REACTION HAS KNOWN NO EACTION HAS KNOWN NO peace ever since the Kerala Government was formed, by the verdict of the people and under the Indian Constitution. Time and again have they launched their onsla-ught. And now they have initiated what they claim to be their biggest-ever campaign. They plan ever campaign. They plan a "swift and short strug-gle," to break the low paralyse the administrative machinery. Their target is chaos and out of it Central intervention.

it Central intervention. The people of Kerala will defend their popular Government with all their might. But it is not their battle alone. The fate of Indian democracy is involved. And to defend our democratic sys-tem a nation-wide soli-

campaign must darity

25nP

sweep the country. The issues involved concern not the Commun-ists alone but all decent men and women. The principles endangered are those which are our common heritage and cherished by all patriotic and democratic Indians.

The reactionary leaders

Editorial

of the Catholic Church, of the upper-caste Nair organisation and of the opposition parties have reached the utter depths of degradation. They not inflame communal only passions and incite viol-ence. They not only take up cudgels against a law given assent to by the President of India. They stoop to using children in their nefarious game. They do not hesitate to try to ruin the careers of lakhs of Kerala's childlakhs of Kerala's children

G AUG 27 1959

CON' COFY

The dark sentiments they are rousing are a challenge to Indian na-tionalism, secularism and tionalism, secularism and democracy. They must be told by all decent people that they cannot be al-lowed to pollute India's political climate. Let honest Congress-men throughout the

country ask themselves whether their own col-leagues in Kerala are obreagues in Kerala are ob-serving or repudiating all that the Congress claims to stand for. Let them de-mand from their Kerala colleagues that they de-

DEFEAT THIS COMMUNAL ONSLAUGHT

5.60-1

CALLS

communal nounce the agitation and break with reaction. Let them not shatter the ideals and shatter the ideals and heritage of their own organisation.

Let serious Socialists throughout the coun-try ask themselves whether their comrades in Kerala, who flaunt their Party banner, are bringrarty banner, are bing-ing honour or shame to the Socialist cause, with whom are they allying and against whom are they fighting. Let them ensure that their Kerala comrades come to their senses let all Indian democrats irrespective of Party differences tell the

Union Government that its elementary duty un-der the Indian Constitution is to actively assist

der the Indian Constitu-tion is to actively assist the Kerala Government to maintain peace, law and order, to respect the autonomy of the State and not try to violate it. • Let all who cherish the cause of the edu-cation of our children raise their voice, full-throated and strong. The Communist Party of India launches its week of solidarity with the K er a la Government (June 7 to 14) to sound the warning to reaction. It goes into this campaign to rouse the conscience of all the forces of Indian democracy, to rally their invincible might.

SEE CENTRE PAGES FOR ARTICLE BY AJOY GHOSH

d by Comrade C. Achutha Menon. Rally after District Party Conference at Quilon being addressed (Above) 'Procession before the rally.







STATI-Pir KERAL

RALLY TO

DEMOCRACY

DEFEND

VOL VII NO. 23

Communist Party Weekli

SUNDAY, JUNE 7, 1959

BEATING OWN RECORDS DISHONESTY OF

What the Government has done in the matter of LIC Inquiry is far worse than a mere white-wash. There is no doubt that in this latest of a series of actions it has beaten all its own previous records in dishonesty and attempts at deception of the public.

T is not a question of a certain official and of charges against him being dropped. It is the question of certain hope that was kinded by the Chagla Commiscertain sion's report that norms of honesty and inteand of sound managegrity ment in public institutions and in the handling of public funds could really be striven for. That hope has now been crushed and trampled under-foot by the Government.

Did They Really Accept ?

The Chagla Commision which was set up on January 17, 1958 to inquire into the LIC's (Life Insurance Corporation's) investment in Mundhra concerns in 1957 give its report on February 10, 1958. To quote its latest resolution "Government accepted the Commission's finding to the accepted the effect that the transaction sulting in the purchase of shares of the six companies was not entered into in accordance with business princioles and was also opposed to propriety on several grounds. The same resolution claims

that in pursuance of the acceptance of the Chagla Commission Report Govern-ment "undertook to initiate appropriate proceedings ... in respect of the officers responsible for putting through the transaction."

It appointed on May 5, 1958 a Board of Inquiry headed by Sri Justice Vivian Bose, a Supreme Court judge and having for its members Sri Sukumar Sen, former Election Commissioner of India and Sri W R. S. Satthianadhan, This Board sparing no pains made a thorough and sifting inquiry within the confines set for it by the Government and concluded its work with expedition. It submitted its report on Sentember 21, 1958.

Officers concerned was how issued notices and more then issu time was consumed till they submitted their representations in January 1959 and "AS REQUIRED UNDER THEIR SERVICE RULES" UNDER belong to the ICS their cases were re-(they ferred by Government the 27th of that month to the Union Public Service mission (UPSC)

That august body gave its to Government on "odwloo" April 28 and the latter reached their decision on May 27 which in form of a Government resolution has now been released along with the other ments-namely the doou Vivian Bose Inquiry Board's 187 close_ ly-typed-page report and the UPSC majority's "advice" with one member's dissenting Note.

Charaes

Dropped

From these we learn that Government which had claimed to have accepted the Chagla Commission Report and made so .much pother about instituting appropriate proceedings st "officers responsible for putting through the " has decided to transactio "drop" the charges against und let off the other

with a "censure." "Action" against the third which is to

be taken by the LIC is bound to be on the same lines. Taking cover behind the UPSC advice Government has sought to discredit the out-come of the Bose Board's inquiry which undenlably was the most thorough under Government-imposed limita-tions. An idea of this thoroughness can be got from the following passage from the report :

The magnitude of our task can be gauged from the fact the 25 witnesses were examined before us, covering 1946 pages of typed and cyclostyled sheets of foolscap; and the depositions of 20 witnesses examined in the other (Chagla) Inquiry covering 842 pages were brought on our file

"The documents filed before Mr. Chief Justice Chagla and transferred to us run to 392 pages while the ones filed before us cover 656 pages. In addition there are the written statements of the defendants which, with their annexures cover 200 pages. It has been no easy task to collate and analyse this mass of material

Board had taken full care that the whole truth should not come out and whatever truth does come out is only inci-dental. But even this little dose of truth is too bitter and too much for the Government and has therefore to be dis-credited and disregarded. Hence the UPSC advice.

Before proceeding to see what the Vivian Bose Board indings are about these wellknown facts to which Government alone chooses to shut its eyes let us see what the Board has to say about the behaviour of the high-ups in this Inquiry.

Highest Officials Hide Truth

Referring to it as a "saddening spectacle" the Board says : "We find some of the high-est officials in the land

shirking responsibility and hiding the truth. We find each trying to wash his hands of a matter that has evoked much public critic-ism and each trying to throw

the blame on the other. "A Minister blames his Principal Finance Secretary, the Secretary blames the Minister and a colleague who holds a high office; the colleague shifts the onus to a co-worker, the Managing Director of a large national institution in which both

MUNDHBA AFFAIR

WITH BIGGEST

WHITEWASH

explanations to cover up something of which they are

either frightened or asham-

"We have not been told

the whole truth and some, at least, of what we have heard must be false."

Now coming to the bitter truth which the Government

finds so difficult to swallow:

That the purchase of Mundh-ra shares, particularly in June 1957 amounting to Rs. 1,26,25,-

750 ("the biggest single deal

the LIC had ever made" and

"the biggest single deal in the Calcutta Stock Exchange."

was not made for legitimate

purpose but "to help Mr. Mundhra."

The Bose Inquiry Board have examined this threadbare

within the confines of their

terms of reference and come

to the conclusion that it was

They have rejected the

Bogus

Theory

GOI SEEKS TO

other

urge behind the deal was the need to save the Calcutta market from possible disaster. From relevant records, and reports in the press as well as from oral evidence they showed that there was no crisis impending in the Calcutta market and it was all an afterthought of Mr. H. M. Patel, a cover and a blind.

The draft answer which he prepared on 2.9.57 for being given by T. T. Krishnamachari in Parliament conclusively proved that Patel never believed in the "drag" theory. This draft quoted by the Re-

port says: "The purchase was effected because it appeared to be a worthwhile investment. Incidentally, the purchase assist-ed in averting a possible difficult situation on the Calcutta Stock Exrhange." (Emphasis as in Report)

The UPSC has tried very hard to uphold Patel's "drag" theory by quoting authorities holding the opposite view and agreeing with them. It does not however say a word to disprove the evidence of Patel's draft of reply to be given in Parliament. Government are anxious to uphold equally H. M. Patel's proffered excuse. But they too do not have a word to say about the above draft reply.

Both the UPSC and Govern-

CLOSE

ooks of the companies concerned so we have no reason to doubt that the moneys were paid as stated. Mr. Mundhra said that both sums were actually paid, or promised before the elec tions in U.P. and Bengal respectively. "He added, quite unneces-

sarily, because that was not suggested in the question. 'No other people in Delhi

or the Government were at all concerned with it.' Even after the Chairman told him that there was no accusation against anybody personally, he added at the end of his answer to the next question :

The Delhi Ministers or anybody has not approached

or suggested.' He said he made donations to other parties also, but when pressed about this, it narrowed down to one party only, name-ly the Socialist Party and the extent of the donation was only Rs. 5,000. Mr Mundhra then volunteered the following statement :

"The position is as far as the Congress is concerned, I had, principally, faith in my mind. That was one. Another is all the other industrialists and everybody have been pay-ing and I have paid less compared with the people who paid to it."

Coming to its findings we see that the Report after showing how the deals with Mundhra were thoroughly un-

businesslike says : ".... The defence story does not fit in with the known facts. "On the other hand, the other version, namely that the deal was to help Mr. Mundhra

and his concerns does dove-tail into the proved and ad-"We start with the fact that

in April 1956 Mr. Patel and Mr. Krishnamachari were against touching Mr. Munihra's concerns, but gradually "Then there are two im-portant facts. Mr. Mundhra

is proved to have obliged the Congress Party and two Congress Governments (the Central and the II.P.) in a large way on two occasions for political reasons. He paid for political reasons. He paid the U.P. Congress Party a lakh and a half of rupees and the Central Congress Party a lakh on the eve of the elections.... "It is also proved that he obliged the Central and the

State Governments by induc-ing the BIC Board of Directors to recall their closure notices relating to the Kanpur Cotton Mills. ... Now Mr. Mundhra is not the sort of person who would do these things would do these things unless he was reasonably certain of obtaining a quid pro quo. In the case of donations he said he gave them because he had "faith"; in the case of the Mills he says that he was promised monetary assistance. We have no doubt that these seemingly generous gestures were not gratuitous.

Mundbra Reported

"Then, we have the fact that he did receive over a crore and a quarter of rupe not long after (from the LIC deal). We have no doubt deal). We have no doubt that Mr. Mundhra expected to be "rewarded" for his generosity and that his expectations were grounded in assurances given to him

* SEE PAGE 13



The people of Calcutta gave a fitting rebuff to the despicable efforts of some PSP leaders and their fellow-travellers to weaken India-China friendship, to undermine the Panch Sheel and to bring about a pro-US orientation in India's foreign policy.

W HILE their "All-India Ti- foreign policy only served the pet Convention" opened at interests of the imperialists. the Mahajati Sadan on the afternoon of May 30, the streets of Calcutta resounded with the slogans "Hindi-China Bhai Bhai", "Tibet is an integral part of China", "Down with the enemies of Panch Sheel", "Stop dressed it. the slander campaign China", "Defeat im against China", "Defeat imperialist conspiracy against China", "We

Jointly organised by the Communist Party, Marxist Forward Bloc (MFB) and the Socialist Unity Centre (SUC), the India-China friendship demonstration was decidedly one of the biggest in recent years. It will be remembered for a ong time to come for its massive size and militant tone.

Thousands of people from all walks of life-workers, office employees, youth, students, school and college teachers, artists. literateurs, progressive intellectuals, peace and cultural workers, women, leaders and workers of the Communist and other left parties, a section of the RCPI, Communist MLAs and MPs, Corporation Councillors, trade union and kisan leaders-participated in the demonstration

It was led by Comrades Jyoti Basu, Bhupesh Gupta, Muzaffar Ahmed and Manikuntala Sen. Sri Amar Basu (MFB) and Sri Nihar Mukherjee (SUC).

As the two-mile demonsration surged forward, went on swelling in size. Thousands of people lined the five-mile-long route. At some points, the demonstration had to move on through narrow "lanes" formed by big crowds on both sides.

This historic demonstration was not, however, the only re-ply to the sinister game of the sponsors of the "All-India Tibet sponsors of Convention.'

Two days earlier. on May 28. a big mass rally convened under the joint auspices of the CP, MFB and SUC, declared that the attempts to poison lism" and pointed out that the India-China relations and to utterances and attitude of Pan-undermine the basis of India's dit Nehru and other Congress

JUNE 7, 1959

covering 4000 pages. The arguments alone covered 32 working days."

The Report repeatedly reminds us that the inqury had a very limited scope. "We are here to inquire into certain definite charges against the three defendants and determine whether those charges are proved or not.'

At one of the places where it complains that it was not being told the whole truth the Board records.

"However, we cannot travel beyond the record and our terms of reference do not permit us to turn ourselves into a roving commission of investigation in search of hidden facts. We are tied down to our terms of reference and, therefore, have to see whether the charges against the defend-ants are proved, and no more." Much earlier in the report it is stated :

"It is true that the facts that are relevant to the Inquiry range over a wide field and linked up with the conduct of others who are not before us as defendants and who are not in a position to defend themselves. But they only come in incidentally and, as they have neither been represented nor heard, we do not intend to say more about them than is strictly necessary for proving or disproving the charges against the three defendants.

Thus it is clear that Government in appointing the

hold a responsible office; and the Managing Director, in turn, blames each of the ment have tried hard to prove as unwarranted the Bose Board's finding that Mundhra was sought to be helped as a quid pro quo for his 2½ lakh donation to the Congress and "All these gentlemen and

Governor of the Reserve Bank as well as the Chairbecause Sri Morariibhai and man of the State Bank of India give differing and other ministers had promised to help him if he did not insist on closing down the Kan-pur Cotton Mills straightaway. mutually contradictory ver-sions of the same incident. Men of standing in the busi-ness world give us childish

Donations

To Congress

Let us see what the Bose Board have actually said in this matter and decide if it is unjustified. On page 43 the

Report says : "Mr. Mundhra tells us that early in January 1957 or there-abouts-he was not sure of the date-he made two large dofunds. He paid the U.P. Con-gress Party 1½ lakhs of rupees and he paid the Central Congress Party in Calcutta a lakh of rupees. Though he said in one place that he had paid the money it appears from a later statement that the cash came from the coffers of certain of

his companies, and Mr. Powell told us that the lakh and a half came from funds of some of the BIC subsidiaries. The Calcutta donation of a lakh came from the funds of Rihardson and Cruddas. Mr. Mundhra said that the HP. donation was the biggest single donation he ever made.

"We are told that these donations are shown in the

Contraction Contraction

won't allow rehabilitation of Tibetan rebels and banishment of East Pakistan refugees". Streets Resound With Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai

China."

The resolution, therefore, de-manded that the India Government should stop all attempts at intervention in the internal affairs of China and stand firm

on the Panch Sheel policy. It also called upon the neonle to put an end to the tension whipped up on the issue of Ti-bet and to strengthen India-

China friendship. On May 31, the SUC vened the West Bengal Conference in support of People's China on the issue of Tibet. The Communist Party, MFB, Bolshevik Party. RCPI and scores

of trade unions' participated in the Conference and Dr. Dhiren Sen, well-known intellectual, presided over it.

About 1.600 mass organisations, clubs and progressive individuals had sent messages expressing full support for the aims of the Conference and wishing it success.

Comrade Hiren Mukherjee addressing the mass India-China Friendship Rally on May 28.

CALCUTTA'S REBUFF TO ANTI-CHINESE CONVENTION

Com. Ranen Sen, MLA, pre-sided over the rally and Prof-S. Dasgupta (SUC), Sri Amar Basu, MLA (MFB) and Com-rades Hiren Mukherjee, MP, and Bhupesh Gupta, MP. ad-

The resolution adopted at the rally exposed the designs of the PSP, Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha leaders and appealed to the people to foil their game. It further pointed out that "notwithstanding the asser-tion of the Prime Minister

of India that Tibet is an integral part of China, certain attitudes taken by him and his Government have in fact been a contravention of the Panch Sheel Principles and have given encouragement to the slander campaign against

con-

The Conference passed a re-

solution viewing "with grave concern the pernicious propa-ganda launched by a few political parties and reactionary elements of our country against socialism generally and the People's Republic of China in

particular concerning the recent happenings in Tibet." The resolution nailed down

the campaign conducted by "these sworn enemies of socia-

leaders involved "interference stand in the way of the re indirectly in the internal affairs setablishment of normal rela-of China." tions between India and China. The resolution urged upon Dr. Mazumdar, of course, cri-

the people of West Bengal to "foil the designs of the reac-tionary forces of our country to disrupt India-China friendship and thereby serve imperialist interests "

The Conference set up a Committee with Dr. Dhiren Ser as its President and consisting of the representatives of th Left parties who participated in the Conference, to "defeat all attempts at interference in the internal affairs of China and to strengthen India-China friend ship.

PSP SHOW

N O efforts were spared by the PSP leaders to create the impression that their "All-India Tibet Convention" a "non-party", "national" affair and, as such, it had the backing of all sections of

people. But despite the publicity boost and elaborate boost and elaborate prepara-tions, the Convention proved to be a damp squib.

It was an "all-India" Convention, yet "delegates" from only West Bengal, Bombay and Delhi attended.

It was in reality a purely PSP show although Sri Jai Prakash Narain, the Sarvodava leader Sri D P Chose President of the Jana Sangh and Sri Soumendra Nath Tagore were present.

Acharya Kripalani who was due to preside over the conven-tion, did not come because of the "sudden illness" of his wife

Smt. Indira Gandhi and Sri U. N. Dhebar were specially invited to the Convention. But Dr. Ramesh Mazumdar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, admitted in his welcome address that both of them had turned down the invitation.

Congress Dissociates

Smt. Gandhi had pointed out that anything said against the accepted policy of the India Government would further complicate the present situa-

Sri U. N. Dhebar had also written back to say that he was totally opposed to the standpoint of the sponsors of the Convention and that the appeal issued on their behalf would

NEW AGE

ticised Pandit Nebrui Sm Gan dhi and Sri U. N. Dhebar; for adopting a "hostile" attitude towards the Convention

Seven Tibetans were found seated on the dias. One of them was Sonam Gyatso, a rebel leader. The rest were reported to have come from

Kalimpong and Calcutta. Sonam Gyatso was introduced by the sponsors as a "represen-tative" of the Dalai Lama and a leader of the "freedom struggle" in Tibet.

Despite the month-long publicity not a single delegate from any Asian country attended the Convention. Messages were, of course, received from the imperialist Prime Ministers of Malaya and Thailand and a few individuals including Thong-dup, elder brother of the Dalai Lama and a notorious American agent. The messages sent by the

Nepali Congress, AFPFL of Burma and some other organisations were censored and then handed to the Press

In the absence of Acharya Kripalani, Sri Jai Prakash Narain presided over the Convention

Claiming that Tibet was not a region of China, he strongly criticised India's acceptance of Chinese "suzerainty" over Tihet and demanded that the Tibetan question should now be raised in the UN with the Afro-Asian bloc presenting a joint front on it.

He asserted that the Tibe tans were fighting to win their "national freedom". The lea-ders of the movement, according to him, "are not feu-dal lords but the most pro-gressive elements in Tibetan society, who stand for reform and change"! "Is Tibet lost for ever?", he

asked in a melodramatic tone. and replied "No. a thousand times no!"

Lesser fry like Dr. Prafulla Ghosh, Sri H. V. Kamath, Dr. Ramesh Mazumdar also piped the same tune.

But the highlight of the Convention was the speech by So-nam Gyatso who, it was stated, on behalf the Dalai Lama's entourage at Musoorie.

He asserted that the "national movement" of the Tibetan "people" wanted complete and unconditional independence for Tibet.

He further suggested that An "impartial Commission" constituted by the represen-tatives of "neutral" Asian countries should visit Tibet and find out the facts. There should be no delay in taking this dro "it this has a t this step "if this has to be fruitfu

Sri Jai Prakash Narajn enthusiastically supported this proposal and at the delegate's eld on the morning of May 31, the Convention authorised Sri Narain to set up an "Afro-Asian Committee on Tibet". Its task will be to "arrange for the appointment of the international commission and mobilise world opinion to enable Tibet to exercise her right of self-determination"

People present at the meeting were amazed to hear such ut-terly irresponsible statements as China claiming Nepal and Bhutan, the necessity for India to in prepared for a war with China, etc.

Sensational Handbill

A sensation was caused the Convention when, on the instruction of a certain gentlethe man, a leaflet captioned The Truth About Tibet—First Bul-letin" and issued by "The Na-tional Volunteer Defence Army," was distributed by the

Convention volunteers. The leaflet is in English. It is beautifully printed on art paper. But it does not contain the Press line—that is, it is llegal. It reads as follows:

"We appeal to you, kind reader, in the name of justice and humanity for your sympathy and support for the unhap-py people of Tibet in their thy and support for the struggle against oppression and tyranny.

"We appeal to you in the name of our Lord, the Enlight-ened One, to invoke His blessings and succour for the suffering masses of Tibet.

"-The Voice of Lhasa."

Pressmen at the Convention were completely at a loss to understand how the Tibetan "refugees" could form an army in India and how an illegal and subversive leaflet could be openly distributed at the Conven-

Realising that they had been put in a very tight corner by the publication of the news about the leaflet, the sponsors announced at theirpublic meeting that Sonam Gyatso was not a representa-tive of the Dalai Lama and that they had no responsibility for the leaflet!

But despite this denial, the fact remains that it was distri-buted by the Convention volun-

UNPRINCIPLED **POWER-POLITICS**

one scandal after another and which serve as shock after shock even to its own This week has following. This v been full of them.

The Union Government resolution exonerating the LIC officials has upset not democratic political circles alone but also the honest officials loyally serving the Government. Few political-financial-scandals have rocked the country as did the Mundhra affair. The Cabinet Minister responsible, T.T.K. got away by resigning. It was thought that the leading officials at least will get it in the neck. Nov the Government resolution exonerates them, despite the Chagla Enquiry findings, despite Supreme Court Justice Bose Enquiry. Every known principle of honest adminisprinciple of honest adminis-tration and decent democracy has been flouted.

TTK COMING

BACK ?

The IPA reports what the common talk in the capital that T.T.K.'s come back to the Union Cabinet is being seriously considered inside the Congress junta. "The argument advanced by se keen on getting SI rishnamachari back to the Cabinet is that if the former Principal Finance Secretary, Sri Patel, could get away without even a censure, surely the former Finance Minister can in no way be held responsible for the entire deal."

Times of India editorial today (June 3) also reveals the ame story. Pandit Pant because of his

ailment may become Deputy Prime Minister, Sri Morarji get the vacant Home portfolio and use the big stick in a big way, and T.T.K. get back to his old Finance Ministry. If the above reshuffle does not come off he may go

to the Planning set-up. Knowledgeable circles recall Pandit Pant's tribute to T.T.K. last December while he yet in the shadows: "I am still confident that the country will have the benefit of his talent, experience, knowledge wation "

ARUNA ASAFALI'S RESIGNATION

HE second big story of the week is the resignation of Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali from the Mayoralty of Delhi. When the Corporation was



The Congress spokesmen inside the Corporation, ins-tead of taking their defeat in a sporting manner, be-came insulting and rude and went in for complete noncooperation. She did not want the Corporation to become a cockpit of political factions and resigned. Here is an example how the Congress of today cannot even stomach a Mayor of her eminence and integrity and instead of cooperati affairs, plays petty civic party politics

It is reported that the Con-It is reported that the Con-gress High Command realised that the local Congress leaders were going too far but failed to make sense to them. It should surprise nobody for the Delhi Congress leaders were only carrying out, in their own sphere, the present-day un-principled politics of the High Command. mand

IN KERALA

This issue carries an article on Kerala by our General Se-cretary which analyses the unprincipled game the Congress is playing there. It was originally planned that the Congress campaign against the Communist Government the will follow the school-closure movement of the Catholic Bishops and the private school managers.

After consulting Pandit Nehru, Smt. Indira Gandhr and Sri Dhebar at Ooty, the Kerala Congress leaders have Keraia Congress leaders have decided to launch the move-ment before and not after the school closure. The mask is now off. The Congress initiates the battle for which the drums have been sounded by the foreign-financed and advised Catholic Church and feudal upper-caste Nair leaders and school children will be put into the firing line instead of the traditional cows.

Secularism and national ism go by the board. The record of the Congress Gov-ernments is so black that the Congress leaders cannot put up with the very existence of one clean non-Congress Government duly elected by Governmen the people.

THE ANTI-CHINA CAMPAIGN

discreetly dropping off from the open anti-Chinese campaign begun after the Tibetan troubles. The anti-Chinese banner, however, is being paraded about Socialist and Jan Praja Sangh leaders. They are propagandising blush the full without a the full American thesis for those of our gullicountrymen who are

PAGE, FOUR



ere Chiang d from another. Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung stand on the same ground."

Masani-inspired and pro-American big-business ced Committee for Solidarity with Tibet has published a brochure and in the preface brochure and in the preface Jai Prakash Narain has writ-ten: "In Tibet we see at this moment the workings of new imperialism which is far more dangerous than the old be-cause it marches under the banner of so-called revolution-ary ideology." J.P. is doing the job of imideology."

J.P. is doing the job of im-perialism under the mask of anti-imperialism and vilify-ing the biggest anti-impe-rialist Asian nation, our friend and neighbour.

The brochure states that the "mental and spiritual make-up is almost en-tirely Indian." To claim others Tihetans' as ours may tickle our national vanity but cannot advance our national interests. Such falsification of history may win us the approbation of foreign im-perialists but it will provoke suspicion and make us lose the fidence of our neighbours.

Acharya Kripalani told the Gauhati audience that the si-tuation in Tibet "has ineviimperialist argument for us to ignore the U.S.-Pak bilateral auspices? The co

the anti-Communist, pro-Western Praja Socialist lead-ers are the Jan Sangh leaders It was considered neceskim would be weakened.

Sri B. D. Tandon, Secretary of Punjab and Hima-chal Jan Sangh demanded on May 20 that the Government of India scrap the Chinese-Indian Agreement 1954 and that "India's representative at the United Nations should demand complete independence for Ti-bet."

Even the Americans are not bold enough to demand that much.

He, however, went further and urged that "all efforts should be made to check the Chinese forces coming in dior India, Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal." It is exploiting antimmunism and the concern for national security to put forward provocative tactics. The Praja Socialists, the Jan Sangh and others of the Ame-rican lobby held on May 30 in Calcutta a so-called "Tibetan convention." It was a damp squib as compared to the mammoth rally organised by mammoth rally organizer-our Party and other progresthe Conspiracy of the ene-mies of India-China Friendship!

The national line of Panch Sheel, India-China friend-ship, Afro-Asian solidarity is championed by our of anti-Communism, hos-tility towards China and ultimate tie-up wit imperialist West is with the aigned for by the Praja



Socialist leaders. A large number of Congressmen are confused and paralysed

The neutral opinion is seeing through the smokescreen. Typical is the editorial comment of the influential Delhi Urdu daily Milap. It pointed out that the "Hullabaloo" in India over the "Hullabaloo" in India over the rebellion in Tibet "was deliberately created," "people who made inciting speeches against China, wrote biting articles and issued statements full of hatred, did not do so for the sake of India, nor for

SEMINAR ON THIRD PLAN

ANDIT NEHRU inaugurating the AICC seminar at Ooty stressed the need for rapid economic advance-"If we do not advance ment. rapidly, we run the risk of sinking in mid-stream. Unless you go at a certain speed, something overtakes

speed; something overtakes and overwhelms you." It is good that our ruling class is aware of this very important aspect but it is equally true that its own nar-row class intersets some in the tuation in the table is the own borders." What else is the row class interests come in the own borders." What else is the way of the fulfilment of this "The seminar" national task. The ignore the U.S.-Pak bilateral national task. The of 30 per Pact and go in for a joint accepted the target of 30 per defence pact, under American under the Third Plan, an an-under the Third Plan, an ancomrades-in-arms of nual six per cent increase

ers are the Jan Sangh leaders in this anti-Chinese campaign. Lok Sabha Jan Sangh spokes-man Vajpayee declared in a Bombay meeting on May 23 that "Tibet. is not China's that if India did not help the Tibetan rebels India's ties with Nepal, Bhutan and Sik-kim would be weakened. sible and every encouragement to be given to the public and

cooperative sectors. As against this, it was As against tins, it was pointed out that the objectives could be realised by "a policy of regulation rather than restriction," in short, carry on with the status quo. Nothing was clinched.

The cut-throat proposal to utilise idle man-power on the basis of wages 50 to 60 per cent below the market rate was also made

The tentative food production target for the Third Plan has been placed at 110 million tons annually. A thirty-three per cent increase during the next Plan has been proposed while under the existing Plan, rding to official estimates, the rate of increase is likely between 15 to 16 per cent. It is an ambitious goal

but practical, provided suit-able policies that could in-spire the enthusiasm of the peasantry were adopted. Of this, there is no sign. The Nagpur resolution remains on paper and it is only serv-ing as a cover for new compromises with the rural vested interests.

INDO-SOVIET COOPERATION

. An a fair and the second second

DURING the last fortnight a series of agreements have been signed with So-Union or are under viet negotiation, they prove the selflessness and helpfulness of Soviet aid for under-

and Jan Sangh developed countries like ours, out to build up their national economy.

The Soviet oil Minister has not only promised equipment, experts and technical knowhow but according to the Statesman the Soviet Union will offer to India collabora-tion in the manufacture of drilling equipment maintenance by the Soviet Union of sizable works, and a repair centre in India for the drilling rigs.

Our oil Minister Sri Malaviya stated in his press conference on May 15, that our country was handicapped due to the shortage of rigs. Now our in-fant oil and gas industry is assured big and uninterrupted growth if we do not let Indian and foreign vested interests come in the way.

On May 29 an Indo-Soviet agreement was signed for 80 million Rouble credit for the construction of five new plants for the manufacture of medicines, drugs and surgical ins-truments. India can now take hig step forward in producing cheap mediciness for our patients.

Industries Minister Sri M. M. Shah has duly acknowledged the Soviet offer as "invaluable." He disclosed that India was at present producing 600 million rupees worth of medicine every year but after this Soviet aid and within the next few years India would be pro-ducing 1500 million rupees

worth of them. The Swaran Singh delegation to the Soviet Union was ered econo the most high-powered econo-mic delegation that ever went U.S.S.R. from our country. It carried in its portfolio pro-jects costing Rs. 350 crores for the manufacture of machinery of small, middle and large industries.

On coming back, to New Delhi our Union Minister of Steel stated that the Soviet Government was "responsive to any suggestion" for collato any suggestion" for colla-boration in India's machinery manufacture programmes and also "quite willing to the state of the second also "quite willing to design future plants in such a way as to make the maximum use of India's capacity." These plants would include these for manufacturing not only me chanical, electrical and coal but also mining machinery for making machinery for both ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical plants and for prospecting or drilling of oil. All technical know-how would be shared with the Indians in the domain of machine-build-

The Union Minister has gone on record saying "We found that there was keen desire for further economic collaboration with India, both in volume and in area, on the part of Soviet leaders and Soviet specialists."

Indians sincerely anxious to build up the economy of our country for the welfare of our people and to safeguard the independence of our nation would desire nothing better. But we all know from our past experience that the Indian Government would need a lot of prodding before it becomes hold enough to carry out policies that will exploit the new opportunities opened by the new Soviet offers.

-P. C. JOSHI

(June 3, 1959) JUNE 7, 1959

U. N. Experts Say-**RECESSIONS OF GREATER DEPTH** CANNOT BE PREVENTED

WHEN the widespread economic recession in the United States and other west ern capitalist countries hit the headlines last year, apologists of capitalism sought to dismiss it as a mere passing aberration in an otherwise even pro gress of private enterprise. New epithets to emphasise its transient character and the of the sostrength of the so-called "built-in-stabilisers" to arrest its development were also

invented. Now, however, we have it on the authority of the United Nations' experts that the apologists had erred by a wide margin in making their prognos-es. In a Survey of Eco-nomic Affairs they say that "recessions of greater duration and depth (than those of last year's) cannot be pre-vented by exclusive reliance on any automatic

stabilizer." Here are some of their other findings in respect of the effect of this and earlier recessions on the advanced nations : In the United States,

post-war recessions have cost up to 40,000 uion dollars.

• In Britain, industrial production has been almost at a stand-still almost at a state di-since 1955, and the di-mensions of the world trade "boom" from 1955-57 have been modes In the United States

again, though recov-ery from recent setbacks has been encouraging as compared with other industrial countries, "it has not yet advanced as much as was warranted by idle resources of laband equipment.

The slow-down in eoo-nomic activity in these countries, however, has had another aspect which most directly affects countries like ours. And that is the adverse effect it has had on the prices of primary pro-ducts which they sell to eli to advanced coun these In that respect tries such countries have had to bear the main brunt of the recession. Here is what the experts say: "In 1957-58 alone the drop in primary pro-ducts' prices, coupled with the inching up of industrial prices, repre-sented a loss of more than 2,000 million dollars to the primary produc-ing countries. This has once again highlighted

once again memory of un-the vulnerability of underdeveloped countries to even moderate shifts world economic activ itv

And if this has been the plight of the under-

JUNE 7, 1959

leveloped countries, how have the advanced na-tions, which have only benefited from resultant favourable trade terms, gone about improving the situation? To safeguard their own interests, no doubt, they have contrived to set up a restrictionist grouping or two. In respect of undercountries. developed countries, however, all they have done is to further insul

ate their economies by raising tariffs against the imports of primary goods According to the experts they could have materially helped in this matter only if they had reduced "pro-tection granted to do-mestic primary produc-tion, or lowered the high rates of taxation, traditionally imposed on such commodities as coffee, tea and tobacco.

Obviously, they have not done so, else we would not have had the spectacle of prices of industrial goods continue to be pegged high. The experts themselv-es did not seem to have

had any hopes in this respect, for, simultane-ously with suggesting the aforesaid course they cantioned against the likelihood of its "slow progress" in the absence of "adequate support from the entire world

ommunity."

Who, however, consti-tute this community? Apart from the underdeveloped regions, it is the socialist nations, led by the USSR, and the advanced capitalist countries, of whom the United States is the leadnically er, who economically count the most today Of these two, the social ist sector suffers no peri-odic jerks and jolts which characterise capitalist world. It is besides ever ready offer its maximum te operation in industry and trade to help raise the economies in the under-

developed regions. The United States, the other hand, is noto-rious for the abnormally high prices of its indu trial goods. This, in fact has been the main hur dle in the way of a quicker utilisation of the dit offered by its Export Import Bank. It has also been a consistent oppo-nent of planning any nent of planning any scheme—under the United Nations to render assistance to the under developed nations.

With their policies thus diametrically opposed to those of the USSR and ther socialist countries how can the USA, UK and other western capi talist countries be ex-pected to collaborate with the former to meet the challenge of eradi

cating backwardness from the underdeveloped world? Hence countries like ours have to make their choice between the continuance of a trade pattern which helps only undermine their competitive position and the cultivation of new with an ever-developing world, which is prepared to help them in building their industries as well

☆

The success of the Swaran Singh Delegation to the USSR, and the conclusion of the long-drawn negotiations in respect of setting up an integrated drugs industry with Soviet collaboation, are a good augury for the future - in this line — especially when the Leader-Minister has returned vastly impressed with prospects of fur-ther cooperation in in-

dustry and trade including the setting up of an indigenous Designs Or-ganisation to design the country's future plants.

The Government is never tired of lamenting. over lack of resources for economic development. When, however, it is confronted with proposals in respect of sources which it cou with advantage, it tap refuses to touch them.

One such source, re-peatedly suggested, is that of taking over the big banking establishments. Enough statistics made have now been made available in the Reserve Bank's Annual Report on Trends and Progress of Banking to comm For the major finding of the Report, which deals with 1958, relates relates "large to a specially

accretion" of banks' deposit resources "in rela-tion to credit extended by them."

by them." Thus, while the net deposits over the year rose by Rs. 215.2 crores --raising the aggregate deposits to the peak level of Rs. 1,561.8 million rupees—the credit ad-vanced in the year at Rs. 803.6 crores showed an increase of only Rs. 11.1 crores compared 11.1 crores compared with the rise of Rs. 74.6 crores in 1957 and Rs.

151.3 crores in 1956. Commenting on the grotesqueness of the situation the India Press Agency says : "The main p

main problem of the banks last year, therefore, was a surfeit the banks of funds at their dispo--funds for which either they or their clients in the private sector had little use. Obviously, the public sector, starved of funds, could have provided enough opportun-ities for their gainful employment, if the Government had taken hold of them. Last year it could not do so, pre ably for lack of of facts What prevents it from doing it now, however, doing it now, however, when it has all the relevant facts at its disposal?

June 1, 1959

LAOS INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION **MUST BE REVIVED !**

It is reported in the Press that the Government vong and other members of of India is taking a serious view of the developments in Laos. Premier Nehru is said to have addressed letters to the two co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference who happen once again to be in that city -the Soviet and British Foreign Ministers.

ported to have pressed for the reactivisation of the International Supervisory Commission in Laos. For quite some six months, the Communist Party of India had been urging upon the. Government that this should be done, if we are to avoid an American premedita ted blow-up in this region.

As a matter of fact the American imperialists have been using their puppets in this region to embark upon serious provocation. Last week we examined the report of the International Commission for Vietnam which had some arsh strictures to pass on the obstructive attitude of the South Vietnam Government.

The Americans had also been active in stirring up rebellion in Cambodia ag-ainst the Government of Prince Sihanouk, which was following a policy of strict non-alignment and neutra-lity, refusing to get drawn into the SEATO and other forms of military bondage.

In Laos, the Americans gained a point of vantage, when they installed in power the Phoui Sananikone Government, which a la Ayub Khan and Sarit Thanarat went on to publicly proclaim ion of the need for suspens democracy. Their main target was the former Pathet Lao forces, which organised under the banner of the Lao Haksat Party had won spectacular electoral victories. Side by side with this re-

NEW AGE

T is welcome news that the I Indian Government is re-ported to have pressed for the reactivisation of the Interna-Democratic Republic of Viet-nam. He simultaneously renounced the Geneva ments, declared that the International Commission was no longer needed and an-nounced his intention to draw Laos into SEATO, to whose recent meeting he despatched

an observer. Recently, the Laotian Govtian Government's Foreign Minister Khampan Panya declared (May 21) that his Government would "naturally seek necessary help not only from SEATO but from any other international organisation or any stronger anti-Communist nations." Panya reiterated in his statement that the Laotian Government insisted on a "firm stand" of opposing the resumption of activities by the International Commis-

Yet, this is what precisely has become acutely necessary. The Sannanikone Government recently stepped up its has repression against the former Pathet Lao forces. It has concentrated fully armed Royal troops to surround the two former Pathet Lao battalions stationed in Xieng Khouang and Luang Prabang. In addition to this grave provocation to civil war, the reactionary Laos Government have moved in their police forces to sur-round the homes of former Pathet Lao leaders, including of Prince Souphanou

Parliament. In several localties, Neo Lao Haksat members have been arbitrarily arrested. These constitute a fresh attack by the Sananikone Government against the agree-ments signed between the Royal Government of Laos and the Pathet Lao forces, to say nothing of the Geneva agreements.

-ESSEN

Prospects are rather grim in Laos, therefore. The obvi-ous aim of the reactionaries there is to provoke war, stir up further border trouble with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and then try to call in American intervention in one form or

Since the Geneva agreements of 1954 cover the entire region of what was known as Indo-China, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, as one of the signatories to the Ge-neva agreements on Laos, has shown commendable diplomatic initiative in approaching India to make efforts to reac-tivate the International Com-This shows its conmission cern for peace and amity in

the area. The British Government is reported to have declared that it agrees with the Laotian authorities that the International Commission should remain prorogued. This attitude was only to be expected from America's junior partner. It has to be altered by pressure from India and other countries so that peace may be saved and democracy restored in Laos. This is essential for the well-being of the entire South-East Asian region and the defeat of fresh attempts at American intervention in Asian affairs.

-MOHIT SEN

THIRTY THOUSAND YOUTH JOIN WEST BENGAL FESTIVAL

+ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

Ranji Stadium in Calcutta bubbled over with life on the afternoon of May 16 when thousands of young people assembled there to participate in the colourful opening ceremony of the nine-day Fourth West Ben-gal Youth Festival, held in honour of the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna (July 24 to August

E ARLIER, an impressive () Making Bengali the mereace Parade—two de-monstrations of over 5,000 in West Bengal from the cur-youth, one starting from the rent year. north and the other from the south of the City—marched to the Festival Grounds. The purpose of the Parade was to express condemnation of the U.S.-Pak Pact, support for Panch Sheel and solidarity with the youth of all other nations especially of Asia and Africa

With hundreds of multicoloured flags fluttering in the air, Peace Doves flying above scores of blue, white, red and yellow festoons, brilliantly executed posters symbolisin the youth's hones aspiration demands, bands and drums striking up patriotic tunes and the streets resounding with the slogans "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai," "Scrap the "Down with U.S.-Pak Pact." the Conspiracy to drag India into a Military Bloc," "Long Live Afro-Asian Solidarity," "Youth Demands Work and Education" etc. it seemed that life itself was on the march.

In the presence of a huge gathering and while the Na tional Anthem was sung, Sri B. K. Banerjee, Mayor of Calcutta, inaugurated the Festival by hoisting the National and Peace Flags and the banners of the World and the West Bengal Youth Festival Committees, all the flags ng strung together in one

Sri Ramani Mohan Roy Principal of Surendra Nath College, presided over the function

Addressing the youth, the Mayor said that the noble aim of the Festival was to strengthen the ties of peace and friendship among various countries of the world, irrespective of party or ideological differences

A new hope of laying the basis of a new society and a new civilisation had dawned The youth must come forward to fulfil this responsibility.

Com, Sukumar Gupta, General Secretary of the Festival Preparatory Committee, ex-plained the significance of the Festival in a short speech.

For Tagore Centenary

The Festival Committee's resolution on the Birth Cen-tenary of Poet Rabindranath Tagore in 1961 was unanimously adopted. Expressing concern at the meagre col-lections in the Centenary Celebration Fund, despite an apeal by Prime Minister Nehru, the resolution declared that the Festival Committee would do everything in its power to collect mo-ney for the Fund. It further put forward the

following suggestions to per-petuate the poet's memory. Organising Rabindra Me-

PAGE STX

Switching over to the use

of Bengali in administrative work.

 Bringing out cheaply priced books in Bengali on different subjects. Arranging for the publi-

cation and sale of Tagore's works at low prices. It was also announced that

collections for the Fund would be made daily at the Stadium and that the Festival Commit. tee would donate an amount equal to that collected during the Festival.

The day's programme in-cluded mass singing of youth and patriotic songs and mass drill by over 500 boys and girls.

the APTUC banner and not

only expressed their good wishes but also sought its co-operation in their own strug-

gles against their employers.

It was the first APTUC Con-

ference that was attended by

as many as over 700 delegates

representing nearly a lakh members from 115 unions. Among the delegates could be

seen not only leading cadres

of the trade union movement, but also ordinary workers,

from a municipal worker to a

It was also the first tim

that more than a third of

the delegates were women

of Guntur. It was the wo-

men again who numbered about five thousand that stole the show when a huge

twenty thousand strong de-

monstration was held on the 16th. Five hundred of them, clad in blue sarees and

white blouse uniforms (they

purchased the uniforms themselves) enrolled as vo-

lunteers and made history

in Guntur. Finally, it was perhaps the first time that more than fifty

thousand people rallied under the APTUC banner in a pub-lic meeting which was pre-

ceded by a twenty thousand

demonstration

As many as twelve thousand workers contributed at the

strong

ost of them from among le brave tobacco workers

skilled technician.

Festival was observed as Social Service Day, when youth squads spread out all over the epidemic—ridden Calcutta for bustee cleaning, road repairing and building, giving mass innoculations against cholera, opening of free primary , e**tc**.

In the evening, a symposium on Space Travel was held under the presidentship of the well-known scientist, Dr B. D. Nag Chowdhury. There were also sports competitions, athe-letics, songs, dances, dramas and film shows.

This spectacular opening reflected the growing popu-larity of the Festival, the first of which was held in 1955. It was the culmination of much work and effort at the district level.

350 Local Festivals

This year. over 350 local and district festivals have been held with the participation of several lakhs of young people The program ne of the Central Festival at the Sta-

The second day of the dium included 255 items in India, China, Pakistan, UAR, which about 30,000 young peo-ple took part. Festival competitions, covering 107 sports and 148 cultural events started nearly a month ago. A Festival Exhibition was

organised. It displayed the best entries in the art photography and handicrafts cometitions, hand-written magazines, etc. as well as a unique collection of printed posters from a large number of countries on the theme of peace. freedom and international endshin

Colourful proces such as are not generally seen even in a city like Calcutta—were taken out on the Rural Youth and Young Girls' Days on May 19 and 23 respectively. Among other highlights of

the Festival were debate on "Disarmament," symposia and discussions on "Land Re-forms," "One hundred years of women's education in Ben-

gal," "Drama and Theatre ement" etc On the Afro-Asian Youth Day (May 20), a Mock Par-liament in the form of a new ple took an oath to work fo Bandung Conference in to-day's context was held. Iraq, Asian countries and peoples.

Ceylon, Indonesia, Mongolia, Philipines, Algeria, North Korea. North Vietnam. Burma and South Korea were re-presented. The delegates of presented. The delegates of Pakistan and Philipines sponsored a resolution on Tibet. But the majority of represen tatives expressed the view that Afro-Asian solidarity should not be allowed to be veakened on the issue of Tibet.

Apart from the daily items of mass drill, gymnas-tics and physical feats, the cultural programme included a wide variety of songs. dances and several dramas, many of which attained a high level of performance Sports events drew a large number of competitors. A number of world-famous films were also shown. Sixty delegates were elected to the forthcoming Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna

The Festival concluded on the night of May 29 with a solemn ceremony in which several thousand young people took an oath to work for the solidarity of the Afro-

(Following is an interview given to ITTEHAD AL-SHAAB daily of Baghdad some time at the beginning of April by Comrade Salam Adil, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iraq).

public.

It is well known that Q. It is well known the Shawaf Conspiracy (Mosul) was only one in a series of imperialist intrigues which were and will be plotted against oùr Republic What is, in your opinion, the general plan of these intrigues ?

If we review the events. A since the immortal July 14 Revolution, we shall find that the imperialists' plans relied at first on an attempt of open Anglo-American intervention to over-throw the national republican rule in Iraq. These empts failed After the failure of the

plan of foreign intervention. imperialists' efforts were directed to working within the country. As a result. the reactionary forces in-side the country tried to hinder the forward march of the Revoltuion, which calls for the organisation and arming of the people and for a purge in the state organs (civil, military, "ctc.), in order to retain their old positions. These forces positions. These forces worked hard in order to organise themselves and pave the way for a joint plot re-lying on external aid and political and military imperialist threats

Imperialism Active

But the policy of the na-tional forces; which aimed at organising the people and purging the state organs, not allowing the organisation of the reaction, safeguarding the vigilance of the people and the army and the correct stand of the leader Abdul Karim Qassim, has resulted in the complete failure of all these attempts. Events have shown that these conspiracies were hatched in cooperation with the Americans and other imperialists and their stooges, the orphans of the old regime, some feudalists and some elements of Arab reaction, espe-cially some rulers of the Unit-ed Arab Republic (UAR), having connections with the Zionists. These connections were discovered in time and reveal-

ed by the People's Court. development of events in this manner has led the cnemies of the Republic to prepare plans of naked interon the basis of stronger coope-ration amongst all the forces concred to the Iraci Republic its national democratic policy, and giving the intrigue the appearance of an 'inter-nal Arab' or 'local regional' dispute, which is different from the Anglo-American inperialist attempt of intervenn after July 14. The enemies of the Republic were hoping that the new path—the imperialist 'Arabised' path—

tional movement inside Iraq; —Enable them to confuse the Arab peoples and the 'neutral' forces: -Create an awkward situation for the friendly states,

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ANDHRA WORKERS IN CONFERENCE tion indicated how seriously

★ From V. HANUMANTHA RAO

The Second Conference of the Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress (APTUC) met af Guntur from May 15 to 17. Inaugurated by Comrade S. A. Dange, the Conference proved to be yet another occasion for the APTUC to vindicate its position as the unquestioned leading force in the trade union movement in Andhra.

IT was the first time, when the Conference Fund to make representatives of teachthe occasion a grand success The Conference was also an occasion for two workers' ers. journalists, bankmen and other independent unions at-tended this conference under

the INTUC-fostered labour disruption, growing unemploy-ment and the anti-labour policies of the Government.

The fact that over a dozen delegates spoke on the resolution on the food situa-

ART SILK INDUSTRY DEMANDS RELIEF

T HE imposition of a heavier central excise duty on the art silk indus--more particularly on its smaller units - leas drawn justified from its spokesmen. justified protest

This heavier imposition is sought to be justified on the basis of a report by the Tariff Commission which conducted an inquiry in June 1958. That inquiry unfortunately related only to the working of the bigger units while the industry comprises mainly of small ones a fact which ironically enough was admitted by th Commission itself. The Commission moreover examined the finer qualities of cloth which are manufactured by the bigger units having either their own processing plants or their own arrangements for processing.

In the original budget presented on February 28. the Finance Minister levied | central excise duty on art silk at Rs 160 per loom on three shift working giving exemption up to four looms. Against this the Silk and Art Silk Manufacturers' Association pro-tested, saying that the duty sought to be imposed was too las all over the country, rate of annas eight each to high and the lowering of the

NEW AGE

exemption limit from nine to bigger units as shown in the table

four looms was wrong. In the revised budget a new trick was played upon the industry. Duty was lowered from 97 per loom for nine or less lo Rs. 128 per lo tenth loom on with this the inits with fou less was comp out. Thus the instead of bei were saddled burden in the get as will be

10110W1	ng table:	6
6849948871No. of power-looms in a unit.	Excise Duty (in rupees) In original Budget.	66 In Revised Budget.
1	Exempted	97
. 2	"	194
3	**	291
4	"	.388
5	160	485
6.	320 🔹	582
7	480	679
8	640	776
9	, 800	873

Rs. 160 to Rs. or units having ooms and to oom for the nwards. Along exemption for ur looms and letely knocked e smaller units ng given relief	No. of power-looms in a Unit:	Central Excise Duty Dayable as per origit Budget proposal ©.Ks. 160:
with heavier	20	Rs. 2560
e revised bud-	25	Rs. 3360
seen from the	50	Rs. 7360
8:	100	Rs. 15360
•	· •	

This is a most unjust situation against which the Association continues to protest and demand redress. Out of a total number of 3890 units in the industry there are 3000 in the category having nine looms or less, and the Association in its Memorandum to the Finance Minister points out that if there is any truth in Government's claim of protecting and promoting interests of smaller units and the smaller industries it has The relief all went to the to reconsider this levy.

issue. below:

they were concerned with the rise in the prices not only of rice but of all food. stuffs despite the fact that Andhra is surplus in rice. A call was given to the trade unions to step up agitation and the working committee was empowered to take "all necessary steps" which doe not preclude a general strike * SEE PAGE 12

a

Excise] as per budget:

Central payable revised

Rs. 2281

Rs. 2921

Rs. 12521

Rs. 6221 . .



unions to have their own union office buildings opened by Comrade S. A. Dange, who said it was the first time in his life that he had opened union office buildings. The main issues discussed were the rise in food prices.

IBAQI COMMUNISTS STRIVE FOR-CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL UNITY

especially for the Soviet Union, and hinder their help for the protection of the in dependence of the Iraqi Re-

It is not difficult to see the connection between the activi-ties of the aggressive Baghdad Pact during its meetings in Ankara and Karachi, the military concentrations on the Iranian and Turkish borders, the movements of the American and British fleets, the visits of Rowntree and others and the American bilateral agreements, and the activi-ties of some rulers of the UAR, which took the form of a crusade against Iraq, Commu-nism and the Soviet Union. The Shawaf conspiracy (Mosul) was a result of such a nian. Available facts he fore and after the events of the mutiny, show that the plot was planned to be on a large scale one and to include other regions beside Mosul. But thanks to the vigilance of the patriotic forces and their unity under the leadership of the son of the people, Abdul Karim Qassim, it was possible to isolate the mutiny and smash the plot. The Republic emerged stronger and more experienced in deal-ing with the imperialists

and aggressors Q. The Shawaf conspiracy has shown that some elements that hid behind the banner of the United National Front have taken part in the plot. What is the positio with regard to these elements? A. This question dates •back to the first days of the July 14 Revolution. It was clear then that some forces were following the path of ignoring the aims of the United National Front and disregarding the need for co-

operation among the forces inside it. The Baathists for example, tried to monopolise the rule and to direct it towards their narrow party aims and to monopolise the general liberties, while restricting the movements of the other forces. They wanted to divert the line of the revolu-tion and obstruct its advance by relying on the broadest section of the community and

securing their interests. But due to the depth and magnitude of the national Revolution, and due to the perialism. strength of the democratic movement, they estimated that they would achieve their aims only if they hastened in joining Iraq to the UAR. They worked feverishly and energetically for this purpose, attracting not only the Right na-tionalist elements, but also

who were looking with dismay at the prospects of development of the Revolution moving according to a democratic national line

The activities and reaction ary moves taken and encouraged by Abdul Salam Arif. and behind him the supporters of the old regime, the landlords and others, are still not forgotten. When they failed to attain

their aims by legal political methods, under a national democratic regime and when they failed to win the support of the people for their views and slogans—in spite of all the facilities available to them and not to others—they descended gradually to the path of plotting and using force to achieve their aims in spite of the will of the people and behind the back of the United National Front (UNF) and the leadership of Abdul Karim Qassim. As they proceed-ed further along this path, they gradually isolated themselves from the people and fell to the level of open hostility to the Republic.

As for us Communists, w we have stressed from the dawn of July 14 on the necessity of activatin UNF and consolidatin of activating the ig the unity of the national forces on the basis of safeguard-ing the Republic and guid-ing it to realise the real aims of the Revolution. We worked tirelessly in order consolidate this unity in spite of being the victims of a discriminatory outlook, we pointed out the dangers of a policy that divides a policy that divides the people. We stressed on the need for cooperation among all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist forces based on equal opportunities for all the national forces in metters approximate their matters concerning their rights to enjoy freedom and n and participation in the responsibility of governing.

National Front

Q. How, in your opinion, can the UNF be activated and can its activities be

raised to the level demanded by the present situation ? A. Our Party has continu-ously and faithfully followed the line of the National Front. The Iraqi people, as a result of their long experience in national struggle. have realised the importance of the unity of the national popular consciousness, that of the unity of the national appeared after the July 14 forces in the fight against im-

All the parties were con-vinced, before the July 14 Re-volution, that it is impossible for any single party or na-tional group to take up the task of liberating the coun-. try and achieving national independence. After July 14, when the central link in the national struggle became the all the reactionary groups safeguarding of the Republic plete failure, for the Iraqi citi-

our Party declared that this zens are well acquainted with task as well cannot be achiev- the policy and activity of ed by one party or group our Party with regard to the alone

The only way to safeguard the Republic and its na-tional independence is through the cooperation of all national parties and forces. Our Party observed and was guided by this national policy. And, in spite of all the developments Since July 14, our conclusion is still correct. It is still necessary for all the na-tional forces of the people and within the army, to work according to this con-

The UNF is asked now to reconsider seriously its structure and methods of work. For the UNF was created, as is known, during a period of imperialistic suppressions and had to follow the narrow path of secret work. It was satisfied with the cooperation be-tween the representatives of the national forces without being able to organise their ranks. It did not have the opportunity of cooperating with democratic popular organisations as these were constantly suppressed.

New Form Needed

The present situation, under the conditions of a national republican system that depends to a large extent on organising the people and ex-presses their will, and special-ly after the withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact, is basically different. This requires a reconsideration, of the struc-ture and methods of work of the Front, on the basis of the of our economic policy acnew conditions and opportu-nities; and a reconsideration of its programme of the basis of the new democratic na-tional policy which is the expression of the need of the majority of the people and indicates the general line of policy of our heroic republic under the leadership of, the son of the people, Abdul Ka-

rim Qassim. Q. You have stressed in general line of policy of the national front. How should this be reflected in the economic policy of the country?

Some reactionary circles A. Some reactionary circles are trying to give wrong impressions about our Party policy in the present conditions. They allege that we are opposed to the activities of the national bourgeoisie or that we are calling for the implementation of a socialist programme. They do this in order to split the unity of the various national classes of the people and hence to split the national forces. This will only help the imperialists and the enemies of the Republic. It is clear that these attempts are bound to meet with com-



"To take all measures necessary to protect our na-tional economy and raise the living conditions of the people, free our trade from the sterling area, strengthen the position of the Iraqi currency, enforce some control on the oil companies and other foreign companies and banks to protect our interests, encourage national industry and capital, abolish the semi-feudalist exploita-tion in the rural areas, confiscate the lands of traitors and big landowners cooperated with who have cooperated with the imperialists and plotted against the country and distribute these lands and all state lands that have been plundered by some landowners to the peasants, fix a limit for landholdings that secures the interest of the peasants and small farmers, take the nec measures for the protectio of our working class against unemployment and raise its wages and improve its working and living conditions, and abolish unfair taxes."

We also stressed, on the "Necessity of consolidating our economic relations with the Soviet Union, China and the other countries of the socialist camp, which have their real friendship our people and sincerity in cooperating with countries willing to cooperate with it." These are the general lines

cording to which we worked. It is clear that the Govern ment of the Republic has taken many successful steps in this direction, especially in what concerns the Agrarian Reform Law and the abolition of feudalism and also the economic agreement with the Soviet Union, which will open new and great possibilities for industrial and technical developments, and the economic agreements with other coun-tries which freed our trade from its dependence on the imperialists and opened new markets for our local products What is required from our

Government in the economic field, is to consolidate this po-licy and proceed to execute it in the quickest possible way in order to give its fruits to the various classes of the people....

Path Of Arab Unity

Lastly, what is the po-Q. Lastly, what is the reto the future of the relations of Iraq and the Arab countries? Did any change occur in these relations after the hostility of the rulers of the UAR towards the Iraqi Re-

public has become clear? Our Arab policy springs from the fact that Iraq is an indivisible part of the Arab countries. Our demo-

* SEE PAGE 11

PAGE SEVEN





Some weeks ago; when the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party of India drew attention to the the Communist rarty of India arew attention to the serious situation that was developing in the State and the campaign of lawlessness and violence that was being plan-ned, with the sole purpose of overthrowing the Ministry, a number of people, including some well-meaning Con-gressmen thought that Communists were "raising a scare". Today they have no ground for thinking so.

Trivandrum correspondent: "A secret seven-man council is giving final touches to the on to oust the 26-month old Communist Ministry of Kerala. The agitation is me a liberation struggle', a mass revolt and a crusade against Communism.

Sources close to the council said, 'We are prepared for any eventuality.' They ad-ded that school-closure was

"At the command of the Action Council are a number of dictators' and 'lakhs of volunteers'.'

Four days earlier, addressing a public meeting at Calicut, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, Chair-

T HE Times of India dated man of the body constituted by May 31 published the fol-lowing news item sent by ite ciation to close down schools had declared that "there would be no compromise with the Communist Government." The struggle would be short and swift. The Government would be "forced to quit within a week."

As is well-known, the Congress while not officially supporting school-closure has given freedom to individual Congressmen to join the school-closure movement. Moreover, only one of their weapons and on the basis of a charge-sheet hoped it would be decisive. which has yet to see the light of day the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party and seve-ral others will launch their ral others will own struggle simult The declared objective of the struggle is the same the Ministry to quit. -to force

"The plan, it is unders is not merely to close down private schools on the 1st of June, nor will the agitation end with reventing the opening of Govnent schools. It is understood that programmes been drawn up to paralyse the activities of the Government in all respe

They hope that they would be able to create disturbances on such a vast scale and of such a virulent type that the Congramment would be unable to cope with the situation. Abhorring to resort to largescale repression, it would v cillate and get paralysed. That would make it possible the Central Government for intervene and dismiss the

INVITING CENTRAL INTERVENTION

Not their own mass support, not even their own capacity for creating mischief, but Centre's intervention this is what they are counting on, in the final analysis. This, they hope, will be the decisive weapon to throw out the Government.

The Kerala, a pro-Congress reekly, prominently displayed its issue of May 17, Sri Ja e of May 17. Sri Jai Prakash Narayan's an a question put to him. answer to

a question put to nim. Question: In view of the growing momentum gathered by this agitation, is there anything that the Centre can do in

The Answer: Certainly. Centre has nower to intervene.

The Centre must 'intervene to dismiss the Ministry in Kerala-this has been the m slogan of the Congress and the opposition forces in the State They for the last two years. have been systematically trying to create a situation which would make such an interven-tion possible. They have repeatedly tried to create disturbances, seizing every pretext. Their efforts have failed because of the solid and growing support of the mass of the people for the Kerala Gover and the sympathy and goodwill it enjoys among the cratic-minded people of all parties in the country.

Now that same attempt is being made again—and on a far bigger scale than before. The Congress Party in State, with the blessing of the Congress High Command, supplied by funds of British planters, landlords and other vested interests and in alli-ance with the PSP, RSP and dark forces of reaction, is ou disturbances and to create deliberately bring about a situation of chaos and lessness. The Central Gov-ernment, led by the same congress Party will, they hope, step in to dismiss the Ministry for its alleged fai-lure to put down lawlessness. But even for such a plan to

materialise, active participation of a big section of masses inside Kerala is necessary. Efforts to secure such participation have not attained much success for the last two years. How is this weakness to be remedied? By whipping up communal

passions and religious hysteria.

It is this that is expected to give the proposed struggle that mass basis which hitherto every anti-government strughas lacked. It is ple-

political party in the State but by the Action Council of Private School Managers' Assocaition, School Managers Assocation, consisting mainly of the Catholic Church and Nair Ser-vice Society ,headed by its Chairman Sri Mannath Padma-

Although much has appeared about Kerala in recent weeks in the all-India press, there is still insufficient indorstanding especially outside the Stat about the real nature of the struggle that is being planned and of the forces that have been deliberately allowed by the gress and the PSP to initiate it. A few words on this aspect of the situation are neces on this

OUESTION TO INDIRA GANDHI

sary.

According to Smt. Indira Gandhi, the President of the Congress, the proposed struggle in Kerala is "a popular expres-sion of pent-up emotions against the undemocratic mehods adopted by the Commu nist Government of push forward bills." t of Kerala to

With this allegation against the Kerala Government we shall deal later. What we would, however, ask Smt.

cause of this that the strug- was known only as the leader gle will be initiated not by any of the Nair Service Society. Today, according to newspaper reports, "he dominates the poli-tical scene". (Hindustan Times, hic May 29). The Congress, the PSP as well as others oppo to the Kerala Government, vie with each other in paying him tribute. The Cath Church whose bitter enemy he has been all his life hail him as the Resistance' Leader. Congressmen throng to meetings addressed by him. Wide publicity is given

Who is this gentleman? What are his antecedents? What does

he stand for? Fortunately, on these questions no divergence of opinion exists. The life of Sri Mano alinaus been an open book. He is, according article bitterly critical of the Communist Government, published in the Hindustan Times of May 29, "an unabo shed communal leader and has been one all his life." But has oven one all his life." But he has one great merit. "He stirs up in the Nair breast a pride of identity which has built an affluent and powerful organisation for the com-"He has," the article conti-

nues, "only one mission in life and that is to consolidate the political power of his commu-He is important today

against Communism. Where Sri Mannam stands oday can be seen from some of speeches. speech at Tiruvelu April 12, in which he called for the overthrow of the Kerala ernment, he declared:

"The Nair is going to take over the administration from the Communists. 'Nair' is the simple reply to those who ask as to who will rule, if the Communists go." (Deshabandhu, April 14,

1959) The Hindustan Times article, from which we have quoted earlier, admiringly calls Sri Mannam a "born leader". The mental make-up of this born eader can be seen in the speech he made at Trivandrum April 26.

"I appeal to you (Commu-nist Ministers) to quit volun-

CATHOLIC CHURCH NOT LAGGING BEHIND

Kerala.

But Sri Mannam is not alone. This time he is in good com-pany. Among his allies are the leaders of the powerful Catholic Church in Kerala, Common threat to vested interests they represent has brought together

to. Nor are they prepared to convert their schools into "recognised" schools which will not receive Government aid but where managers will be free to appoint any

NO ORDINARY STRUGGLE

vities, unp

history of the State.

It is evident, therefore, that rights of organisation and actiwhat is planned is not an ordinary struggle on any specific demand of any section of the people. All such pretext has been thrown overboard. What is planned is a struggle to oust Government in one State of dia formed in accordance with the Indian Constitution within the and functioning within th framework of the Constitution

And the main political Party which will throw its whole weight into the struggle, with the blessing of its High Command, is the Kerala unit of the Indian National Congress, the party which wields power at the Centre and the thirteen States, party whose leaders are never tired of preaching the neces-sity of adhering to constitu-tional methods, the party which denounces every strugale of workers, peas ants. students, teachers and other sections of the people even for limited demands as unjust and unwarranted.

CLOSURE FROM ABOVE

It is to be noted that the

sponsors and organisers of the struggle have not, upto now, gle have not, upto now, to give a call to teachers and students to go on strike-although it is the Education Act against which they concentra their main fire. The reason is simple. They know such a call would evoke little response. The teachers have benefited enormously from the educa-tional measures of the Kerala Government in general and the Education Act in particular. They have been freed from the despotic control of corrupt m rs. They are no longer sub dismissals. Their salaries have risen.

As for students, the detention system has gone. Mid-day meals are provided to children, there is free education upto ninth class, prices of text books have be ed The educational rules have en drastically amended. con ferring on teachers and students

Hence, the closure of primate schools is to be brought about from above, by man-agers locking them out. This unheard of method of strug-gle—a direct attack on the the matter? gle—a direct attack right of teachers to teach and of students to learn, an attack on one of the most elementary rights of citizens, the right to education—has been

recedented in the

deliberdtely chosen. Perhaps never before was such a thing contemplated in any civilised country. Never before education was sought to be paralysed and the career of lakhs of students endangered in such a callous, cold-blooded manfor an avowedly partisan litical objective

Those privately-managed schools which refuse to obey the diktat of the Council of Action formed by Private School Managers' Association will, it has been declared, be forced to close down. Even Government schools will not be allowed to function.

THAT ALONE

WILL NOT DO

But this alone. the leaders of the struggle are aware, cannot bring down the Government. They know that the overwhe ming majority of students and teachers and guardians oppose their move. They also know that the Kerala Government has enough backing among the people to deal with any strug-gle which its opponents gle which its opponents might launch to throw it out. What then are they counting on?

They would, they have said, office. picket every Govern They would organise paign of law-breaking. All this uld culminate in a march to the Trivandrum Secretariat for ire of nower.

The Kerala Janatha, edited. by Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, leader of the Praja Socialist Party, carried the despatch from its following "Political Correspondent" in its issue dated May 10:

Indira Gandhi just now is this: If the nature of the struggle is what she thinks it is, then why is it that the political parties in the State, who oppose the Govern especially the party whose president have not dared to initiate the struggle? the initiative a Why has and effective

to a person who at no time had anything to do with any democrati Smt. Indira Gandhi has evaded the question. The Congress High Command which has sanctioned the struggle is discreetly silent over it.

reason is that the truth is too sordid to be admitted. MANNAM

ON TOP

Contract of the second

One of the most significant its in the and sinister develop strife-ridden political life of Kerala is the emergence of Sri nohhan. Mannathu Padman pularly called Sri Manna as the supreme leader of the 'liberation struggle' whose avowed objective is the overwhose throw of the Communist-led Ministry.

Till recently few outside the State of Kerala had heard his name. Even inside Kerala this eighty-two year old gentleman

because his track now coincides

When the article speaks of the "Nair community," it has in mind not the Nair masses, but the rich and powerful Nair ves-ted interests. It is their interest that Sri Mannam has al-

thousands movement and maintai ruling community. the

nt_especially the agra-

these life-long enemies

Ever since the Communist-led Government was formed in Kerala, the Catholic Church leaders have been spearheading the attack against it. The Education Bill was looked upon by them as the death-knell of their monopolist control over the schools they manage. They resorted to every method to de feat it. They resorted to provo-cation, physical assaults, threat of excommunication. All this well-known and needs no

The Kerala Education lays down that the Public Service Commission will prepare the list from which all aided schools as well as Government schools will select their teachers as new vac This clause of the Act was not opposed by any section of mem-bers in the Kerala Assembly. In fact it was a demand void by the opposition and accepted by the Government. Those pri-vate schools which do not want to abide by this provision are free to opt out, if they agree to forego Government aid. It must be remembered that in Kerala the entire salary of teachers in all aided schools is paid by the Government. It is but natural, therefore, that the Public Sermission should previce Co pare the list.

This the londore of

"Let us try our best in this to defend our grave juncture to defend precious faith, taking refug God, the merciful. We in in will to suffer difficulties. dis-

AGITATION AGAINST COMMUNIST-LED GOVT. IN KERALA

with that of all opposition par-ties in the State." ted interests.

In the days when the Travancore Congress was fighting against the despotic regime of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iver, with were courting arrest and scores were being shot down, Sri Mannam ranged himself on the side of princely autocracy. He organised the National Cong-ress' and the 'Hindu Mandal' with a view to disrupt the pothe supremacy of the Nairs as

Times have changed but not Sri Mannam's basic poli-cies. Only a short while ago he was an ardent supporter of the Education Bill—not because of its democratic character-but because he thought it was a blow against the Catholic Church. Now that other measures of the Govrian bill-threaten those very vested interests whose cause he has championed all his

ways served. leadership been handed over core

the demand for Government, when

come a crusader

they like. They want to have it both ways. They want the Government to pay the salary of teachers but no public body hould have a say in decid ing the list from which tea-chers are to be appointed. Masses of Catholics are being told that the list prepared by the Government will be pack-ed with Communists who will reach atheism and godless ness. A baseless allegation, an allegation unworthy of seri ous note, but an allega passion and hysteria. **CHRISTIAN** EXHORTATIONS

A Pastoral letter issued by 16 Rishops of Catholic Churches in Kerala on May 7, 1959 says: "Educating children in such schools filled with teachers of Communist conviction is like throwing our little ones in front venomous serpents.

"Our schools will be used by them only for the spread anti-national eduatheism and cation under the control of the autocratic Communist Govern-

tarily without giving room unrest and bloodshed. I give you the warning that if you try to stick on to the Ministerial chairs, the consequences will be terrible. If the people wrest power from Ministers and subject them to trial, their ears and

noses will have to be chopped off and they will have to be whipped in public...." And further-"There need be no doubt about it. Mannam him-

self will take his horse to the Secretariat building and have it tied in Chief Minister Namboodiripad's office room."

(Malayali, April 28) Such is the man who has been brought to the forefront as the initiator and supreme leader of the struggle which will save the sacred cause of cracy and nationalism

Catholic Church do not agree teacher

comforts, and tortures. Let us be inspired by words of the Divine: those who are tortured in the cause of justice are th unate, for the Kingdom of God belongs to

CALL FOR BLOOD

This was followed by a leading article in the Deepka, mouthpiece of the Catholic Church, dated May 12, 1959

which said: "The Communists do not consider it wrong to do anyth for attaining their object. Is it wrong in these circumstances if we think of shedding blood? The Communists will not hesi-tate to do anything if they find that there is no preparation on this side. On the other hand, the Communists might give up their mischief if they find that there is readiness on this side to meet that and even more. That is why we say that volunteers should be raised in all places." ed in all places." On May 10, after rayers, the Vicar of the Catho-c Church at Mundoor spoke thus:

"No Catholic-managed school in this diocese is going to be opened from June 1. Communist rule is going to end. Christians, men and women, will have to shed

ON REAL NATURE OF

their blood. You need not be afraid."

Then came the following "Christian" exhortation: "If you are beaten, beat back.

If you are hit, hit back. If they try to kill you, kill them." e interpret all this Can anyor

as anything but working up religious hysteria and open call for violence?

AGAINST DECENCY

In Church congregations, the call has been going forth every day after Mass calling upon every "able-bo to be ready to shed blood in de ence of religion. Violence is being openly preached, arms are being collected, volunteers being trained.

These are the forces - Nair and Catholic communalists-that will spearhead the "battle for democracy" in Kerala. These are the passions that are sought to be unleashed. T his is how "masses" are to be drawn into the struggle And when an atmosphere of and violence 1, the political chaos, disorder has been creat parties, headed by the gress, will jump into the fray, intensify the chaos, blame the Kerala Government for "resort to repression". for per-

That is how the plan is excted to work. That is how the sponsors of the struggle have assigned roles to ous actors in the grim drama That the Congress and the PSP have been making desperate efforts to throw out mist-led Ministry in Kerala is common knowledge. Everyone is also aware that they have entered into alliance with British eactionary veswith landlords, olanters, with rea ted interests of all types. is not enough to realise this. What they are doing now is to resort to methods which are a of everything that our national movement has stood for

Sri Nehru in a recent speech condemned Communalism as "a sign of beastliness born out of ignorance." Let him know that in Kerala, the party of which he is the undisputed leader is relying on communalism as the mai weapon, not out of ignorance, but as a deliberate policy.

Why? What explains this esperation? If the Communist Party in Kerala is really

mitting "lawlessness" and pursuing unpopular policies, as seek Central intervention. Congress leaders allege, why Congress leaders allege, why cannot the Congress wait till the next general elections when it will be able to "rout" the Communists? Why this hurry? Why resort to such methods

Mere anti-Cor nunism cannot explain it. The reason lies

deeper. One of the most important of them is the Agrarian Bill that is pending before the Assembly and is expected to be passed at this very se

Even in the Election festo of the Congress in Travancore-Cochin State in 1948, the promise was made about imposition of ceilings and other imposition of ceilings and outer land reforms. For full nine years nothing was done about it. The promise remained promise

The Communist-led Government committed a grave crime. It was not frightened by the threat held out by big landlords. Thereby it invok ed the wrath of not merely ampion of hig Nair landlords and Catholic Church but also of the Congress leaders of Kerala.

DO THEY FUNCTION AS OPPOSITION DOES IN OTHER STATES?

Congress leaders in Kerala holding on that date'.' say that being an opposition This is what the Kerala Agra-party in the State, they are do- rian Bill seeks to do. And this No-Governments. They fully sup-Governments. They fully sup-port all measures which bene-fit the people — workers, pea-sants and the toiling masses. They oppose anti-popular poli-

cies and measures. Does the Congress in Kerala do that? No. They support a handful of managers as against the mass of teachers They criticise the Kerala Government for supporting the cause of workers as against the rich planters and capitalists. And, as for the Agrarian . Relations Bill, the Congress leadership in Kerala has become the unabash d spokesman of the landlords. Everyone of the amendm prepared by them, whether in the Select Committee report or in the Assembly has been such as to help the landlords and harm the peasants

One example will suffice The Congress members in the Select Committee wrote in their minute of dissent: "We are definitely of the

opinion that, instead of providing for compulsory sur-render of all excess land (above the ceiling area) to Government, freedom may be given to transfer such land within a period of one year after the Bill becomes

This is nothing but shameless echoing of the demand of landlords to defeat the very aim of Landlords fixation of ceilin must be given time must be given time and oppor-tunity to dispose off their sur-plus land, so that nothing is left for distribution among pea-

It must also be noted that the AICC Economic Review on April 1, 1959 had drawn attention to the fact that "lar all over the country have, by now, very largely either sold off or dispersed the surplus land" and that "one way to counterac this is to invalidate all transfers since a suitable date and proceed to determine the s reference to the size of the

ing exactly what Communists is what is opposed by the lead-in other States do, namely to ers of the Congress in Kearla. mother States up, ministry of Congress Sri P. T. Chacko, leader of the op-Congress Party and of the op-position proposed that it should be sent to an expert commit-

tee. Another delaying tactic. No one can say that the Kerala Government is "pushing through" the Agrarian Bill. The Select Committee had as many as sixty sittings and much time was also devoted for taking evidence.

AGAINST ALL POSITIVE MEASURES

Does the President of the Congress know all this? . Has she enquired whether the Congress in Kerala is acting in ac-cordance with the spirit of Nagpur?

Another Bill to be introduced in the Kerala Assembly is the District Councils Bill. Already, Congress and PSP memb have voiced their opp osition to this Bill which seeks to do what the Congress has professed for long but never done tic descentralisation of administration. The Congress wants the Bill to be circulated "to elicit public opinion"-in other words, to delay its enactment indefinitely.

A Congress member of the had the audacity to oppose the very principle of the bill for "adult franchise is dangerous in the hands of people who do not know how to use it." Smt. Indira Gandhi has ac-

cused the Kerala Government of "undemocratic methods to put forward Bills." But is it violation of democracy to take speedy measures to implement agrarian rej which the Congress de rately avoided for full reforms delibenine years? Does democracy mand surrender to the dedemands of landlords and sacrifice of the interest of pea-sants? Is decentralisation of inconsiste administration

* SEE PAGE 14



BOOK REVIEW

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA -A Scholarly Study peans who were "kind" to the "natives"!

INDIAN MINORITY IN SOUTH AFRICA by S. B. Mukherji. Peo-ple's Publishing House. Price Rs. 10|-.

zing anomalies of our age that on our planet live both men who have made Mechta -hurled back the thunderbolt of Jove-and other men who ractise aparthied. Has one to proud as well as ashamed be human? How long?

It might all lead to mysticism ot free the acceptance of all manner of weird theories of the dualities tearing the human heart, were it not for the facts that evil is explicable and also that men do not reconcile themselves to its existence.

In bringing home to us the concrete situation that led to the evolution of the evil incarnate that is *oparthied* and the long closed round with sorrow. Story of a heroic resistance to One point of criticism here this process, the book under re- has to be made of the rather view will prove of use. Profes-or S. B. Mukherji is the head of the history department of Khalsa College, Amritsar and his book — Indian Minority in South Africa — with a terse and pointed introduction by Big out certificates by Euro-

T is one of the most ama- Peter Wright, has a message for our day. It is not an easy book to go through. Except for occasional flashes of wrath the author has achieved a monumentál calm His first duty has obviously lain in giving us a digest of most of the available material on the

Indians in South Africa. Professor Mukherji begins. with the coming of Indians as indentured labourers, coupled with a small merchant infiltration. He shows how necessary these labourers were to the very growth of South Africa itself and how much of Indian toil has seeped into the country, adding to its wealth — even though the contribution was

the book are "birth of Satya-graha (1900-1914)" and "Smuts-Gandhi Agreement (1914-1927)." With a great amount of detail the author here writes out the story of great courage, a pathetic faith and cynical breaking of promises. While a lot this will be

familiar enough, thanks to the great rush of books on Gan-dhiji — especially Tendulkar's massive work—yet it is wellcondensed, very much to the point and makes an unassailable case for the Indians, who went out of their way to meet their opponents, accepted their words in good faith and only struggled when there was no other way open. And in the struggle they gave

. best two chapters of

abundantly of their courage and their conviction that man should live as he chooses, not as his pigmentation dictates. The criticism of the leadership

NEW AGE



PAGE TEN

Tagore Centenary Preparations In China

COMPLETE edition of Tagore's Selected Works in ten volumes is being prepared to be published in the Chinese language in 1961 to mark the Tagore Centenary.

Already during the last one year a number of-Tagore's works have been made available to the Chinese reading public. This includes a volume of his Poems and THE WRECK. GORA, another novel, will be coming out this year. Large-scale translation of Tagore's works

started since China's liberation. Tagore's poems, plays and prose works including THE CRES-CENT MOON, GITANJALI and MY BOYHOOD DAYS have been translated by famous Chinese writers. It was 38 years ago at the time of Tagore's visit to China that some of his works were tran-slated into Chinese for the first time by the famous Chinese scholar Cheng Chen-to.

of the book cover the period from 1927 to last year. The treatment perhaps, is a trifle treatment, perhaps, is a trifle cursory, especially as far as the debates in the UN go. The author has, of course, driven home the lesson of the voting figures — the difference in behaviour of the "white totalins" of the Soviet Union the "white democrats" terians" and of the Commonwealth and the United States.

documentation the material here appears a bit thin. Peter Wright in his introduction has rightly drawn attention to K. P. Karunakaran's treatment of the UN debates on South Africa in his earlier volume on India in the world. Perhaps, our author could have profitably adopted the method of factual documen-

tation used there. However, it would be grossly unfair to end on a carping note. Profesor Mukherji has done his country and his compatriots sufthe harbarities of anartheid great service through his painstaking scholarship and his instinctive sense of justice, as it

were. Indian Minority in South Africa is a book that will live and what is more a work that will count, that will shape events by giving its readers some of the power that knowsome of _____ ledge brings. -Mohit Sen

EXCELLENT ONE-ACT PLAYS.

AJ-KA-AADAMI by Udai Shan-ker Bhatt; Publisher, Hindi Bhawan 312 Bani Mandi

Allahabad; Price Rs. 2.50. T HE one-act play has assumed quite a significant position as a literary form in Hindi in recent times and Sri Udai Shankar Bhatt has quite aptly attempted to use this form for exposing certain incongruities and evils of our society in the present collec-tion of five one-act, plays. These five plays are: Aj-ka-Aadami (the Man of Today), Man Ka Rahasya (The My-steries of the Heart), Satya ka Mandia (The Toreal) of the Market Mandir (The Temple of Truth), Teemardari (Attend-Sick) and Kundan ing the Aur Tulsi.

Whereas the last two plays confine themselves to the study of certain human traits. which, I presume, Sri Bhatt considers 'universal', the earlier three present a deep analysis of three

those socio-political condition which throw up such crooks and hypocrites who lord it over over society. And such a one is Dhanapatrai (in Aj-ka Admi) a hig capitalist with all those "saintly and patriotic" elements which are nurtured by the Congress regime. As if raising his fingers towards some of the Congress Ministers he says: "....At times I think I should

open a mill for my son. He United States. open a min for my son. Ite But for a book whose earlier. says, 'You know people higher chapters had been so rich in - up. If you manage to get a permit for exporting foods... We can mint money.' But do we get permits free? Money is needed. Pour money by one hand and" etc. (p. 15)

And yet there had been in the same capitalist class some real patriots who had dedicated their all to the cause of our free dom-struggle but are lost souls under the Congress regime today. Seth Demodar (In The Mysteries of the Heart) belongs to the same category, and in utter frustration exclaims: "It is all in vain: today Gan-

dhi's nasha is gone from my head'.' (p. 62)

The most powerful satire, I think, is Satya-ka Mandir (The Temple of Truth) wherein some social cheats and a capitalist put their heads together to erect a temple to commemorate a certain protagonist of truth, to whom they attribute supernatural powers. A marble image of Truth is brought. Big speeches are being made on the sacred occasion of putting the image in the temple, "O ye! Lovers of truth, you know of the sacred saint who want about the town with only one *langoti* (loin cloth) appealing people to speak the truth, to have mercy on all, to consider all human beings as equal and to whom no body listened in his life-time...." etc. (P. 92-43

Just then the sacred Sain appears on the scene, for he appears on the scene, for he was not dead, to expose the hypocrisy of these cheats. And quietly short shrift is made of him while the wor-ship of the image continues. One has not to stretch imagination too far in order to lo-cate such 'devotees' of truth. One must, however take note

of the still too deep influence of romantic idealism on Sri Bhatt. For no other factor can explain his naive faith in certain miraculous "changes of heart." While his fidelity to real-ism helps him in presenting 'brilliant pictures of certain sections of our society his claim that "these plays—will solve the problem of today" looks rather spurious. To make such a claim true one has to turn to a more realistic philosophy of life.

> -Munshi JUNE 7 1959

KERALA We from the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India had gone to meet our comrades of the State Secretariat and the Kerala Ministers to be of what help we could. We discussed and reviewed the state we could we discussed and reviewed the state

we could We discussed and reviewed the situation and together evolved a line of action which we thought would effective and enable our Government to keep the trust of the people of Kerala and earn more confidence and

HERE are certain highlights situation which are obvious to the people within Kerala but not outside. Some are revealed better through snap-shot impressions

The Congress and the opposition are certainly contributing a unique form of struggle against a Government which is not led by their party. But can any democrat call it a democratic form of struggle? Can it be

called manly or honest? The Congress High Com-mand at least knows the quandary the Congress is in Kerala. Hence the AICC directive, Pandit Nehru's statement and Indira Gandhi's speeches that the Congress as an organisation will not participate in the cam-paign but individual Congressen are free to do so!

Double-Faced

Congress

Every comrade told us in the meeting that such double-faced stand has only cost the Congress the respect of their own followers. Of the top Congress leaders Indira Gandhi is the one who has lost the most heavily. It is clear to everybody in Ke-rala that she is trying to achieve what Sri Dhebar attempte while he was President and failed Where Sri Dhebar failed a year back, she is not going to succeed now when the Congress hold is weaker and the Communist influence has grown. She has tried to lend a helping hand to the Kerala Congress eaders who have lost the fidence of their own people and who are losing it more and more the way they are functioning ever since the Communist Ministry was formed.

Our Kerala comrades explained that the mass fervour of the opposition campaign is the contribution of the trained propagandists of the Catholic Church. Their main slogan which they out across in vari-

ous ways is "Religion and So-ciety in Danger!" The Congress leaders have not any effective political argu-ments to advance against our Ministry. Hence they gang up with the alien leaders of the

Catholic hierarchy. The question that should shake every Congressman out-side Kerala is what must the Kerala Congress have come to that it has to rely upon the support of Catholic propagandists to campaign against the Com-munist Government? Sri Mannath Padmanabhan

is the formal head of the present campaign. The Congress and other political leaders are playing second fiddle. Even Catholic leaders are remaining in the background because their true character got faitly widely exposed in the earlier campaign against the Educa-tion Act. The sort of speeches Mannath makes rem nd one of a political Don Quixote. He boasts that he will

JUNE 7, 1959

foreign policy as now it is against the very existence of the follow their men 50 yards on so behind, with their heads down. Their feet dragged them towards the Church but what Communist Ministry. As I got into the plane, I sat alongside a retired high official. He asked me who I was. I said they heard with their own men made them hang their heads. I was a journalist. He asked me "What do you think, will this Government last?" I said "I The Trichur rally had been myself came to find out the corheld at a very short notice, but was about 15,000 strong. Our answer to this quest



stable his horse in E M SNamboodiripad's office in the secretariat. He is paraded about sitting on a peacock throne. He encourages Nair youth to come out marching, sword in hand.

Revival of religion, caste and use of medieval trappings-such is the opposition campaign in Kerala today. It is the dark shadow of reaction fighting desperate battle

Such reactionary politics has its own contradictions. The Catholic Church is rich but the Churches of other denominations are not so and have their own quarrel with the Catholic hierarchy. Leaders of the non-Catholic Churches are seriously thinking of keeping their schools open, I was told.

I heard stories of some dedicated Nuns who have began de-veloping doubts about the wis-dom of their Bishops. The Nuns run the Convent schools and out of their salaries finance the other work as well. They do not see much wisdom in risking their salaries which will mean not only that they will starve themselves but also may have to shut up the convents too.

Loval Catholics read out to letters that had appeared in the local press challenging the stand of the Church lead ers. Others talked to us of the resolutions of numerous NSS village branches against closure of schools and misuse of their social caste organisation for political purposes. A group of young Catholics told me that the Bishops want them to get their heads broken but are insuring their own cars, while Catholic businessmen are taking out riot insurances! They and others like them told of regular study circles in-side the Catholic Churches inciting the people to violence. Parades and drills within the afety of the Church compound by the Christopher volunteers armed with lathis and daggers

are taking place.

Priestly

C. S. Start

Foreigners

While at the air-port I met a young Catholic priest and could overhear a few whispered words vith his white lay-follo "Rupees... thousands... plan-ters... Arch Bishop...." It should be widely known that the the Catholic Church in Kerala has more white bishops and priests, that the teachers in Catholic seminaries are mostly foreigners. Their main propaganda under the Congress Ministry was against Pandit Nehru's

"Best Govt. Kerala Ever Had"

His face became solemn, as he said: "You look honest and I can tell you, but do not quote me — that most of the widdle-class people like me who do not belong to any party consider this Govern-ment to be the best Government that Kerala ever had. I am not a Communist and I am not going to be one. But if this Government goes, corruption and blackmarket will ne back in a worse Whatever chance Kerala has to make good is through this Government. They may be Communists but they are met a martyr's death on May 22 honest people. They are truing to do good to the people. But this Government has been very lenient so far. It has given a very long rope to

the opposition I asked him if this was the common opinion in his circle. He pointed out to the other passengers and said we were all discussing this very problem before you came in followed by the Catholic Father. All those who have no axe to grind think this way. He pointed out to me another

fellow passenger and said he is a Government lawyer from Ernakulam "You ask him and he will tell you how lenient the Government is." He also introduced him as the son-in-law of Seethi Saheb, the League leader and went on to tell how honest and went of the ten how house persons were breaking away from the reactionary politics of the opposition leaders despite family and other ties. I came by plane to Cochin and rushed to Trichur by car where I had to address a pub-lie rolly. On the way, I saw a

lic rally. On the way I saw a bit of the live propaganda of the Church. I passed by a pro-cession wending its way to-wards the Church, shouting the slogan "Finish off Mundassery, finish him, finish him." The way they were shouting and behav-ing I have no doubt that they would have finished off Prof. Mundassery if he was passing that way and I myself would come away safe if they not hav

knew who I was. After a while I passed through another group of rowdy demonstrators, again going to-wards the Church. It was Sunday. Their slogan was "Rowdy Thomas ran away with Hindu Gauri." Comrade T. V. Thomas is the Labour Minister and Com. Gouri is the Revenue Minister They are also husband and wife.

This was only the introd tory slogan. The others were too obscene to be printed. The demonstrators were so heavily drunk and they were using such filthy language that their own wives and sister did not march with them. I saw them

of cheer. When he recounted the story of how Comrade Raman, the local Kisan Sabha Secretary of Chengaloor branch had been murdered and his dead body thrown into the tank, the hush was all pervading when he named a wel-known anti-Communist Catholic preacher as having held a study circle the same night nearby and given the call for finishing off the and given Communist, the indignant cries of "Shame," were loud and sonorous. Comrade Raman had fought the landlords against evictions, he had organised minor irrigation works on a co operative basis and earned the wrath of the contractors. The local landlord is an orthodox Catholic and the Church too has

Reaction is helping to inc the roll of our Party martyrs and putting more nails to its own coffin.

• I had to speak in this rally too and the discussion in the plane was fresh in my mind. Com. Tanardhanan had warned m beforehand that a large number of hostile and neutral people will come to this meeting faced up to the neutrals and the oppositionists.

I explained the problem was not of a weak or strong Government. Our Government announced and implemented a popular police policy. The police before was used against the people and their movements. Our Government proclaimed that it will be no more so used. The oppo-sition, unable to fight us by constitutional or peaceful forms of struggles misused our police policy and wanted to create vio-lent incidents and poison the pólitical atmosphere. Our Party assures the people of Kerala that we will save peace for the people, keep their schools run-ning, protect their children with all the means at the command of the Government and the goodwill of the people

Mass of the people were so interested that they sat up till ten in the night and I had to rush off to another town 20 miles away to address another rally where I found another 5,000 people waiting under the Red Flag to hear what our Party spokesmen had to say. Early next morning I rushed off to Kalamandalam. This Kathakali Centre was founded by

the teachers and directors were away on vacation. Our Government has more than doubled the grant to this cultural institute. The Secretary and the staff were busy planning a new and more, all-sided training course and new productions. They are going to have a new hig building this year with a large theatre, new teachers, more equipment, a separate hostel for the girls and so on.

Among Writers And Artistes

In the Kalamandalam atmos phere one saw enthusiasm for new creative work, and the generous patronage of the Government

As I came back friends inside the Sahitya Akademy insisted that I visit their office of which they were very proud. It was a big spacious place, almost a palace, a very big contrast to the Connaught Place hutments where the National Akademy is housed in New Delhi. The Secretary was full of enthusiasm for the "research library" which the Cochin Royal Family has handed over to the Akademy. Here too plans for research. here too plans for research, seminars, scholarships were being discussed. The literary folks I met were full of grati-tude fto the Government which had established the Akademy, put together the literateurs of all trends and generations and given them the chance to collectively the chance to collectively work for a new revival of

Malayalam literature. The visit to Kalamandalam and the Sahitya Akademy drove home the lesson, even for me why honest and serious neutral elements wish our Government to continue and wish it well.

As I motored back from Trichur to Ernakulam, the local Party leaders went on interrogating me on the reaction in the rest of the country to the unprincipled and mischievous do-At the ings of the opposition. Cochin airport the local comrades joined them. And while bidding me good bye, all of bye, all of "Let the them together said comrades outside Kerala know that we will hold the front here.

-P. C. JOSHI

IRAQI COMMUNISTS' POLICY

* FROM PAGE 7

cratic national revolution is a part of the Arab democratic national revolution. The Arab nation is united now through the struggle against imperialism and its friends against reaction. and

We have often declared that the road to achieve the aim of the unity of the Arab nation will take several paths and proceed accord-ing to different steps, all of which will consolidate the-Arab liberation movement and lead it towards a true

democratic unity.

It was on this basis that we. put the slogan of joining the Union of Arab States side by side with the UAR and the Yemen on a federal basis. But events in the last few months and especially insistence of some rulers of the UAR on plotting against liberated Iraq, and on joining hands with imperialism, the intensification of their reactionary internal policy against the Syrian people especially— all this has removed all possibilities of cooperation and the slogan of federation



INDIA'S DELEGATION **TO** I.L.O.

Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Labour Minister leads the Indian delegation to the 43rd Session of Interna-tional Labour Organization being held at Geneva from June 3 to 25.

W HO are the other dele-gates? gates? gates? gates representing India's working people and how re-presentative is each one of

Minister of Madhya Pradesh, who along with Sri Kanti Lal Shah of B omhay has earned notoriety for his hostility to-wards the AITUC and its for his open adminisunions for his open caling trative partiality in dealing with unions and Industrial Disputes, is the other Governrate He has thrown ment de overboard all the codes and conventions and is reported to have gone to the extent of utilizing Labour Welfare Fund to strengthen INTUC.

workers' representation in the delegation has as usual been allotted to the INTUC.

The AITUC has been con-sistently opposing this viol-ation of Article 3(5) of the ILO Constitution which makes it incumbent on States to cho "non-Government delegates and advisers ... in agree-ment with the industrial organizations ... which are most representative of employers or work people, as case may be

Now the AITUC claimed a membership of 15,68,737 as on March 31, 1958 against the INTUC claim of 14,55,030 and the HMS and UTUC claims of 4,07,509 and 2,25,980 respectively. After a preliminary scrutiny

by the Ministry of Labour the membership of the various organizations stood as follows:

AITUC	13,99,931
INTUC	13,79,539
HMS	3,58,772
υτυς	1,96,996

Thus even after the preliminary scrutiny when much of AITUC membership was rejected on technical grounds, the AITUC remained the most entative organization of representative organiz-India's working class.

INTUC SOLE REPRESENTATIVE

Nevertheless the INTUC is given the monopoly to repre-sent India's workers in International gatherings. The AITUC has very strong-

rotested against this paris protested against the representa-tive character of the Indian delegation to the Secretary-General of ILO. It should be noted that

AFFUC has always stood for composite delegations and equal representation to all national centres in international delegation and Tripartite Conferences. Such a delegation alone can

be truly the national delegation of India's working class. Let us see who are the dele-

ter of Andhra Pradesh and is being boosted up by them. Even otherwise the INTUC in Andhra Pradesh is a very weak organization. Their original claim was of 59,819 members in Andhra Pradesh as against the ATTUC claim of over 88 000 members. After the

preliminary enquiry the IN-TUC further windled to 52,000 Sri G. D. Ambekar the leader of INTUC Textile Union of while the ATTUC remained at 85.000.

Bombay is the delegate. Sri Ambekar's representative posi-tion in Bombay Textiles was seriously undermined in the last General Elections when Comrade S. A. Dange defeated him at the polls, securing the highest vote in the country.

The new united Moombai Girni Kamgar Union has literally overthrown the INTUC Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh of which Sri Ambekar is the leader.

When workers dislodge a So the Indian delegation to eader, Government puts him ILO is selected specially exclu-ding the AITUC which repreat the head of a workers' delegation going abroad! Such is the Government's insolvent sents more than 14 lakh workthe Government's and insulting attitude towards men, as well 'as the public the working class. sector industries which enjoy Sri G. Sanjeeva Reddy of a key position in India's eco-

Since the APTUC has be-

come a force to reckon with,

come a force to recton what, the Government has been try-ing its best to break it up by, any means and at any cost through the INTUC. On the one hand, the Government systematically and deliberate-te oliminated representation

the APTUC in most of the

Minimum Wages Committees appointed by it and nominat-

d INTUC representatives on

ed INTUC representatives on these boards, chough the IN-TUC itself did not claim any following in those industries. On the other hand, a clarion call was given by the Chief Minister himself to the INTUC

o disrupt strong unions of the

PTUC and HMS in the mines,

years together and recognised by the employers. The Conference took note of

this situation, warned the

workers against these disrup-tors of unity and called upon them to resist these attempts

As if the unemployment that

is being generated by Govern-ment policies is not enough

managements in private and

public sectors have resorted to retrenchment, adding to the

number of unemployed. Clo-

sure of the manganese and mica mines, closing of third shifts in the textile mills, re-

trenchment in the cement in-

dustry and throwing out ca-sual labour and on the top of

all, retrenchment of govern-

ment servants by the Economy

added a few thousands more

the unemployed and under-

Committee-all

these have

at all costs.

transport, electricity—unions which have been existing for

eliminated represer

* FROM PAGE 6

nomy. It includes avowed enemies of AITUC like Sri Dravid and ignores that lead-ers of AITUC hold even ministerial positions in one State -Kerala The workers' representatives in the delegation represent

only a section of INTUC in

Telangana. Everyone knows that he is a pet of the Chief Minister and the PWD Minis-

over 88,000 members. After the

Among the employers' re-

Among the employers re-presentatives in the delega-tion we find the leading lights of private sector, Sri Mafat Lal, Sri Singhania and the Labour Advisor of the Indian Jute Mills (Own-

ers') Association. The repre-sentatives of the public sec-tor industries and autonom-

ous corporations employing

lakhs of workmen in the country are excluded.

employed already on the

Unemployment in the twin cities of Hyderabad and

Secunderabad consequent on the demobilisation of the

Nizam's private forces and

only 13 lakh workmen as against 34 lakh workmen or-ganized in the 4 national entres even according to their own estimates. Such is the Indian delega-

Hyderabad is another member among the INTUC represen-tatives. This gentleman represents tion to ILO, partial and not national in any sense of the erm.

It is unfortunate that Srl G. L. Nanda leads such a delegation.

Transport In Himachal

DUBLIC Accounts Committee Report (March 1959) reveals a sad state of affairs in the working of the Himachal Pradesh Transport Service.

Between 1954-55 and 1955-56 the receipts had increased from Rs. 32,40,055 to Rs. 32,93,whereas the expenditur 777 rose from Rs. 29,53,361 to Rs. 31,22,424. It is argued that the rise in expenditure is due to the rise in the salaries of the the rise in the salaries of the majority of the employees raising the wage bill from Rs. 6,08,414 in 1954-55 to Rs. 7,38,964 in 1955-56. Even if this is a manual finance with the salaries in rise in expenditure by Rs. 1,30,-550 is deducted from the 1955-56 expenditure, the amo-

unt remains at Rs. 29,91,874 higher than the 1954-55 amount by Rs. 38,513.

Moreover it has got to be explained as to why did the expenditure rise from Rs. 26,-47,105 in 1953-54 to Rs. 29,53,-361 in 1954-55.

The conclusion is inescapable that operation cost is rising irrespective of any rise in wages that might have been granted to work-

Inspite of this rise in operational cost one is distressed to note that the percentage of vehicles on sick list varied from 19 to 24.9 of the total fleet strength in 1957-58. With the stock of spares worth Rs. 8.5 lakhs, such a large num-ber of vehicles on the sick list is a sad commentary on the affairs of the transport undertaking and the working of the workshop. The PAC Report reveals

that the Government of India have decided that no interest will be allowed on the Motor insport Reserve Fund and Depreciation Fund etc., that were deposited in the treasury. The element of interest on these funds would have worked out to Rs. 1,13,893 for the year 1955-56 and the profit would have gone up to Rs. 2,85,246.

The PAC has justifiably recommended that interest on these Reserve Funds should be allowed just as is the case with the Rail-ways which are also run departmentally.

The Himachal Pradesh Transport Employees Union will undoubtedly take serious note of these matters reve by the PAC Report and fight for a proper solution of them.

May 31, 1959

of pecuniary assistance

of pecunity a large scale. After all, it was a sound business pro-position to invest Rs. 271/2 position to invest its with lakhs (2½ plus 25) with reasonable prospects of get-ting a crore and a quar-

We therefore reach the conclusion" says the Vivian Bose Inquiry Board "that the object of the June transaction was to help Mr. Mundhra. As was to help in. Minimized ins regards the motive for this, it is obscure. We do not feel that we have been told the whole truth and we are not able to travel beyond the re-cord. So far as the record goes, the only motive that suggests tself is the one we have re ferred to, namely a quid pro quo for the donations given by Mr. Mundhra to the Congress Funds and an attempt to fulfill the promises made to him about the Knapur Mills." (Emphasis ours.)

Now here the Bose Board gives the facts that are proved on the basis of the record that is available to it; it repeatedly complains that the defendants and others who are not there as defen-dants are withholding facts. which if brought to light would obviously be far more damning than the present damning than the present ones. Then it cautionsly states that the motives are obscure and so far as the record goes it must be a quid pro quo

In doing all this the Board has strictly abided by restric-tions imposed upon it by the Government. If it had chosen otherwise the people would have been the last to blame the Board.

Same is the case about Sri Krishnamachari. Government have felt very bad about references made to him in he Bose Report. The Report

however says: "Now, Mr. Krishnamachari is not before us as a defendant so we do not want to say a word more about him than is necessary for this inquiry. conduct subsequent to June 1957 is relevant for

"(3) because this attempt to disclaim more knowledge about this transaction than

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POOK YOUR ORDERS IMM	IEDIATELI:
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JUNE 7, 1959	

closure of certain industries is so severe that even the State Congress Committee had to take note of it and rations. announce some paper plans to relieve this. The Conference, expressing deep concern at this growth of unemployment, urged upon the Government through anunity other resolution to take up injustrialisation in a big way as hack the only way out

ANDHRA GOVT. OBSERVES CODE ONLY IN BREACH

ANTI-LABOUR

streets.

The most unfortunate and ine most unfortunate and regrettable aspect of the la-bour problem is the anti-labour policy of the Govern-ment itself. The decisions of the 15th and 16th Labour Conferences are only scraps of paper so far as the Andhra Government is concerned. It Government is concerned. It is not prepared even to address a letter to the Industrial Tri-bunal, advising it to keep the recommendations of the above conferences in view while giv-

ing judgments. ing judgments. In the eyes of the Andhra Government the code of dis-cipline is something which should be obrseved only by the workers and not by em-ployers. In this respect, the less said about the public sec-tor, the better. The provi-dent fund scheme in government undertakings and insti-

tutions has not been imple-mented so far; its attitude towards managements who have failed to deposit contributions with the Provident Fund Commissioner is anything but harsh. Its attitude towards employees that is the NGOs is highly vindictive and governed by political conside-

This anti-labour attitude of the Government was con-demned in another resolution and the workers were exhort-ed to fight back this policy and it was stated that their and strength are only best weapons to fight

After a study of the la-bour problems of Andhra, Comrade Dange advised the delegates to frame their de-mands in small scale industries in such a way that meeting them was within the reach of employers. This is significant in view of the fact that Andhra does not account for any big indus-try and its industrial map is studded with a large number of small-scale industries His advice to build working class organisations not on po-litical lines but on sound

trade union lines was thought-provoking. He expressed the view that this is a period of growing strength of national economy, growing profits and growing prices and as such this should be

a period of rise in wages. He made it clear that the policy of the AITUC was neither of "no strike" nor one of "always strike."

Later, addressing a fifty-

thousand strong public meeting Comrade Dange threw a challenge to the INTUC to try to rally so many people. It was not an empty challenge. For, the APTUC strength is twice the claimed membership of the INTUC and HMS put together and thrice their tual membership, Besides, there are many independent unions which have a strong unions which contingent of APTUC representatives on their executives. today has t all attempts

The APTUC toda strength to defeat all a to prevent its onward march.



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TUNE 7, 1959

Mundhra Scandal White-Washed FROM PAGE 2

tern with the other dis-claimers and evasions to which we have drawn which we have drawn attention and falls into line with the general pattern that we have observed all through and adds to our conviction that we have not been told the whole truth

by anyone who was con-cerned with this deal." About Sri Krishnamachari's conduct after he took over conduct after he took over from Sri Deshnukh as Fi-nance Minister the Report says he never had "the slightest intention of carry-ing out the directions of the Act or of honouring Mr. C. D. Act of of holeumitation of the second second

that is I). But the Government and the UPSC whom they have brought on the scene not merely to safeguard the sanct-ity of the Service Rules of the ICS personnel are very unover such references happy and do everything to nullify their effect. And in their anger which too is not without method they go to the extent of writing off everything. The UPSC exonerates Patel the Government drops all charges against him-the person about whom the Bose Report says that the Mundhra deal would not have taken place if he had not been there. resolution The Government places on record actual appreciation of Sri H. M. Patel's work. TTK's conduct attract-ed only constitutional responsibility. He was made to resign—only to be brought back, perhaps?

The people naturally will draw their own lessons. They

eradicating corruption. deal the

a conclusion impossible hence the responsibility not only for covering the criminals but also for the original deal it-self must be placed on the Government and it must be made to answer for it.

can be helped is of a pat-

will have no faith left in Government claims about Far from exposing and punishing the culprits res-ponsible for the Mundhra Government has done everything to make such

—Zia-ul Haq

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in Kerala e Monthly



SETHIPS HOROSCOPE

FRIEND told me that an astrologer reading Seth Dalmia's had foretold that this time he would be sent to prison and not just fined. My friend refused to believe him—and quite naturally, for Sethji is no ordinary

Yet it did happen, and the astrologer was vindica-ted. And, since Sethji and his family presumably lieve in astrologers, all the necessary precautions were taken in advance. As soon as the judge-

ment was delivered in a Delhi court, the Dalmia lawyer flew in a chartered plane to Chandigarh to get his bail from the Punjab High Court. Ob-viously, everything had been kept ready to meet the consequences of the astrologer's predictions.

Only for three hours, Sethji was in the lock-up, and although I cannot read horoscopes, I have a hunch that Sethji may not have to go to prison again, as I am sure the process of justice is likely to take years, if not decades as it will wind its way through the High Court and the preme Court.

TTK'S STARS

WISH I could see T.T.K.'s horoscope, for judging by talks in New Delhi, I get the impression that T.T.K.'s stars are on the ascendant. Now it is proved to Gov-ernment's satisfaction—who ernment's satisfaction—who bothers if it is to your satisfaction or not?—that no-body was really responsible for the Mundhra deal, except perhaps God, as Comrade Bhupesh Gupta has put it. And since T.T.K. has never claimed to be God even if he has claimed to be a Marxist—surely Pantji would like to see T.T.K. back.

Without being an astrologer, Pantji had prophesied as early as Dec last about T.T.K.'s chances of returning to New Delhi: "I am still confident that the country wil have the benefit of his talent, experience, knowledge and devotion

Pantji's testimonial was so moving : "He was sensitive by nature. He had contributed to the welfare of his country in various ways and he has had a varied life."

And so Pantji wants to add to this "variety"-by bringing back this innocent lamb-mauled by eaters"-back into the pen. But will the other "sensi-tive" members of the pen-I mean, the Cabinetcome it? Perhaps Morarjibhai will be able to tell me.

ALICE IN WONDERLAND

S I plodded my way through the 187 pages of the Vivian Bose Board

Talking about the famous June 24 transaction, the Board says: "We come up against the old familiar the pattern : Wherever possible, see that the scales are tilted in Mr. Mundhra's favour."

The Report gives us a The Report gives us a few examples of this ge-nerosity: "The highest market price on 9.8.1957 of Jessop's Ordinary was Rs. 23 and the lowest. Rs. 22. Mr. Mundhra was Rs. 22. Mr. Mundhra was paid a LITTLE MORE THAN THE HIGHEST price, Rs. 23.25. So also the highest price of Ri-chardson and Cruddas Ordinary on that date was Rs. 13.25 and the Lowest Rs. 12.50. Mr. lowest Rs. 12.50. Mr. lowest Rs. 12.50. Mr. Mundhra was again paid A LITTLE MORE THAN THE HIGHEST, namely Rs. 13.62; and the justifi-cation? Mr. Mundhra asked for Rs. 15.25 and was beaten down to Rs. 13.62 and Rs. 23.25, that is to say, beaten down to prices higher than the highest prevailing in the market on that day! A veritable Alice in Wonderland deal."

EXTRA-FINANCIAL'

ND there are many more of such Alices in Won-derland. Many of us, Com-munists, find our letters opened in transit and our telephones tapped, and if we happen to be a little more dangerous, the plain-clothes C.I.D. cars will follow us to the end of the world.

And if you are detained, the charge-sheet will refer to your having met people whom you may not have known from Adam. It does not matter really for you have to be detained.

But not so in the case of Mundhra—or, for the matter of that, T.T.K. or Patel or Kamath or Vai dyanathan and all the rest of that respectable crowd. For, they do not "extra-territorial have "extra-territorial loyalties," as we Comunists are suppo have. They have got just a bit of extra-financial loyalties—and that is all to the good.

Read here how closely they are watched.

"Now Mr. Patel's case is that Mr. Mundhra and Mr. Sodhani both saw Mr. Krishnamachari round about this time, that is to say, in the first fortnight of June 1957. Mr. Bhagwati (Patel's 1957. Mr. Enagwatt (Faters lawyer) contended that he called for the relevant gate registers (of the Finance Ministry) from the 6th to Ministry) from the bill to 17th of June to prove this fact and was told that they cannot be found. He com-mented, with much justifi-cation, that it was strange that all the registers that are wanted are available except just the ones for this week, which his client

Report, I felt like reading a thriller. The Editor will not give me space. So I can quote only a few gems. We think that it is tion. We think that it is legitimate and so will asthat the registers sume that the registers would have shown appoint-ments with Mr. Krishnamachari if they had been produced

REMARKABLE COINCIDENCE

ND yet; despite all these facilities of lost registers, sometimes, a "curious repetition of patterns in movements" could not help being noted in the case of these honourable people :

"Mr. Patel was in Bombay from 31st January 1957 till the 4th February, 1957. He left Bombay by the morn-ing plane at 8-30. Mr. Mundhra arrived in Bombay the dhra arrived in Bombay the same morning from Cal-cutta, having travelled by the night plane and then he left Bombay for Calcutta the same night.

"Mr. Patel left Delhi for Bombay at 2 p.m. on the 8th April, 1957, and arrived there at 5 p.m. for another LIC meeting. Mr. Mundhra was still there but left for Calcutta by the night nlane....

".... Their visits coin-cide on the 4th February, 1957 leaving just enough time to meet at the aerotime to meet at the aero-drome if they so wanted. Their visits coincide again for a short time on the 8th April 1957. The same thing happened on the 19th April

"Mr. Mundhra does not live in Bombay, nor does Mr. Patel. Their visits to the city are brief. But happen to overlap in the same sort of way on three occasions, and, as we shall see later, it continues to happen on other well."

DISTINGUISHED RECORD

HESE fascinating cases of remarkable "coincidence" are of course part of "the long and distinguished record of Sri Patel in ser-vice." But if Patel had been meeting a "dangerous" per-son-say a Communist-he might have got the boot.

More than ten years ago Pandit Nehru once said : "You can judge of the growth of a nation by find-ing out which class of that nation, in a particular period of history, is held honour and repute more than the others."

Put the same standard to this country today, and you will concede that Mr. Patel should net a Padma Vibhushan, and Mr. Mundhra perhaps a Bharat Ratna. And what about T.T.K.? A seat in the Cabinet?

All glory to the "Socialist pattern.

- DIARIST

client June 3, 1959

PAGE THIRTEEN

Continued From Centre Pages ~~~~

with democracy? Whose inchould the mass of the people serve or a handful of exploiters and mokes nan the Kerala Congress has

Whatever Smt. Indira Gandhi may think, the fact is that the ders of Kerala Congress and the interests they represe not much concerned about democracy. Their whole past record and their present stand proves that. What they are concerned with is something ore vital, something more impertant

The Agrarian Bill will be passed in this session of the Assembly—lightening the bur-den on the peasants and freeing them. to a considerable ex- their new awakening

tent, from age-old servitude. The Panchayat and District Council Bills, conferring wide powers on local elected organs will be passed and conducted on their basis to new Panchavata and District Counils by the end of this year

All this would seriously weaken the domination of vested interests over the economic and social life of Kerala.

This is what reaction cannot tolerate. It is in face of this common danger that reaction-ary leaders-whatever community they belong to-have com ther. Anti-Communism is the facade which conceals their real object-prevention of democratic reforms. What they really fear are the ma their freedom, their initiative

WHAT THEY BEALLY OPPOSE

T HE real opposition is not to L this or that clause of any particular bill; or any particular measure of the Ministry. If that were so, a compromise could be easily effected. The Kerala Government has always been prepared for such compromise It has made such cor romie many a time. Even after the Education Bill, having received Presidential assent had been law, and Private School Man agers' Association threatened struggle against it the Chief Minister of Kerala did not talk the language that one hears from Congress Chief Ministers He expressed readiness for adconsistent with the principles of the Act and invited leaders of the Managers Association to meet him.

They refused even to meet Perhaps this is the first him. time that the invitation of a dared to demar Chief Minister has been treated tion should go.

with such contempt As though, in reply to this readiness of the Government to discuss the issue. Sri Mann declared at a public meeting at Kottayam:

"It will not be possible for them (the Kerala Ministry) to save themselves by effecting some changes in the Edu cation Act or in the Land Bill, because our aim is to remove the Communist Gonernment." (Malayali, May 4) The real opposition of Sri Mannam, of the Catholic leaders. and also of the Congress and the PSP is not to the Education Act or even to the principle of reservation of a certain rcentage of posts for members backward communities. All political parties in the State have supported the principle of reservation. Not one Party has dared to demand that reserva-

GOVERNMENT'S BASIC POLICIES

common people.

Yet, this cannot be openly by any political party. That would compromise its position in the eyes of the masses and even split its own masses and even spl ranks. Herein lies the dilemma of the Congress, the PSP r parties which ranged themselves against the Kerala Government

With revealing candour Sri Joseph Chazhikadan, MI.A PSP member, admitted this fact publicly in a meeting held to welcome Sri Mannam in Kottayam on May 3. Sri Joseph

"Opposition parties in Kerala They are afraid of the consences of telling the truth quences o Hence, the ions have had to take up the leadership of the struggle

Let leaders of the Congress and PSP read these words and ponder over their significance.

Fear Of Democratic Reforms

They fear democratic reforms. They fear mass-awakening. They thrive on communalism. It is but natural, therefore. that they hate the Communis Party and the Government which, cutting across barriers of caste, community and reli-gion, defends the cause of the poor against the rich, of work-

PAGE FOURTEEN

T HE real opposition is to the basic policies of the Mini-stry — policies that help the dovernment which within a period of two years e more for the common people than any Congress Government in any State did in more than a decade.

> Opposition's hope of dissensions inside the Communist Party has proved illusory. Slander has failed to isolate the Party from the people; provocation has failed to deviate it from its declared police policy: threats and phy sical assaults and even murders of its members have not cowed it down. On the con trary, the Party in Kerala today is stronger than ever before, more firmly entrench ed among the toiling people. This is no empty claim. The

Devicolam election held exactly year ago proved the hold the Party. In the Panchayat bye-elections held from April 1957 to February 1959, the Communist Party won 54 seats, the Congress 34, the PSP 3 and the BSP 2 And in March 1959 when elections were held in the Muvattupuzha Municipal Council, hitherto held by the Congress. the Communist Party won a clear majority.

Recently, the Party gave a call for a three-lakh Fund. Over five lakhs were collected-a demonstration of the love of the

people for their Party. Therefore, the Congress cannot wait till the next general elections. They know that if more time were to munist Party would grow even firmer and broader. Hence their desperate hurry to overthrow the Ministry.

Desperation

Right-wing leaders of the all-India Congress also do not view the prospect of the next gene-ral elections in other States with excessive confidence. Mass resentment against anti-popular policies grows in volume and intensity. The anti-Betterment Levy struggle which shook the of the Congress in Punjab, the mass agitation against unpopular taxes in Bi-har, the results of a number of oye-elections are portents of coming events.

At the AICC meeting held in Hyderabad, a Congress leader from West Bengal, referring to Kerala openly said that the "in-fection", if not rooted out, would spread all over the countrv.

Sanction has, therefore, been given to the Kerala Congress to launch the struggle-a struggle to throw the Ministry out and thus destroy the focus of "infection"

One could derstand, though not appreciate, if even this had been done in a straightforward The Kerala not done that. Congress Committee has been told that the Congress, as an organisation, should not support l-closure move but that individual Congressmen are free to do so.

Are Congressmen free to join the campaign to picket and forcibly close down schools that are open? Are they free to ioin, as they are joining, the "volunteer forces" raised by the Nair Service Society and the Catholic Church? Are they free to resort to defiance of laws in order to paralyse the constitu-tionally established Government?

Mr. Sadig Ali, the General Secretary of the Congress, who explained the Congress about "non-violent agitation" in Kerala "with view to build up peaceful and tructive strength" (May 20) was silent over these specific questions. His silence it- the unbridled . co self was eloquent and omi-

The original plan of the Congress was to launch its struggle, with a "charge-sheet" against the Ministry a few days after the school closure movement initiated by Sri Mannam. This is proved by what Kerala Congress leaders said a few days ago and by the fact that al-though June 1, the day when schools were to reopen and Sri Mannam's struggle was to begin, has passed, even the chargesheet is not yet ready. But now. under the advice of the Con-gress High Command, a "change" in the plan seems to have been made. Sri Mannam's the date now announced for every State. It would jeopardise opening of schools. The Congress will begin a few days etrudele before that.

Why this change? Because the Congress High Command is anxious that that Congress Kerala should not appear to join a struggle initiated by communal leaders If they do so "the initiative will pass into the hands of non-Congressmen." (Times of India News Service, June 2, Ootacamand.) Therefore the Congress struggle will begin before the school-closure strugale

This crude tactics will not deceive anyone. Initiative is not a matter of dates. It is a political

pass, the base of the Com- matter. The fact is, as we have all, the school-closure move-munist Party would grow shown earlier, the initiative has ment is encountering growing already been handed over to communal leaders The sons

we have already explained. As for the PSP, its leader in Kerala, Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai repeated on June 1 that the aim of his party was to "paralyse the administration in the State", and that the PSP would fully support the "liberation strunggle" to be launched by

Sri Mannam No one would be surprised at the stand taken by the PSP. The length to which its leaders, blinded by frustration and anti own. But the attitude of the Commu

Congress, the major political organisation in the country, cannot but cause deep concern to all those who cherish democracy and desire orderly pro-

gres ess. Are the Indian people to understand that the right of which they enjoy is pote which they enjoy is valid only where they put the Congress Party in power? Has a Ministry, led by a party other than the Congress, and representing the interests of the toiling masses, no right t ajority inside the Assemfunction blu? Is it not subversion c democracy to adopt unconsti-tutional methods to throw it out? Should the party which runs the Central Go and all but one State Gon ernments allow its members in Kerala to do that?

One would like to know what Sri Nehru has to say about all

Counting Without The People

Reaction in Kerala, aided by the Congress and the PSP, has declared that it would throw out the Ministry. But it is coun-

Already big sections of even those people in Kerala earlier misled are waking wer They are realising where ir "leaders" are leading their them. There is growing revulsion among the people against munal propaganda and the hypocritical cry of religion in danger. Above

WHOLE COUNTRY MUST BALLY IN SUPPORT OF KERALA GOVT.

TF the Kerala Government were to vacillate, in face of the threat mounted by those regard of the consequences it may have for Kerala, for the whole country, for decency in public life and for the Conwho are out to overthrow it for the basic policies it has pursued, gress itself. We have no doubt that all then it would be committing a right-thinking people in the country, including progressivecrime against democracy and the people. Such vacillation on e mill begin-on June 15, tion not merely in Kerala but in minded Congressmer port the decision of the Keralaovernment. We have no doubt every progressive measure that any Ministry in any State may that educationists, teachers, students and parents will unequi-

The conflict in Kerala has, therefore, implications of far-reaching significance for the whole country. We request Congressmen, Praja Socialists and all democratic-minded people to ponder over this significance.

Congressmen all over the country, we hope, will raise their voice against the tactics which their colleagues in Ketala are pursuing. The monster of communalism is being roused, lawlessness is being fostered to serve vested interests-without the slightest

opposition The overwhelming majority

of teachers and students in Kerala want the schools to re-open on June 15. They do not want to become pawns in the unscrupulouus game of power-@ The neasants want the

Agrarian Relations Bill to be enacted and implemented.

 The workers stand solidly with the Government which has consistently defended their

interests. The common people of Kerala, with bitter memories of Congress and PSP · regimes. are in no mood to allo game of reaction to succeed.

that they are protected against intin ation and vio-In meetings attended by Jakhe

of people all over the State, the demand has been voiced that the Government must do every-thing in its power to see that education is not paralysed, that communal harmony is main-tained, that chaos and disorder do not envelop the State.

The Government of Kerala expressing the will of the vast majority of people in the State has stated that it will deal with any situation that may arise with firmness and may arise with firmness and determination. While giving every facility for peaceful agitation, as it has done till now, it will not allow educaion to be brought to a standstill. Nor will it give quarter to those who for nal passion, and deliberately create landessness and cha in order to paralyse the Gov-ernment and invite Central intervention.

For the Kerala Government the basic question is not one of prestige, nor even of mere law and order. For it the basic or of the peasants? Of the big capitalists and planters or of the vested in-the workers? Of the vested in-terests or of the common people.

can be no two replies as far as a Communist-led Government is concerned

vocally condemn the atrocious

We have no doubt that

workers, peasants and all

will rally in defence of the

Kerala Government which

has served their cause to the

best of its ability and in face

of heavy difficulties. The Kerala Government has

met and defeated many a chal-lenge before. We are confident that the latest challenge also

will meet the same fate

ole in every Sta

(June 3, 1959)

TTINE 7 1050

move to close down schools and

Sabotage educatio

toiling no

question is whose interests it has primarily to serve. Of the handful of managers or of the vast number of teachers and students? Of the big landlords

And to this question there

Elections And After

+ From A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Next week will be inaugurated Nepal's first Parliament, marking a milestone of political advance for the small Himalayan kingdom, kept so long in the backwaters of present-day politics.

WORE than 41 per cent of that the Nepali Congress re the country's electorate ceived very large sums of exercised their franchise in money from foreign countries appreciated only when one Dr. K. I. Singh, Sri Tanka takes into account the poor Prasad Acharva and Sri De-means of communication and the recent elections. What a big thing this itself is can be transport, the inaccessibility of many of the mountain re-gions, the paucity of the means of modern propaganda and the antiquated administrative machinery. All sections of the people

took part in the elections. The women, particularly in the hills, showed special interest. But for a few minor exceptions, the people gene-rally voted for the party rather than for the individual candidates. And it is this which mainly explain the defeat at the polls of many of the prop linent

figures in Nenali politics As many as 630 candidates of a total of 780 forfeited their security deposits. In tive of the same significant trend is the fact that only four ependents could win out of the 267 who contested.

The Nepali Congress has won 74 out of the 109 seats in the Pratinidhi Sabha (the Lower House). It contested 108 seats. But although it has secured more than two-thirds of the seats, it has been able to poll only abut 38 per cent of the votes.

Spectacular Victory

This spectacular victory of the Nenali Congress has come as a big surprise to all sections of the public, including the Nepali Congress itself, which ugh confident of winning had never predicted such an overwhelming majority.

Many factors led to this uccess : First, the Nepali Congress is looked upon by the people as the party that led the nation's struggle against Rana autocracy. Being the Rana autocracy. Being oldest and most experie narty in the country, it has a network which, however weak by modern standards enabled it to conduct a welllanned election campaign throughout the State.

It has a number of astute leaders at its head, while its election slogan-particularly the one saving that vote for the Nepali Congress is a vote for a stable Government was found to he extremely effective among the masses who have had enough of unstable governments in the last nine years.

There is a general feeling in the country that only a stable popular Ministry can be a curb on the power of the feudal interests and the inefficiency of the feudal and corruption of the admin-

immense fund of resources at per cent.of votes. Judging by its command. Some of the the average votes polled per richest families in the coun- seat won by Nepali Congress, try-drawn both from the old aristocracy as also the trading are behind it while many of its opponents, opponents, the Communist particularly Dr. K. I. Singh has Party was expected to get a

Recently, a joint statement repeated the charge but added that the matter would be taken up through legal channels Mention is made in this connection to Sri B P Koirala's recent visit to America and Israel with one of his lieutenants Dr. Tulsi Giri

Allegations

Dr. K. I. Singh and Sri Tanka Prasad Acharya have also made the allegation that the administrative machinery elped to support the Nepali ongress candidates. Whatever may be the sub-

tance in these charges, there is no doubt about the popularity of the Nepali Congress. It was further helped by the split among other parti many cases, the Nepali Con-gress won the seats because of the many-concerned contests, and there are not a few cases where the Nepali Congress candidates won the

seat with only 25 per cent of the total votes polled. The party which came second at the poll is the Gorkha Parishad. Contesting 85 seats, it won 19 seats, polling over 17 per cent of the votes. This is the rarty of the dethroned Ranas, who have still plenty of funds. It is profeudal and keeps in touch with all the reactionary feudal chiefs who had fied the country after the revolution of 1950. Its base has usually been in the backward areas, parti-

cularly in the north. Despite the personal
standing of Dr. K. I. Singh
himself, his United Democratic Party has won only five seats. The total organisational weakness coupled with the anarchic functioning of the The

leadership itself weakened the position of the party. While he is opposed to feudal domi-nation, Dr. Singh's open support of the King has at places

cost him dearly. The Praja Parishad was an influential party at one time, but it has suffered badly through an internal split. While Sri Tanka Prasad Acharva's group could win two seats, the opposing faction led by Sri Bhadrakali Misra could secure only one seat. Among the other groups,

the Nepali National Congress was more well-known. but it could not win a single seat, even for its leader, Sri D. R. Regmi who was a Minister in some of the previous regimes and once prominent national moven in the

The Communist Party has tration. Won four seats, contesting The Nepali Congress had 47 seats. It polled about 7.5 the Commu nist Party should have got at least 14 seats. Even by the estimates of its still persisted in the charge minimum of 10 to 12 seats. An

undertake.

A STREET STREET

ting without the people with whom rests the final word.

THE NEPAL SCENE

would he

indication of that is provided

by the fact that the Commun-ist Party lost seven or eight seats by very narrow margins. Besides being a party of young cadres, having had no experience of the intricacies of an electoral battle. the Communist Party suffered from a serious h cap because of acute shortage of funds. While all the other major political parties have rich supporters whether in Nepal or in India, the Communists had to de-pend on the hard-earned collections from poor peasants.

The Communist workers had to walk from place to place and could not even afford to t bicycles. As against e truckloads of propaganda literature of other parties, the Communist Party could not even distribute the election symbol to different constituencies.

The complexities of the Nepalese situation made it difficult for the young Comsituation made it munist Party to come out with a closely unified line, and the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party has boldly referred in its statement after the elections to "shortcomings and errors.'

Affection For **Communist Party**

Yet, with all these handicaps, the Communist Party's participation in the elections demonstrated the affection and respect that the Party has won in areas where it has steadfastly served the common people. Poorest of the poor came forward in e regions to donate to the Party fund, and many in the villages encouraged and inspired the Party workers to strive harder

It is thus that, despite the smallness of its success in terms of seats won, the Communist Party has emerged as a significant force which will play an important role in th future of Nepal's national life. The Nepal's Congress has formed its Government on the crest of great expectations of the Nepali people. Sri B. P. Koirala in his first broadcast address to the nation after assuming office, said that his Government would lay stress on land reforms.

It is clear that in a fen-It is clear that in a feu-dal-ridden State like Nepal, land reforms would be the test by which the Govern-ment would be judged in the eyes of the people. Apart from the powerful landed intermediate and the persistent interests ranged openly ag-ainst any reforms, the Nepali Congress will find strong opposition even inside its own supporters. An exami-nation of the composition of Sri Koirala's Ministry itself shows how powerfully landed interests are entrenched in it.

General Subarna Shamsher who is Deputy Prime Minister, holding the portfolios of Finance and Planning, Sri Ramnarain Misra, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Sri Shiva Pratap Shah, the Deputy Minister of Finance and Com. munications and Sri Su nath Dev Yadav, Deputy Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs are among the biggest of the landlords in the Ministry. It cannot be over-

NEW AGE

looked that General Subarna Shamsher, himself an ex-Rana, wields great power in-side the Cabinet, next only to Sri Koirala.

Foreign

Policy

In foreign affairs, despite the fact that Nepall Congress leaders on the whole have so far followed the line of the Socialist International and often echoed the attitude of the Praia Socialist Party in India, Sri Koirala in his first broadcast has declared that his Government would not deviate from the policy of while he stressed links with

India being "historic and in-separable" he also recalled the Nepal has re-established her age-old ties with China

While the Nepali Congress passed a resolution on Tibet which is severely critical of China—almost along the lines of the PSP stand—Sri Koirala was more cautions in his statement on April 18 when he denied that the recent Tibetan developments would affect Nenal's traditional friendship with China, despite the long rela-tionship with Tibet.

While welcoming the open-ing of a Soviet Embassy at athmandu, Sri Koirala has disclosed that the USA also would soon open its embassy

Rather disturbing however is the fact that one of th first things happening on the eve, of the Koirala Ministry taking over responsibility is the signing of a Nepal-U.S. agreement for the construction of nine aerodromes of which one will be at Mustang on the Nepal-Tibet border at the Subarna Sha altitude of 14 thousand feet, Sri Koirala. Sri Koirala has, however, tried to dispel misgivings on tried to disper misgivings on this score by saying that it would only be a civilian air-field "essential for Nepal's internal security" and not an American military base. There is an uncanny feeling why at this very moment, America should be found to be anxious to offer to build an airfield at such a strategic spot.

Relations

With India

A crucial issue facing the new Government will be its relations with India. While Sri Koirala in a formal sage has pledged to strive to "further consolidate the cor-dial ties of friendship" with India there can be

this context is the persistent demand for the revision of the Indo-Nepal Trade Treaty of 1950—which the Nepalese consider as unfortunate towards them—and Nepal has already sent a notice to India asking for its revision.

An example of the sensitiveness of Nepalese opinion to-wards India is provided by the general reactions to India's recent strains with China over Tibet. It is common knowledge that many in Kathmandu were not happy over it. Quite a few press comments appear-ed in Nepal criticising the Government of India's stand despite the high esteem in which Pandit Nehru is held in Nepal.

There seems to be an under-current of apprehension that if the India Govern-

ment could react so surprisingly to events in Tibet, what would be its reactions as to the internal affairs of

In fact, the statement on Tibet issued by the King's Government—before the Kolrala Ministry was sworn inhas been widely acclaimed. It-categorically stated that Tibetwas an integral part of China. and the affairs there should be solved by China alone. The coming visit of Pandit-

Nehru is expected to bring the Nepali Government's position nearer to India's point of view, and no doubt Sri B P. Koirala

and no doubt Sri B. P. Koirala will be playing an important role in it. A factor in Nepal's politics, which can by no means be ignored is the role of King Mahendra. His recent action in opening the Sould Embassy in opening the Soviet Embassy was criticised by some Nepali Congress leaders, though Sri Koirala, presumably realising the public appropriation of the officially step, hae ' ed it. King Mahendra is com an active political figure, who has undertaken extensive tours throughout his State, rarely to be found in the case of his predecessors.

Apart from his constitutional powers, King Mahen-dra wields considerable polidra wields considerable poli-tical power. It is known that even inside Nepali Congress, General Subarna Shamsher is close to the Kin ng. General Subarna was in fact nomi-nated Chairman of the Council of Ministers that the King chose last year and which continued uptil the formation of the Koirala Ministry.

Significance is attached in Kathmandu to the fact that after its victory at the elections, the King sent his congratulations to the Nepali Congress through barna Shamsher and not to

With all these complexities Nepal enters a new chapter in which parliamentary system promises to hold the stage. with all the trappings nodern politics.

(June 2)

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

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PEOPLE'S MOBILISATION GROWS AS veteran in a speech in Alleppey on May 26, drew attention to the danger facing the State due to the unscruptions activities of the opposition and the com-REACTION COMES IN THE OPEN WEEK'S REVIEW OF KERALA DEVELOPMENTS

As the campaign to launch the school closure movement reached its zenith in Kerala last week in the expectation of the reopening of schools on June 1, a new and sinis-ter face of the movement and its diabolical aim revealed itself to the people. According to the Malayala Manorama on May 31, in a special interview with two American cor-respondents at his home in Changanacherry, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan said that even the withdrawal of the offending Act will not be enough to appease the sponsors of the movement. "The struggle will continue till the Government is removed."

H E was asked by the cor-respondents: "You say that the Government is to be re-moved. How is that to be achieved? What are your achieved? plans?" M achieved? What are your plans?" Mannom replied: "First the schools will be closed. With the educational activities will be paralysed. If education is paralysed, how will the Minis paralysed, how will the Min-isters continue to sit in their chairs? They will themselves resign. If not, we have other plans, which I do not think it proper to reveal now."

Their

Other Plans

There are sufficient indications however of the plans hat-ched by the Catholic Clergy and the Nair vested interests to topple down the lawfully installed Government of Kerala.

A pastoral letter issued by 10 Bishops of the Catholic Church in Kerala on May 7, 1959, de-clared, "Though we have faced many trials, never before in history have the Catholics in Kerala faced such a critical period as today.

According to the Bishops, "all Catholic parents are morally bound to send their children to Catholic schools. Even in special conditions the permissoin of the Catholic Bishops is necessary for sending children to other schools. In fulfilling these resschools. In fulfilling these res-ponsibilities vested in the pa-rents by the grace of God, the newly constituted private schools or Government schools

schools or Government schools under the new Education Act are not at all adequate." So in a secular democracy like ours, the Bishops call up-on the faithful: "All those who have faith in God and spiritualism should vigorously face this critical situation.... Our children should not be permitted to go to other schools to contract the filthy radiation of their edu-

Reports from various cen-Reports from various cen-tres of the State indicate large-scale organisation of suicide squads and collection of arms by the Catholic Church. Roman Catholic churches and institutions have been turned into arsenals and training camps for the pur-pose. Regular military trainpose. Regular military train-ing is being given to chosen volunteers in the churchyards and grounds of Catholic schools and colleges at many centres like Changanacherry, Kottayam, Palai, Alleppey and Trichur.

Recently a demonstration of 300 people armed with iron rods and sticks and yellow flags was taken out in Allepper with the Vicar of the Catholic Chur-ch, Father Andre Thekkevidan leading it. Slogans such as "We are telling you, don't come to open schools," "We shall strug-gle even by shedding blood,"

"Be careful Namboodiri" were chanted by the priest and re-peated by his followers. Thus the school closure move-

ment leaders have been guilty of the most heinous crime of rousing religious fanaticism and hysteria.

Here a word about the basic attitude of Catholic Church to the question secularism and democratic education is relevant. The Canonic Law of Roman

Catholicism prohibits the edu-cetion of the children of the faithful in non-Catholic Schools. Canon No 1374 reads: "Catholic children may not

attend non-Catholic, neutral or attend non-catholic, neutral or mixed schools, that is, those which are open also to non-Catholics, and it pertains exclu-sively to the Ordinary (Bishop) of the place to decide, in ac-cordance with instruction of the place to decide, in ac-cordance with instructions of the Holy See, under what cir-cumstances and with what pre-cautions against the danger of perversion, attendance at such schools may be tolerated. Neu-tral schools are those which exclude religion by prescinding from it... Mixed schools are those which admit pupils of any or no religion." (Boscarea and Ellis p. 704).

Again, according to the Five Encyclicals issued by Pope Pius XI in 1929, it is said, "And first of all education belongs pre-eminently to the Church, by reason of a double title in the supernatural order, conferred exclusively upon her by God Himself; absolutely superior therefore to any other title in the natural order.... the church is independent of any sort of earthly power as well as in earthly power as well as in the origin as in exercise of her mission as educator, not merely in regard to her pro-per end and object, but also inregard to the means neces-sary to attain the end."

It was in this same encyclical that Pope Pius XI reiterated the Vatican doctrine that Catholic children may not go to non-Catholic schools, even when they receive their education separately from Catholic teach-

Real Face Of The Church

Again on the rights of teachers also, the Catholic Church has really very 'democratic' views. "We reserve the right to dispense with the services of the staff members whose life cr utterances on the Campus or off it undermines the purposes for which we exist.... In view of the very nature and funda-mental purposes of Catholic education, violations of Catholic doctrine, or Catholic moral principles or of the essential proprieties of Catholic life on the campus or off the campus, render a man unfit for servcie in a Catholic college." (The National Catholic Educational Association Bulletin, 1942, p.

193). It is this obscurantist, intole-rant and bigoted attiude of the Catholic Church that the Con-gress, PSP and other political parties and their followers claiming to be secular, democratic and even socialist are upholding, encouraging and agitating for. Can there be any more damning indictment, of parties in Kethe opposition

It is also very strange that the Nair leader Sri Mannath Padmanabhan who claims to lead the caste Hindus to protext their religion, morality and ethics against the encroach-ments of Communist influence, should find himself in the camp of Roman Catholic oligarchy which claims for itself the léa-dership of mankind! In this situation, what has been the attitude of the Con-

aress?

Addressing a meeting on May 24, at the Palayam Church grounds called to rally support for the school closure agitation, Sri.P. T. Cha-cko said that the Catholics must be prepared to sacrifice, if occasion arose, even their children, and that the final final struggie against Communism ing to be started in Kerala from June 1, and in that struggle, every loss which the Catholics suffer will be writ-ten in letters of gold by his-torians of the future.

Chacko's Outburst

The democracy-loving nonviolent Congress Party's Chacko finally burst out: "We will not get a better opportunity to strike at the Communist Govto ernment than at present. So. we should utilise this opportu-nity in the best way. It is not possible to remove the Communist Government through the elections or the Assembly; only through the force of arms through the force of arms of the youth the Communists

can be removed from power." In the heat of emotion, Sri Chacko confessed the holy truth: "Even by shedding blood this Government should be removed. Only today there is Government here over which je the Catholic Church has no control." Will the central leadership of the Congress swearing by se-cularism, attest Chacko's good certificate to the Congress Kerala in the se Catholic Church? service of the

The Kanjirapalli Mandal Congress Committee, it is reported, has in a confidential circular letter addressed to the Congress ranks declared, "The time has come for each one of us to act". "It is our one of us to act". "It is our duty to unify and lead the forces coming out as a result of communal feelings," the circular stated, and called for at least 25 volunteers from each ward for the agitation.

each wara for the agitation. Another instance where the Congress organisation has been taking part in the school-clo-sure agitation is the case of the Kadapra Mandal Congress Committee which in a circular said, "The struggle for liberation

from Communists which starts on June 1 is a life and death issue for all democrats. It we do not succeed in this, democracy here is going to be buried for ever.

As these preparations for launching the holy war against Communist Government were taking place, the Kerala Gov-ernment announced the postponement of the opening `~f schools to June 15.

Government Statement

In a comprehensive, wellargued statement entitled "The Education Act and Its Opponents," the Government made its position clear that it was not going to surrender to the demands of reaction and that its position was de-rived from the basic principle of the Government's res-ponsibility and "the corres-ponding authority in the matter of running the educational institutions" which "has been laid down in the Constitution and is sought to be imple-mented through the Educa-tion Act and Rules framed thereunder.

With regard to the formation of volunteer forces by some sections the statement said, "The Government has reason to suspect that, organised for the ostensible purpose of defending schools that are closed by the managers, these volunteer forces will, in actual practice be used against schools that are kept open. In that case, the Government wants to make it clear that the police would not. stand idly by, but would take firm action to protect the schools that are kept open."

In a number of other pro-nouncements also, Chief Minis-ter Namboodiripad and Home Minister Achutha Menon have made it clear una-ment is not going to tolerate on the part of the holy crusa-ders against Communism and that it will take all necessary steps to protect law-abiding citizens from violation of the right of education of their children.

Meanwhile, democratic oni-Meanwhile, democratic opi-nion in the State has begun to assert itself with vigour and convinction and popular mobi-lisation against the school-closers is rising to unprecedented

proportions. The Kerala Karshaga San-The Kerala Karshaga San-gham (The Kerala branch of the All-India Kisan Sabha) in a stirring appeal to the peasants of Kerala has called upon them to "defeat the efforts of vested interests to overthrow the Kerala. Gov-ernment which has been takermment which has been tak-ing a number of steps and legislative measures for the benefit of Kerala's peasan-try."

The statement points out that the vested interests "want to exploit the religious susceptibi-lities of the people and create chaos in the State. They want chaos in the State. They want to mobilise the peasantry be-hind them by confusing and splitting their unity in the name of religion and community." Sri V. Gangadharan, a former

Speaker of the Travancore-Co-chin Assembly and a PSP-

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munal reaction. "It has been a constant programme of the vested interests in Kerala" he declared, "to overthrow successive Governments in Kerala whenever they attempted to bring about agrarian reforms."

Non-Partymen Speak Up

Whenever any Government has attempted to reorganise education in Kerala, the Catholic Clergy have overthrown that Government, he said.

Sri Isa Ahmad Sait, the General Secretary of the former Travancore-Cochin Muslim League and a prominent Advo-cate in a statement refuted the claim of Mannam and the claim of Mannam and the school-closers that the Muslims are behind their movement. "Sri Mannam's struggle is against measures of the Kerala Government like the Education Act, the Agrarian Reforms Act and reservation in Services."

He pointed out that the Education Act did not in any way affect the Muslims; on the con-trary it would very much benefit them. As regards the Ag-rarian Reforms Bill, "I have heard many Muslim leaders declare that not only are they not opposed to the Bill, but in fact. actively support it, because the measure does good to the ordi-nary peasantry," who include a majority of Muslims in the

State. Sri C. Kesavan, a veteran leader of the Congress for over three decades and a former Congress Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin is re-ported to have written a let-ter to the Prime Minister describing the present political situation in Kerala and protesting against the Congress line-up with rabid com-

munal elements. He is reported to have stated that the present Communist Government is implementing measures like educational reforms, agrarian reforms, — measures which should and could have been brought forcould have been brought for-ward by the Congress and as such Congressmen have no right to say that this Govern-ment should be removed.

Huge mass rallies and meetings organised by the Communist Party are an indi-cation of the direction in which the wind is blowing. Education Defence Committees have sprung up all over the State. The State Committee of the The State Committee of the Communist Party has called on the people to observe a "De-fence of Education" Week from

May 31 to June 6, 1959. The teachers have also gone into action. A decision recently taken by the United Front of Teachers called upon them to wear badges with the inscription 'School Closure is Treason."

Faced with the mounting wave of protest from the demo-cratic forces in Kerala and the rest of the country, the Kerala Congress bosses are now reported to be preparing to laun-ch their own "struggle" before

ch their own "struggle" before June 15. This crude manoeuvre will fool nobody. The Congress lea-ders have not disassociated themselves from Mannom's crusade against the school-children. Their plan still conti-nues to be that of climbing on his bond-wasgreen and helping his band-waggon and helping his attempt to create chaos.

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