAGE SEVENTEEN

APRIL 5, 1959

AN ODD ASSORTMENT IN KALIMPONG

* FROM PAGE 6

During Chiang Kai-shek's regime, he spent a number of years in China and married a Chinese lady who is an ardent Kuomintang supporter. Thondup is also an active opponent of the present regime in China. When the Dalai Lama called upon all the emigre Tibetans, especially his brothers to return to their homeland. Thondup issued a statement denduncing the Dalai Lama He said that Dalai Lama being held down by the Chinese could no longer represent the interests of the Tibetans. He repeated this charge in a statement in a local paper in 1955.

Among the Dalai Lama's other brothers, two used to be with him in Tibet. But when

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the Dalai Lama came to India two years ago, one of them stayed behind while the youngest is still in Tibet. Another elder brother, is Thubten Jigme Norbu, who is in the United States. Last year he came to Japan, where Thondup also went to meet him.

Emigre Tibetáns'

Kalimpong today is the refuge of quite a number of emigre Tibetans of noble descent. Exceedingly rich, they fied from Tibet when the People's Liberation Army arrived and are believed to have brought with them plenty of cash and jewellery. It is strongly held here that

a part of the Dalai Lama's treasures also found its way here and is now in their possession. These rich Tibetans have been building houses of their own, particularly in the exclusively aristocratic area of the town, known as the Development Area. It is learnt that a West Bengal Minister had objected to so many foreigners buying land and houses in a frentier town like Kalimpong, but the Government of India was reported to have over-ruled his objection.

There is a good number of Chinese also at Kalimpong who are very much under the Kuomintang influence. One of their centres of activity was the Shanghai Hotel. But some time ago, when the place became too conspicuous as hav-

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L-11, Connaught Circus, New Delhi, ing the KMT-stink, the base movement... seems to have been shifted to the Hill View Hotel. Calcutta and

Religious functions are organised quite often, where Lamas could be seen speaking against the present regime in China. Even in the nearby villages such functions are common. Monasteries form another important centre of activity.

Picnic parties are quite frequent in the emigre circles, where often strong words against China could be heard after strong drinks. Sometimes the Indian authorities, I understand, are hard put to it to keep these within bounds.

Mass signatures are sometimes collected on manifestoes denouncing People's China and these are often surreptitiously sent to Tibet. I heard.

Large-scale despatch of religious literature at times, it is suspected, includes even anti-Chinese material. There have been reports of various other contraband smuggling activities also.

Bitter comments against the Red rule in Tibet are conspicuous in two of the local journals. Of these, one is in English and is owned by an Indian. The other one is in Tibetan, the only one of its kind in Kalimpong, and Is edited by a Tibetan gentleman who has married a Western lady.

The Patterson Affair

Recently quite a furore was created by the External Affairs Ministry's warning to a British author. George Patterson, who, as the Prime Minister himself stated, used to send bazar gossip as news to the London Daily Telegraph.

Patterson's is the most intriguing career. He came to Tibet at the end of 1947, and in his own words, "proceeded to make a concentrated study of the Kham dialect of the Tibetan language in Kham Province of East Tibet, throughout which we travelled in the next few years."

With the advance of the People's Liberation Army, Patterson moved over to India, all the time keeping contacts with the Khampas. Linka Gyabon, whom the author in his book frankly calls the "bandit chief," was his good friend. In India, his mission seems to be to organise aid to the "freedom fighters" in Tibet, presumably meaning the bandits left behind. He came to India by a practically unknown route which was through the NEFA.

Patterson had a mind to go back to Tibet after completing his assignment in India, but obviously he could not go, and preferred to do his part from Kalimpong. A few years ago, it is reported, his house was searched and then he shifted to Darjeeling, where he has been living since and carrying on his activities.

A British woman journalist, Elizabeth Partridge, openly wrote some time ago, that she had attended "a secret meeting of the Tibetan resistance

movement... 'somewhere in Northeast India' between the Calcutta and Tibetan border."

Among Patterson's close friends are Shakabpa and Thondup. What has created interest here is that in a letter to a leading English daily in this country, he says, "I can show evidence that I have been consulted by Indian officials on the situation inside Tibet since I arrived in India in 1950." Patterson said he scrupulously avoided publicity for a long time at the request of his Tibetan friends, partly because it might harm them and "also because I was given to understand that the matter of Tibet was being given sympathetic consideration in Indian, British and American official circles and publicity would only make any help

But last year, an S.O.S. came from "Tibetan friends from all over Tibet," according to Patterson.

Patterson's letter — still uncontradicted by Indian officials—has not surprised those who know the state of affairs here. Already, the name of the Indian Political Officer at Gangtok, Sri Appa Pant, has come up in Parliament. Besides Sri Pant, Patterson is friendly with Yatak Tsering, one of the high-ups in the Central Intelligence Branch now posted at Gangtok, as also other officials holding important posts.

Shakabpa and Thondup are also very close friends of this circle of officials. It is learnt that Shakabpa's son was at first refused passport by the Government of India for an American visit; then an important local officer intervened and got him the passport.

It is not, however, a new policy. In fact, Lowell Thomas himself says that his request to go to Tibet on the eve of the Communist victory in China, was "forwarded from India." And the two men who helped him in getting Lhasa's permission were Sri Girija Shankar Bajpai, then the topman in the External Affairs Ministry, and Mr. Loy Henderson, the not-too-popular U.S. Ambassador in New Delhi then.

Close Friends Of Indian Officials

At Gangtok, the Thomases were the guests of the Indian Political Officer, and at Yatung, the Indian Trade Agent, who was a Rai Bahadur, played host to them and even aired views on Russia, with the profound comment, "It wants to meddle with every country's affairs, even those of Tibet."

An interesting character in this official circle is Mr. La Tsering, formerly of the Central Intelligence Branch, now retired and living at Kalimpong. He is a Tibetan by birth and had served in the Indian police for many years. He expressed himself openly in 1955 against the Panchen Lama—when it was announced that he would visit India along with the Dalai Lama—saying that he was imposed on the Tibetans by the Chinese Government.

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APRIL FOURTH

Hungary's Greatest National Holiday

P OURTEEN years ago, on April 4, 1945, Soviet troops chased the Hitlerites for good from the land of the Hungarian people, Hungary again became a free and independent State. Centuries of slavery of the Hungarian people came to an end. It was again possible to begin the work of Socialist construction which once in 1919 was started by the Hungarian Republic of Councils.

Hungary till the day of liberation in 1945 was one of the most backward countries of Europe. Even the Horthyite Press of those days was not able to cover up this fact. For decades and centuries, there were no political rights for the people. Millions of the population were faced with extreme poverty, epidemics, prostitution, early death.

Twenty per cent of the industrial and thirty per cent of the mining interests were in the hands of foreigners.

Those living by their own work, 43 per cent of the total population, received only 23 per cent of the national income. The minority with large incomes, nine per cent of the population received 30 per cent of the total income.

The very publicists of the Horthy regime were compelled to admit that people in big factories and landed estates lived on sub-human level.

There is no bigger condemnation of that anti-popular regime than the fact that it sacrificed 900,000 Hungarians in the interests of Hitler fascists.

The decisive turn on April 4, 1945, meant, first of all, that the Hungarian people got rid of the Hitlerite robbers and of the terror of their Hungarian accomplices. The Hungarian people will never forget that their freedom is due to the sons of the Soviet Army and that the friendly help of the Soviet people put them on the road to workers' power, progress and a more prosperous life.

In a series of political battles in a relatively short time, led by the Communist Party, they established the dictatorship of the proletariat, established the class alliance with the working peasantry and on the basis of the proletarian power inspired the progressive intelligentsia to constructive work.

The building of Socialism began and considerable results have been achiev-



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ed during the last 14 years. All the mistakes made during the work cannot overshadow these achievements.

And mistakes had been committed by the leadership of the Party and the Government before October 1956. But ever since these mistakes were corrected, Socialist construction has gone ahead at an even more rapid speed.

The most striking proof of the general development is that the pace of Hungary's industrial development is now six times faster than it was before 1945. There is no unemployment today. People buy more goods, they have more rest and they entertain more.

A real cultural revolution has taken place. There are no more illiterates in Hungary, books are published in over one million copies each. Cinemas and theatres are crowded, millions of people enjoy radio and TV.

The Hungarian people are supported by all the countries of the Socialist camp and especially the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union renders Hungary all help. The working people of Hungary are grateful to the Soviet Union not only for what it did in 1954 for Hungary but they well remember that it was the Soviet Union that saved Socialism in Hungary in 1956.

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************** CPI STATEMENT ON THET ******

T HE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India issued a statement on Tibet to the Press on March 31. The text of the statement which became a subject matter of discussion in the Lok Sabha, reads:

All honest men in our country have been extremely pained by recent events in Tibet. This an-cient land with which our people have long and abidpeople have long and anding ties, has recently seen
much loss of life and destruction of property. And
it is but natural that it
should attract the sympathy of all Indians who have always wished well to the people of Tibet. All Indians likewise sympathise with likewise sympathise with our friendly and great neighbour China, who is meeting this difficult situameeting this diment stua-tion with utmost regard for human considerations, of Tibetan autonomy and the unity of the Chinese nation.

The people who are responsible for this considerponsible for this considerable and wanton suffering in Tiber are the same who cause it elsewhere. They are the reactionaries who do not want to move with times, the serf-owners who wish to prevent the dawn of modern enlightenment and equality in Tibet: Mis-using the trust placed in them by the People's De-mocratic Government of China, exploiting the scru-pulous regard shown by the Government of China to-wards Tibetan autonomy, these elements conspired with foreign imperialists to stage a revolt. They had opposed land reform and every progressive measure in the interests of the people. The Government of China decided to give them time, which they utilised to

These elements are nelther fighting for democracy The fact nor for freedom. The fact that they have the sympa-thy and support of Chiang Kai-shek and the American imperialists is sufficient to show that they stand for utter reaction. In fact, without active without active support from the imperialists, these elements would not have been able to stage their reactionary rebellion.

India herself suffers from imperialist intrigues against her safety whether in Goa, Kashmir or the Pakis-

tan border. The same kind tan border. The same kind of intrigue was organised in Tibet and we should be happy that our neighbour has successfully scotched the imperialist plot across

our border.

India has always recognised Tibet as part of China and it is in our agreement over Tibet that the famous Panch Shila principles were born. These eujoin on us strict neutrality and nonintervention in each other's affairs. This also means that we should not allow our territories to be used for hostile or prejudicial acts against each other.

The People's Government of China, with a full sense of responsibility, has drawn our attention to Kalimpong, which according to it, ha become the command cen tre of the rebels. We all know that many shady happenings are taking place at Kalimpong and that a lot of doubtful foreigners are visiting this place. In the interest of both coun-tries as well as the inviola-bility of our national soil, Government should immediately investigate the affairs in Kalimpong and place the truth before the

Everybody in this country will be glad to find that the Government and Sri Nehru Government and Sri Nehru have taken a proper attitude on this question and refused to oblige the reactionaries. And yet a few reactionaries and political parties like the PSP and the Jan Sauch are attenuate. parties like the PSP and the Jan Sangh are attemptthe Jan Sangh are attempting to whip up anti-Chinese feelings in this country. These champions of freedom and democracy remained silent when the U.S.-Pak Pact which directly these the control of the co tly threatens India's security was signed. Their one aim is to sow discord between our two friendly peo-ples. They only bring grist to the mill of American imperialism.

The Communist Party of India sends its warm greetto the Communist Party of China under whose guidance the People's Government of China is leading the people of Tibet from medieval darkness to porsperity and equality. The people of Tibet firmly allied with the people of China, will not only defeat all imperialist plots but will rapidly progress to peace and happiness.

Their Attack Is On Our Foreign Policy

*FROM PAGE 17

stay as refugees in our country and live peaceful lives. But must they be permitted to engage in political acti-vity like the above? What happens to Panch Shila happens to Panch Shila then? Should they be given a standing and status which they have lost in their own country?

Again, these Tibetan refugees and residents are not innocent beings only seeking asylum and wanting to live a peaceful life. The Statesman peaceful life. The Statesman of March 22 reports from Kalimpong, "Lonenla Sadu Tshang and Chago Tshang Namgay Dorjee, members of the 22-man Khampa War Council' arrived here yester-day from Tibet. They were received by a large number of Tibetan residents here...It is gathered that the leaders are here to ascertain the extent of the help the Kham people will get from Tibetans residing in India as well as in Central Tibet. The Khampas have no direct communications with Central Tibet."

The above was obviously a very careless slip on the part of the Statesman Correspondent, and next day he wrote, "they described themselves as travellers visiting India and denied that they are seeking help from the local Tibetans to fight the Chinese."

We, Indian Communists, are we, indian communists, are not the only ones agitated over Kalimpong. Jugantar, Bengali daily edited by a na-tionalist of the standing of Sri Vivekananda Mukherjee on vivekananda Mukherjee
has written, "For a long time
there has been news of suspicious foreign agents in
Kalimpong and the IndianTibet border. It is clear from
the fact of the dissemination of the news of the inter-nal revolt and the propaga-tion of its twists and turns that a gang of agents, sples and agent-provocateurs are bent on murdering the freedom, democracy and peace of India, China and Asia and a set of duped persons have joined this murder campaign, presenting a sorry picture. Can Lord Buddha be merciful to them?" (March 31)

The above are only a few bits from the Indian Press, with which Mrs. Menon with which Mrs. Menon ought to be familiar. Much more of such outrageous activities can and will be found if the officials in the External Affairs Ministry take their job more serious-by and honestly, and the ly and honestly and the Home Minister swallows a bit of his anti-Communism and concentrates upon his duty to see that the Tibetan refugees behave as refugees and not as conspirators against their homeland and our friendly neighbouring country and that on our

Indian reactionaries know that their hate-China policy is not popular among the common people and wide patriotic circles of our country. Hence, besides Press propaganda in the monopolist Press, they shoot their mouth in Parliament as often as they can and stage scenes. They raised the Tibetan issue twice but did not quite succeed. The Prime Minister reiterated India's friendly policy towards China and that the Tibetan developments were an internal affair. They got the chan-ce of their life on April 1 during the Prime Minister's absence, forced a discussion and made provocative scenes over the People's Daily editorial and the statement of our Party—their weapons were traditional anti-Communism traditional anti-Communism and throwing mud at our Party. Their reaction to the Prime Minister's statement the following day in which he not only chided then, for the provocative behaviour but himself exposed the shady goings-on in Kalimpong is bound to be bitter and angry. We can count on them to continue their efforts.

Our countrymen know the political physiognomy of those who are shedding false tears over Tibet. They are the very gentlemen who seek to change India's foreign policy and give it a reactionary pro-imperia-list orientation. And for whom list orientation. And for whom in Tibet are they shedding tears? It is the reactionary ecclesiastics and serf-owners who have misused the magnanimity of their Socialist Government, resisted even those social reforms within Tibet that we have already put through in every Indian State, who provoked an armiput through in every Indian State, who provoked an arnied uprising in cooperation with the exiled Kuomintang and imperialist circles, who are out to break up the unity of their motherland and go over to the imperialist camp, only to preserve the dark medieval past of Tibet which they represent

They have lost the game and it is good for Tibet and its people that it is so. Now the common people of Tibet can march forward unhiucan march forward unhiu-dered to progress and Socialism like the rest of the people of China. They them-selves know their bankruptcy and the impracticality of their false slogan of "Save Tibet" which is only a cover for their real slogan "Slander China"—and thus they create the psychologi-

For

cal pre-conditions for a closer link-up with the imperialist West.

Let us note what is at stake if they succeed. It is India-China friendship,

an important plank of our independent foerign policy that has brought honour and

glory to our country.

Let us note why they are attacking India-China friendship at this particular mo-

The coming meeting of Seato will also discuss Tibet and they want us to begin the game and give the Seato stand moral justification.

India-China Friendship is the powerful axis of Afro-Asian solidarity. The impe-rialist circles desire nothing better than breaking Afro-Asian solidarity before which their Baghdad Pact and Seato have become ineffective. Their nave become ineffective. Their urgent need is to allay Indian suspicion over the U. S.-Pak bilateral Pact and nothing suits them better than the provocation over Tibet. Anti-U. S. vigilance is being diverted towards an anti-Chinese slander campaign.

The Summit Conference is due and what can suit the imperialists better than soil-ing India-China relations and keeping the two major States out and at loggerheads?

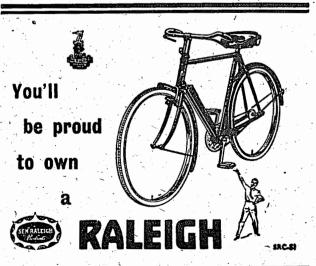
In every U. N. Session India has been raising the issue of China's admission. What will suit the imperialists better than India raising the Tibetan issue instead?

The Indian crusaders for Tibet are out to drag India into the cold war by creating tension with China.

This well-planned, cunning This well-planned, cunning and desperate reactionary offensive needs to be beaten back to save India's good name, national honour and foreign policy. They raise the false slogan "Save Tibet." We have to save our country's honour and foreign policy from their attack.

(April 2)

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(A Kerala Government Concern)